The Plays of Thomas Shadwell and the Courtesy Books of the Seventeenth Century.

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THE PLAYS OF THOMAS SHADWELL
AND
THE COURTESY BOOKS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
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ABSTRACT

Mr. Montague Summers, who edited Shadwell's works (1927) and Mr. Albert S. Borgman, who in 1928 published the life and comedies of the dramatist, present Shadwell's plays as an undisputed reflection of the social ideas of the Restoration era. This dissertation is an effort to carry the examination of Restoration drama, Shadwell's plays in particular, into another avenue, by a parallelism of drama with courtesy literature of the century.

The scholarly examination by Professor Edward C. Baldwin of the "character" essay in relation to Restoration drama is an earlier study of a similar kind, and fortifies the idea of such a parallel with another type of writing.
A bibliography of Miss Gertrude Noyes on the courtesy books of the seventeenth century and the articles by Professor W. Lee Ustick on the changes in aristocratic thought and conduct during the century give point to an endeavor such as is represented in this thesis.

A summary of Shadwell's interest in society and manners and a brief résumé of his dramatic career is presented in Chapter One. An effort is made to explain his popularity in his own time and his subsequent eclipse as a ranking dramatist until the present century.
The second chapter surveys the early history of the courtesy material and the changes which developed in the courtesy book as a type during the seventeenth century. The four kinds - the book of parental advice, the general book of courtesy, the book on policy, and the advice on civility - are defined. The chapter identifies and catalogues the fourteen general books of courtesy used in this research. There is, in addition, an effort to explain the connection of well known essays and parts of writings which are to be correlated with any division of the paper. Finally, there is a summary of the general trends and changes in aristocratic thought and conduct within the century.

The parallelism between the body of ideas on social life in Shadwell's dramas and the body of ideas presented in the books of courtesy is attempted in Chapter Three. The divisions of conduct and manners employed by the writers of courtesy books themselves are accepted as a natural order for comparison. Chapter Three, accordingly, is divided into sections - education, travel, companionship, care of estate, duelling, marriage, foppish affectations, idleness, and the like. The satire of foppish affectations is discussed under (1) apparel, (2) wit, (3) science, (4) music, (5) poetry, and (6) playwriting. The section on idleness concerns (1) play-going, (2) gaming, (3) drinking, and (4) scouring.
Subjects only slightly treated - government, country life, religion - are grouped in a final section.

One conclusion deduced is that during the seventeenth century a definite change toward a utilitarian and bourgeois outlook occurred, and that this change is discernible in Shadwell's plays as well as in courtesy books. Another conclusion is that Shadwell knew certain courtesy books, for he definitely names them in plays. Finally, while actual wording of lines in plays and courtesy books may not be accepted as identical, a great body of ideas is exactly the same in the plays as in the courtesy literature. And the didactic purpose of both is discernible. It is not the purpose of this study to prove that Shadwell used the material of courtesy books or that he had read any of them. From the abundance of parallels in idea and thought, however, one may conclude that Shadwell was as much a student of the social life of his period as were the writers of courtesy books, and therefore a closer student of society than any other dramatist of his time.
CHAPTER ONE
THE DRAMATIC WORK OF THOMAS SHADWELL

The high place of Thomas Shadwell in the history of English drama is attested by many critics. Professor Saintsbury, who is conservative in his opinion, and who hardly knows, he declares, how to measure the Restoration playwright, nevertheless has this to say in his conclusion:

In the first place no collection of British dramatists could possibly be complete without a man so famous in his own day as Shadwell - a man whom Rochester thought worthy of his least grudging praise, and Dryden of his sharpest steel of censure. In the second place, every competent judge agrees, and I certainly endorse the verdict, that in the two great dramatic qualities of observation of manners and command of technique of a certain type, Shadwell stands not only not low but rather high among English dramatists.1

The first complete edition of Shadwell’s plays, dedicated to King William, who, because of his ignorance of the language, could not read it, shows Shadwell’s portrait crowned with laurel.2 This edition was in four volumes and included a large number of plays, for from 1668 on, for twenty years, some comedy of Shadwell’s was staged. After his death came apparently oblivion, until twentieth

century study has revealed him as the respectable figure of a playwright that he was, and is.

In a town teeming with young men eager to make a mark in literature and to win approval and recognition in the society of the court appeared young Thomas Shadwell. With neither money nor rank, though "a gentleman of good family still worthily represented," he stood out as one who quickly achieved a place and position. Certain facts lead one to think he was already noticed as a remarkable figure long before his first comedy, *The Sullen Lovers*, was produced in the spring of 1668. By 1656, he had matriculated at Caius College, Cambridge, and continued in attendance for one and one-half years; he had resided at the Middle Temple in the year 1658; he had continued his interest in music, had travelled abroad, had spent four months in Ireland when he was twenty-three. Later he had married a member of the Duke’s company of players, Mrs. Ann Gibbs, and had become a friend of the dramatist, William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle. One of his attractions was his ability as a conversationalist. Well Gwynn’s letter attests how

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Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, later Earl of Dorset and of Middlesex, liked his company, for Sackville drank ale all day with him and Mr. Harris at the Duke's House. 5

Shadwell himself refers to his own pleasure in conversation while retired in the country at Cloft-Hall, the estate of the Lord of Dorset, and to "the Honour of enjoying the conversation which in all the World I would choose." 6 In another personal reflection he admits, "It is honour enough for me, that I have from my Youth lived in yours, and, as you know, in the favour of the wittiest men of England, your familiar friends and acquaintance, who have encouraged my Writings; and suffer'd my Conversation." 7

At the appearance of this first play he must have been "about twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, evidently a young man sure of himself, spoiling for a fight and bent on rivalling that other young man who had only four years previously made his debut as a dramatist, John Dryden." 8

Shadwell did not tamper with "Shakespearean amendments" 9 nor with borrowings from France to a greater degree

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5 Notes and Queries, 4th Series; VII, 3, fn. 8.
9 Schelling, op. cit., p. 262.
than his theatrical brethren. Holding at least one constant model before him for imitation and adoration, he endeavored to follow faithfully in the illustrious steps of Ben Jonson, though Shadwell's own ability was not to be measured by Jonson's. The force of Jonson's impressive personality, working with intellectual concentration and dynamic energy upon the weaknesses of contemporary society, had given to writing an original treatment. The comedy of humors was the result. With a moral inclination as sanely present as Jonson's, Shadwell intuitively grasped that this "humor" treatment of character was essential to social comedy. He realized that exaggerated human weaknesses may be subjected to an implied idealism. It was his purpose to present characters in an unfavorable light in order to achieve a devastatingly satiric effect.

Through the medium of humors like Jonson's, Shadwell presents those vivid pictures of contemporary life on which his title to fame must chiefly rest. His writing of comedy, however, is not "a slavish imitation of Jonson." His characters are drawn to satirize the more obvious vices of men and women, it is true, but they are often drawn with such truth to life, and "on occasion express themselves with such ease of dialogue as to merit Shadwell's designation
as one of the founders of the Restoration comedy of manners.  

The characters are usually would-be wits, persons interested in gloves, wigs, styles, and affectations of speech. They are imitators of true wits, such as Sedley, Rochester, Dorset, and Etheredge, whose conversations and manners could be studied only in drawing-room and court; or imitators of the true scientist, or of the travelled connoisseur of languages, or poetry, or music. All satirized characters make pretenses - to a knowledge, for instance, of the sciences, or the arts. Examples are Sir Positive At-all, Sir Nicholas Gimcrack, and Ninny. Others make pretenses to wit: Drybob, Sir Formal Trifle, and Sir Samuel Hearty. Each character desires to excel in that for which he has no mental or physical fitness.

Shadwell’s plays present a larger gallery of characters than do the comedies of Etheredge and Wycherley, for he wrote many more plays. Lovers constitute the central theme, but around them appear in play after play "the cheat, the country gull, the cowardly hector, the hypocrical Puritan, the miser, the strumpet, the spendthrift,


the beau, the foolish poet, the orator, the man of business, the sportsman, the veteran of the Civil Wars, the French surgeon, the Irish priest, the Church of England clergyman, the Jacobite alderman, the stock jobber, the man or woman who affects French breeding, the pseudo-count, and the witch-finder.  

In the Preface to The Sullen Lovers Shadwell attacked Dryden's comedy of manners, The Maiden Queen, for the characters of Celadon and Florimel as "fine people of a play," when they are "a Swearing, Drinking, Whoring Ruffian of a Lover, and an impudent, ill-bred Tomrig of a Mistress." Shadwell asserted that the comedy of humors was preferable to it. Replying in the Preface to The Mock Astrologer, and in other essays, Dryden praised the witty fancy of Beaumont and Fletcher, and contended that the era for humors was past; that the repartee of witty contemporaries was desired at the time by the Restoration audience.

But in five years Dryden was forced to rescind his belief. He found the Restoration audiences not so sophisticated as he thought. In The Sullen Lovers (1667), in Epsom Wells (1672), and in The Virtuoso (1676), Shadwell showed that humors could please. The play Epsom Wells

12 Ibid., p. 253.
exhibited a mixture of humors with witty gallants and ladies who were the fairly traditional manners types, or types in manners tradition. The witty, anti-Platonic philosophizing about love and constancy made the play particularly attractive to young and old. The wits showed that they intended to marry; but that, in their opinion, indifference and promiscuity were more becoming for people of wit and birth.

By 1678, Shadwell had outdone Dryden, specially in Epsom Wells and The Virtuoso; so Dryden changed to humors with The Kind Keeper or Mr. Limberham. 14

The plays of Shadwell, as published in his Works, are seventeen in number: The Sullen Lovers, The Humorists, The Royal Shepherdess, The Virtuoso, Psyche, The Libertine, Epsom Wells, Timon of Athens, The Miser, A True Widow, The Lancashire Witches, The Woman Captain, The Squire of Alsatia, Bury Fair, The Amorous Bigot, The Scourers, and The Volunteers. Of these The Royal Shepherdess is not only tragi-comedy, a style for which Shadwell had not the least aptitude, but is a re-handling of the work of "Mr. Fountain of Devonshire," with some humours added. Psyche, Timon of Athens, and The Miser are adaptations of Molière and

Shakespeare. The remaining thirteen are really Shadwell's own plays; upon them his reputation rests. The Tempest is omitted by Mr. Saintsbury, for there has been much discussion, by Mr. Walmesley and Mr. Thorndike, of its authorship.

Mr. Thorndike dismisses doubtful plays or those not comedies:

The revision of Shakespeare's Timon and The Libertine are tragedies, two are operas [Psyche and The Tempest, I suppose, are meant], one a pastoral [The Royal Shepherdess], and the remaining thirteen are comedies, extending from the year 1668, the date of the production of The Sullen Lovers, to 1693, the year after his death, which saw The Volunteers, or The Stock Jobbers. These plays were of importance in the history of comedy and present today a vivid and interesting picture of the time; and they display, if little poetry, the sense and wit that Dryden denied him and also the sturdy partisanship that made him poet laureate when the Whigs triumphed.

Regardless of the classification, there are in Shadwell's plays definite evidence of an attempt to picture certain types of contemporary characters and certain aspects of Restoration society that are already related to the so-called courtesy books of the period. This attempt may be disclosed in a review of his work.

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15 Saintsbury, op. cit., Intro., p. xviii.
His earliest play was *The Sullen Lovers*, taken somewhat from Molière's *Les Facheux*, and brought out at Lincoln's Inn Fields on May 5, 1668. It had a run of twelve nights, Shadwell's wife taking the part of the heroine Emilia. Pepys describes the first performance, with the theatre quite full:

But I had my place, and by and by the King comes and the Duke of York; and then the play begins, called *The Sullen Lovers*; or, *The Impertinent*, having many good humours in it, but the play tedious, and no design at all in it. But a little boy, for a farce, do dance Polichinelli, the best that ever anything was done in the world, by all men's report: most pleased with that, beyond anything in the world, and much beyond all the play.19

In spite of this judgment he saw the play on three successive days, and on June 24 concluded that *The Impertinent* was "a pretty good play." The Duke and the Court often attended the performance. Because of its popular favor, the play was revised in 1670 when the Court was at Dover.20

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18 Preface to *The Sullen Lovers*, op. cit., p. 9.
The scene of The Sullen Lovers is London; the time is the month of March, 1667–8. A throng of living men and women fill the stage. At once they are very real, for they speak of persons and places that the audience would be most familiar with. Sir Positive is boasting that he could design a ship more skilfully than Pett or Deane; Emilia is going off to write a letter to her sister at Bruges; Ninny is chattering of his barber George; Woodcock is boasting of his new lodgings over against the Rose in Convent Garden; Huffs is cursing his luck which has lost him twenty pounds at Spierings; Lady Vaine is slyly slipping away to a merry party at the Setting Dog and Partridge in Fleet Street.

There is not much plot, but what there is appears easy to follow. There are certainly too many humors, but the ludicrous scenes and the satire of the play, particularly the burlesque of Sir Robert Howard, in the character of Sir Positive At-all, made the play very popular.

The two lovers, Stanford and Emilia, are the censors, sometimes called demonstrators, before whom are paraded this long string of fools. Never was such a gang of bossy bores, all chattering, planning, interfering, with the best of intentions. There is no way to convince them, by anger or insults, that one wishes to be alone or to be allowed to depart. But Sir Positive is the best
bore of the crowd. As a character he ranks with Sir Formal Trifle, "that immortal figure of sublime inconsequence and trivial eloquence." The part of Sir Positive was played by Henry Harris. The second best, a supposed satire of the other Howard, Edward of the melancholy face, was the insufferable poetaster Ninny, played by Mokes.

Adapted from John Fountain's The Rewards of Virtue and produced before a crowded house in February 1669, Shadwell's second play, The Royal Shepherdess, was not a success. Pepys said it was "the silliest for words and design and everything ever I saw in my whole life." The pastoral at the time was not popular, although Beaumont and Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess had been revived by the King's Company for several months' run.

Shadwell's play skilfully presents several characters: a fop Neander, who scoffs at honor and who is afraid to go to war; the old fop, Geron, married to a young wife, Phronesia; and a priest bewailing an age in which the women lack humility and virtue. The king is pictured as a Restoration gallant liking a pretty face, but repentant when discovered. The Queen is forgiving and helps to save

21Summers, op. cit., I, Intro., lix.
22Pepys, Diary, op. cit., VIII, 223 (February 25, 1669).
him from himself.

Shadwell's third play was *The Humorists* (1670). After stating in the Preface that he considered Etherage's *She Would if She Could* "the best Comedy that has been written since the Restauration of the Stage," he spends the rest of the Preface in defending the comedy of humours:

> A Humour is the Bias of the Mind,  
> By which with Violence 'tis one Way inclin'd;  
> It makes our Actions lean on one Side still,  
> And in all Changes that way bends our Will.\(^\text{23}\)

According to Professor Nicoll, "*The Humorists* is noticeable for two things: one has reference to the age, and the other to Shadwell's own conception of drama."\(^\text{24}\) Though Shadwell attempted to repeat the success of the satire of *The Sullen Lovers*, he ridiculed in too general a way the number of follies and vices. The Restoration seemed always to object to general satire.\(^\text{25}\) This play consequently fell flat, and was saved only by the interpolation of "excellent Dancings." The failure was due to the fact that he had to blot out the best

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23 Shadwell's Preface, pp. 183, 189.  
24 Nicoll, op. cit., p. 192.  
25 Ibid.
portions for fear of giving offence to a certain clique, probably friends of Sir Robert Howard, and the actors did not know their lines. But it was partially helped by the actress, Mrs. Johnson, whose dancing prolonged the life of the play until the players better learned their parts. To Mrs. Johnson, in his Preface to the play, Shadwell acknowledged untold obligation.

The original plot of The Humorists is mainly centered around the addresses of several fantastic persons to Theodosia, "a Lady of beauty and merit." She deludes them with false hopes and finally marries Raymund, "a Gentle man of wit and honour." Exaggerations of typical characters of the time are presented in the "humorists" - Crazy, Drybob, Briak, and Sneake. Some low comedy is evident in the depiction of the maladies of Crazy. But the interesting portraits are the characters Lady Loveyouth, an amorous old woman who supposes herself a widow and endeavors with the aid of her maid to carry on an intrigue with Raymund, the young gallant; and the jealous mistresses, Striker and Friske, called "ladies of honor."

26 Preface, op. cit., p. 183.
who are always attempting to outdo each other.\textsuperscript{28} These last, figures from low life, carry on spirited dialogue and make the scenes so animated that these characters indicate where Shadwell’s best portraiture would lie.

A few gibes at the French when Crazy and Raymond abuse the surgeon Pullen are the only satire of foreign influence upon manners.

After \textit{The Humorists}, in nearly every comedy, Shadwell shows us at least one pair of lovers who appeal to our sympathy and approval, and whose courtship and marriage make up the principal action of the play. Both are persons of wit, but are also subject to moral sentiments. In nearly every subsequent play these certain humorists reappear: Crazy, "in love with most Women, and who thinks most Women in Love with him"; Drybob, a pompous and "fantastick Coxcomb, who makes it his business to speak fine Things and Wit, as he thinks"; Brisk, "a Brisk, Airy, Fantastick, Singing, Dancing Coxcomb"; Mrs. Errant, "a running Bawd."\textsuperscript{29}

There are several references in both Dryden’s and Settle’s works to a play \textit{The Hypocrite} for the year 1671,

\textsuperscript{28} Borgman, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{29} Thorndike, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 288.
but we do not have other records of the play. Dryden in

Mac Flecknoe writes:

Humorists and Hypocrites it should
produce
Whole Raymond Families and Tribes of
Bruce. 30

Settle wrote in the preface to Ibrahim (published in 1677) that The Hypocrite, The Humorists, and The Miser are plays written in Shadwell's "humbler and modester days" before he had become "flusht with the Trophies of his Epsom Wells."

In another reference to The Hypocrite he denies that it was acted six days, as Shadwell says. 31

Since French farces were being adapted with success to the English stage, Shadwell gave up the humor type for an adaptation of Molière's L'Avare. Shadwell himself suggests that Molière's part of The Miser had not suffered in his hands: "having too few Persons, and too little action for an English Theatre, I added to both so much, that I may call more than half of this Play my own." 32

Genest points out that Shadwell adds eight characters to Molière's play to maintain interest on the English

31 Bergman, op. cit., p. 23.
Shadwell’s additions to the dramatic personae consist of Rant and Hazard, two gamsters and bullies; Squeeze, a usurer, and his booby son; Timothy, who becomes the wooer of Theodora (Elise); and two women of the town, Lettice and Mrs. Joyce.

Shadwell’s mistake in this drama is in lying too close to that form which he derided, namely, the farce. He provides the usual Restoration scenes, drinking, gaming, "sowering," wooing by the booby, marrying the cast-off mistress to the booby, and other tricks and counter-tricks. The miser is lost in a crowd of stage buffoons, and is not a clear piece of characterization as the title would indicate. "Shadwell mixes Moliere's corrective spirit with the Restoration attitude. He changes the young lover of the play into a Restoration gallant." 34 Theodore's early life has been spent in the pleasures of the young man of the Restoration— that is, in profligate living, such as an affair with a daughter of Mrs. Cheatley,— until he reforms and marries the young Isabella, who is modest and virtuous. The play shows wit

33 John Genest, Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830. 10 vols. (Bath, R. E. Carrington, 1832), I, 119.
of the manners school in the repartee about love and marriage between Theodore and Rant. 35

In December 1672, Epsom Wells utilized a fashionable spa for the comedy of manners, and was "the first English topographical play concerned with the society of watering-places." 36 The locale is complementary to the dramatic personae, for Shadwell presents frequenters of such places, their characters, their social positions, the small talk of the spring room. Professor Summers writes:

The very opening of the play, the company drinking at the Wells in the early morning, bragging of the number of pints they have already swallowed, talking of last night's adventures, making plans for the coming day, and finally dispersing in small groups or singly about their various occupations and affairs, at once strikes the right note, and is something new in English comedy. 37

In this dramatic fashion Shadwell indicates the kind of people who come to Epsom Wells and the reputation of the place upon which the reality of the action rests. Pepys speaks of the people he saw at Epsom in his diary. 38

35 The Miser, Act II, sc. 1, p. 43.
37 Summers, op. cit., I, Intro., xcii.
38 Pepys, op. cit., III, 208 (July 25-6, 1663).
Not directly indebted to any one source for this comedy, Shadwell evidently wrote definitely from such observations of manners as he and Pepys saw, of the beau monde and of the citizens who went to resorts like the wells at Epsom.

In this play, for the first time, Shadwell follows the method of the new comedy. His principal characters become really "Men of Wit and Pleasure" and "Young Ladies of Wit, beauty and Fortune." In this he leaves Jonsonian comedy and follows Etherege and Congreve, except for minor characters, who remain humors.

Again the plot is of little importance. Marriage is the theme that unites the various threads of the plots. The entire interest follows the amorous intrigues of the leading gallants, Rawes, Bevil and Woodvil, with the ladies of the town, both married and unmarried. Its theme is the duel of the sexes, common to manners comedy, which defies the conventional view of marriage and accepts equal rights of men and women. The play contains, furthermore, two bullies, two citizen cuckolds, two young ladies of wit, beauty and fortune, and three married women eager to cuckold their husbands.

Sedley's Prologue - the first one, for Shadwell wrote the second, we think39 - was addressed to the middle-

39Walmsley, op. cit., Intro., xliv.
class citizens who no doubt were in the majority over the gallants in the audience. Before writing his next comedy, Shadwell experimented with an operatic version of The Tempest in April, 1674, composed Psyche in February, 1674-5, and the blank verse The Libertine in June, 1675.

Shadwell's tragedy, The Libertine (1676), was taken from three sources, but Shadwell was able to interweave all this material with a certain acute mind and skill, and to add his own treatment. His English Don John, outrageous as he is, exhibits "a cold calculating philosophy that underlies his brutality, his crimes and his lust." Women are not his main interest. He is concerned only with an excess of savagery.

Shadwell affirms that he wrote the play in three weeks, but it was very successful, with Mr. Betterton as the Libertine. Downes records: "The Libertine, and Virtuoso; both wrote by Mr. Shadwell; they are both very well acted, and got the company great reputation; the Libertine perform'd by Mr. Betterton crown'd the play." But Shadwell returns to his favorite theme, humors, in the same year. The dedicatory epistle to The Virtuoso

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41 Ibid., p. 10.
43 Summers, op. cit., III, 11.
explains Shadwell's idea of humor, not mere word affectations or dress fashions, but "a bias of the mind." He chooses humor-portraits only of a certain class: "the Artificial folly of those, who are not Coxcombs by Nature, but with great Art and Industry make themselves so." 44 He attacks not one man's humor, but "scattered Follies gathered into one."

This play, The Virtuoso (1676), enables Shadwell to return to comedy in a satire, rather clever and subtle, on the pseudo-scientist of the time. For romance, he includes two pairs of lovers, Longwill and Bruce, adoring Clarinda and Miranda. The two plots or threads, the satire and the romance, appear to a reader rather too independent of one another.

The satire was more definitely appreciated. An article by Mr. Lloyd 45 presents a scholarly review of the pseudo-scientific studies familiar to Shadwell's time which he satirized with Sir Nicholas Gimcrack as his mouthpiece. The two humors, Sir Nicholas, the virtuoso and amateur naturalist, and Snarl, "a great admirer of the

44 Ibid., p. 102.
45 Claude Lloyd, "Shadwell and the Virtuosi," P.M.L.A., XLV (1929), 472-494. None of this review could be included in the scope of the present study.
last age and a disclaimer against this," are considered most exceptional. The *Biographia Dramatica* comments about the variety of characters and their originality, "particularly those of Sir Nicholas Gimorack and Sir Formal Trifle, which had been hitherto untouched upon, though of a kind that were very frequent at that period." Great acting contributed its part in the success of the play. When the actors Antony Leigh played Sir Formal Trifle, Nokes played Sir Samuel Heartly, and Cave Underhill, Old Snarl, even the University of Oxford applauded. Cibber speaks of Nokes and Leigh: "every scene between them seemed but one continued riot of excellence." This statement must have been true of the scene between Sir Formal and Sir Samuel in the vault.

An influential and aristocratic personage, the Duke of Buckingham, suggested that Shadwell revive *Timon of Athens*, as it had not been played during the Restoration. Instead then of following up one good comedy with another, Shadwell was directed again to a revision of Shakespeare. The *History of Timon of Athens* was produced at Dorset

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47 Summers, III, 97.  
48 Ibid., p. 99.
Garden, either in December, 1677, or early in the following January. The City and the Court accorded the play great applause, the City especially for the excellent moral of the misanthrope Timon. Shadwell had to add two female characters of first importance to fit the play to Restoration times when women actresses were showing histrionic ability of an unusual order.

Another comedy, A True Widow (1678), was a failure on the stage because it showed up the "crying sin of Keeping." More confused in plot than Shadwell's plays usually are, the comedy reveals a painful coarseness in the character of Lady Busy, who acts a bawd. Professor Dobrée thinks this frankness was not amiss, as the Restoration audiences were used to criticism of the sort. As for the failure of this play, which he considers Shadwell's best, he ventures the opinion that the public loved a touch of romance which this play lacked.

Undoubtedly it was a capital comedy, notwithstanding this deficiency and its farcical elements. The dialogue is vivacious, the characters individual, more numerous, and

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49 Summers, op. cit., I, cxlvi.
50 Ibid. Summers quotes Downes' records.
51 Bonamy Dobrée, Restoration Comedy 1660-1720. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 120.
amusing. Lady Cheatly's abuse of her creditors delighted a Restoration audience, in spite of its artificiality.

The play-scene of *A True Widow* is one of actually real quality. It is alive with pictures, and alone should have been sufficient to secure success for this comedy. The indifference of the aristocratic audience that would ask in the midst of a play, "What play do they play?" and the like preoccupation in the mind of the hearer who would answer, "Some confounded play or other," draw in short, graphic strokes a whole scene at a playhouse. This drama is the third good play of Shadwell, ranked with *Epsom Wells* (1672) and *The Virtuoso* (1679) as comedy of unusually high order, regardless of its poor reception. The escape of Lady Cheatley without punishment may be considered "truly Jonsonian."

A poorer play, *The Woman Captain* (1679), reveals less of the direct influence of Jonson than does any other of Shadwell's comedies. It was, however, fairly successful on the stage because Mrs. Gripe's male part, taken by Mrs. Barry, was a great role for an actor. The manner in which she escaped from her husband, and obtained her freedom

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52 *Act IV*, pp. 333-336.
53 *Borgman, op. cit.*, p. 182.
in the end, attracted the contemporary audience as it does one today.

Shadwell's invention of prodigals, bullies, and misers is not so engaging as that of the trick of the miser's wife. Uniformed like a captain and accompanied by a sergeant, she compels her husband and several coxcombs to enlist, and puts them through a rigorous drill. Mrs. Barry made this scene very effective on the stage.

The cause of the Whigs against the power of the Church of Rome engrossed Shadwell's attention during the years 1680 to 1687. About November, 1681, his comedy, The Lancashire Witches and Tegue O'Divelly. The Irish Priest, was produced at the Duke's Theatre. In a preface the dramatist explains the change in public taste and the likelihood of offence to one party or another which a writer must meet:

Fops and Knaves are the fittest characters for Comedy, and this Town was wont to abound with variety of Vanities and Knaveies till this unhappy Division. But all run now into Politicks and you must needs, if you touch upon any Humour of this time, offend one of the Parties.54

The play was interesting almost solely for its

political element and for the presence of the witches. Shadwell ridiculed not only the Roman clergy, but the Anglican church in the character of Smerk. This caused the censor to cut out long scenes to the detriment of the play. The witches are fine, animated creatures acting out not too savory pranks.

The sequel, called The Amorous Bigotte with the Second Part of Tegue O'Divelly, was written and produced much later, about March, 1690. By that time sentiments had changed so that what would have been frowned upon was now received with smiles of approbation. Shadwell's opponents were helpless. The scene is the Spanish capital, and the Irish Friar is surrounded by dons and duennas. Though the caricature is grotesque and out of nature, and the comedy really one of intrigue - mistakes, adventures, and serenades, - yet it is amusing, and at the time of presentation received a favorable treatment.

After the controversy with Dryden and Settle, Shadwell seems to have withdrawn from political controversy. He wished to return to the stage, his first interest; but no play under his name had been produced in a year and a half, and it was several years before he was again given a hearing.
An anecdote is told which may lead one to believe that Dryden was influential in keeping Shadwell from the stage. It seems Shadwell threatened to "put a stop" to the prologue which Dryden had written for Betterton's alteration of the *Prophetess* (produced in 1690). The new poet laureate insisted that certain lines contained a reflection on the Revolution. When some one in the audience spoke up to ask "Why he would do the author such a disservice," Shadwell said, "'Because while Mr. Dryden was Poet Laureat, he would never let any Play of his [Shadwell's] be Acted.'"

In 1689, Shadwell wrote in his own personal comments that he had been "silenc'd for a Non-conformist Poet" and "for near ten years kept from the Exercise of that Profession which had afforded a competent Subsistence." Shadwell surely does not mean ten years, for there was a period of seven years between *The Lancashire Witches* and *The Squire of Alsatia*.

Though Sedley had directed his friend's attention to Terence, for his play *Bellamira* was taken from the

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Eumachus, as the main theme of The Squire of Alsatia is derived from the Adelphi, it was through the never failing favor and influence of the Earl of Dorset that in May, 1688, Shadwell was able to return to the stage after a long absence. The play was a lucky hit. It filled his pockets as well as re-instating him in the theatrical world.

Even in Ratishon Etherege wrote to Jephson that he wanted the latest play of Shadwell "that I may know what follies are in fashion; the fops I know are grown stale, and he is likely to pick up the best collection of new ones." After he received a copy he declared it made "amends" for the other poor one he had read.

While a member of the Middle Temple, Shadwell observed surely something of the adjoining district of Whitefriars. In this play, The Squire of Alsatia, he again permits a locality to furnish characters indigenous to the place. Though other dramatists had alluded to the precinct of Whitefriars as Alsatia, and to people taking refuge there, he was the first dramatist to lay a setting of much of the play in the district itself. In direct

action he indicates how the Alsatians prey upon young men, the heirs of English gentility. Following up his apparently moral purpose, Shadwell has Sir Edward Belfond resolve to clear up the dens of Whitefriars.

The Squire of Alsatia has another theme, the idea of two philosophies of education, the one severe, or Spartan, the other gentle, or, as it might be called, Attic. The two are as old as the world, and the parallels of the two brothers may be met with, varied and modified, in any country. Wise generosity and a free hand have always been considered better than domestic tyranny. Besides the two fathers, Sir William Belfond and Sir Edward Belfond, and the two young sons Belfond, Senior and Belfond, Junior, there are introduced the company of rascals, Cheatly, Shemwell, and Captain Hackum, who dare not stir out of the district known as Alsatia, the sanctuary of rogues; Lollypoop, the servant of the elder Belfond, who comes up from the country with his master and has some sense of responsibility for the direction matters have taken; and the three types of women, Termagant, a woman by whom Belfond, Junior, 

59 The books of courtesy (Higford, for instance) relate how different types of rascals prey on gentlemen of gentry.
has had a child, Lucia, the attorney's daughter, whom he had seduced but whom he apparently wishes to protect, and Isabella, the shadowy girl of fortune with whom he has fallen in love.

The usual two-couple device is carried out in this play also. Truman is Belfond Junior's friend, and Teresia is the girl he marries.

The play is a brilliant picture of contemporary life. Though it does not contain so lively a figure as Sir Positive At-all, or show the exquisite humor of The Virtuoso, it is distinguished by such rare strokes of genius that it remained in the theatrical repertory until the reign of George III.60 This play probably had an influence on Richard Cumberland's The Choleric Man (1774). It was certainly drawn upon by Scott's The Fortunes of Nigel (1823).61

Shadwell's next play was just as successful as The Squire of Alsatia, though it contained less moral purpose and was not laid in London. The affected Lady Fantast, and her daughter Mrs. Fantast are the nucleus of all the action. The story of Bury-Fair (1689) is also one of

60 Summers, op. cit., I, Intro., 201.
61 Ibid., IV, 194, 195.
marriage - the marital aspirations and incompatibilities of both society folk and the lower class. The play surely owed the idea to Jonson's drama, the popular *Bartholomew Fair*. Though scores of other plays during the early half-century, particularly Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* and Brome's *Sparagus Garden*, had been "a dramatic mirror to the actual streets and houses of England," Shadwell had learned his first-hand acquaintance with the famous fair not from plays but from actual boyhood observation in school at Bury. Thus was he enabled to give the finer series of contemporary portraits in the groups both at the fair and at Oldwit's house.

The pictures of provincial culture - and one must bear in mind at what a great distance the provinces then were from London - the bustle and rustic jollity of the fair, the crowds, the traffic and the noise show Shadwell at his best. The characters of Oldwit and his family, of that dull joker Sir Humphrey, and of Mr. Trim are exceedingly happy. In the hands of a good actor La Roch would become really comic. Shadwell owed something to Molière's *Les Precieuses Ridicules*, but he elaborated the characters of La Roch and Mrs. Fantast to make them less Molière's and more his own.

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62Saintsbury, op. cit., Intro., xxiv.
63Summers, op. cit., I, Intro., coxvii.
Bellamy and Wildish are the usual Restoration gentlemen but have a great share of vim and personality. The female page Charles, or rather Philadelphia, shows the tendency to sentimentality which is cropping out in late seventeenth century writing. Gertrude is the formal objector, like Emilia of The Sullen Lovers, but less negative in expression.

The entire play is concerned with the exposing of the affectation of Lady Fantast and her daughter through the ruse of a French peruke-maker’s playing the part of a count. Mr. Oldwit thus is rid of his third wife and is reconciled to his daughter Philadelphia; the daughters are married to young men of fair worth.

Following Bury-Fair in little more than a year was The Scourers, probably "entirely original," and a truly real picture of London life as it was in Shadwell’s time. Sir William Rant, played by Mr. Mountfort, who so ably took the part of Belfond Junior in The Squire of Alsatia, is the London wastrel of a gentleman, addicted to wine, women, night life of scowering, and a waster of estate. He is flanked by two other gallants of similar but lesser calibre. Eugenia as the high spirited young girl,

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64 Ibid., V, 81.
somewhat like Harriet of Sir George Etherege's *Man of Mode*,
is the reclaiming agent in the action, with Clara a second
to her. Like all Shadwell's plays, the moral tendency is
emphasized as in the plays of Jonson.

In *The Scourers* Shadwell naturally scoffs at or
ridicules those who were loyal to the Stuart line. Sir
Humphrey Maggot, a foolish Jacobite Alderman, is the butt
of ridicule.

Professor Nicoll thinks the play published after
Shadwell's death, *The Volunteers, or The Stock Jobbers*
(1692) bears many marks of having been written several
years before, and perhaps laid aside for further proofreading. To substantiate this he considers it a humor play,
with an intrigue plot, the humors directed against "affected
ladies and conceited beaux," and completely devoid of the
sentiment found in the last three dramas.

The plot seems to be an entirely original study
of a phase of English national life. The enthusiasm for
volunteering in Flanders, under the king, afforded Shadwell
his main theme. The subsidiary story of the stock-jobbers,
which shows very little connection with the main plot, is
so slight that it does not justify the sub-title. The

contemporary folly of speculation and the satirical por-
traits of the Puritans who tried to reconcile their gam-
bling transactions with their conscience are both graphically
pictured. Macaulay thought so, for in his history of the
times\textsuperscript{66} he refers to both themes that Shadwell dramatized.
The playwright became acquainted early with the idea:

It was probably during his boyhood at
Santon House or Broomhill Hall that young Tom
met the old Cavalier officers, 'somewhat rough
in Speech, but very brave and honest,' who for
their fidelity had been decimated by the rebels
in power, and whose long-remembered conversation
and figures, whose talk of Edgehill and Naseby
Field, whose simple fruitless plotting, he was
vivaciously to reproduce well-night half-a-
century after in his last comedy \textit{The Volunteers}.\textsuperscript{67}

In a summary of Shadwell's position in the stage
history of his day, there is much to be said in his favor.
Someone\textsuperscript{68} praised his comic art in the Epilogue to his
posthumous play. An actor "in deep Mourning" spoke these
words of commendation:

\begin{quote}
SHADWELL, the great support o' th' Comick Stage,
Born to expose the Follies of the Age,
To whip prevailing Vices, and unite
Mirth with Instruction, Profit with Delight;
For large Idea's, and a flowing Pen,
First of our Times, and second but to Ben;
\end{quote}

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\textsuperscript{66} T. B. Macaulay, \textit{History of England from the
Accession of James the Second.} 6 vols. (New York, Belfond
Clarke & Co., 1889), Chapters XII and XIV.
\textsuperscript{67} Summers, \textit{op. cit.}, I, Intro., xx.
\textsuperscript{68} The Scrolls, \textit{"The Epilogue,"} p. 161. No name
is signed to the Epilogue.
Whose mighty Genius and discerning Mind
Trac'd all the various Humours of Mankind,
Dressing them up with such successful Care,
That ev'ry Fop found his own Picture there,
And, blush'd for Shame at the surprising Skill,
Which made his lov'd Resemblance look so ill;
SHADWELL, who all his Lines from Nature drew,
Copy'd her out, and kept her still in View;

His friends' estimates of his literary powers were naturally generous. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, said that "if Shadwell had burnt all he wrote, and printed all he spoke, he would have had more wit and humour than any other poet."69 Another time, as if to excuse any error in his writing, Rochester speaks of him as "Hasty Shadwell."70

While discussing the life of Shakespeare, Aubrey interpolates that Shadwell "is counted the best comedian we have now."71 Langbaine, while confessing a friendship for the dramatist, attempts to be impartial as a critic, and yet can but judge "His Comedies better than Mr. Dryden's; as having more Variety of Characters, and those drawn from the Life; I mean Men's Converse and Manners, and not from

69Sorgman, op. cit., p. 94, and Dictionary of National Biography, op. cit., p. 342. Thomas Whinope's Scanderbeg, where the remark appeared, I was not able to secure.
other Mens Ideas, copyed out of their publik Writing..."\(^72\)

In an obituary notice published November, 1692, the writer in Peter Motteux's *The Gentlemen's Journal* summarizes very succinctly Shadwell's moral purpose and its effect. After stating that Shadwell's works are very well known and his merit conceded, the writer speaks of his comedies portraying "the Image of humane Nature, drawn in various Colours and Shapes." Few, he thinks, have equalled Shadwell in "his Draughts of Humors and Characters." Considering the moral purpose in Shadwell's plays, he is superlative in statement:

And so, even those whose characters he hath wrote are oblig'd to him; for, by showing the Picture of Avarice, he hath sham'd Misers into Liberality; by exposing Bullying Sparks and prodigal Squires, he hath made the first tamer and the other wiser; how many contented Cuckolds has he not hindered from taking their Gloves, and going out, when their Wives Gallants came in, to visit them? how many Maids hath he not sav'd from ruin by the Pictures of that in others? how many Hypocrites, Coquettes, Fops, Gamesters, has he not reclaim'd? and, in short, what store of Fools and Madmen did he not reform?\(^73\)

The audience of that time might not have been

\(^{72}\)Borgman, op. cit., p. 95.
\(^{73}\)Walmsley, op. cit., Intro., lx. Mr. Borgman, p. 98, credits the article to Peter Motteux himself; also Summers, op. cit., I, Intro., ccxliv.
attracted by the moral tenor, and it is certainly not of any importance to a modern reader; but critics like Collier gauged a play's worth by the didactic element, for Shadwell is noticeably omitted in Collier's attack.

The centuries after Shadwell have neglected him under the stigma laid by Dryden's brilliance. A few minds grudgingly noticed him through the two last centuries. In *The Spectator* Addison commends his humor; Dennis counts Shadwell among the "Eight Gentlemen alive at a Time who have writ good and diverting Comedies." Although Goldsmith and Dryden's editor Malone accept Dryden's estimate of Shadwell, Genest rises in anger to defend Dryden's enemy. During the nineteenth century there were two or three modest reviews which endeavored to place Shadwell in a truer perspective in literary history; but only the present century has succeeded in lifting him from the undervaluation placed upon him by the contemporary dramatist and rival.

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74 *Spectator*, No. 35.
75 Borgman, op. cit., p. 110. Reference to Dennis's Remarks Upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer, to be located.
77 [John Genest], *Some Account of the English Stage*. (Bath, 1832), II, 40-44.
A follower of Jonson, Thomas Shadwell embodied in his first group of dramas the humors which Jonson's intellectual eye and capacity for fresh treatment had bequeathed to the English stage. In every play several of his characters were built upon the idea of a humor or eccentricity. But there is an infallible likelihood in the "humor" play that the types will be overdone and the play consequently grow tiresome. That was Shadwell's weakness—the same mistake made in Jonson's Every Man Out of his Humour—a piling up of the humor until the audience loses sight of the whole theme of the play.

Shadwell's The Sullen Lovers succeeded because it was thought to satirize the boastful Sir Robert Howard. The Humorists followed and was a failure. After five years Shadwell made another attempt at humor in The Virtuoso. Its success led to A True Widow, which failed. Thereafter he wrote no 'humor' plays, though he introduced humor-figures in his lively comedies of contemporary times—Epsom Wells, The Squire of Alsatia, and Bury-Fair.

Like Jonson, Shadwell seems always to have a moral purpose. He effects this in two ways. In play after play, he ridicules his fools—the pretenders to wit, to love, to bravery, to knowledge, to science, to virtue. Then in a positive way, through characters such as Bellamy and Mr.
Rant, he speaks for a higher standard of morality; he permits Sir Edward Belfond to appear as a reformer of Whitefriars; he extols an education through love rather than through force; in The Scourers he rebukes young gallants who are continuing practices of terror long outmoded; and in The Volunteers he holds up to praise young men who train themselves in service to "their kind and to their Country."

Besides showing negatively and positively the type of English gentleman best for the country and for the world of human affairs, Shadwell went a little aside to condemn fads. The heroic tragedy, which he never tired of scoffing at because of Dryden's adherence to that form, is ridiculed in The Sullen Lovers. The pseudo-scientists and all the foolish expressions in science for the century he carefully catalogues in The Virtuoso. Other fads are: the "farce" in A True Widow; countryside superstitions in The Lancashire Witches, French affectations in provincial society in Bury-Fair; the rowdism of wealthy young rakes in The Scourers, and the craze of stock-jobbing in The Volunteers; all are attacked by Shadwell. He made every attempt, in copying his more famous master Jonson, "to hold the mirror up to nature."
Shadwell's plays may not exhibit "the ceaseless brilliancy" of dialogue that Etherege's *The Man of Mode* and Congreve's *The Way of the World* show. But one must admit that his men of real sense and wit, though at times repetitions of one another, offer excellent scenes of verbal fencing with the woman characters, and occasionally the sparkle of witty repartee. On the other hand, his want of brilliance in style may be considered as making his work more true to life. While the comedy in the hands of Etherege and Congreve is "wholly intellectual and passionless" and is not "the whole of life" but rather the "essence of the upper-class existence of the time," Shadwell's plays show a general norm of all life.

Professor Saintsbury thinks Shadwell might have become an excellent novelist, like Smollett or Richardson, for his faculty of accurate observation and "uncompromising but felicitous realism." He is never guilty of being conventional and following the dramatic trend of the time. To these gifts he added a playwright's instinct for what could be acting drama.

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78 Nicoll, op. cit., p. 187.
79 Saintsbury, op. cit., Intro., xxiv.
Besides having a power of dramatic invention, he showed a broad rough humor in realizing "fops and knaves" which he thought to be "the fittest characters for comedy," and an honest sense of right. He appeared to lack generosity toward people, particularly types of people, and any delicacy at all. "His vigorous pictures of low humors of London of his day," though, are surely as true to his time as the gallantries, reiterated as wit, of Etherege and Sedley.

It is granted that he was naturally coarse in much of his humor. He was, however, an accurate observer of the times. It was plainly not his purpose, in this coarseness, to corrupt, but rather to reform.

Through all the defects of boredom, super-abundance of humors, and lack of originality with which Dobree disqualifies Shadwell's work, he concludes with this:

... he has the great merit of reproducing the manners of his time, the manners, not of the polished exquisites, but of the everyday men and women of the period. London life is brought whole upon the stage, not only in bourgeois types, but also in ruffians, who do battle with the forces of law and order. His 'What play do they play? Some confounded play

80 Schelling, op. cit., p. 262.
or other,' is admirable realism, and even in his own day he was regarded as a living gazette of manners. Thus Etherege wrote from Lisbon, 'Pray let Will Richards send me Mr. Shadwell's (play) when it is printed, that I may learn what follies are in fashion.'

81 Bonamy Dobrée, op. cit., p. 119.
CHAPTER TWO

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS OF COURTESY

From the earliest times it is evident that man has sought to cultivate an art of life. The purpose is to develop the person who may be most useful and pleasant to his society.

In the classic world the ideal was the orator or man of public life. In the church-dominated world of the Middle Ages the ideal was the modest Christian, while at the head of temporal affairs was the Christian prince. Other writers described a "Courtois," or man of the world; the courtier of Castiglione emerged from a Renaissance Italy. When the French Revolution began, its noblest concept of life was a citizen, while England always used the term "gentleman." Arthur Livingston, in a discussion of the theory of a gentleman, traces the history of the word:

The term 'gentleman' is English, so English that it is taken over unchanged into other languages to express the many vague concepts which it covers. Continentals distinguish these concepts specifically. The Italian signore must be rendered as gentleman, but it connotes wealth . . . The French gentilhomme denotes birth, as does the Italian gentiluomo; — for them to denote breeding, an adjective must be added. The honnête homme of the old regime had birth and manners. In the United States not so long ago a
gentleman in the language of vital statistics was a person living on income without practising a trade or a profession - the rentier in French and German; in Italian possidente meaning owner. The language of courtesy shows similar shadings and specifications.¹

For an adequate comprehension of the meaning and origin of good manners for an English-speaking country, we must turn to the theory and practice of English gentlefolk. Though the aristocratic class, as such, gradually lost its enormous power, it was within that class that the social tradition began. From the sixteenth century onward, a great number of texts appeared for the guidance of the nobility and gentry, both of young people and adults. These works set forth a comprehensive and definite educational goal in the sphere of religion, politics, life in the home, dress, amenities of the table, and the employment of leisure. They present changing fashions and new modes of life with a point of view shifting with each quarter of a century.

In general, a true courtesy book is a work which discusses the types of human conduct as an expression of

class ideals. It sets forth a code of ethics and peculiar information for any class-conscious group. In the method of treatment this should be the point of view from which the writer begins. The courtesy work would thus not include metaphysical speculation, though sometimes a work largely religious or moral in character (e.g., The Whole Duty of Man) does contain passages which should be considered in a study of courtesy. It will outline the conduct of a gentleman's public and private life, considerations for one's personal advancement, and directions for general civility. The common interest is the dignity and amenities of civilized living.

At its most distinctive period—during the seventeenth century—the book of polite conduct was an important social influence. The records show that a book like Peacham's (1622) was re-edited and re-printed many times. The immense popularity of books of manners caused their material to become entirely commonplace. A comparative study reveals that ideas, supposed to be strikingly original, are only commonplaces of prevailing opinion. For instance, Locke's Thoughts on Education or Chesterfield's famous Letters follows tradition to a marked extent and owes much to opinions already a part of class consciousness.
There is no way to acquire an exact knowledge of commonplaces of the seventeenth century; hence the exact debt to characters and books of courtesy cannot be determined.

The treatise of parental advice is not considered general enough for the book of polite conduct; it has a personal, intimate element which the general work will not have. Works of parental advice are found, though, that do not lack literary merit; for example, Elyot’s *The Boke Named the Governour*, addressed to King Henry VIII, Peacham’s *The Compleat Gentleman*, to William Howard, Lord Arundel’s youngest son, and certainly the later Osborn’s *Advice to a Son*.

The first of these books of courtesy in English, Sir Thomas Elyot’s *The Governour*, “happens to be also the finest. Published in 1531, some time after *Il Cortegiano*, it reproduced Castiglione’s ideal, modified somewhat by later time and another environment.” But Sir Thomas Elyot, concerned not only with the description of the perfect courtier, followed the humanists of Italy and Plutarch in describing in detail the process of education. Liberal

arts do not give virtue, but "prepare the mynde and make it apte to receive virtue"; such is his precept. But learning from books is not all he insists upon, but also arts such as music, provided they (the youths) do not "in playinge and singynge only . . . put their holle studie and felicitie."  

In the second book Elyot left education as such and considered the spiritual qualities that should animate his gentleman. He took here the broad Renaissance outlook of Castiglione. He could not regard birth as an essential quality of nobility, but "more for the remembrance of their virtues and benefits, than for discrepancy of astates." And nobility is more plainly seen "where vertue joyned with great possessions or dignitie hath longing continued in the bloode or house." He should first have majesty, which is "properlie a beauti or comelynesse in his countenance,

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3Sir Thomas Elyot, The Boke Named the Governour, Introduction by Foster Watson. Everyman's Library. (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1907), Bk. III, p. 278. Elyot's famous book was not used in this study for, though there were eleven editions during the period 1531 to 1570, and the ideas must therefore have been disseminated, there was no reprint during the seventeenth century, nor in the eighteenth, and not until 1683.


5Ibid., Bk. II, p. 127.

6Ibid.
language, and gesture apt to his dignitie, and accommodate to time, place and company. 7

Nearly all the books of courtesy follow The Boke Named the Governour in the analytic method which he patterns after Aristotle. Each division contains the exposition of one matter, such as education, virtue, justice.

Almost a part of the religious spirit which marked all books of ethics, especially the seventeenth century advice books, was an attitude toward court life. Instead of recommending the court, as Castiglione had done, and later Cleland, many of the popular counsellors decried the demoralizing influence of court life. Men like Ascham, Mulcaster, Brathwait, and Milton in their treatises on education speak without praise of the training given the youth at court. Ascham had kept his eyes open at court and looked for little actual courtesy there where "to follow, fawne, flatter, laugh and lie lustelie at other mens liking" were the rule. 8 He did not, like Spenser, expect true courtesy at the court, for he had observed things as they were. He observed that "commonlie, the

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7Ibid., Bk. II, p. 121.
Osborn likewise warned that the court was not the place for anyone who valued his character and peace of mind. Osborn's interest, however, was not based on moral scruples. He could not see that his son or anyone could make a living or a name at court. Like Spenser, he had a sensitive regard for the dangers and troubles of a courtier's life.

Certain limitations kept Ascham from appreciating all aspects of courtliness. He thought little of noble birth. He was inclined strongly to Protestantism and seemed to regard education as the chief bulwark of the new religion. As a great teacher his interests leaned more and more to the education of young Englishmen, which places his Scholemaster more in the field of education than in the subject of courtesy. He spoke enthusiastically of Cambridge University, its teachers and pupils. Great scholar as he was, he had a fervent love for England and a fondness for hearty English sports, even cockfighting and dicing.

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9Ibid., p. 109.
which saved him from pedantry. Ascham's ideal of courtesy was "that the youghte in England, speciallie Gentlemen, and namelie nobilitie, shold be by good bringing up, so grounded in judgement of learnings, so founded in loue of honestie, as, when they should be called forth to the execution of great affaires, in service of their Prince, and co[n]trier, they might be hable, to use and to order, all experiences."\textsuperscript{10}

James Cleland, the author of Heropaideia, or the Institution of a Young Gentlemen (1607), was a survivor of the school of Castiglione and preceded Peacham. Toward nobility Cleland took the humanistic stand: "it is not great revenues, faire possessions, pleasant Palaces, manie Lordships and infinite riches, that can make a man Noble; all those things are but external accidents, subject to the mutabilities of Fortune, whereas Nobilitie is permanent in the Minde."\textsuperscript{11} Virtue must be "profitable to the King and Countrie"; whoever "continues in wel doing" is the true gentleman.

He comments on poor tutors, and recommends instruction in all arts and sciences: speech, reading, writing,

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., pp. 131-132.

\textsuperscript{11}Thompson, Literary Bypaths, op. cit., pp. 250-251, quoted from Cleland, pp. 4, 5-6. This book was not available. The book is reviewed in Mason, pp. 124-126. Professor Mason's personal copy is dated 1607.
Latin, French, Greek. He adds, next, history, logic, mathematics, and law. He recommends travel for "the true science of Pollicie and the good schoole of al governmet," but suggests England for the first tour. He recommends the court training, and then turns into a criticism of his age as to courtly emphasis on dress and superficialities, and upon contempt for learning.

The beginnings of a canon of polite conduct are observable in Elyot, the *Institution* and the *Basilikon Doron*, as well as in certain treatises on nobility. There develop gradually four traditions of conduct literature, - parental advice, formal treatises on conduct of gentlemen and gentlewomen, a group on policy, and a fourth on civility. The order and number of imitators in any generation depends upon the popularity that any one book or treatise achieves.

The translation by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561 of the most distinctive book of all time, Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, known as the *Boke of the Courtier*, was far-reaching in its influence upon writers of English thought and ideals; yet certain of *The Courtier*'s qualities were never carried over into the English book of courtesy. The

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homely and prosaic English works, from Elyot on down through the centuries, have never caught the whole esthetic background and the reaction to beauty so characteristic of Castiglione's thought and of the Urbino atmosphere. They miss, furthermore, the courtly and poetic attitude toward women in that the English point of view is a sensible and domestic one. A conclusion may be stated here that the influence of *The Courtier* upon the writings on manners in the sixteenth century and more noticeably in those closely examined in the seventeenth is one of subject matter and specific topic, not of spirit.

The book of parental advice is the most popular book of courtesy and extended throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While king of Scotland, James VI, later King of Great Britain, wrote for his son and successor a private manuscript entitled (in Greek) *Basilikon Doron* (1599). Only seven copies were printed; probably only one copy, that in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum, is now extant. Since "false copies" were made, the king wished to publish a correct edition of his

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work, with the addition of a preface. The authorized
dition came out in 1603. The reprints appeared in Lon­
don that year, and a Latin translation in 1604; it was
turned into Latin quatrains by Henry Peacham, and orna­
mented with emblematical figures. A translation into
Italian by John Florio and into French and Swedish followed.

The king informs his son, then only six, that he is
dividing the book into three parts:

The first teacheth you your duty towards
God as a Christian: The next your duteie in
your office as a King: And the third teacheth
you how to behave your selfe in indifferent
things which of themselves are neither right
nor wrong, but according as they are rightly
or wrongly used; and yet will serve (according
to your behaviour therein) to augment or impair
your frame and authoritie at the hands of your
people.

Though the first book is distinctly of a pious
turn, the second contains an incisive classification of
the different groups of nobility and gentry, merchants and
others, which only a person of keen observation as well as
power could have deduced. The book also offers advice on
the laws and duties of marriage, such as Brathwait later
embodies in The Turtle's Triumph (1641), a supplement to

16 Sk. II, pp. 87-100.
his combined Gentleman and Gentlewoman. The third book is
general, "the indifferent actions of a man." He divides
them into "things necessarie, as foods, sleeping, rayments,
speaking, writing, and gesture"; and "things not necessarie
(though conveniente and lawefull) as pastimes or exercises
and using of companie for recreation."^17

There are varied opinions of the value of the
Basilikon Doron. When parts of the first edition were re­
printed by enemies in Scotland, King James had much to ex­
plain to the churchmen and leaders for his dogmatic expres­
sions about various groups in his country. Sir Walter
Scott speaks of it as "that extraordinary mixture of learn­
ing and pedantry, sense and folly...."^18 Camden, and later
Hume, commend it, particularly the last two books. It is
conceded that the book gives a singularly accurate descrip­
tion of the author's general opinions on subjects likely
to force themselves upon the attention of a man active in
public life. The point of departure, however, is that of
a ruler, and his judgment, as such, would guide only in
part a gentleman in his own actions. On the other hand,

^17Bk. III, p. 123.
^18Preface, xii [quoted from Somers Tracts, III, 260.]

[Image 0x0 to 612x792]
the consensus is that the king sponsors more of the ideals identified with seventeenth century Puritanical middle classes than those of the Cavaliers who championed the cause of James's son. In other words, it points to bourgeois rather than to aristocratic precepts.

In the history of books of polite conduct of all time The Compleat Gentleman by Henry Peacham (1622) occupies an important place. Its merits have been recognized by its own age and by later writers, so that its author is considered an authority on polite conduct. The Compleat Gentleman in a far greater degree than usual reflects the personality of the man behind the book and his interest in the gentleman of English life. Its popularity was attested by its six or seven editions in its own century - 1622, 1626, 1627, 1634, 1661. The story is told that "when Sir Charles Sedley was indicted before Chief Justice Sir Robert Hyde for an offence against good manners, that magistrate asked him whether he had ever read The Compleat Gentleman."

Readers of Irving’s Sketch Book ("Christmas Eve") will recall that Squire Bracebridge "from early years took honest Peacham for his textbook instead of Chesterfield."²²

Puritan though Peacham was, The Compleat Gentleman is full of entertaining anecdote. He tells the story of the Duke of Wirtenberg's boxing the ears of his old tutor, for not having forced him to study in youth. Fuller includes this story in The Holy and Profane State.²³

The comparison of the gentlemen of his own with those of other countries was forced upon Peacham in his experiences abroad. He regretted to see the English youth of gentle birth develop so out of balance. In his preface "To My Reader" he relates the story of the young English gentleman in Artois. He (Peacham) was visiting in the house of Monsieur de Ligny in a part of France, when one day a young Englishman, "desirous to travel," arrived from Italy, and asked to enter his service.

"My Lord, who could speak as little English, as my countryman French, bade him welcome, and demanded by me of him, what hee could doe; For I keeps none (quoth he) but such as are commended

²³Thompson, op. cit., p. 160. Thompson codifies these anecdotes. The abridged copy of Fuller in the Tulane library did not contain the story.
for some good quality or other, and I give them
good allowance; some an hundred, some sixtie,
some fiftie Crownes by the yeere: and calling
some about him (very Gentleman-like, as well in
their behaviour as apparell) This (saith he)
rideth and breaketh my great horses; this is an
excellent Lutenist, this a good Painter and Sur-
veyor of land, this a passing Linguist and
Scholler, who instructeth my Sonnes, etc. Sir
(quoth this young man) I am a Gentleman borne,
and can onely attend you in your chamber, or
waite upon your Lordship abroad. See (quoth
Monsieur de Ligny) how your Gentry of England
are bred: that when they are distressed, or
want meanes in a strange Countrey, they are
brought up neither to any qualitie to preferre
them, nor have they so much as the Latine tongue
to helpe themselves withall. 

The similarity of thought in general between
Peacham's opening chapters and some of Elyot's book is
rather worth speaking of. "Of Nobility in General," "Of
the Dignitie and Necessitie of Learning in Princes and
Nobilitie," and "Of the time of Learning" are the first
three chapters. Upon examination, Peacham's discussion
of degree and order in Chapter One may be noted as follow-
ing a similar exposition in The Governor, and other sections

24Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman. Edited
by G. S. Gordon. Reprints, with facsimile of the 1634
are alike in content. This likeness or similarity is not detected upon a cursory reading, but only in retrospect does the agreement in thought impress itself upon the consciousness.

In the "Address to the Reader" Peacham says he is writing to please himself. He acknowledges his indebtedness to others who had written on the upbringing of youth—
to Plutarch, Erasmus, Elyot, Ascham. He is sufficiently in the tradition of the Renaissance to have continued much of the spirit which had been caught and crystallized by Castiglione. With a conservative English respect for nobility, he grants that they may be better fed and clothed, may even stand on a different footing in the courts of law than the common people; but he insists that nobility be combined with virtue: "riches are an ornament, not the cause of Mobility," and "hee that is ignoble and inglorious, may acquire Mobility by Vertue; the other may very well lose


26Peacham, op. cit., p. 9.
Where Peacham repeated these favorite ideas of the old humanists, he managed to give the coloring that comes from personality and style. His discussion is divided into the usual single idea chapters, is less Puritan than many others and certainly very entertaining.

At times of moral confusion men lose trust in the tradition that is handed down from century to century. The greater the moral and religious confusion in a period, the more frequent become the precepts handed down from father to son, that simple prototype of all tradition. Cicero's *Offices* appeared in such a time of traditional upheaval in Rome. The advice books of the seventeenth century in England attest the truth of such a principle. The Stuart reign restored had given no stability to government. The religious wings of the Church were at each others' throats. The age of romantic fancy and of elaborate masques had given place to one of Royal Academies and the tenacious recognition of fact. Uncertainty and instability increased the need for the writing down of precepts within families in order to preserve family standards.

and to insure the perpetuation of family lines.

This uncertainty may in part account for the popularity of Osborn’s book. Francis Osborn was the uncle of Dorothy Osborn, who wrote love letters to Sir William Temple; but they were as wide apart as the poles, she romantic, he a sour, old misogynist. Part I of Osborn’s Advice to a Son or Directions for Your Better Conduct was published anonymously in 1656; there were five editions in two years, before Osborn acknowledged authorship. In 1658 he issued the sixth edition and also published Part II; in 1673, a seventh edition; his complete Works in 1682 and in 1689; in 1701 a tenth edition, and in 1722 an eleventh, of Works edited in two volumes.28

Further evidence of its popularity are the numerous references to his work by men of his time. The Advice to a Son was important enough to be prohibited by the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Doctor Conant, who "commanded booksellers not to sell Mr. Osborn’s books." Wood (Life and Times) reported it “after sold the more.”29 Sir William Petty is said to have considered the three most popular

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28 Siegmund Betz, Francis Osborn’s Advice to a Son, Dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1934, p. 13.
books of his time to be Osborn's Advice, Browne's Religio Medici, and Butler's Hudibras. Anthony a Wood remarked he collected all of Osborn's published works and tried to determine the authorship of certain disputed items.

Samuel Pepys's library contained the seventh edition of Francis Osborn's works (1673). Evidence of Pepys's reliance on Osborn's precepts lies in many of his own allusions. Once he writes:

I not being neat in clothes, which I find a great fault in me, could not be so merry as otherwise, and at all times I am and can be, when I am in good habit, which makes me remember my father Osborn's rule for a gentleman to spare in all things rather than in that.31

When the satiric Advice to a Daughter was brought out in attack upon Osborn's views, Pepys called the author "a simple coxcomb [who] has wrote against Osborne . . . so much nonsense in print."32 A later year the diarist records: "Up and spent the morning, till the Barber came, in reading in my chamber part of Osborn's Advice to His Son (which I shall not never enough admire for sense and

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30 Sidney C. Peel, "A Seventeenth Century Chesterfield," The Nineteenth Century, XL (1896), 945; as well as elsewhere in Betz, and Dictionary of National Biography.
32 Ibid., 394. (Dec. 22, 1662). John Heydon, the astrologer, published in 1658, under the pseudonym of Eugene Theodidactus, his Advice to a Daughter. He called Osborn "a diseased Maccabee." (Sidney C. Peel, op. cit., 945.)
The first quality noticeable about it is his frank statement of purpose: He is not "to court the Reader' but to give expression to a spirit that would otherwise break the containing vessel." He chooses subjects with freedom and not for an exhaustive or scholarly treatment. He feels positive that a man, writing from experience and an understanding of society, can be as valuable as the university wits. He attacks them with bitter frankness for they too often consider themselves the only key to knowledge; "wherefore, if a Chymes try might be found able to Extract anything useful toward the conduct of Man, out of such ordinary simples as These, They were highly to be esteemed; and in likelyhood, more suteable to every Tast, as Fresh gathered from the Tree of Experience . . ." He recalls that Sir William Cornwallis praised Montaigne's Essays as "the likelyest Book," because it was the author's own experience.

A book of advice can become an individual, personal

33 Ibid., III, 80 (April 5, 1663).
34 Ernst, op. cit., p. 185.
record, written by one person to another. Even if, as is the case with many books of the type, it is intended ultimately for the general public good, its counsels must be original and fresh to justify even a minor place in literature and in public philosophical attention. Such may be said for Osborn. His book is individual, though it does deal with the commonplace subjects followed in nearly every book of manners. It is an epitome of worldly thought of the seventeenth century, for the author never lets one forget that he lives in a self-seeking and treacherous world. It is the advice of a man "thoroughly beaten and battered in the tempest of life, prematurely aged and soured by many disappointments and sorrows, a man utterly devoid of any enthusiasm or strong belief, who feels that the world is a bad one, and can only be made tolerable by following the dictates of providence and avoiding rather than surmounting obstacles." Osborn belonged to a social type which must have been very common at the time: sincere, quiet men, good citizens, thoroughly commonplace in sentiment, but above all heartily sick of the turmoil of those "intoxicated times."

37Peel, op. cit., p. 947.
Professor Thompson concludes that Osborn is chiefly concerned with only one of the many-sided courtier's attainments. For the most part, he says, Osborn's instruction bears only on the superficial aspects of conduct. In a dissertation Mr. Betz classes Osborn's book as the English culmination of a literary form; it shows a growth from all other originals of the type in order to meet a pressing need of its day. Osborn, a vigorous antitraditionalist, knew of the disturbances in politics, heard arguments of religious sects, had concourse with fellowmen in important places, and consequently was aware of the ramifications of his times. It might be a fair conclusion to state that Professor Thompson is misjudging Osborn's work, or that his words do not convey exactly his meaning. The study by Mr. Betz is a very thorough and fairer appraisement.

Higford's Institutions, or Advice to His Grandson appears to belong to the age of the Stuarts. It was re-discovered in 1818 by Lieutenant-General Burr and printed, for it was written by a relative and "found in papers

38 Thompson, op. cit., p. 164.
39 Siegmund Betz, Francis Osborne's "Advice to a Son," p. 177. Mr. Betz's dissertation splendidly sets forth all the elements in his philosophy. I wish here to acknowledge credit for much expressed about Osborn's book.
belonging to 'your dear mother's father.' Higford considers three things desirable for the institution of a gentleman: good lineage, proper company, and virtuous actions, taken from Machiavelli's Discourse upon Livy.

Though a Puritan, Higford shows unusual latitude in worldly diversions. Both Higford and Brathwait fortify their judgments with scriptural and historical authority. Mason considers that the advice on the care of an estate, on the treatment of servants, and on the choice of a wife "recalls Burleigh"; and the section on travel "must have been suggested by Bacon." A well-known and distinctive section is the description of a nobleman in the full glory of his knightly honor. He is a grandfather of the boy for whom the treatise was written, a knight, Sir James Scudamore. Higford's Institutions is among the more usual or standard works of the type of parental advice.

Early in the century began a long line of pious, moralistic, excessively Puritan books which dominated the thought of the middle classes and much of that of the

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upper gentry. Francis Quarles and Brathwait - contemporaries - are good examples.

In spite of an antipathy to court life, Francis Quarles, a sturdy Royalist, became a cup bearer to Princess Elizabeth upon her marriage to the Elector in 1613. Among his friends were men and women of the higher ranks of society, and a few men of letters, Michael Drayton, Edward Benlowes, and Phineas Fletcher. He held such divergent positions as private secretary to James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, and the chronologer of the city of London. Aside from the "Emblems," he devoted his writing to prose manuals of piety.

Of these the earliest was Enchiridion Containing Institutions Divine and Moral (1640-1641), a collection of aphorisms on religious and ethical topics, divided into centuries, and the centuries into one hundred chapters or paragraphs. The first edition, dated 1640, is dedicated to Archbishop James Ussher's daughter, Elizabeth; next year the second edition added a fourth century, the whole volume was dedicated to Prince Charles (afterwards Charles II), and the old address to Elizabeth Ussher introduced the second century.42

42Dictionary of National Biography, op. cit., p. 94.
The epigrammatic style gives a quality of quaintness and naiveté to the treatise on policy and piety. Most of it is taken from Machiavelli's Discourses on Livy and The Prince, with borrowings from Bacon. Like them it is mainly addressed to the ruling class. Read exclusively in religious circles, the Enchiridion was Quarles's most popular prose work. An edition appeared in 1654, in 1670, and in 1681. A Swedish translation appeared at Stockholm in 1656, which indicates its popularity in some circles. His work was not considered of great literary value, though he was admired by Lamb and Thoreau, and Walpole said, "Milton was forced to wait till the world had done admiring Quarles."*44

Richard Brathwait's The English Gentleman is very comprehensive. The work fills over two hundred fifty folio pages, and the portrayal of the English gentlewoman requires almost as many more. For this the author himself is constrained to apologize:

I had purposed that this workes should have been digested into a portable Volume, to the end that it might bee more familiar with a Gentlemans pocket--But since the Volume would

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43Mason, op. cit., p. 239.
not bear it, you must with patience bear with it, and with more trouble bear it, by inlarging your pocket to containe it.45

An English country gentleman, Richard Brathwait, a contemporary of Peacham, was apparently aroused to a resentment by two of the concepts in Peacham's book. The one—a consciousness of superiority—was not very acceptable, but combined with the second—the perfection of the individual as a justifiable end in itself—prompted Brathwait to compose The English Gentleman (1630). To the perfection of the individual in humanistic ways, a primary necessity in Renaissance thought, Brathwait agreed, but he opposed the aim as an end in itself as being too selfish. At this early day the humanitarian concept was being advanced by a leading writer of thought.

Of all the books used in this investigation, Brathwait's is the least inviting, and it is even forbidding. Arranged in documentary fashion, with references to Greek and Latin, Biblical and historical authorities in the margins, and printed in old fashioned pattern, it is exceedingly prolix. It is repetitious in that under the

headings Youth, Disposition, Education, Vocation, Recreation, Acquaintance, Moderation, Perfection, he discusses again and again the same points. For instance, under Recreation are warnings of drinking, wasting estate, choosing friends; under Moderation, the waste of time in those very pursuits - drinking, spending one's estate, company, or other identical topics.

Another reason for its unattractiveness is the biased outlook of the author. Unconcerned for the true culture of the mind and the development in a harmonious spirituality, he regards youth only "as a dangerous time, in respect to these Sinne-spreading Sores which soile and blemish the glorious image of the Soule." Under the guise of obedience and humility, he seems to wish to repress any assertion of individuality. The general temper of Brathwait's treatise is plainly revealed in the long dedicatory epistle.

I am here to tender unto your Honours judicious view, a Gentleman, quite of another garbe: One, whose Education hath made formall enough, without apish formality, and conceiving enough, without self-admiring arrogancy. A good Christian in devout practising, no lesse than zealous professing; yet none of the forward' st in discoursing in Religion . . . Hee esteemes

\[46^{ibid.}, p. 1.\]
such onely happy, who are of that number, whom the World accounts fooles, but God, wise men. He understands that whatsoever is sought besides God, may so imploy the MInds, as it may be occu­ pied, but never satisfied. He observes the whole Fabrike of humane power, and he concludes with the Preacher: "Ecquid tam vanum!" Hee notes how the Flesh becoming obedient, behaveth her selfe as a faithfull servant to the Soule. . . Finally, hee summes up all his Observations with this: Hee that Sigheth not while hee is a Pilgrim, shall never rejoyce when he is a Citizen. This is the Gentleman, whom I have here again presumed to recommend to your protection: and to you he makes recourse, not so much for shelter, as honour: for his Title, it exempts him from servile bashfulnesse, being an English Gentleman. 47

Perfection, his last section, is a conclusion to his whole purpose. It is an appeal to prayer, to mortification, to virtue, and to grace.

Still continue the moral treatises of the seventeenth century. The Gentleman's Calling (1652), by the author of The Whole Duty of Man (the preface is dated 1659), 48 is much more religious in purpose than any book examined except Sir George Mackenzie's Moral Gallantry. To a great extent, it appears to deal with problems of

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47 Ibid.

48 Richard Allestree, The Gentleman's Calling Written by the Author of the "Whole Duty of Man." (London, R. Norton for Robert Pawlet, 1677), Preface. There were editions of this work in 1652, 1659 (a preface at least), 1660, 1664, 1670, 1677, 1696 and in 1717. The Library of the University of Texas has editions of dates 1664, 1670, and 1677; the University of North Carolina library, 1652; and the library of Harvard University, 1680.
ethics rather than of social life or manners. Allestree does explain at length the reasons for the responsibility a man born to the position of nobility or gentry should feel. He has certain special advantages which Allestree tries to make him consider a matter of talents.

The Ladies Calling (1673), by the author of The Whole Duty of Man and The Gentleman's Calling, is one of the few books of advice to women. As usual with treatises for women, it is of a highly religious character. Divided into two parts, it discusses general qualities for a woman, and then the possibilities for good in the three states, virginity, wifehood, and widowhood. Modesty, meekness, compassion, and courtesy are the best virtues in a woman, which should continue through life. The book, like the other two supposedly from Allestree's pen, are examples of Puritanism and its precepts. Osborn, the misogynist, after assailing marriage and womankind, adds an apology "To the Women Readers" which is similar in tone to this book and to Brathwait's The Gentlewoman. In the century there is not much originality in any writer's advice toward women.

Sir George Mackenzie addressed his Moral Gallantry (1668) "to the nobility and gentry" and attempted to show that "honour" is nothing more or less than virtuous
conduct. \(^49\) He condemns certain vices,—envy, ambition, vanity, avarice, injustice ("the worst of vices") and considers each a hindrance to true gallantry. First printed in Edinburgh, the book was licensed to Roger L'Estrange in London, May 25, 1666; a reprint was made during 1681; but not again till 1821. This book is closest akin to those reputedly penned by Allestree, i.e., The Whole Duty of Man and The Gentleman's Calling, in that religious tenets comprise the whole matter.

Toward the last of the century there were two tendencies in type of books—those thoroughly English in spirit and content like The Gentleman's Monitor by Edward Waterhouse and The Compleat Gentleman by Jean Gailhard. The other tendency was French in spirit. Translation after translation of books of etiquette, or courtesy, sometimes of a Parisian ideal, flowed into England. A principle of expediency and of making one's fortune at court, not culture and refinement for their intrinsic worth, dominated the books. One well known is The Courtiers Calling, a translation of Jacques de Callières' La Fortune des Gens de Qualite, published in Paris in 1656. [Trans.

This tendency did not predominate finally in England, for the satire in drama on the fops, together with the courtesy of the English spirit, soon cried them down.

Waterhous, a graduate of Cambridge, was anxious to restore the ancient nobility and gentry of England. To do so, he advocated piety in living, fit training of youth, and a postponement of foreign travel till years of discretion, which Higford had also thought secondary to learning the home country's usages. Like Higford, too, he recommended the study of laws and usages of England.

Though Edward Waterhous writes at length, in that wordiness reminiscent of Brathwait, and illustrates with much matter, irrelevant at times, his book can be read very rapidly, even more easily than Osborn's. It is modern in method of approach to a topic and in its advocacy of admirable qualities conformable with expediency. He seems to be torn between what ought to be the spirit and what his observation has shown the time to require. For instance, he criticizes city life and praises simple country virtues, all the while showing a preference for the city. Like the Basilikon Doron, his book shows bourgeois tendencies, as advocating trades for a profession, though he writes for the upper gentry. His book shows none of Osborn's disillusionment and little of Brathwait's or Mackenzie's moralizing.
Like all writers Waterhouse is for England first - England's laws, schools, ways of life. His book is not extraordinary, but is readable.

Jean Gailhard entitles his book *The Compleat Gentleman, or Directions for the Education of Youth as to their Breeding at Home and Travelling Abroad.* In a foreword "To the Reader" he explains that he began the treatise at Angers in France, but laid it aside about seven years while he was travelling further into France, Italy, Germany, etc. He considers that a countryman who lives commendably is more worthy than a gentleman born "who doth not the actions of a Gentleman," and "the necessity, benefit and excellency of good Breeding [becomes] none so much as a Gentleman, who, by his Virtue and Merit, more than by his Extraction, should be raised above the Commonalty."  

While he does not advocate that all young men be bred by the same pattern, for tastes differ, and he does not expect a young gentleman to be universally learned, 

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50 This book is apparently very rare. The first edition obtained from Duke University's Treasure Room is marked in old script, on the fly leaf: "Scarce. I can't trace sale of a copy. 1st.Ed." Harvard University would not risk lending its copy.

yet he does emphasize "that Erudition or Learning of Arts and Sciences, the precepts of Morality, and the like, are essential parts of an Education."\(^{52}\)

The first treatise does not equal the second, "Of Education Abroad," in interest or in length of treatment. Gallhard discusses, under travel, much that other writers have considered, in detail, under education; for instance, he considers the tutor to be a governor for traveling instruction. The relation to company is taken up only from the standpoint of companions abroad. Women only mean witty continental women, or immoral women.

There is a slight element in both Gallhard's books of the Allestree and Brathwait emphasis upon virtue and religious training.

Toward the end of the century was another interpretation of the religious and the worldly kind of advice book in Stephen Fenton's *The Guardian's Instructions* (1687-8), or *The Gentleman's Romance*. The notice runs thus:

"The Guardian's Instruction, shewing the Necessity, and also the Method of a stricter Education of the Children of the Nobility and Gentry, in order to their living happily

\(^{52}\)Ibid., "Of the Education of Youth at Home," p. 99.
and usefully in all Conditions of Life." Written during
the last four years of the reign of Charles II, it appeared
anonymously in January, 1687. In 1694 there was published
*New Instructions to the Guardian* with an 'Epistle Dedica-
tory' to Lord Bruce, signed by Stephen Penton. Until the
dition by Herbert H. Sturmer (1897), *The Guardian's In-
struction* had never been reprinted. Its early form is
ranked by bibliographers as a scarce book; even Lambeth
Palace Library, the home of seventeenth century volumes,
is without a copy. There is no seventeenth century refer-
ence to the existence of more than one 'impression' of the
work.53

The writer is conscious of following a tradition
and introduces very little of striking originality. It
sets forth opinions of educational matters, especially for
the sons of men of position. There is a great deal of
political history of Oxford, too, as well as details of
University life at Oxford during the seventeenth century.
Allusions to social and political events and questions in
witty, "smooth Ciceronian English prose"54 reveal to the

54Betz, op. cit., p. 189.
reader an Oxford don and Anglican clergyman of a charming type. His reason for writing is that he had observed "how far the Honour and Interest of Great Families is concerned in the Vertuous Accomplishments of the Eldest Sons and Heirs," and that his experience may have some worth to them. He writes it as a romance in order to make it more attractive and readable for youth.

A third group of books of polite conduct and public relationship is called treatises on policy. Though there was a strong influence from abroad in this matter of counsel in questions of state—Machiavelli's *The Prince*, for instance, translated by Edward Dacres in 1640—yet the finest monument of politic conduct remains English, Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, or *The Advancement of Learning* (1605). The magnitude of this work lifts it outside and beyond the narrow subject of this study; but its eighth book deals with "Civil knowledge," which, says Bacon, is divided into the "art of conversation," the "art of negotiation," and the "art of state policy." Bacon's essays include many topics of public conduct also, i.e., "Of Simulation and Dissimulation."

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Other writings touching upon questions of government are Osborn's chapter, Quarles's section on policy, and Fuller's parallel of the wise statesman and the court favorite. The epigrammatic wisdom of the prominent lawyer, John Selden, is markedly politic.

Selden's Table Talk, though written between 1634 and 1654, was published in 1689, the year of Bury-Fair, nine years after Selden's death. A man of mark in constitutional law before he entered politics, Selden had the acquaintance of men in politics, such as Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; an early friendship with Archbishop Ussher and Sir Robert Cotton; and literary friendships with Camden, Jonson, Drayton, Browne, in the social meetings at the Mermaid Tavern in Friday Street. Edward Hyde, in his old age, is quoted as having attributed "all the little that he knew and the little good that was in him to the friendship and conversation of the most excellent men in their several kinds that lived during his age." Among these friends of Hyde were Jonson, Selden, Waller,

57 Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XXVIII, op. cit., p. 370; there credit is given to Life, 1, 25, 35.
and Hales. Selden was counsel to Sir Edmund Hampden in the famous trial. In the attacks on Oxford he protected that University from unfair persecution.

Very early in life he began to pursue his literary occupation, especially an inclination to antiquarian pursuits. He acquired the habit of writing down bits of pithy wisdom in an epigrammatic form. The Reverend Richard Milward, who was for many years Selden's amanuensis, informs that the Table Talk was faithfully "committed to writing, from time to time, during the long period of twenty years [which means around 1634 to 1654], in which he [Milward] enjoyed the opportunity of daily hearing his [Selden's] discourse, and of recording the excellent things that fell from him." Since the manuscript was published after Selden's death, criticism asserts that the homely and familiar writing is not the style of a profound scholar, which Selden was. With all his erudition, others maintain that Selden possessed the mental adaptation for ordinary scenes of familiar life, was a man of the world, and could approach the minds of men in business and everyday capacities. He was said to be a clear conversationalist and to have had a faculty for making things easy and of presenting

58 Table Talk, op. cit., Preface iii-lv.
them to any man's understanding.

A member of the Long Parliament, and a leader in legal thought, he was regarded as a valuable piece of national property, like a museum or a great library, "re­sorted to as a matter of course and a matter of right, for assistance in the whole compass of legal and historical learning." In politics he was consulted alike by the commons on their rights and by the lords on their privileges because he was so free from party bias.

His Table Talk, appearing in an Arber reprint and in a Singer edition, is "the most vivid picture extant of the habits of thought and the modes of expression of the great Erastian lawyer." The conversations, never metaphysical and seldom philosophical, cover a range of subjects about life and history. The book reveals his strong, scornful intellect. It solves all questions about church and state in relation to two principles: the sovereignty of the state, and the contract between the sovereign and his people.

Usually the French influence is evident in books of civility, which advocate the policy of utility in

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59 Ibid., Preface, xxvi.
60 Dictionary of National Biography, op. cit., LI, 221.
specific matters of daily conduct. While Osborn's book is utilitarian, it is not so to the extent of Della Casa's Galateo. A survey of human frailty in petty details of conduct, it is the book of civility which is a separate class from the true book of courtesy. Its influence on English writings seems to have been through French translations, and not felt until the seventeenth century.

The Englishman who republished this book of manners in 1663 under the title The Refin'd Courtier dedicated his translation to the Duke of Monmouth, observing: "Other Countries abound with treatises of good manners; and ours, perhaps, has as much need as any " Della Casa's etiquette has as its one aim a desire to please. There should be, for example, no loud coughing, no sneezing, yawning, paring the nails, or humming in public. He sums up his whole case thus: "to frame and order thy manors and doings, not according to thyne owne minde and fashion; but to please those, with whose thou lyvest."\(^{61}\) Another well-known work is The Rules of Civility; or, Certain Ways of Deportment Observed in France; Amongst All Persons of Quality Upon Several Occasions, translated out of the French. There

\(^{61}\) Thompson, pp. 139-140; also W. M. Rosetti, "Italian Courtesy Books," Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. 8, 1869, pp. 70-74.
were many reprints and editions of this translation. Doctor Ustick has published an explanation of the many forms under which it appeared. Like all books of civility or conduct, it contains standard facts of good manners in the presence of the great, overlaid with a varnish of French artificiality.

Of the writers of civility in England, Obadiah Walker, reputed author of a treatise entitled Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen (1673) makes civility a part of his program. Locke's essay advises that outward "polite-ture" be not overstressed, though he lists breeding third in qualities of an educated man. John Gailhard's Compleat Gentleman (1678) contains precepts on table manners, and other personal habits. But these books, or portions of books, on civility are beside the point, for good manners were indeed considered an essential part of the equipment of a gentleman, but a minute analysis of them was thought unnecessary.

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62 Edward Arber's Term Catalogues list four editions of the work--1671, 1673, 1675 and 1703, and three reprints--one in 1675 and two in 1704.

Sections of books and poems, and pamphlets on special parts of the field of conduct fall, at least partially, under the heading of the book of courtesy. These must be kept in mind for a full understanding of the subjects, often controversial, in which writers on proper behavior sought to instruct their readers. Included in the number of treatises on education, like John Milton's Tractate on Education and Edward Hyde's A Dialogue Concerning Education; poems, such as George Herbert's section "The Church Porch" in The Temple, and Henry Vaughan's moralistic verse entitled "Rules and Lessons" in his Silex Scintillans; character sketches and essays, like Thomas Fuller's The Holy State, and the Profane State; books and treatises on sports, such as Isaac Walton's Compleat Angler and Sir Thomas Browne's "Of Hawks and Falcony" in Miscellany Tracts; and finally, tracts on beauty, like Mrs. Aphra Behn's The Ladies Looking Glass to Dress Herself By: or The Whole Art of Charming.

In this study, the dramas of Shadwell are compared with those courtesy books that appear most characteristic and important and that include encyclopedic matter which the true courtesy book implies. In the subsequent discussion and parallels, quotations from the special-subject texts and character literature will be made only as occasion
justifies. In this section of the investigation, it is the purpose to establish a general concept of the composite thinking of the century as set down in courtesy books of all-embracing character. The result of such a study has shown the extremely individual and divergent characters of the authors and the inadvisability of too emphatic or positive generalizations of tendencies.

One might with safety deduce that gradually developing through the century were two schools of thought. Peacham was the criterion "held high by the courtiers of the Restoration," says Professor Raleigh; "and Brathwait in his English Gentleman (1630) and English Gentlewoman (1631) presented the Puritans with the draft of a character by no means destitute of polite accomplishments, yet grounded at all points on religious precepts." Brathwait contended "'tis only noble to be good," but Peacham never could subscribe to such a doctrine, patriot and reforming schoolmaster as he was. His compromise, if such it may be considered, was that, in a chapter, "Of Reputation and Carriage," he should preach temperance, moderation, and

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frugality to his Cavalier adherents. These two schools represent the way of thinking of the Cavalier gentry and of the Puritans before the Civil Wars, which continued afterward in the Restoration.

There is a distinct difference in the conclusions which are drawn by the two great authorities on courtesy literature. Professor Mason\textsuperscript{65} is unable to agree with Professor W. L. Ustick that "these messages" are marked by a definite cleavage into "idealistic" and "cynical." Much of their interests, he thinks, consists precisely in the blending of the two points of view. He objects also to the deduction that "aristocratic" writers are necessarily cynical, while the "bourgeois" writers have "earnestness of purpose" and "religious fervor." He cites Sir Matthew Hale as a writer with earnestness of purpose, and Caleb Trenchfield's advice to an apprentice as certainly cynical.

It seems probable, as Professor Ustick has concluded, that Peacham, Selden, Cleland, and early seventeenth century writers to a degree approximated humanistic ideals; but with the Puritan severity and the resultant reaction to licentiousness, there developed a cynical Osborn group, side by side with the pious and the humanitarian.

\textsuperscript{65} Mason, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 330, fn. 148.
Late in the century the moralizing, sentimental attitudes in books of courtesy became more pronounced, paralleling Collier's attack on the stage and Steele's *The Christian Hero*.

No philosophical tendency is so observable in the seventeenth century, thinks Professor Ustick, as Stoicism, and everywhere it leaves its influence on English thought, sometimes cynical, sometimes resigned. Though Stoicism has usually an ignoble connotation, it does develop self-confidence, a definitely heroic virtue. Epictetus expresses it: "So control yourself in all things that nothing can surprise and hence nothing can touch you." Milton's Stoic philosophy appears as a sort of belief in free will:

The mind is its own place, and in itself Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven. It is a concrete assertion that the spirit can be superior to external things.

Professor Ustick has entered at length into an

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exposition of the changing ideals of aristocratic character and conduct in the seventeenth century English thought. He endeavors to interpret the change which began "with things stable and more or less well known," and progressed to a new seventeenth century thinking. This change was a gradual shift during the century from the Stoic philosophy of Epictetus to the Stoic plus humanitarian philosophy of Seneca. Epictetus and Castiglione enunciated the principle that the well-bred courtier will show surprise at nothing and will develop a silent, effortless power as the mark of an ideal gentleman. This principle translated from Epictetus, he thinks, fitted in particularly with seventeenth century disillusion and seventeenth century puritanical negations.

When in 1614 Lodge rendered into English his translation of Seneca, Englishmen found there not only the Stoic philosophy of Epictetus—"Resolve thy selfe, that nothing may befall thee that may move thee," (as Lodge translated Seneca)—but a humanitarian note unknown to Epictetus. The "Christian-Stoic" Seneca (expressed in Lodge's words) will "assist his neighbor that weepeth, 

\[^{68}\text{Ustick, op. cit., 147.}\]
without weeping himself; he will lend him his hand that
is in danger to be drowned; he will lodge him that is
famished, feeds him that is poore--; as a man to man he
will give, as out of a common purse."69 The philosopher
adds, though, that one must do all this with a peaceable
mind and an unmoved countenance; he must consider himself
acting for the common good and for the service of the
commonweal.

The difference then between the Stoic as generally
conceived - a careful, unmoved, self-centered person - and
Seneca's Wise Man is then plainly derived. The Renaissance
accepted the former, but the seventeenth century gradually
came to feel and accept the latter. Seneca's point of
view, with its indiscriminate sympathy for all men, ap­
proaches that of the humanitarian and romanticist. Mr.
Ustick says that no other ancient philosopher, save Cicero,
was more frequently cited by seventeenth century writers
of conduct books than Seneca. Seneca's ideals - helpful­
ness toward others and the Stoic strength within - are "im­
portant traits in the seventeenth century English ideal
gentleman from Brathwait to those writers late in the cen­
tury who joined the humanist ideal and the "good man.""70

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69 Ibid., 151.
70 Ibid., 150-161.
Leading down from these philosophic postulates, Mr. Ustick insists that there are two tendencies in English courtesy literature: (1) a self-reliant view of character, derived mainly from Aristotle and developed by the humanists; (2) a timid view of life, derived from Stoic and Christian sources.\(^{71}\) Castiglione and Peacham represent the first attitude; Brathwait, Allestree, and Ellis, the second. The ideal gentleman still encompassed the humanistic interpretation "as far as accomplishments are concerned." But the change toward one who is both "good" and religious, as the exemplar of English manners, he thinks, is definitely clear. It is true that the Restoration gentleman was no virtuous model. "But ideally (and it is only ideals we are considering) the gentleman of the late seventeenth century was becoming the Christian and the 'good man' - a man who cared more about Heaven than about those qualities of character which spring from Aristotle's Magnanimous Man, and a man of sentiment who cared quite as much about the treatment he accorded his fellow-men as about humanistic accomplishments and aristocratic prerogatives."\(^{72}\)

\(^{71}\) Mason, op. cit., p. 371.

The Stoicism of which he speaks is clearer in Osborn's work, though an element of despair at ever-changing matters of education and the morals of young nobility and gentry runs in a definite strain through every writing. The humanitarianism of Senecan ideals is cropping out in Brathwait, in Allestree, and more especially in Waterhouse, in the recognition of trades, in kindness to servants, and in the plea for the recurrence of hospitality of the old English gentry. None of this is as pronounced as Professor Ustick interprets it, but perhaps in arriving at his statement, he is including all philosophical writing of the century.

In summary, much in favor of this form of literature can be set down. First of all, its personal, individual character lends it a charm, from its note to the Header, its dedicatory epistle, and its Preface through the composition proper. Dismissing Quarles's Enchiridion and Selden's Table Talk as epigrammatic, one finds in the others a wide divergence in organization, in breadth of subject matter, and in weightiness of ideas. Peacham's book may be considered nearest in character to Castiglione's, Osborn's furthest removed in grace, not intensity. Of them all, Fenton is most earnest about education and tutorship;
Waterhouse and Higford, about England's prior claims to the attention and interest of its youth. Allestree and Brathwait lose perspective because their interest is centered upon moral matters; Osborn, so immersed in formulating precepts from contemporary terms and for a contemporary purpose, gains pertinence without perspective. In a sense his fate among prose writers of the century was what Abraham Cowley suffered among its poets. Fenton attempts once more, at the end of the century, to unite learning, courtesy, and religion.

The advice genre represents the need for individual advice when tradition seemed to fail and a well-rounded philosophical wisdom is difficult to attain. It satisfied the natural piety of the English and their strong regard for practical morality. It took into account a philosophy of expediency based upon a pessimistic evaluation of mankind.
CHAPTER THREE

SIMILARITIES IN THOUGHT AND EXPRESSIONS BETWEEN SHADWELL'S DRAMA AND THE COURTESY LITERATURE OF THE CENTURY

Through all his plays Thomas Shadwell holds up to view the fops and knaves, but it is in his Prefaces, modelled on those of his Master Ben Jonson, that he states often his purpose and plan. He believes in the utile et dolce objectives, but places the utile first. In his Preface to The Humorists he sets it forth:

I confess, a Poet ought to do all that he can, decently to please, that so he may instruct. To adorn his Images of Virtue so delightfully to affect people with a secret veneration of it in others, and an emulation to practice it in themselves: And to render their Figures of Vice and Folly so ugly and detestable, to make People hate and despise them not only in others, but (if it be possible) in their dear selves. And in this latter, I think Comedy more useful than Tragedy; because the Vices and Follies in Courts (as they are too tender to be touch'd) so they concern but a few; whereas the Cheats, Villanies, and troublesome Follies, in the common conversation of the World, are of concernment to all the Body of Mankind.

And for the reformation of Fopps and Knaves, I think Comedy most useful, because to render Vices and Popperies very ridiculous, is much a greater punishment than Tragedy can inflict upon 'em. There we do but subject 'em to hatred, or at worst to death; here we make them live to be despised and laugh'd at, which certainly makes more impression upon men, than even death can do.

Again, I confess a Poet ought to endeavour to please...1

He believes that "Men of Wit and Honour, and the best Judges (and such as cannot be touch'd by Satyr) are extremely delight'd with it..."\(^2\) Thus he testifies his belief in the serious purpose of drama, and his intention to set before his audience social problems of their time.

Allardyce Nicoll calls Shadwell's dramatic work "the truest mirror of the age that we possess."\(^3\) If this be a fair judgment, reflected through Shadwell's plays should be the concept of what the Restoration audience considered a gentleman to be, what the weaknesses in the customs of the nobility and gentry in England were, and how best to improve the standards and ennoble the aims of Englishmen. That concept of a gentleman and those standards ought to coincide with or harmonize with the precepts in books of manners written during the century by tutors and fathers of young gentlemen.

One difficulty is that the existence of intermediaries between Thomas Shadwell or any dramatist and the books of courtesy baffles any one trying to establish a case of direct dependence. Unmistakable similarities will be the object, but that object may have to be modified to include similarities in thought.

A few examples, however, of Shadwell's direct reference to titles of books of courtesy may be accepted. First, he

\(^2\)Ibid.
\(^3\)Nicoll, op. cit., p. 244.
uses in two plays the terms, "A Compleat Gentleman," the title of Peacham's book (1622) and of Gailhard's (1678). One appears in the description of the education of Belfond, Jr.; the other is an ironical allusion of Whackum's to the scouring of Sir William Rant. This may not be a positive indication that Shadwell had read either book. It does show to some extent the fact that he realized how important the concept "A Compleat Gentleman" was to the seventeenth-century mind.

One of the books to which he gives a real scene in a play is The Ladies Calling. This fact may indicate the powerful influence of books of courtesy, particularly those of moralistic and sentimental leanings, and the cognizance Shadwell was himself taking of that force.

Sir William Rant's housekeeper has entered to assist in quieting the two termagants in the house fighting for his favor. Evidently interrupted in her reading of The Ladies Calling, she has the book still in her hand. After the women are removed from the room, the housekeeper confides to Sir Humphrey: "Were it not for good books that comfort me, I could never bear such exortinations." 4

Sir Humphrey laughs at her for reading The Ladies Calling; "a very Matronly Gentlewoman truly," he calls it.

4The Scourers, Act I, Sc. 1, p. 96.
But Abigail insists that "these godly books quiet the Conscience mightily." Sir Humphrey, a knight, would ridicule such books for women, perhaps all puritanical ones, as The Gentleman's Calling, or Braithwait's two books. Like Pepys, he would probably choose Osborn's realism, certainly Higford's or Penton's advice.

In addition to Shadwell's definite use of courtesy book titles, there are in his plays a few rather close parallels in words. These two again are taken from the book of doubtful authorship, The Ladies Calling. The author, reputedly Allestree, bemoans the curse under which virginity and modesty have fallen; Shadwell's Theodore in The Miser describes those qualities as "unfashionable."

Women are so little transported with this zeal of voluntary Virginity, that there are but few can find patience for it when necessary. An old Maid is now thought such a Curse, as no Poetic fury can exceed, look'd on as the most calamitous Creature in Nature. ... But I must not be so unkind to the Sex as to think 'tis always such desire that gives them aversion to Celibacy; I doubt not, many are frightened only with the vulgar contempt under which that state lies;

Two grand elements essential to the Virgin State, are Modesty and Obedience... 'twil sure not become a young Woman, her whole Sex puts her under greater restraints, to be either importunate or magisterial in her Discourse. And tho that which former Ages call boldness, is now only Assurance and good Breeding, yet we have seen such bad superstructures upon that Foundation, as sure will not much recommend it to any considering person.

But there is another breach of Modesty, as it relates to Chastity, in which they are yet more especially concerned...  

Theodore defends to Rant the girl with whom he is in love:

5Ibid.
Rant. How now, are you nettled? Gad I'll lay my life this Rogue has been before-hand with us.
Theo. No faith Gentlemen, but this lady I have seen, and know she has some qualities very unfit for your company.
Hax. What are those Man?
Theo. Dam'd unfashionable qualities, call'd vertue, and modesty.
Rant. Fish, but if she be not too much season'd with vertue in this warm age, she cannot keep long.
Theo. Indeed but she will, in spite of that Villanous Seducer, Cheatly, whose Clutches scarce any young Lady can scape."

Though the words "Modesty" and "Vertue," or chastity may occur in any context, the wording here may be construed as a very close similarity between Shadwell's expression and that of the courtesy book.

The Ladies Calling appears to have been read by Shadwell, or someone else relayed many of its ideas to him. Of course, its very moralizing bias may have been generally known and have been sufficient influence for the three parallels that seem very similar. A second likeness is the talkativeness of Lady Fantast, which is scored in The Ladies Calling.

And as Modesty prescribes the manner, so it do's also the measure of speaking; restrains all excessive talkativeness, a fault incident to none but the bold; the monopolizing of Discourse being one of the greatest assumings imaginable, and so rude an imposing upon the company that there can scarce be a greater indecency in conversation. This is ingeniously exprest by our Divine Poet Herbert, a Civil Guest... Will no more talk all, then eat all the Feast. It is indeed universally an insolent unbecoming thing, but most peculiarly so in a woman...

7The Miser, Act I, p. 22.
And this great indecency of Loquacity in Women, I am willing to hope is the reason why that Sex is so generally charged with it; not that they are guilty, but that when they are, it appears so unhandsom, as makes it the more eminent and remarkable.

If some women of our Age think they have outgone that novice state the Apostle supposes, and want no teaching, I must crave leave to believe they want that very first principle which should set them to learn, viz. the knowledge of their own ignorance:... Socrates, 'This only I know, that I know nothing.' This Proficiency seems much wanting to our female Talkers, who, in this, seem to confute the common Maxim, and give what they have not, by making their ignorance visible to others, tho it be undiscernable to themselves...

But besides this assuming sort of talkativeness, there is another usually charged upon the Sex, a mere chatting, pratting humor, which maintains itself at the cost of their neighbors, and can never want supplies as long as there is any body within the reach of their observation... And indeed it would puzzle one to conjecture, how that round of formal Visits among Persons of Quality should be kept up without this. That their Visits should be only a dumb Show, none will suspect among women; and when the fashionable themes of house-wifery, Piety, etc. are excluded, there will not remain many Topics of Discourse, unless this be called into supply. And this indeed is a most inexhaustible reserve, it having so many springs to feed it, that 'tis scarce possible it should fail. And when 'tis farther considered, how apt a minister is to Envy, Spleen, Revenge, and other Feminine Passions, we cannot suppose it can be unacceptable where any of those bear away.

In Bury-Fair, the affected, fashionable Lady Fantast, fortifying herself and her daughter, Mrs. Fantast, with "good breeding," drives her husband to exasperation with words.

8[Allestree], The Ladies Calling, pp. 8-11.
She is most annoyed by the indifference to the style of

court shown by her step-daughter, Gertrude, daughter of

Oldwit. She complains to him about Gertrude.

Lady Fan. Were not we well fortified by art and

nature, we might not be obnoxious to the taint of

your and her most unsavory rusticity. While all the

beau monde, as my daughter says, are with us, in the
drawing room, you have none but ill-bred, witless
drankards with you, in your smoking-room. What

punishment do I deserve for making alliance with so

much ill-breeding?

Oldwit. What plagues have I met with in marrying

an affected old lady, who, with her daughter, take

themselves to be wits! Their tongues never lie still;
at dinner they must have the whole discourse; at
dinner, the common crier; were he there, could not be
heard; no, not another woman. There's my friend
Juvenal for you—wit and breeding.9

Her attack upon his daughter, Gertrude, conforms well with the

expression "anybody within the reach of their observation,"

and "a minister to Envy, Spleen, Revenge and other Feminine

Passions."

A further proof that Shadwell knew variations of

French books of manners and perhaps the interpolation of an

English writer, "S. C.," may be accepted from the comparison

of a passage, discovered by Mr. Ustick, with one from Shadwell's

The Royal Shepherdess. Many were the French books of manners

translated into English, but they are not easily obtainable

for comparison. The one of Mr. Ustick's study,10 Du Refuge's

9Bury-Fair, Act II, p. 316.

10S. L. Ustick, "The Courtier and the Bookseller,"
Traite de la Cour (1622), was translated into English by John Reynolds; translated as Arcana Aulica in 1652, a totally different form; as The Accomplish’d Courtier (1658), another form; and The Art of Complaisance (1673) with an unknown author, "S. C." All of these are variations of the same original book, Mr. Ustick proves in part, the last by "S. C.," being a crazy quilt of materials from one source and another, with certain chapters lifted from Traite de la Cour. The Art of Complaisance contains the following paragraph which seems not from the source but originating with the English author, says Mr. Ustick.

How deplorable a thing it is! that a man who wants wit to paint the true image of virtue, should be suffer'd to make the Stage the seat of Atheism, and the throne of all impiety, by giving the publick only a representation of a filthy life, and a debauched conversation! they are not to be esteemed much more impudent, and regardless of the honour of this renowned Kingdom, who say they write to please the humour of the age, as if nothing could be agreeable to us, but the seeing the most horrid vices of the most wretched of men, render'd amiable under the name of virtues, and by discourses full of rottenness and bawdry.

This "S. C.," some one in Charles II's time, while interested in courtly behaviour and the life of the court, disapproved strongly of the bawdy plays of the period.11

The likeness of Shadwell's terms to this passage is very marked. Again and again, he emphasizes that he stands

11Ibid., p. 151, fn. 2.
for "Morality and good Manners," that "Vertue is exalted and Vice depressed." His statement is almost a parallel to the one above written by the unknown "S. C."

I shall say little more of the Play, but that the Rules of Morality and good Manners are strictly observed in it: (Vertue being exalted, and Vice depressed) and perhaps it might have been better received had neither been done in it: for I find, it pleases most to see Vice incouraged, by bringing the Characters of debauch'd People upon the Stage, and making them pass for fine Gentlemen, who openly profess Swearing, Drinking, Whoring, breaking Windows, beating Constables, etc. and that is esteem'd among us, a Gentile gayety of Humour, which is contrary to the Customs and Laws of all civilized Nations. But it is said, by some, that this pleases the people, and a Poets business is only to endeavour that: But he that debases himself to think of nothing but pleasing the Rabble, loses the dignity of a Poet, and becomes as little as a Jugler, or a Ropes-Dancer; who please more then he can do: but the Office of a Poet is,

"Simul .. jocunda, .. idonea dicere vitae."

Which (if the Poets of our age would observe it) would render 'em as usefull to a Commonwealth as any profession whatsoever.12

Since The Royal Shepherdess (1668-9) preceded The Art of Complaisance (1873) by a few years, the passage may have been taken into the latter from Shadwell. On the other hand, the courtesy book's varied additions would imply that the passage may have been interpolated at an earlier time. Certainly, though, there is a common meeting ground between these two writings.

It is not likely, it is admitted, that one can determine whether characterization and discussions in the plays were

12 Shadwell, The Royal Shepherdess, p. 100.
actually based upon specific books of courtesy, or that Shadwell was acquainted with many of them. It may be concluded, however, with fairness that the similarity between the expression in any one courtesy book and that in any one play is due to the similar purpose of each and to similar origins.

The purpose is to establish that Shadwell, a representative dramatist of his time, was an advocate of the precepts of the book of manners. In an attempt to stem the rising power of the middle class, with its more democratic point of view, aristocratic circles had a sharpened interest in considerations such as true nobility, the qualities of a regent or courtier, and the correctness of manners. Shadwell, only mildly interested in the democratic principles of the middle class, was anxious to improve court life — in simplicity, in piety, and in staunch fibre — and to rectify the affectation and weaknesses surrounding all English life.

It will be the thesis to prove that Shadwell's work is to a large extent a dramatization of the admonitions and warnings of the books of courtesy and of the ideals of seventeenth century life.
A. EDUCATION

When the mighty impulse which constituted the humanistic movement of the early sixteenth century in England is contemplated, and the awakening in all branches of intellectual might which comprised the Renaissance is looked upon in retrospect, it is with certain astonishment that one is forced to recognize the decline in general intellectual fibre of the nation. With the encouragement of scholars in France and the Netherlands, great zeal in learning, particularly in classical study and inquiry, lasted far past the reign of James I. But some time before the Commonwealth was formed, certainly by the Restoration, scholarship began to be marked by too much sobriety and restraint, and a weakening of vigor came to be felt by those dedicated to its preservation.

A disciple of Ben Jonson, the dramatist Thomas Shadwell must have been, in a measure, a scholar and a student, and not unmindful of the lack of emphasis upon and interest in general education. Comprehending that the welfare of the country depended upon the education of its ruling classes, the dramatist in him seized upon the products of the instruction from tutor and university as objects of satire. He speaks
particularly of the prejudices instilled into young minds by immature, weak, or corrupt teachers, and insists that the education of its youth is the most serious problem of a country:

The most important business of this world, the Education of Youth (which ought to be put into the hands of the ablest, wisest, most learned and vertuous men, who have not other interest but the bettering of men minds; and because of the great trouble of the Office, it ought to have great Rewards and Dignities affix'd to it by the publick) is for want of those encouragements put upon such mean, weak, or corrupt persons, that it is the greatest task of a mans life to break loose from his Education, and shake off the prejudices he contracted by it; which none but a great Genius ever does. The rest, tho of the highest rank, swallow every thing unchew'd, and take every thing unexamin'd from their first Dry-Nurses in Petticoats to their last in Square-Caps: Women begin with them, and young Priests end with 'em, who are sure to bring 'em up to the interest of the Clergy, tho it be never so much against that of the Laity.1

A description of how learning had declined in England during the Restoration is testified to by Shadwell in his "Dedication to Lord Ogle." After disclaiming a desire to extravagant praise customary in so many contemporary dedications (one cannot say whether a stab at Dryden or not), Shadwell affirms that he is too much pleased by one virtue of Lord Ogle's not to mention it:

...which is, that in this Age, when Learning is grown contemptible to those who ought most to

advance it, and Greek and Latin Sense is despised, and French and English Nonsense applauded, when the ancient Nobility and Gentry of England, who not long since were famous for their Learning, have now sent into the World a certain kind of spurious brood of illiterate and degenerate Youth, your Lordship dares love Books, and labour to have Learning. And may your Lordship go on in this virtuous race you have begun, that so you may be a Protection to your Servants, a Consolation to your Friends, and an Honour to your Countrey.2

Compare Shadwell's expression to Lord Ogle with the regrets of Allestree, a writer of courtesy. Allestree deplores the manners which have resulted from the education administered during the mid-century. For the years of training he uses the epithet "a Seedtime":

And would to God that were an impertinent complaint, such as none were concerned in. But they that look on the Manners of many that have had this happy institution, will find too great cause to wonder and bewail, that so hopeful a Seeds-time should produce so slender, nay so degenerate a crop.3

He points out that the result of the training, or lack of it is that vices, not virtues, are today adorning the gentlemen.

If any shall think this character partakes of the Satyr, I shall beseech him to compare it with the true state of our young gallants in this point.

Instead of conforming their wills to their principles, they model and transform their principles to their wills, herein verifying Aristotle's observation, that pleasures are corruptive of Principles... Vertue which their books represented to them as lovely and honorable, is now thought to have gained that lustre only by the flattery and varnish of the

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3[Allestree], op. cit., "Education," p. 27.
Painters, and so is decried as the most unamiable, despicable creature; and on the other side, all the contrary vices are taken from under that black veil Philosophers or divines have put upon them, and are furbish'd and trimmed up, set to open view, as the most splendid, glorious things, and the most adorning accomplishments of a Gentleman.4

Not only in dedications, but in a definite play, does Shadwell describe specifically the final product in manhood that the system of the Restoration is permitting. The men of sense, Longvil and Bruce, who are the demonstrators of The Virtuoso, delineate every fault to be proscribed by Braithwait, Allestree, Peacham, Higford, Penton.

In the exposé of contemporary education, which follows, Shadwell, with the gentleman Bruce as his spokesman, reviews the fondness of mothers to be noted later in Peacham, Penton, and Gailhard; the poor governors or travelling companions accompanying sons on their tours, to be quoted from Gailhard; the sons who do not travel left in the company of their sisters, or to country pursuits, which is bemoaned by Brathwait and Penton; finally, the actions of fops and young gallants at the playhouse, the waste of time, and the lack of learning or interest in education everywhere, which it will be pointed out Peacham indicated was about to happen, and which Brathwait, Allestree, Waterhous, Gailhard and the others are to take issue with, and regret.

Long. It must needs be so; for Gentlemen care not upon what strain they get their Sons, nor how they

4Ibid., pp. 29-30.
breed 'em, when they have got 'em; the best of 'em, now, have a kind of Education like Pages; and you shall seldom see a young Fellow of this age that does not look like one of those overgrown Animals, newly manu-
mittled from Trunk-Breeches.

Bruce. Some are first instructed by Ignorant-young-
household Pedants, who dare not whip the Duncees their pupils, for fear of their Lady-Mothers; then before they can conser and Pierce, they are sent into France, with sordid, illiterate Creatures, call'd Dry'd-Nurses, or Governors; Engines of as little use as Facing-Saddles, and as unfit to govern them as the Post-Horses they ride to Paris on; from whence they return with a little smattering of that Mighty, Universal Language, without being ever able to write pure English.

Long. O but then they'll value 'em for speaking good French.

Bruce. Perhaps good French may be spoken with little sensë; but good English cannot.

Long. Thou art in the right; but then there is a sort of hopeful Youths that do not travel; and they are either such as Keep Company with their Sisters, and visit their Kindred, and are a great comfort to their Mothers, and a scorn to all others; or they are sparks that early break Loose from Discipline, and at Sixteen forsooth, set up for Men of the Town.

Bruce. Such as come Drunk and Screaming into a Play-house, and stand upon the Benches, and toss their full Periwigs and empty Heads, and with their shrill unbroken Pipes, cry, "Damm, this is a Dam'd Play; Prethee let's to a-Shore, Jack." Then says another, with great Gallantry, pulling out his Box of Pills, "Damm, Tom, I am not in a condition; here's my Turpentine for my Third Clap"; when you would think he was not old enough to be able to get one.

Long. Heav'n be praised, these Youths, like untimely Fruit, are like to be rotten before they are ripe!

Bruce. These are sure the only Animals that live without thinking; a Sensible Plant has more imagination than most of 'em.

Long. Gad, if they go on as they begin, the Gentle-
men of the next Age will scarce have Learning enough to claim the Benefit of the Clergy for Manslaughter.

Bruce. The highest pitch our Youth do generally arrive at, is, to have a form, a fashion of Wit, a Notine of speaking, which they get by imitation; and generally they imitate the extravagancies of witty Men
out of love with their Vices; as Prentices wearing Pantaloons, would make Gentlemen lay by the Habit. 

Long. These are sad Truths; but I am not such a fop to disquiet myself one minute for a thousand of 'em.

Bruce. You have reason; say what we can, the Beastly, Restive World will go its way; and there is not so foolish a Creature as a Reformer.

Long. Thank Heav'n. I am not such a public spirited fop, to lose one moment of my private pleasure for all that can happen without me.5

Another description of the present education is the satire on the education for a fop spoken by a young lady of the time. Eugenia tells Clara that she herself prefers "this wild Fellow of the Town," while Clara wants the city man, perhaps a fop. Clara remonstrates at her teasing, as Eugenia describes the process of training to produce the town gallant:

Eugenia. Thou art only fit to be Spouse to some ladies darling, who has been cocker'd with Cawdles by his Lady mother, bred under a very humble civil Tutor in the house, who is always in most profound awe of his Pupil, from whence to the University he goes, where Divines (for the great respect they have to some Livings in his gift) flatter and indulge him in what he thinks fit.

Clara. You are merrily disposed.

Eugen. From thence the Fop comes home and sets up his rest upon Horses, and Dogs, rides for a place, grows a most furious Nimrod, and hunts perpetually.6

The girls then go walking to look for "the wild, wild cousin."

Books of manners of the time, to be discussed more fully in other sections, are unanimous in their condemnation

5The Virtuoso, Act I, p. 106.
6The Soowrers, p. 99.
of the general attitude toward education. For example, parents are careless and selfish, declares Peacham, when they employ "a poor Batchelor of Arts from the Universitie" to train their sons and starve them to death.7

Gailhard wonders what parents can expect of their children when the parents themselves "only think upon building of houses and richly furnishing them; of getting Horses, Hounds, Hawks, etc., and hardly upon him who is heir apparent to these things."8 The care of a horse means more than the breeding of a son, he says. This is a repetition of Ascham who said the nobility took "more pains to find a cunning man for their horse than a cunning man for their children."9 Fenton thinks the country gentry are not dealing well by the sons, for his son was "nothing but the very shell of a Gentleman, spruce indeed in habit, handsome and well-natur'd, but infinitely void of all knowledge either of words or things."10

At the same time both drama and book of manners endeavor to stem the tide of indifference and ignorance. Both place very high the benefits of any training, particularly that given by an earnest, well qualified tutor and a course at the university. The dramatist expresses the

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7Peacham, op. cit., p. 31.
9Ascham, op. cit., p. 83.
10Penton, op. cit., p. 31.
purpose of an education in these words: "To make a man fit for the Conversation of Learned Gentleman is one noble end of Study..." An end of travel is to have a youth "well skill'd in Foreign Affairs, and a compleat accomplished English Gentleman... fit to serve his Country in any Capacity."

These conclusions are forceful enough and encompass the scope of all education. The subject, though, is treated so much more fully and more seriously by the writers of courtesy books that their tastes and opinions appear to overshadow Shadwell's. Both drama and courtesy book agree in the importance of the subject.

The earliest and greatest author of courtesy literature, Castiglione, made no attempt to frame a system of education. The speakers insisted they were concerned only with the description of the courtier, not with the process of training one. When the book of courtesy was introduced into England, the most conspicuous feature was an emphasis upon the context and methods of education, from Elyot and Ascham to Peacham, and on to Brathwaite and Osborn. Elyot wrote for the statesman or governor, but, according to his view, the first training for the statesman apparently is also the best for any other Christian gentleman.

Many books in the history of education deal with the upbringing of princes, noblemen, and gentlemen. For the

philosopher-prince was Plato's *Republic*; so was Aristotle's *Politics*. Thomas Aquinas wrote the *De regimine Principium*; Ockleve, the *Regiment of Princes*; Machiavel, the famous *Prince*, and others in Italy had showed the way before him, Pontano and Boroaldo. In Elizabeth's time Lawrence Humfrey composed *The Nobles* (1563). Books like the *Gentleman's Calling*, 1660, therefore, had many predecessors.

They indicate the closest relation between politics and education. Whenever political power is placed in the prince, in the noble, or in the gentleman, there must be the provision for the education of the ruling person or groups of persons. The welfare of the nation was conceded to be dependent upon the excellent training and culture of its rulers, whether a person or a group. Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries numberless educational treatises appeared, and as the basis of the governing power broadened, education was extended to include a larger group of gentry and middle class. "Gentleman" in opposition to "poor" student remained over a long period, however; often the former elected to stand outside the university and public school system, both of which were accessible to the non-privileged class.

Just as Elyot in the preceding century had written down his convictions of the invaluable place education has in

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12 Elyot, *op. cit.*, Int. xvi.
the training of governors, the courtesy writers of the
seventeenth century state the same responsibility for gentle-
men. The feeling for knowledge as the requirement for princes
and nobility is repeated and re-emphasized by Peacham:

Since Learning then is an essential part of
nobilitie, as unto which we are beholden for what-
soever dependeth on the culture of the minde's it
followeth, that who is nobly borne, and a scholar
withall, deserveth double Honour,...for hereby
as an Ensigne of the fairest colours, he is afarre
off discerned, and winneth to himselfe both love and
admiration, heighting with Skill his Image to the life,
making it precious, and lasting to posteritie.¹³

He supports his belief with examples from history of the learning
of various Princes, the King of Arragon, and Solomon, and Rome
under her learned emperors.

It was the reply of that learned King of Arragon
to a Courtier of his, who affirmed, that Learning
was not requisite in Princes and Nobilitie...
For if a Prince bee the Image of God, governing and
adorning all things, and the end of all government the
observation of Lawes; that thereby might appeare the
goodnesse of God, in protecting the good, and punish-
ing the bad, that the people might be fashioned by
their lives and manners, and come neere in the light
of Knowledge unto him, who must protect and defend
them, by establishing Religion, ordaining Lawes; by
so much...ought he to out-runne the rest in a
vertuous race, and outshine them in Knowledge, by
how much he is mounted nearer to heaven, and so in
view of all, that his least eclipse is taken to a
minute.

Hence the royall Solomon, above all riches of God,
desired wisdom and understanding, that he might governe
and goe before so mighty a people.

¹³Peacham, op. cit., p. 13.
Rome saw her best days under her most learned Kings and Emperours... Plutarch giveth the reason: Learning (saith hee) reformeth the life and manners, and affordeth the wholesomest advice for the government of a commonwealth.\textsuperscript{14}

Peacham affirms that nothing can replace knowledge. Neither estates nor fortunes are of account without learning to enhance their value:

Since learning then joined with the feare of God, is so faithfull a guide, that without it Princes undergo but lamely (as Chrysostome saith) their greatest affaires; they are blind in discretion, ignorant in Knowledge, rude and barbarous in manners and living; the necessity of it in Princes and Nobility, may easily be gathered, who howsoever they flatter themselves, with the favourable Sunshine of their great estates and Fortunes, are indeed of no other account and reckoning with men of wisedome and understanding, than Glowormes, that onely shine in the darke of Ignorance, and are admired of Idiots and the vulgar for the outside, Statues or Huge Colossos full of Lead and rubbish within, or the Egyptian Asse, that thought himself worshipful for bearing golden Isis upon his back.\textsuperscript{15}

He adds examples of leaders with want of learning to contrast with those princes who had:

Sigismund King of the Romanes, and sonne to Charles the fourth Emperour, greatly complained at the Councell of Constance, of his Princes and Nobility, whereof there was no one that could answer an Embassador, who made a speech in Latine; whereat Lodouicke, the Elector Palatine, took such a deepe disdain in himselfe, that with tears ashamed, he much lamented his want of learning; and presently hereupon returning home, began (albeit he was very old) to learne his Latine tongue. Eberhard also, the first Duke of Wirtenberg, at an assembly of many Princes in Italy (who discoursed

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., pp. 13-19.
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 20.
excellently in Latine, while he stood still and could say nothing) in a rage strooke his Tutor or Governor there present, for not applying him to his Books when he was young. I gladly alledge these examples, as by a publike Councell to condemne opinion of Heresie, believing to teach, and teaching to beleve, the unnecessity of learning to Nobility; an error as prejudicall to our land, as sometimes was that rotten chest to Aethiopia...16

One commentator on Peacham declares "It is never the really great age that makes most play with the motive of utility; and Peacham is distinguished from his predecessors of the Renaissance by nothing more than this, that utility is his prime and unfailing test of the validity of his scheme."17 For instance, as a form of justification for an education, he even includes tales of the medicinal effect of reading. But his book does not always leave the impression of utility. Peacham's own words in an early chapter might lead one to think that he was looking back with a certain nostalgia to the day of humanism; but it may be only a gesture. He is positive of the value of a university training:

For as no glory crowneth with more abundant praise, than that here wonne by diligence and wit; so there is no infamie abaseth the value and esteeme of a gentleman all his life after, more than that procured by Sloath and Error in the Universities; yes, though in those yeares whose innocencie have ever pleaded their pardon; whereas I have not a little mervailed, considering the freedome and priviledge of greater places.18

16 Ibid., pp. 20-21.
17 Peacham, op. cit., Intro. xiv.
18 Ibid., p. 38.
Two others appear to join Peacham in praise of real learning. Allestree (1658) believes that every courtier or gentleman, as well as person of mean estate, desires to appear learned, even though he may not have the perseverance or the means whereby to attain it:

Even those who will be at no pains to acquire it, will yet profess to esteem it. And we may believe them in earnest, if from no other argument, yet from this, that every man affects the reputation of being wise, is pleased when he succeeds in that aim, and on the contrary is not more troubled and discomfited any thing, than to be taxed of Ignorance or Error.\(^{19}\)

In 1678 Gailhard considers education to make a difference in men, and to set "a mark of distinction."\(^{20}\) A countryman's son without education "will be fit only to handle a Plough, and follow vile and mechanical employments"; though with an education he might have developed into great things. On the contrary, the son of a nobleman, who may not be wholly bright, may be developed by "constant care taken of his Education." He makes the point, too, that an education never can be lost, where "a man may be fooled out of his Estate."\(^{21}\)

About 1660 Waterhous is the practical man who thinks of maintaining and advancing the family through advantages given youth:

\(^{19}\)\[Allestree], \op. cit., p. 41.
\(^{20}\)\[Gailhard, \op. cit., "Of Youth at Home," p. 3.
\(^{21}\)\[Ibid.\]
...Parents, that would advance their Families, [should] institute their Children and Nephews in all varieties of Elegant, Fashionable, useful breeding, not only according to, but somewhat above, their present quality; For Education hath a great influence on the mind and life of youth, and such as they are tutored and habituated to be, such usually do they prove themselves to be in their Manhood. 22

This may be considered unusual advice just at the moment of the Restoration when French gaiety and pursuance of diversion converged upon English shores.

In an answer to his own accusation of the era, Shadwell explains his idea of the training necessary that the English gentleman of the early seventeenth century be "compleat." Not only is the administration of a small land holding his concern, with the settlement of the problems, domestic and social that arise from it. He is also to serve his country, and his educational and recreational training relate to that end. Shadwell's composite or encyclopedic portrait is Belfond, Junior, for whom Sir Edward planned such a training. When his brother from the country had taunted him for his son's training, Sir Edward explained it in detail:

Sir Edw. First, I bred him at Westminster School, till he was Master of the Greek and Latin Tongues; then I kept him at the University, where I instructed him to read the noble Greek and Roman Authors.

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Sir Will. Well, and what use can he make of the Noble Greek and Latin, but to prate like a pedant, and show his Parts over a Bottle?

Sir Edw. To make a man fit for the Conversation of Learned Gentlemen is one noble end of Study; but those Authors make him wiser and honester, Sir, to boot.

Sir Will. Wiser! Will he ever get Sixpence, or improve or keep his Estate by 'em?

Sir Edw. Mean Notions! I made him well vers'd in History.

Sir Will. That's a pretty study indeed! How can there be a true History, when we see no man living is able to write truly the History of the last week?

Sir Edw. He by the way read Natural Philosophy, and had insight enough in the Mathematics.

Sir Will. Natural Philosophy! Knows nothing. Nor would I gave a fart for any Mathematician, but a Carpenter, Bricklayer, or Measurer of land, or Sailor.

Sir Edw. Some moderate skill in it will use a man to reason closely.

Sir Will. Very pretty! Reason! Can he Reason himself into six Shillings by all this?

Sir Edw. He needs it not. But to go on; after three years I removed him from the University (lest he should have too strong a tincture of it) to the Temple; there I got a modest, learned Lawyer, of little practice, for want of Impudence and there are several such that want, while empty impudent fellows thrive and swagger at the Bar; This man I got to instruct my Son in some old Common Law Books, the Statutes, and the best Pleas of the Crown, and the Constitution of the old true English Government.

Sir Will. Does he get a Shilling by all this? But what a devil made you send him into France, to make an arrant vain Coxcomb of him?

Sir Edw. There he did all his manly Exercises; saw two Campaigns; studied History, Civil Laws, and Laws of Commerce; the Language he spoke well ere he went. He made the Tour of Italy, and saw Germany, and the Low Countries, and return'd well skill'd, in Foreign Affairs, and a compleat accomplished English Gentleman.

Sir Will. And to know nothing of his own estate, but how to spend it: my poor Boy has travelled to better purpose: for he has travell'd all about my Lands, and knows every Acre and Nook, and the value of it. There's travel for you! Poor Boy.
Sir Edw. And he enjoys so little of that Estate he sees, as to be impatient for your death: I dare swear mine wishes my life, next to his own. I have made him a Compleat Gentleman, fit to serve his Country in any capacity.

Sir Will. Serve his country! Fox on his Country! 'Tis a Country of such Knaves, 'tis not worth the serving: all those who pretend to serve it, mean nothing but themselves. But among all things, how came you to make him a Fidler, always Fluting or Scraping? I had as lief hear a Jew's-Harp!

Sir Edw. I love Music: Besides, I would have young Gentlemen have as many helps to spend their time alone as can be; most of our Youth are ruin'd by having Time lye heavy on their heads, which makes them run into any base Company to shun themselves.

Sir Will. And all this Gentleman's Education is come to Drinking, Whoring, and Debauchery.25

Collier describes the actor Mountfort in the part of Belfond, Jr. Mountfort must have represented to the audience the ideal that the dramatist had in mind:

of the actors who had become eminent since the union of the companies, the most important at that time was William Mountfort, who played the role of the Younger Belfond. Tall, well made, and fair, with a 'clear, full, and melodious' voice, he gave, says Cibber, 'the truest life to what we call the fine gentleman; his spirit shone the brighter for being polish'd with decency...He had a particular talent in giving life to bons mots and repartees: the wit of the poet seem'd always to come from him extempore, and sharpen'd into more wit from his brilliant manner of delivering it; he had himself a good share of it, or what is equal to it, so lively a pleasantness of humour, that when either of these fell into his hands upon the stage, he wantoned with them to the highest delight of his auditors.'24

24Borgman, op. cit., p. 77. The quoted section is from Colley Cibber. Written by Himself, I, 186-187.
The courtesy writer who includes a two-page "character" of the perfect gentleman is Brathwait. From the portrait is excerpted for comparison with Shadwell's the paragraph relating to a gentleman's education:

"Education hee holds a second Nature; which (such innate seeds of goodnesse are sowne in him) ever improves him, seldome or never depraves him. Learning hee holds not only an admittance, but ornament to Gentry. No complemetg gives more accomplishiment. He inteninds more the tillage of his minde, than his ground."

Shadwell is certainly more definite than Brathwait, but he is guided by dramatic necessity. The courtesy writer's entire "character" is clothed in a moralizing tone and a gloss of the "good man," which extends itself even to the topic of education.

It is necessary at this point to discover what studies were thought advisable for gentlemen of the period. Though one might venture to say that the writers of books of courtesy - tutors most of them were - possessed higher scholarship than Shadwell himself, the one quality that stands out in all their advice about studies is utility. From Peacham's book early in the century to those of the last decade this tendency is noticeably present.

Needless to say, the sixteenth century concept of a complete education for a noble or gentleman gradually

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changed. Castiglione, Elyot and Ascham, writing for the men who would be governors, insisted upon an education in the humanities; Ascham even advanced a new method of teaching Latin which would make pleasant and facile the learning of the language. But from the middle of the seventeenth century, orthodox, classical centers of learning began to show a low level of efficiency and to be held in little respect by the cultured mind. The trend in France, and later in Germany, was to give the noble youth the training of chivalry, or an outgrowth of it. There French was more honored than the classics, and other subjects were chosen which related to the life of a noble at court. In England the education desired was that which yielded a wide acquaintance with many sides of life—less, however, for culture for its own sake than for the advantage to a prince or member of nobility and gentry in managing his estate, or in taking his place among the leaders in government—in parliament, the embassies, and the courts.

Though the tutors and admonishers of precepts place the value of education very high, there is a wide divergence among men in the century as to the kind necessary for future governors or leaders in government. Peacham, Osborn, Brathwait, Gailhard, and Waterhouse vary widely in their preferences.
In regard to humanistic, classical learning, not very much is said, either for or against, except indirectly from Osborn. The teaching of Latin and Greek is not mentioned, though old Grammar Schools of England considered classic tongues the basis of a system of education. With tenacity the classical tradition continued, though private schools had begun to add modern subjects, and from 1660 on to the early modern private schools were established. The Royalists and Puritans of Charles II's time and later could not forget, however, that Hampden, Cromwell, and Milton had been educated at Grammar Schools; thus they insisted that Latin and classical subjects survive through these schools. On the other hand, there were men like Osborn, who advised a modification to a less classical training.

Trained as Shadwell was in Latin and Greek, taught by two tutors - a Mr. Roberts and a Mr. Thomas Stephens, at Bury School and at Caius College - he was likely to inculcate into his plays (for his gentlemen of "wit and sense") a considerable knowledge of the classics.

In the opening scene of *The Virtuoso*, Longvil, a gentleman, calls upon Bruce, his friend of wit and sense, whom he discovers reading aloud from Lucretius:

Bruce. Thou great Lucretius! Thou profound Oracle of Wit and Sense! thou art no trifling Landskip Poet, no Fantastick Heroick Dreamer, with empty Descriptions of Impossibilities, Verse, and dost, almost alone, demonstrate that Poetry and Good sense may go together. [Reads from Lucretius]
Longvil asks what author he is "chewing the Cud" upon.

Bruce. We should not live always hot-headed; we should give our selves leave sometimes to think.

Long. Lucretius! Divine Lucretius! But, my Noble Epicurean, what an Unfashionable Fellow art thou, that in this Age art given to understand Latin?

Bruce. 'Tis true, Longvil, I am a bold Fellow to pretend to it, when 'tis accounted Pedantry for a Gentleman to spell it, and where the Race of Gentleman is more degenerated than that of Horses. 26

The second instance is Sir Edward's description of the education he has given Belfond, Junior, his adopted son. He has sent him to Westminster School "till he was Master of the Greek and Latin tongues," then to the university for three years where he read "the Noble Greek and Roman Authors." 27

In the same play Belfond, Junior asks his musician Solfa to set a certain ode from Horace to music. 28 At a later occurrence he compares Belfond Senior's change in habits to the changes recounted in Ovid's Metamorphoses. 29 From these references to classical sources one may deduce that Shadwell favored a knowledge of Latin and Greek.

There was a well-defined current against the dry, dusty scholar. The deadening weight of too much learning is reflected in Sir Humphrey's remark upon "meer Scholars or Meer Lawyers, good for nothing else." 30 The idea is

28 Ibid., p. 255.
29 Ibid.
30 The Woman-Captain, op. cit., Act II, p. 29.
repeated again in Shadwell's delineation of a perfect training:

After three years I removed him from the University (lest he should have too strong a tincture of it) to the Temple; there I got a modest, learned Lawyer, of little practice, for want of impudence and there are several such that want... This man I got to instruct my Son in some old Common Law Books, the Statutes, and the best Pleas of the Crown, and the Constitution of the old true English Government.31

This plan complies well, perhaps, with the ideas of Peacham in his utilitarian outlook, and certainly with those of Francis Osborn.

Like Peacham, the aristocrat Osborn felt that the higher learning could be modified to "a mixt education."

A man of the world needs that education, he declares, which will not draw his attention from a care of his estate. He needs an income to maintain his state in society, a fact lost sight of by the man of books:

Let not an over-passionate prosecution of learning draw you from making an honest improvement of your estate; as such do, who are better read in the bigness of the whole Earth, than that little Spot, left them, by their Friends, for their support...

A mixt education suits employment best; scholars and citizens, by a too long plodding in the same track, leave their experience seldom dilated beyond the circle of narrow rebellion; of which they carry so apparent marks, as bewray in all places, by their words and gestures, the ped and company they were brought up in; so that all wailes of preferment are stopped against them, through others prejudice, on their own naturall insufficiency; it being ordinary, in their

practice, to mistake a wilfull insolency for a resolute confidence and pride for gravity: The shortness of the tedder, their long restraint confin'd them to, not affording convenient room to take a decent measure of virute and vice. So by using others as they were dealt with themselves, repute is lost when they come to command: It is being justified in History, that Slaves, after they have forgot all fear of the sword, cannot shake off the terror of the whip...

Therefore few not freely educated can weare decently the habit of a court, or behave themselves in such a mediocrity, as shall not discover too much idolatry towards those in a superior orbe, or disdain in relation to such, as Fortune rather than merit hath possibly placed below them.32

Cynical as Osborn is toward rewards in politics and in general worth, it seems strange that he should be as harsh as he is toward teachers of learning and toward knowledge from books. Insisting that one's natural parts are submerged or stultified by borrowings from books, and that experience is better to refine the spirits than reading, he comments:

Follow not the tedious practice of such as seek wisdome only in learning; not attainable by experience and naturall parts. Much reading, like a too-great repletion, stopping up, through a con­course of diverse, sometimes contrary opinions, the access of a nearer, newer and quicker invention of your own.33

Brathwait is surprisingly practical and realistic at one point. Just as Osborn thinks higher education may ruin one's natural gifts, he (Brathwait) fears that learning may stop with only learning. He exhorts one to "Action,"

33Ibid., p. 15.
rather than "Speech" or "Knowledge." Demosthenes called
his oration "Action," Brathwait reminds the reader. He does
not believe in burying knowledge or in finding contentment
in mere knowledge known to one's self. The contemplative or
cloistered person, he thinks, "never extends further than
satisfying [his] own discomforting humor."34

The importance of the training of the gentleman in
history and geography must not be overlooked. Shadwell
requires history, laws of commerce, and wide travel for
geography. It is not only that all the writers on gentleman's
education prescribe these subjects as gentlemen's studies,
but the writers on the subjects were for the most part of the
gentleman class. Both in history and in geography, it is to
be noted that the beautiful folios, in which these subjects
were printed, were expensive productions and could only cir­
culate among men of means. Nobles and gentry were the chief
buyers, scholars contenting themselves with Aldine octavos
or Elzevir duodecimos, with only occasional folios.35

Though he would avoid specialization in any subject,
Osborn would give law and history a prominent place. He
makes a reservation, however, that much history seemed to
be falsified, and leans to contemporary events instead of
"mouldy records."

34Brathwait, op. cit., p. 57.
35"Education of Gentry and Nobles," Cyclopedia of
Education, Edited by Paul Monroe. 5 vols. (New York,
Be conversant in the speeches, declarations, and transactions occasioned by the late wars, out of which more natural and useful knowledge may be sucked, than is ordinarily to be found in the mouldy records of antiquity.

When I consider, with what contradiction reports arrived at us, during our late civil wars; I can give the less encouragement to the reading of history: Romances, never acted, being born purer from sophistication than actions reported to be done, by which posterity hereafter, (no less than antiquity heretofore) is likely to be led into a false, or at best, but a contingent belief...

A few books well studied, and thoroughly digested, nourish the understanding more, then hundreds but garbled in the mouth, as ordinary students use; And of these choice must be had answerable to the profession you intend: For a statesman, French authors are best, as most fruitful in negotiation and memoirs, left by public ministers and by their secretaries published after their deaths. Out of which you may be able to unfold the riddles of all done in all nations, than ambassadors; who cannot want the best intelligence, because their princes pensioners unload in their bosoms, all they can discover. And here, by way of prevention, let me inform you, that some of our late ambassadors (which I could name) impaired our affairs, by treating with sorrowful Princes in the language of the place; by which they did not only descent below their masters dignity, but their own discretion: betraying for want of words or gravity, the intrinsic part of their employment: and going beyond their commission, oftener by concession, than confining themselves within it, or to it; the true rule for a Minister of State, not hard to be gained by a resolute context: which, if made by an interpreter, he, like a medium, may intercept the shame of any impertinent speech, which eagerness or indiscretion may let slip: Neither is it a small advantage to gain so much time for deliberation, what is fit farther to urge; It being besides, too much an honoring of their tongue and undervaluing your own, to profess yourself a master therein, especially since they scorn to learn yours.

And to show this is not grounded on my single judgment, I have often been informed, that the first and wisest Earl of Pembroke did returne and answer to the Spanish ambassador, in Welsh, for which I have him highly commended.36

Both Shadwell and books of courtesy criticise the universities, the Inns of Court and the tutors in the land. The remarks of the dramatist are general, interspersed in descriptions of gentlemen of the time, in references to the attitude of parents, and in dedications and prefaces.

As a rule, the younger sons of the aristocracy were taught the elements at home by a chaplain; they were then sent to the grammar school, or to a public school, and thence to the university and Inns of Court. But none of this training was carried through. In fact, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries introduced what are called "modern subjects," e.g., mathematics, natural sciences, vernacular languages, foreign and English. These courses were ignored by the universities and grammar schools. Such "outside" subjects, together with physical exercise, as riding the great horse, fencing, gymnastics, were precisely the ones studied by the nobility and gentry, and predominated in a young man's training.

Furthermore, the utilitarian outlook of the father often encouraged a knowledge of managing an estate, to the neglect of cultural subjects, and the softening influence of the mother prevented a tutor's demanding a reckoning with his pupil. These three are illustrated by Shadwell in The Lancashire Witches, The Squire of Alsatia, and the
"Dedication" to The Amorous Bigot.

He is cognizant of the deficiency in his son's training and wonders how it came about, Sir Edward Hartfort tells his daughter, Isabella. The education received by the youth could not turn him from delight "in Dogs, and Horses, Peasants, Ale and Sloth." While the group of gentry is debating whether it could have been witches who had disturbed the hares that morning, Young Hartfort asks, "What's a Gentleman, but his Sports."38

Another gentleman, Sir Timothy Shacklehead, a suitor to Isabella, constantly speaks of sports. He deduces that some one was "a Courtier, he talked so prettily to the King's Dogs, and was so familiar with them, and they were kind to him and he had a great interest in them." On two other occasions he postpones calling on Isabella, to whom his father wishes him to pay court, because there is sport that afternoon. When his father remonstrates, the young man replies, "Time enough for that."40 In his father's eyes the boy, because he is deficient in education and proper training, has no sense of responsibility toward improving the family rank and estate through marriage to a girl of beauty and fortune.

37 The Lancashire Witches, p. 109.
38 Ibid., p. 114.
39 Ibid., p. 110.
40 Ibid., pp. 114, 124.
The Squire of Alsatia is another case of the kind. The utilitarian or "mixin" education, as Osborn labelled it, certainly did not conjecture the practicalness of a Sir William, who eliminated all interests but what pertained to his country estate. Sir William has become angry with his brother over a difference in attitude toward their two sons' education. He suggests cudgelling the boy and only calms himself when Sir Edward says that they must part and that the entail of his estate will go to another family. That statement brings Sir William to sense, for money speaks:

Sir Edward. ...What has your breeding made of him (with your patience) but a Blockhead?
Sir William. A Blockhead! When he comes the world shall judge which of us has been the wiser in the Education of a Son: A Blockhead? Why he knows a sample of any Grain as well as e'ere a fellow in the North: Can handle a Sheep or Bullock as well as anyone: Knows his Seasons of Plowing, Sowing, Harrowing, laying Sallow: Understands all sorts of Manure: And he're a one that wears a Head can wrong him in a Bargain.
Sir Edward. A very pretty fellow, for a Gentlemans Bally.
Sir William. For his own Bally, and to be a rich -
Sir Edward. Swine, and live as nastily; and keep worse Company than Beasts in a Forest. 41

This is what Penton meant when he considered "Country Gentlemen hardly dealt with," 42 and that parents were not aware of it or indifferent to the situation.

42 Penton, op. cit., p. 31.
In regard to tutors of gentlemen, Shadwell is rather harsh. He calls them "Ignorant-young-household Pedants"; he thinks the youth are "put upon such mean, weak and corrupt persons, that it is the greatest task of a man's life to break loose from his Education, and shake off the prejudices he contracted by it."43 His ideal training requires the young son to be sent to Westminster School, where the tutors would be of the best.44

In the courtesy material, the tutors for gentlemen's sons fall into several classifications. One class instills "spacious fields of learning" described by Allestree. He calls for a period of

Erudition and instruction, and under a succession of this they are for many years. Scarce any that owns the name of Gentleman, but will commit his son to the care of some tutor, either at home or abroad, who at first, instills those rudiments, proper to their tenderer years, and as age matures their parts, so advances his lectures till he have let them in to those spacious Fields of Learning, which will afford them exercise and delight.46

Evidently the question of tutors as well as of education was rocking the land, for there is so much comment about them. Peacham accuses that parents procure "a poor Batchelor of Arts from the Universitiee"46 and starve him

44 The Squire of Alsatia, supra, p. 114.
46 Peacham, op. cit., p. 31.
to death at ten pounds a year. Quarles demands that a child be educated to the utmost of his father's means and the child's own capacity, and his tutor chosen with care. Considering ignorance "the greatest of all Infirmities" and "the chiefest of all Follies," he urged that as long as a person is ignorant, he should not be ashamed to learn.47

Higford, in Part II of Institutions, devotes three paragraphs to the tutor for his grandson.48 He designates the tutor as "another companion, which readeth to you." Disobedience to the tutor or other governor is destructive; one of his cares is "to give you your first liquor."

Higford next reviews a list of princes and great persons who have renown obtained by the "instruction" from their tutors: Sir John Higford had the famous Bishop Jewel; his father, Doctor Cole, an excellent governor; the writer had Doctor Sebastian Benefield, a very learned man: "All three tutors of Corpus Christi College, Oxon." Then he reminds the reader that Alexander had for his tutor Aristotle; Thomas Aquinas, "our Countryman and Neighbor Alexander of Hales"; Charles the Great, Alcuinus; Charles V, Pope Adrian; King James, "a King of learning as well as of power, "the famous Buchanan."49

Puritan Brathwait devotes many pages more to

48Higford, op. cit., pp. 45-47.
49Ibid., p. 46.
moderation, temperance, acquaintance, perfection and such attributes of a gentleman than he does to education. In his encyclopedic treatise he can allot only fifteen pages to the subject. Granting that education is the seasoner of our actions, as well as of our speech and knowledge, he believes that we "can observe the rare and incredible effects derived from it."50 He repeats the prosaic fact of infancy's being a "smooth and unwritten Table," which prompted noble fathers to seek far and wide for excellent instructors for their sons. Like Higford, he reviews the great men who have had excellent teachers: "Achilles had his Phoenix, Alexander his Callisthenes; Alcibiades his Socrates; Cyrus his Xenophon; Epaminondas his Sycius; Themistocles his Symmachus; to whom they owed more... than their own naturall parents."51

The topic of the interference of the mother with the tutor's control over the boy might be interpolated here. Shadwell, the serious tutor like Peacham, and the upper gentry like Panton make it a point of issue. Shadwell's dedication deplores the softening effect of the mother upon a son's response to good training. In The Virtuoso he has Bruce admit that tutors "dare not whip their pupils for fear of their Lady-Mothers."52 The Scourers says the same thing.53 Peacham, Callard, and Panton refer to the mother's

51 ibid., p. 55.
52 Act I, p. 106.
53 supra, p. 106.
Indulgence. Peacham accuses the mother "not only for her tenderness but in winking at their lewd courses."\(^{54}\)

Gailhard insists that the tutor, teaching at home, is interfered with by the fondness of a mother, who accuses "the Tutor one time of too much severity, another of neglect, and another time of too hard tasks."\(^{55}\) Gailhard admonishes mothers when a boy is travelling abroad, not "to spoil their children by over-solicitation, by fear for the life and health of their sons;" for travelling is necessary to a complete education.\(^{56}\)

When Fenton had to decide upon a schoolmaster for his eldest son, to satisfy his wife, he chose a teacher near the estate. To his way of thinking the schoolmaster ruined his son. Upon examination he found the young man to be "nothing but the very shell of a Gentleman, spruce indeed in habit, handsome and well-natur'd, but infinitely void of all knowledge either of words or things."\(^{57}\) He thinks back over his own school time when his school Master, "a plain man, skill'd in his Profession, industrious and undesigning, tried first to understand a boy, and lead him

\(^{54}\)Peacham, op. cit., p. 32.
\(^{56}\)Ibid., "Of Education Abroad," p. 2.
\(^{57}\)Penton, op. cit., p. 31.
to learning," (which is Roger Ascham's thesis).

If he found a Boy, rugged and untractable, [he was] quickly to ease himself of the uncomfortable duty of Severity: But if they were tractable and easie, whatever were their Parts or Learning, to make the best of both, encourage the Children with Civility and Kindness: He knew there was a Generosity in Gentlemen, and that what Imperiousness could not Joe, Courtesie might, and out of Gratitude and sense of Love and Care, he found better success than if he had affrighted them into Duty. 58

In regard to the expense of a Tutor, Fenton insists, as does Quarles, that the allowance should be as great as the Estate will bear; for "No Wise Man will play the Fool to no purpose"; and "it costs to be Learned and Wise, both pains and money." 59

For a second time he insists upon an adequate remuneration for the tutor—that Person who is to contribute to the Prosperity of a whole Family, by spending all his Thoughts, Pains and Time in studying the various Tempers and Inclinations of Youth, if he will be just to our expectations." 60

As an illustration of a disappointed, unhappy youth, Fenton relates the account of a boy whose father saved means by keeping him at home and by employing a poor chaplain as his teacher. Afterward, when grown, the young man to a family friend censured his father, for his own lack of ease in public:

58 Ibid., pp. 63-64.
59 Ibid., pp. 63-64.
60 Ibid., p. 23.
"The World expects some agreeable Conversation with my Age, Quality, and Acquaintance. I appear so little in company and am so sensible how little I appear."61 This is almost a parallel of Sir Edward's words, in Shadwell's play, The Squire of Alsatia: "Education is to make a man fit for the conversation of learned gentlemen."62 Shadwell, except for the date, might himself have read Fenton.

Just as Higford outlines the qualities desirable in a tutor at home or in a university, Gailhard emphasizes the qualities requisite in a governor as a companion in travel to a gentleman's son. They may be here compared with Shadwell's characterization of travelling companions - "sordid, illiterate Creatures, call'd Dry'd-Nurses, or Governors; Engines of as little use as Pacing-Saddles, and as unfit to govern them as the Post-Horses they ride to Paris on."63 Gailhard believes that he should be a scholar:

Scholarship will afford him arguments and Reasons, as well as Precedents and Examples, to persuade him to, or dissuade him from what he thinks fit;...will teach him a method how to infuse things into the young man's mind;... Scholarship refines and strengthens natural parts.64

Secondly, the governor must be a traveller. He will be able to arrange going and staying, will know things worth

61 Ibid., p. 65.
62 Act II, Sc. 1, p. 231.
63 The Virtuoso, supra, p. 105.
Thirdly, he must have been "well brought up," and have "frequented the Courts," so that presence, action, and behavior are acceptable. A young man will imitate the manners of a tutor; hence, it is essential that he be a "gentile Governor." Those who have not travelled and who are not accustomed to polished society are liable to many inconveniences, and will miss the "good, safe and honest companies" with which the youth will wish to be associated at his leisure hours. Gailhard cites the joy of Philip of Macedonia when he realized "there was such a man alive, as Aristotle, to commit the Education of his Son to." Gailhard certainly would not advise allowing a tutor "to serve his prentiship with his Son," and make his first trip abroad then. Let the tutor travel first at his own expense, he says. He admired Germany's method, which "Nation is so fully convinced of the necessity of Travelling." There are four sorts: the rich who travel at their own expense; those gifted ones whom a Prince sends at his pleasure; those whose friends join together to give a purse for education abroad; and last, the valets, serving men, and soldiers who serve princes and nobility.

Fourthly, a governor or tutor should be a conversationalist, ready to communicate necessary precepts and
advice to his pupil. 69 Gailhard would not emphasize the acceptable personal appearance too much, but he would consider health and neatness desirable and requisite.

Peacham traveled on the continent as tutor to the sons of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, of Hannibal Baskerville, and others. His longest stay seemed to have been in the Low Countries, where he learned much and made many friends. It was at the table of Sir John Ogle, the Governor of Utrecht, that he gleaned most. Here resorted scholars and soldiers from all the northern nations - English, Scots, French and Dutch; and their disputations (all the better for their being strangers to one another) ranged so freely over every topic of warfare and the arts that, as Peacham says, "his table seemed many time a little Academy." 70 Peacham thus typifies the type of tutor or governor that Gailhard meant.

In these ways are summed up the qualities for an excellent, wise guardian of a boy's education. No one of the writers neglects the subject, or fails to remonstrate with the parents for the conditions permitted in England at the time.

The universities, constantly a center of controversy, divided by church and by political parties, did not lack reviewers of their contribution to education. While not condemning the higher education, Shadwell did not appear to

69 Ibid.
70 Peacham, op. cit., p. 273.
approve the scholasticism still directing thought at Oxford.

It may be what he means here:

...young Priests end with 'em, who are sure to bring 'em up to the interest of the Clergy, tho it be never so much against that of the laity.71

or his

...the ancient Nobility and Gentry of England, who not long since were famous for their Learning, have now sent into the World a certain kind of Spurious brood of illiterate and degenerate Youth.

...72

On the other hand, he places Sir Edward's son in a university for three years to read "noble Greek and Roman authors." At that time he does suggest removing the youth "lest he should have too strong a tincture of it." This indicates the dramatist's own sense of balance and proportion between actual living and education.

Some writers believed the university gathered there "the choicest lecturers." When Rigford wished to command the Jesuits, he included praise for the centres of learning in England.

The Jesuits profit and raise their scholars most by the choicest lecturers that may be gotten to read unto their youth (and so also do both our universities, both in private collects and public schools) after the lectures they meet together, hold disputation, whet their wits by discourse, and rivet what they have heard, adding thereunto writing the heads for the helps of fallible memory.73

71The Amorous Bigot, "Dedication," supra, p. 102.
72The Roman-Captain, supra, p. 103.
73Rigford, op. cit., p. 47.
Higford's estimate of the instruction at the English colleges differs in tone from Osborn's and Fenton's, who consider students to be receiving, through deliberate neglect, very negligible training. Milton attacks the university teaching, "not yet well recover'd from the Scholastick grossness of barbarous ages," which does not begin with the easiest arts and those most obvious to sense, but presses upon novices the "abstractions of Logick and Metaphysicks." His is the middle ground, not a distaste that Osborn shows for anything not practical, but the wisdom of a teacher and scholar, who sees the improvements necessary if learning is not to be condemned and hated. He deplores, as Ascham does, the teaching of Latin and Greek by a wrong method over seven or eight years, when it "might be learnt easily and delightfully in one year." In his second book, Osborn reiterates the same point and adds sharp criticism of the universities.

Nor can this be laid to the charge of true Learning, the nurse of Understanding, but the long time spent before they be weaned from the breasts of the Universities, and put into Commerce; the onely means of attaining strength and ability to Judge what is fit to be retained, and what to be

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76Ibid., p. 277.
neglected, suitable to the Course, Fortune or Necessity hath allotted for a future subsistence; unpossibly to be gained under such a narrow Erudition as Cambridge or Oxford affords; which like Stoneage, the Pyramids, and other rarities, may be well worth a visit, but not to be made Habitations or places of abode. It not residing in the power of any Tutorage to inculcate a wisdome beyond the extent of its own knowledge, and the ability it hath to back its Rudements, by visible experience; one Example prevailing more upon the Memory, than ten Rules; and one that is for the present to be seen, than twenty found in Old Authors, not possible to quadrate with all times and occasions.77

Later in his life, Penton revises his earlier impressions of the university. Having decided, upon the advice of a wise Chaplain and friend, to give Oxford another chance by taking his second son there to be prepared for the church, Penton recounts his experiences. The students were roaring and singing outside, while his boy was being fitted for his gown. The Proctor hurried to silence them; returning, he explained that the University was blamed often for acts of town youths, and agreed that public houses were no place for sons of gentry. Further, the Proctor said, the purpose of Oxford was to serve such fine sons of the gentry as this one just brought, and the gentry "ought not to be against us or envy our moderate fortunes whose whole Employment is taken up in serving them, by breeding their sons here, and serving their Cures hereafter."78

77Osborn, Part II, op. cit., pp. 63-64.
78Penton, op. cit., p. 42.
Another experience was the indifference of the tutor toward the gentleman's letter of introduction. He does not value money or the gratitude of the parent, this tutor informs Fenton; he values success and satisfaction which come in "the towardliness and proficiency of a great many young Gentlemen who at this day doe the University Credit, and the places where they live Good, by their excellent Example."\(^79\) The same tutor explained that the true teacher felt deeply the care and the responsibility, and was always afflicted with a fear that the boys "would miscarry."

Unlike many another writer, Waterhouse praises the Universities, the Inns of Court, and the Corporations for their interest in the training of youth for service to the nation. From these places of instruction, "march continually the Helio's of Learning, the Hectors of courage, the Critiques in Law, the Magistrates in Towns, the Nobles and Gentry in Parliament and Country."\(^80\) This is one of the most earnest expressions to be found in the books of courtesy.

Higford's Institutions, as well as Waterhouse's Gentleman's Monitor, approves the Inns of Court as a place of training. Many of the nobility and gentry, when their sons left the University, omitted that training and sent

\(^79\)Ibid., p. 45.
\(^80\)Waterhouse, op. cit., p. 71.
the youths to travel on the continent. Higford asks the pertinent question, "what is it to be conversant abroad, and a stranger at home?" With Bacon he considers these Inns of Court "virtuous and fruitful seminaries for the breeding of youth where they study the known laws of the land and other noble exercises." This does not justify Shadwell's satire of Sir Timothy Shacklehead and young Shackum, who attended the Inns of Court.

Fenton, though, had observed what Shadwell saw in the product. Having been disappointed in his youth at the indifference of his tutor so that he left Oxford and never finished, Fenton, years later, would not send his own son there. He says he would have sent his son to the Inns of Court, but he had observed "for these last twenty years how the Gaiety and Frolick of the Court, and the great admiration of Wit, had softened the Souls of many excellent Persons into an aversion from Industry." He noticed that these persons did nothing more "considerable than assisting at a ball, and instead of adding Wealth and Honor to a Family" by advancement through law, impaired both. These became, through idleness, so poisoned with licentiousness,

81 Higford, op. cit., p. 63.
atheism, and promiscuous use of women, that "the eldest sons could not be persuaded to marriage, or ladies of fortune and quality to have them for husbands." 83

In the play, The Lancashire Witches, Sir Timothy Shacklehead is not only fond of sports to the exclusion of courtship, but he is affected and simple. His father, Sir Jeffry Shacklehead, wishes him to marry Isabella in order to unite two estates. The young man is very proud of one honor— that of having been knighted. The girl Isabella calls him "foolish," to which he retorts: "Foolish! Ha, ha, ha, that's a pretty jest; why hasn't I been at Oxford and the Inn's of Court?" 84

In The Scourers, Sir Humphrey Maggot, noticing that Sir William Bant, the wastrel gallant, was reprimanding the tradesmen for besetting him daily with duns, comments to himself:

Sir Humph. Here's a Spark, thank Heaven I have kept my Nephew at the Inns of Court whom I bred up, free from his lewd Acquaintance. 85

The girls do not care for Mr. Whackum's type. They speak of him as "a mechanick thing," for "there is not such an odious creature as a city spark"; nor as a "filthy City

83 Ibid.
85 Act I, p. 93.
wit, more impulsive, foolish, and ill-mannered," than "a Gentleman." But their governess Priscilla, in defense, exclaims: "He, wicked! Why he was a student at the Inns of Court, Madame Eugenia."

Shadwell thus slaps at both institutions of higher learning and corroborates Fenton's judgment.

How strict parents should be is another point of lasting interest, and Shadwell does not neglect it. Though his The Squire of Alsatia is not an entirely original idea, he interpolates many lines to the consideration of the right kind of restraint. In the courtesy literature Quarles and Fenton think the subject worthy of discussion.

From the Adelphoe Shadwell has taken the two points of view - one of severity and the other of kindness tempered with indulgence; but he has changed the emphasis from the follies to the benefits of the soft method. Shadwell, Borgman thinks, "has added to Terence by making the believer in the sterner method of training argue for schooling in the practical things of life."87

A commentary on The Squire of Alsatia commends the teachings in the play: "An Audience, which is convinced of the good Effects of Sir Edward Belfond's prudent

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86 Act II, p. 97.
87 Borgman, op. cit., p. 206.
Management of his Son, will not go contrary to it when they have occasion to follow the Example; nor is the Consequence of Sir William’s Manner of Behavior any encouragement to follow it. The Lenity of Sir Edward, and his taking proper Opportunitys to instill such Maxims into his Son as these, ’young Fellows will never get Knowledge but at their own Cost,’ ’there’s Nothing but Anxiety in Vice,’ and ’every drunken Fit is a short Madness, that cuts off a good Part of Life,’ made his Son reflect on his Actions, and profit from every Reflection; but the Severity of Sir William made his Son eager in Pursuit of what he had been tyrannically restrained from, and had so blunted his Understanding that he was scarcely capable of enjoying the benefit of Reflection, till Destruction, the Product of Vice and Folly, stared him in the Face.”

The two brothers, Sir William and Sir Edward, have each brought up a son of Sir William’s. But Sir William, since arriving in town, has heard that Belfond, Junior is living the life of a profligate young Restoration gallant, and has remonstrated with his brother for the brother’s

88Borgman, p. 210, fn. 21. Chapter III of the "Considerations on the Stage, and on the Advantages which arise to a Nation from the Encouragement of Arts," printed with The Triumphs of Love and Honour, A Play...By Mr. Cooke (London, 1731), contains "A Criticism on The Squire of Alsatia." The book was not available so I am depending on Mr. Borgman for this material from p. 61 f.
laxity with the younger man:

Sir Edw. I am confident you are mistaken; he has as fair Reputation as any Gentleman about London: 'Tis true, he's a good fellow, but no Sot; he loves mirth and society, without Drunkenness: He is, as all young Fellows, I believe are, given to Women, but it is in private; and he is particular; no Common Shore-master: and in short, keeps as good Company as any man in England.

Sir William acquaints him with what he has overheard from the Alsatian bullies, and how the rogues talked to him [Sir William] until he drew a sword on them.

Sir Edw. I am sure he keeps no such Company; it must be some other of his Name.

Sir Will. You make me mad to excuse him thus, the Town rings of him; you have ruined him by your Indulgence. Besides, he throws away Money like dirt; his Infamy is notorious.

Sir Edw. Infamy! Nay there you wrong him; he does no ungentlemanlike things: Prithsee consider Youth a little; What if he does Wench a little; and now and then is somewhat extravagant in Wine? Where is the great Crime? All young fellows that have mettle in them will do the first; and if they have wit and good humour in them, in this drinking Country, they will sometimes be forc'd upon the latter; but he must be a very dull phlegmatical Lump, whom Wine will not elevate to some Extravagance now and then.

Sir William becomes very angry that his brother does not consider drinking and whoring to be faults, until his brother comments that one would think he were drunk and maudlin; Sir William should remember his own young spark days when he "would drink, scour and wench with the best o' of th' town." When Sir William answers that he soon repented and settled down, Sir Edward adds, "and turned to the other extreme."
To reclaim the boy from such wild ways, the generous father is urged "to cudgel him, and allow him no money; make him not dare to offend thus." Sir William describes the result of his own strict training:

Sir Will. ...Well, I have a Son whom by my strictness I have for'md according to my heart; He never puts on his Hat in my presence; Rises at second Course, takes away his Plate, says Grace, and saves me the Charge of a Chaplain. Whenever he committed a fault I maul'd him with Correction; I'd fain see him once dare to be extravagant; No, he's a good Youth, the Comfort of my Age; I weep for joy to think of him. Good Sir, learn to be a Father of them that is one; I have a Natural Care of him you have Adopted.88

Likewise Quarles advises that, in dealing with children, one should be neither too harsh nor too indulgent.

If thou hast an Estate, and a Sonne to inherit it, keepe him not too short, lest he thinke thou livest too long; what thou allowest him, let him receive from thy hand as a Gift; ...Keepe the Reines of thy Estate in thy own hand, lest thou forsaking the Soveraignty of a Father, he forget the Reverence of a Child: Let his Liberty be grounded on thy permission, and keep him within the compass of thy Instruction: Let him feel thou hast the Curbe, though occasion urge thee not to cheeke.90

Leniency, or rather gentleness and tact are counsels of Quarles when a son is not easy to control. If the boy is given to lavish company, divert him to lawful recreations, he directs. His words about manner and attitude toward a wilful youth are much the same as Sir Edward's:

88 The Squire of Alsatia, op. cit., Act I, pp. 219-220.
90 Quarles, op. cit., p. 32.
If he be given to lavish Company, endeavor to stave him off with lawful Recreation: Be cheerfull with him, that he may love thy presence; and winke at small faults, that thou mayst gaine him: Be not always chiding, lest thou harden him; neither knit thy brow too often, lest thou dishearten him: Remember, the discretion of a father oft times prevents the destruction of a childe. 91

Sir Edward's resumé of the gentle training is reminiscent of the words of the old tutor in Fenton's Guardian's Instructions, that "if he found a Boy, rugged and untractable, quickly to ease Himself of the uncomfortable duty of Severity"; 92 or of Ascham, "For I assure you, there is no such whetstone, to sharpen a good witte and encourage a will to learnings, as is praise." 93

The adopted father explains his principle of candor and gentleness with young Belfond:

Sir Edw. You are his Father by Nature, I by Choice; I took him when he was a Child, and bred him up with gentleness, and that kind of Conversation that has made him my friend; He conceals nothing from me, or denies nothing to me. Rigour makes nothing but Hypocrites.

Sir Will. Perhaps, when you begin late; but you should have been severe to him in his childhood; abridg'd him of Liberty and Money, and have had him soundly whipp'd often; he would have blest you afterwards.

Sir Edw. Too much streightness to the minds of Youths, like too much lacing to the Body, will make them grow crooked.

Sir Will. But no lacing at all will make them swell and grow Monsters.

91 Ibid., p. 32.
92 Fenton, op. cit., p. 31.
Sir Edw. I must govern by love. I had as
leive govern a Dog as a Man if it must be by fear;
this I take to be the difference between a good
Father to Children and a harsh Master over Slaves.

Sir William reminds that the youth's prodigality is the
result, while Sir Edward reaffirms that the boy is his by
love and adoption:

Sir Edw. Your passion blinds you: I have as
tender care as you can have; I have been ever delight-
ed with him from his Childhood; he is endear'd to
me by long custom and familiarity. I have had all
the pleasure of a Father, without the drudgery of
getting a Son upon a damn'd wife, whom, perhaps,
I should wish hang'd.94

It is an interesting aftermath of the above conversation that
Sir William, in anger, threatens to take the boy from his
brother, and then, as if to himself, adds "But no, I'd not
be troubled with him."

The adopted father suggests that they go then to
look for him, that they will probably find him over a book
in study; but Sir William, again for all his protestations,
must go to see to business affairs first, and will join Sir
Edward afterward. The fond Sir Edward ends the matter with,
"He is of so good a disposition: So much a Gentleman; And
has such worth and honour, that if you knew him as well as
I, you'd love him as well as I do."95

In depicting the results of Lady Maggot's behaviour
towards her daughters, Shadwell had a purpose similar to the

94The Squire of Alsatia, op. cit., Act I, pp. 219-221.
95Ibid.
problem of sons in *The Squire of Alsatia*, for he writes in his epilogue:

But know all, by these Presents; there's no way
But Gentleness, to make ripe girls obey;
Us'd ill, if they have Beauty, Wit, or Sense,
They will rebel in their own just Defence.  

Allestree and Brathwait write similarly, but with an emphasis upon godliness.

The education of youth was always a pressing interest to Englishmen. The dramatist, Shadwell, devotes one entire play to the problem and small portions of others. The courtesy writers place the subject in the first section and expend more space and exhibit more interest in it than any other topic.

In the beginning the responsibility that rested upon a young man of wealth and position was the favored reason for the pursuance of an education. The governing class had to be able to govern. Gradually the point changed to the idea of utility - an education that would make him a good man of estate, able to serve his king. Shadwell agrees with courtesy books in these two points, though he seems to lean more toward some of the humanistic studies than the courtesy writers.

Another group began a third issue - namely, that virtue was the requirement for a gentleman and the only  

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requirement. Shadwell does not enter upon this question.

Virtue, though, was so broad it included all qualities such as forbearance, temperance, moderation, and the like, indirectly the attributes of an educated mind. In this expanded conception the dramatist does include virtue as the attribute of a trained and controlled youth.

Both groups of writers consider the question of tutors for young men, but the courtesy books present the topic in such detail and with such illustration, that there is no comparison with Shadwell's single-sentence descriptions. Evidently, since writers of courtesy books were so often tutors themselves, it was a subject of paramount interest to them. They consequently gave tutors more space.

The university and Inns of Court are adversely criticized by dramatists and in other writings. Evidently the training in both centers had deteriorated during the century. These places of instruction have their advocates, as well as critics, in Shadwell and Fenton.

Parents, especially too parsimonious fathers and too fond mothers, are held to blame for the condition of education in the land. Gentleness but firmness is considered better than fondness and indifference.
From the middle of the sixteenth century, foreign travel had been looked upon as a better mode of finishing the education of a gentleman than a course at the university. There were two aims in travelling - a pleasure which comes from the sight of strange places and people and a profit which is manifest in the general good to one's country. Bacon's essay set forth these two points, though the idea had been generally conceded before. Dramatic art, since it is reflective of the customs and ideals of the era in which it is produced, often includes references to men who have been abroad. In 1660 and directly thereafter, the subject was immensely pertinent. French manners and customs predominated at the court of Charles II, and the slurs in Shadwell's plays - A True Widow, The Lancashire Witches, The Virtuoso, The Roman-Captain, and Bury-Fair - reveal that it was not pleasing to him. It must be borne in mind, however, that Shadwell was conscious of this influence as the result of an historical revolution and not of travel in its usual connotation. His plays make no issue with travel in Europe conducted as Gailhard suggests.

The grievance of English elders like Snarl in The Virtuoso was that the English youths, while learning in travel abroad to "smatter French," were taught also
"French vices to spend English estates with." Snarl dislikes their pert manner and snobbishness:

Snarl. ...They are all forward and positive in things they understand not; they laugh at any Gentlemen to be good for nothing but to make a Figure in the Drawing-room, wet his periwig in the glass, smile, whisper, and make legs and foolish faces for an hour or two, without a word of sense.¹

But the young men, Bruce and Longvil, consider that his words and attitude are the result of the old rogue's malice toward the young.

Reminiscing with Sir Edward Hartfort on the effects of travel abroad, another young gentleman, Doughty, concludes his remarks with:

Our Sparks bring nothing but Foreign Vices and Follies home; 'tis ridiculous to be bred in one Country to learn to live in another.²

Milton in his essay on education remonstrates in a like manner. He describes the practice as "the Monsieurs of Paris [taking] our hopeful Youth into their slight and prodigal custodies and send[ing] them back again transform'd into Mimicks, Apes, and Kicshoes."³

The tendency to accept everything from another country in preference to England's could be criticized. In explaining the type of courtship in vogue among the fops, Stanmore sets the situation before Bellmore.

¹The Virtuoso, op. cit., Act II, p. 131.
Bellmore. This is a folly of our own growth, it came not to us out of France.
Stan. That Nation has at this time no folly so harmless.
Bell. But if there be any stirring of what kind soever, our empty young fellows will be sure to fill themselves with it, and prefer it to all the sense and good breeding of their own Country.4

A courtesy writer of the mid-century speaks almost the identical words. Edward Waterhouse thinks perhaps things of England will need an advocate; for

...Dyet, Clothes, Coaches, Toyes, yea even everything is (by many) through the worse for being English; which is the reason that we may well be accounted Christianom Scopicks, who seek husks and trash abroad, when there is plenty and bread enough in our father's house; and by a ludibrious desultoriness, patch up our dainties of minute severalties extraneously collected; such linsey-woley minds we have, that if the warp be English the woof must be Foreigne, so undelighted we are to be all English.5

The fact that both the drama and the book of manners are so insistent against foreign invasion of manners and customs indicates how general it must have been.

Another criticism of a French practice which has crept over the channel is the treatment of pages. A gentleman customarily sent his son into the household of a nobleman or of another member of the gentry for an apprenticeship in courtly manners. But the custom in the French hands had degenerated, we are informed by Lord Bellamy. Speaking to Charles, his new page, he has just

5Waterhouse, op. cit., p. 359.
told the young man how pleased he has been with his attitude and deportment:

Bell. I see thy Education has been good, and find thou art a virtuous Boy, and so ready in the Service; thy diligence has almost out flown my thoughts; yet it has kept pace with my desires; and everything thou dost, thou seem'st to do with pleasure.

Charles. I shou'd be wicked else, having so excellent a Lord and Master.

Bell. I use thee not as other Noblemen their pages, who let Gentlemans Sons ride at the Tails of their Coaches croudied with rascally Footmen: 'tis a French mode; they used formerly to give 'em the same Education with their Sons, which made their Fortunes; and 'twas a Preferment then, for a Gentleman's younger Son: Now, they are bred to Box and Dice, and Cheat with the Footmen; after they're out of Livery, perhaps they turn to the Recreation of the High-way; or the top of their Fortune is to take up in some Troop, and there's an end of 'em. 6

In order to thrust home the extent of the affectation among English gentlemen, Shadwell permits the subject to dominate a scene in two separate plays. In each play two friends, young men of sense, discourse about travel abroad. One or both have just returned from the Continent. Through them the dramatist shows the general weakness to Englishmen in the aping of French customs and speech.

Carlos, just returned from abroad, is reporting the news and fashions of France to Stanmore and Bellmour. As young men of the town, the two latter feel interested in gossip around Paris and in general matters on the continent.

Bell. Right; but how go matters in France? What new foppery is turned up trumps there?

Car. What with governors, ladies' eldest sons, ambassadors and envoys, you have 'em here almost as soon as the French themselves.

Stan. No alteration since we were there?

Car. Wit and women are quite out of fashion; so are flutes, doux, and fiddlers; drums and trumpets are their only music.

Bell. 'Tis but ill music for their neighbors, Carlos. At home they are always roaring out Te Deums for stealing of some town or other; war and equipage is their discourse; which by the way, is so pompous that should they conquer Europe they would scarce be savers.

Stan. How came wit and women out of fashion?

Car. Why, in camps they learn to live without women; and for wit great men that love to play the fool in quiet find it troublesome.

Bell. 'Faith, the latter of these is a great grievance here; our great men hate wit, but love damned flattery, though never so fulsome. 7

In a short while, Bellmour introduces Carlos to Theodosia, as "a gentleman, a friend of ours, lately come out of France," to which Carlos responds that France "could not show me so much beauty." Theodosia does not like the French manner of constant compliments and says he has imported French goods. Admitting that the French, "the tailor as well as the Gentlemen," do speak in terms of compliments, Carlos insists that he would not bring so common a thing as a compliment to her. 8

After Theodosia, a young woman of breeding, has become acquainted with Carlos, she is impressed at his good sense and freedom from foppish mannerisms usual among those back from France.

8 Ibid., p. 309.
Theodosia. I hear never a French word from you, and that's strange; for all our sparks are so refined, they scarce speak a sentence without one; and though they seldom arrive at good French, yet they get enough to spoil their English.

Carlos. If a man means nothing, he cannot choose a better language; for it makes a pretty noise, without any manner of thought.9

Whether Shadwell felt thus harshly about the French power of thought or not, he is strongly in sympathy with Carlos's attitude of mind toward French vocabulary.

Later Theodosia mentions, by way of courtesy, that he has scarcely brought over "one substantial vanity" with him, and wonders what he has learned there. Carlos answers:

To love my Country and to think that none can show us so fine women.10

The play The Lancashire Witches, of still later date, includes references to the corruption of English manners by the French, the servile sping by the English of foreign customs, the lost hospitality of the earlier English gentry, and the present custom of "turning servants to Board-wages."11

Bellfort and Doubty, the two young gallants of the play, have travelled abroad as all Englishmen of breeding and wit do. They and Sir Edward Doughty represent the Englishmen who, as Higford points out, have, by travel, been sweetened out of their insular mode of life. Caught late one evening in the vicinity of Sir Edward Hartfort's home,
they are conducted to him. He offers them the hospitality of his house.

Sir Edward. I know your Fathers well, we were in Italy together, and all of us came home with our English religion and our English Principles. When they thank him and speak of the character that men give him and that England rings with, he answers:

Sir Edward. Gentlemen, you do me too much honour; I would endeavor to imitate the life of our English gentry before we were corrupted with the base manners of the French.

Bellf. If all had had that noble resolution, long since we had curb'd the greatness of that Monarch.

The preference for French foppery to the exclusion of English heritages is far from what he prefers.

Sir Edward. ...But our new-fashion'd gentry love the French too well to fight against 'em; they are bred abroad without knowing anything of our Constitution, and come home tainted with foppery, slavish Principles, and Popish Religion.

The young man, Bellfort, agrees with him. He resents the architecture brought from hot countries to serve in cold ones, and food appropriate only for hot climate. After a day within Sir Edward's home, the young men express to him how much the grounds of his estate, his way of living, and his hospitality have pleased them:

Bellf. Ithinks you represent the Golden days of Queen Elizabeth, such sure were our Gentry then; now they are grown servile Apes to foreign customs, they leave off Hospitality, for which We

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12Ibid., Act I, p. 129.
13Ibid., p. 136.
were famous all over Europe, and turn Servants to Board-wages.

Sir Edw. You are too kind, I am a true Englishman, I love the Princes Rights and Peoples Liberties, and will defend them both with the last Penny in my purse, and the last drop in my veins, and dare defy the witless Plots of Papists.

Bell. Spoken like a Noble Patriot.

Sir Edw. Pardon me, you talk like Englishmen, and you have warm'd me; I hope to see the Prince and People flourish yet, old as I am, in spite of Jesuits; I am sure our Constitution is the noblest in the World.

Doubt. Would there were enough such English Gentlemen.

Bell. Twere to be wisht; but our Gentry are so much poysoned with Porreign Vanities, that methinks the Genius of England seems sunk into the Yeomanry.

Sir Edw. We have indeed too many rotten Members. You speak like Gentlemen, worthy of such Noble Fathers, as you both had.14

An appreciation for the art and statuary of the past is another heritage of travel on the continent. Shadwell satirizes the imitation and confirms the real. In The Sullen Lovers he allows Sir Positive to present the satire on art. Master of all subjects, including art, Sir Positive speaks of Michael Angelo, Titian, Raphael as "very pretty hopeful men," but his own Magdalen which he drew in half an hour is better, he thinks. In his zeal he mistakes a new sign, done by a fellow, Humphrey Robson, for a landlord, for a painting by Hans Holbein, which ends the discussion on art with the height of ridiculousness.

At once reminding a reader of Peacham's encourage-
decorative possibilities in homes or estates of gentlemen and nobles is the estate in The Lancashire Witches. It appears to be decorated with "Statues, Grottoes, and Waterworks" which are pointed out to Belfort and Doughty, the visiting young gentlemen. Some of these, the implication is, were collected by Sir Edward Hartfort during his continental travels.

In the field of art and its correlatives, Shadwell dwells, for the first time, upon the results of travel in its usual connotation, that is, travel beyond France, to Italy for the art and architecture there. The courtesy books treat the subject only slightly, the humanist Peacham being the only one to give art and architecture much consideration.

Peacham believes that travel should train one in knowledge of statuary, inscriptions, and coins. The handling of them will indicate at once the necessity of understanding "these memorials of men and manners of elder times." He speaks of the "possession of such rarities, by reason of their dead costliness, doth properly belong to Princes, or rather to princeely minds." The Duke of Tuscany and Peter de Medici possessed exquisite cabinets of infinite treasures. In England the Right Honorable

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15 Ibid., Act III, p. 137.
16 Peacham, op. cit., p. 106.
17 Ibid.
Thomas Howard Lord High Marshall of England, "as great for his noble Patronage of arts and ancient learning," as for his birth and rank, has assisted in the transplanting of old Greece into his estate and galleries at Arundel House. King Charles, too, Peacham says, has encouraged the study of statues "by causing a whole army of old forraine Emporours, Captaines, and Senators all at once to land on his coasts, to come and doe him homage, and attend him in his palaces of Saint James, and Sommerset-house."18

The study of statues, coins, and ornaments is especially valuable to "ingenuous Gentlemen who are the onely men that imploy Poets, Painters, and Architects, if they be not all these themselves."19 It will protect them from being cozened, for they can judge themselves in regard to purchasing ancient treasures. Of course, painters, poets, and architects themselves require this knowledge for their art itself.

In an earlier essay on painting, Peacham shows again his leanings toward things national. "I ever took delight," he says, "in those Pieces that shewed to the life a Country Village, Fair, or Market, Bergamascas Cookery, Morsice dancing, Peasants together by the eares, and the like."20 But, later in The Compleat Gentleman, national-minded as

18Ibid., p. 108.
19Ibid., p. 111.
20Ibid., Int., xvi.
Peacham was, he had to submit to the preeminence of Italian painters; he gave short lives of the important artists,—Durer, Goltzius, Angelo, Holben, Shadan, and a group of painters in oil—enlivening them with suitable anecdotes.

Gailhard, like Peacham, considers some skill in ancient and modern pictures, statues, medals, and such other curiosities necessary to finish off the education in foreign countries, but he is the only other writer to mention the subject. Shadwell’s inclusion of architecture and painting in his plays indicates how broad his understanding of society was.

In several ways the dramatist indicates a disapproval of French affectations in those who have never been abroad—persons of lesser gentry and of the lower class. One imitation of the French was the importation of French valets. Shadwell alludes to this affectedness in three plays. Selfish, a coxcomb in A True Widow, is annoyed at his "Valet de Chambre" for the way he has tied his cravat. He insists that "a man cannot get a good Valet de Chambre, French or English." When young Belfond, Senior is given by the Alsations an equipage suitable to his station, he is also fitted with a French valet, La Mar. In The Woman Captain Sir Humphrey Scattergood,

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21 Ibid., pp. 128-154.
23 Squire of Alsatia, op. cit., III, 291.
"a prodigal, extravagant and luxurious Knight," is pictured, at twenty-four, coming into his estate. Among his numerous requirements for the enjoyment of his fortune is a French valet.24

The "great lady" Mistress, the fool in the lord's house, his steward, and ladies at the watering places pretend to a knowledge of the French language. A True Widow describes the "finest woman in the town," a mistress of some noble, as never wearing anything made in England and having "all the new affected words, sent her before they were in print, which made her pass among fops for a kind of French wit."25

The fool, asking Sir Humphrey to retain him in service, offers to become "a fashionable Fool, and learn to lisip, speak French, and be very much affected." When Sir Humphrey and his acquaintances enumerate all the foods they wish to have served, the steward remarks, "I should have taken these hard words for conjuring, but why must your worship have French Cooks."26

In Bury-Fair it is Lady Fantast with her daughter, Mrs. Fantast, who interlards her conversation with French words.27 She is the young lady who has, for breeding, a "penchant"; who finds heroic numbers "ravissant, most

25Act I, p. 239.
27Bury-Fair, Act II, pp. 313-35.
suprenant"; and a tragedy "so touchant" that she would die; she it is who is affected, at want of wit and breeding, with unconquerable "Chagrin." Lady Fantast, with pride, assures her stepdaughter, Gertrude, that she has bred her daughter, Mrs. Fantast, a linguist.

Lady Fantast has just criticized Gertrude's vocabulary as poor breeding and is suggesting to her what she should have said.

_Gert._ Breeding! Why, this had been a flam, a mere flam.

_Mrs. Fan._ Eh, Mon Dieul! this had been delicate et bien tourné. Call generous compliments flam!

_Lady Fan._ Thus you had shown true breeding.

_Gert._ Breeding! I know no breeding necessary, but discretion to distinguish company and occasions; and common sense, to entertain persons according to their rank; besides making a curtsey not awkwardly, and walking with one's toes out.

_Mrs. Fan._ Eh Gud, eh Gud!

_Lady Fan._ Let me tell you, you are a pert young thing; you are a curious judge indeed of the art of refined conversation.

_Gert._ Art! Conversation ought to be free, easy and natural.

_Mrs. Fan._ Eh Gud, eh Gud! Sweet madam, despise not art. Can there be any conversation well dressed, as I may say, without French in the first place to lard it?

_Gert._ Some fops indeed think so, that use it in every sentence.

_Gert._ A lady may look after the affairs of a family, the demeanor of her servants, take care of her nursery, take all her accounts every week, obey her husband, and discharge all the offices of a good wife with her native tongue; and this is all I desire to arrive at; and this is to be of some use in a generation; while your fantastic lady, with all those trappings and ornaments you speak of, is good for no more than a dancing mare, to be led about and shown.28

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28 Ibid., pp. 377-378.
Later the two ladies are very charmed with La Roch, whom Wildish is bribing to impersonate a French count, and to pay court to the daughter, "an affected, disdainful, conceited" person. She is the young lady who tells the count that they are only "plain English" and have never had the blessing to be in France. She and her mother pronounce his person "charmant," his air "tuant," and the whole situation "mon pauvre coeur!"29

I should say that the best in the books of courtesy concerns itself with the education of the youth, and of that section the greater part deals with travel as a necessary adjunct. This interest appeared to engage the minds of English tutors even before the encroachment of French affectations that followed the Restoration. About it, too, there always persists the fear of any influence which endangered the "Englishman for England" solidarity.

The earliest courtesy writer in the century, Peacham, speaking in 1622, illustrates this point:

In my opinion nothing rectifieth and confirmeth more the judgment of a Gentleman in forraine affaires, teacheth him knowledge of himselfe, and setteth his affection more sure to his owne Country, than travaile doth; for if it be the common Law of Nature, that the learned should have rule over and instruct the ignorant, the experienced, the inexperienced, what concerneth more Nobility, taking place above other, then to be learned and wise? And where may wisdome

29Ibid., pp. 324-328.
be had, but from many men, and in many places? Hereupon we finds the most eminent and wise men
of the world to have been the greatest travellers (omitting Patriarchs and Apostles of Holy Writ).

The knowledge of languages learned in travel as well
with a tutor's instruction is an essential achievement for
a gentleman. Shadwell's positive statement, in contrast
with his satire of affectation with French vocabulary,
appears in The Squire of Alsatia portrait before alluded
to, that a young man should be conversant in French and
should learn it in the country where it is spoken. Peacham
recommends French because it is "chiefly affected among our
nobility" for its copiousness and sweetness, as well as
because "many famous workes by as great wits as any ever
Europe bred, have been published in that language." He
suggests that a youth seek the place where the language is
best spoken, and settle there: "For the French, Orleans
and thereabout is esteemed the best, Florence for the
Italian, Leipsick for the high Dutch, and Valledolid for the
Spanish." Osborn places the learning of a language high in
the profits and the reasons for travel:

Next to Experience, Languages are the richest
lading of a Traveller: among which French is most
useful, Italian and Spanish not being so fruitful

31 Supra, p. 115.
32 Ibid., p. 238.
33 Ibid.
of learning (except for the Mathematics and Romances). Their other books being gelt by the Fathers of the inquisition.\(^3^4\)

He must not remain with his countrymen, however, if he contemplates learning a language.

It "concerneth" a person to be skilled in the languages of the countries where one travels, thinks Higford, and to him French is the most in use and "the most sweet tongue."\(^3^5\) Gailhard makes the same point, and uses it in support of taking youths abroad early. He contends that then they are "more capable of learning Tongues, and Exercise."\(^3^6\) In fact, to travel into a country, a gentleman should know something of its language: "so they ought to have something of the French before they go out of England, of Italian before they leave France, and of the German before they stir out of Italy, and so of the rest."\(^3^7\) This meant a true knowledge of language as a spoken living language, and not an affectation of the language with words of a foreign tongue scattered through the English.

Other acquisitions from travel and the best time for it are paramount questions. Travel teaches a knowledge of the world, Gailhard comments; "Skill in men and manners," as Locke calls it. The tutor and pupil having settled in

\(^3^5\) Higford, op. cit., p. 96.
\(^3^6\) Gailhard, Of the Education of Young Gentleman Abroad, p. 20.
\(^3^7\) Ibid., p. 23.
a French provincial town, the youth learns the language, observes "how to enter a room, how to carry the head and hands, and how to turn the toes out." He is, consequently, the only one to advocate travel in early youth.

First, what bad inclinations may happen to be in them, cannot be very strong in so short a time, and therefore are more easily rooted out, and better ones grafted in their place... Secondly, because when they be young, they are the more tractable, and receive impressions better... I believe their passions are weaker in them; and therefore are not so strong headed, and less obstinate. They do not go abroad to show they are very rational, men of wit and parts, but to learn these things.

He considers obedience and tractability the foundation to learning and the basis of good breeding.

At this point he criticizes parents who send their children abroad when they do not know what to do with them: "When Schools, Universities, Inns of Courts, and every other way hath been tried to no purpose." The statement is like Bellmore's, "This is a folly of our own growth." It was too late, he avers, for a governor to remedy matters to any appreciable degree. The child should have been sent before he was "hardened in his evil courses." Gailhard has sympathy for a governor or tutor with such a task, and if he succeeds, it should be considered a credit to him.

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38 Ibid., p. 2. This is a page in civility taken really out of Galateo and other books on civility.
40 Ibid., p. 20.
41 Ibid.
"fit him [the tutor] for other things, and those not inconsiderable."

The facts of government which a citizen of England should amass in foreign places interests Higford. He should observe the situation of towns, cities, rivers, highways; the policy and ordering of states, especially monarchies; the prince, - his courts of judges, his cases in law; the army, navy, sources of revenue; the allies of a country, its universities, its famous men. Probably this is Gailhard's idea when he suggests a review, while travelling, of the studies had in the university. This section of Higford's book seemed very instructive in its definiteness, as well as in its emphasis upon the youth's obligation to his country and to his king. Everywhere the tendency is one of utility in education as emphasized earlier in the century by Peacham. It is noticeable, and yet to be expected, since his was a Renaissance mind, that Peacham was not concerned with governmental observations. Learning during travel meant to him an enjoyment of art and antiquities in an old country, such as Italy.

One of the experiences of travel is to learn how and when to spend. Lavishness and prodigality are not becoming to a nobleman or a gentleman, thinks Gailhard.

42 Higford, op. cit., pp. 91-92.
43 Ibid., pp. 92-95.
Besides, if the gentleman is young and in a strange country, he should realize he is but learning; "his time for it [extravagance] is not come; he doth not travel to make people see he is of a generous and of a liberal disposition, but to learn frugality and how to manage an estate when it falls into his hands." Osborn offers the opinion that frugality can be "of none so perfectly learned as of the Italian and Scot; natural to the first and as necessary to the latter." With the supposition that his gentleman is an older youth, he fears ostentation and lavishness for other reasons than those offered by Gailhard:

Where you never mean to return, extend your liberality at first going, or as you see convenient during your abode; for what you give at parting is quite lost.

Make no ostentation of carrying any considerable summe of money about you; lest you turn that to your destruction, which under God is a Stranger's best preservation: And Remove not from place to place, but with company you know: The not observing whereof is the cause, so many of our Countrymen's graves were never known; having been buried in as much obscurity as Kill'd.

Inns are dangerous, and so are all fresh acquaintance, especially where you find their offer of friendship to outbid a stranger's desert: The same may be said for servants, not be entertained upon ordinary commendations.

It is worth noting that Gailhard does not wish a youth to forget what he learned in schools or the university. He suggests that, in travel, it not "be below

44 Gailhard, op. cit., p. 115.
45 Osborn, op. cit., p. 95.
46 Ibid., pp. 101-102.
him again to go over those things, for I have known some eminently learned men who every year read over their Grammar.\textsuperscript{47} While travelling, the youth, he says, ought to review the "History from the Creation of the World" and the "history of the Country you are in," and ought to learn the "Uses of the Map" and the "Terrestrial Globe."\textsuperscript{48} Mathematics and chemistry are also here recommended, as well as medicine at "Padoa or Montpellier," for "a man having a body to look to, would be glad to know the temper and constitution of it."\textsuperscript{49} Civil Law at Orleans, or Augers,\textsuperscript{50} and art and medals are also suggested,\textsuperscript{51} as Peacham had done before.

There are certain dangers, however, resultant from travelling abroad. Peacham warns to preserve the mind from errors and ill manners, and the body from distemper temperature, either from overeating, drinking, violent or venereal exercise.\textsuperscript{52}

Another danger is a discontent with one's own country. This is determined to a large extent by the age at which the young traveler goes abroad; hence, much is devoted to the time to go. All writers of books of manners

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{47} Gailhard, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 53-54.
  \item \textsuperscript{48} Ibid., p. 54.
  \item \textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p. 56.
  \item \textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p. 57.
  \item \textsuperscript{51} Ibid., pp. 58-60.
  \item \textsuperscript{52} Peacham, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 237.
\end{itemize}
and of drama encourage, first, travel in one's own country. Peacham reminds the English that many of our young gallants have gone over "with an intent to passe by nothing unseen, or what might be known in their places; when they have beene most ignorant here in their owne native Countrey, and strangers to their just reproffe could discourse, and say more of England than they."53

He is deeply convinced of the folly of the study of history in travel when a boy is ignorant of the native heath. He notes the story of old Lord Treasurer Burleigh who, "if anyone came to the Lords of the Councell for a Licence to travaile, hee would first examine him of England; if hee found him ignorant, would bid him stay at home and know his owne countrey first."54

In a curriculum more extensive than had ever been found possible, John Milton believes first in Learning England. The youth can "ride out in companies with prudent and staid Guides, to all quarters of the Land," to learn "Towns and Tillage, Harbours and Ports for Trade, even the Sea as for as to our Navy."55

Foreign travel, Milton thinks, is desirable "at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn Principles but to enlarge Experience, and make wise

53Ibid.
54Ibid., Intro., xvi.
55Milton, op. cit., IV, 290.
observation." By that time he observes, "they will be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent." Other nations then may be glad to visit England "to perfect their breeding and imitate us in their Country," which is an ironical reproof to French imitators.

Even stronger in his denunciation of travel as English youths practice it, Osborn speaks as "a Father wearied (and therefore possibly made wiser) by Experience";

Some, to starch a more serious face upon wanton, impertinent, and dear-bought vanities, cry up Travell, as the best accomplisher of Youth and gentry, though detected by experience in the generality, for the greatest debaucher: adding affectation to folly, and atheism to the curiosity of many not well principled by education. Such wanderers imitating those factors of Solomon, that together with gold, returned apes and peacocks. They and only they advantage themselves by Travell, who, well fraught with the Experience of what their own country affords, carry over with them large and thriving talents, as those servants did, commended by our Saviour: For he that hath nothing to venture but poor, despicable and solitary parts, may be so far from improvements, as he hazards quite to lose and bury them in the externall Levity of France, Pride of Spaine, and Treachery of Italy, because not being able to take acquaintance abroad of more prudence, then he meets with in the streets and other publick places, the activity of his legs and arms may possibly be augmented, and be by tedious complements, become more acceptable in the eyes of silly women, but useless, if not pernicious, to the government of his own country, in creating doubts and dislikes by way of a partial comparison.

Yet since it advanceth opinion in the world, without which desert is usefull to none but itself

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56Ibid., p. 291.
(Scholars and Travellers being cryed up for the highest graduates in the most universal judgments), I am not much unwilling to give way to peregrine motion for a time, provided it be in company of an ambassador, or person of quality; by whose power the danger may be relieved, no less than your charge of Diet defrayed; inconsiderable in such a retinue, as persons of their magnitude are forced to entertain.

About lack of appreciation for home attractions, Osborn advises not to make comparisons in travel or upon one's return:

...for what doth it concern the advancement of wisdom, whether London, or Paris, or St. Marks Church or Paul's be the fairest. The like modesty must be observed at your return home; lest you should seem to have lost, in your travel through other nations, the natural affection so justly due to your own; which may raise suspicion of a change, either in your religion or allegiance.58

In the same regard there should be little criticism of any sort, for everything is relative, depending upon time and place, and one's own words may be a trap for one's self:

Condemn none with too much severity, you find in never so palpable an error of Judgment or Manners (which for the most part are merely respective to Time and Place) lest you should bait a Trap with a precedent strong enough one day, to catch yourself; all things, we stile Sin, lying in the bowels of men, as Metals do in the Earth, under an equall parity, till Policy, for the benefit of commerce, stamps them with the image of the Devill, and on their Renverse Punishment and Shame; No more proper to them by nature, then for gold or silver to beare the impressse and superscription of a Prince, before it be coyned, and make currant, or prohibited by Law, the Master of the Mint, in relation to Good and Evill.59

57 Osborn, pp. 30-82.
59 Ibid., pp. 82-88.
The Englishman was always a globe-trotter, but at that time, before and after the Restoration, the Continent was particularly crowded with refugees of all kinds. If we can trust Osborn's remarks upon Englishmen abroad, it is not difficult to account for their bad reputation. Indeed, all Englishmen should be avoided, he says, because they are quarrelsome, and inclined to mock at foreign ways and indulge in odious comparisons, which land them in dangerous disputes. Osborn expresses it thus:

The English also are observed abroad more quarrelsome with their own nation, then strangers, and therefore marked out as the most dangerous Companions. An injury in forraigne aire is cheaper passed over then revenged, the endeavor of which hath (not seldom) drawn on a greater: Besides, if patience and Evasion be not learned by your Travell, the bills you have taken up may perhaps be discharged, as to the merchant, but quite lost in regard to any return or profit to such inconsiderate men, as suffer themselves to be transported with their Passions; since he that is Master of them, shall act and speak reason, when others, destitute of that moderation, appear mad, uttering nothing but noise.60

The admonitions from other theorists of conduct in regard to travel follow the same pattern. Not decrying travel in general, Allestree is only against the unseasonable time that is chosen for it. He believes a mature age is better, for "the Judgment is settled and qualified to make useful observations."61 The sea soon washes away notions

60Ibid., p. 96.
61[Allestree], p. 39.
which "lie crude in the brains, but have wanted maturity of years to digest into their manners."

Speaking of hasty education permitted by parents... through the University and from thence the next step is over the Sea, which soon washes away those notions, which lie crude in the brains, but have wanted maturity of years to digest into their manners. Indeed 'tis not imag'nable how they should retain them, they being at their coming abroad solemnly put in a direct course of forgetting speedily what they formerly learnt, their whole time being then by order to be taken up in other unspeculative exercises, wherein if they do happen to attain to some eminency, yet 'tis sure but a dry exchange for what they quit for it...

That the great men of England would study most, and affect best, the laws, customs and usages of England is advocated by still another Englishman, Waterhouse. He knows it is natural for every man to love his own country, and he cannot understand why persons are "so covetous to see forrein parts, when we sit still and desire not to Travaile in our own Country, where as much curiosity and delight of nature is? Why are we studious of Foreine Laws, and neglect to know our own, by which our Fortunes, Fames, Children, Lives, must stand or fall? Why do we admire the Rarities of France, Spain, Italy and the East, when we have as much Variety and wonder in Britain, as elsewhere; or as needs to entertain our Enquiry? Why should our neighbours give us the Standard of breeding, and the mode of Fashion, who

never could give us Laws, or be Masters of the Seas above us.\textsuperscript{63} He insists upon a thorough English education and praises English institutions, allowing for travel with a purpose only later in life:

Therefore, I am first for home-breeding, in Universities, and Inns of Court, which are Courtly Academies, and profitable Hostelries of Generous Youth: wherein, besides the Patrial Laws (which to study, and be versed in, concerns Noblemen and Gentlemen above others, as they have great Estates, and great trusts in Government; in which ignorance of the Laws will not set them off:) There is no kind of Learning but may be imparted to them, by Masters proper and near.\textsuperscript{64}

If one must travel, Waterhous says "neerer Plato's age might be regarded as the best season," and only for those public individuals such as ambassadors, heralds, spies.\textsuperscript{65} Though he does not express the requirement of travelling first in England, Gailhard insists upon a knowledge of England. While stating the value of observing, in passing through, the curiosities and remarkable things of a country, he suggests that a gentleman should be able "to satisfy them [questioners] in several things they ask [about England]."\textsuperscript{66} He adds, as if he considered himself England's advocate, a three-page description of England's climate, crops, natural resources, at sea and on land, and its manufactured articles valued abroad.

Like Higford he believes a gentleman ought to study

\textsuperscript{63}Waterhous, op. cit., pp. 360-361.
\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., p. 349.
\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., p. 351.
\textsuperscript{66}Gailhard, op. cit., p. 24.
the forms of government while abroad, and "be versed in fashions and customs particular to the Nation." 67 As an illustration, he reverts to the "Country Gentleman being come up to the City," 68 who ought to "go once a day, or every other day to Westminster-Hall, if it be Parliament or Term time, to Court once or twice a week, and as often to the Exchange; 'twere not amiss also to see the Quarter-sessions in the Old Baily; for I am of opinion, that a young Gentleman before he comes to a settlement, ought to think that nothing is below him to be known." 69 Thus, while directing young men to show curiosity about details of other countries when abroad, Gailhard emphasizes the important history and bulwarks of England.

The ill effects of foreign travel too early in a person near to him is the contribution of Fenton. Admitting that he sent his son abroad instead of to Oxford, he now knows the boy went too early. Though one fault - that "a humour of magnifying things abroad in comparison with his own Country" - was at once apparent when he returned, it was offset by "a stateliness of behaviour, and a contempt for mean acquaintance" which his father thought good. 70 He believed a stateliness of behaviour, not pride, though, is a manner to be expressly cultivated.

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67 Ibid., p. 25.
68 Ibid.
70 Ibid., p. 26.
The error of sending the boy abroad and depriving him of a university training became apparent later, Fenton observed. The boy found himself without learning and with time on his hands. "Obliged to silence in discourses on Learning and State," he took up sports, lamented the father. He fell into such a craze of sports that he was never content except with his dogs, and talking with them. After a while he became fit for no other company but gamesters, was "Debauched, and wholly useless to King, Country, and Family."  

Usually the politic writer of an English book of manners does not concede to the continental gentleman a grace or refinement superior to that of an Englishman. Higford alone admits the weakness in an Englishman's insular mode of life. After stating that he thinks travel with another young gentleman, under the conduct of some grave and learned person, would be advantageous, he adds:

Certainly, upon his dunghill, the English gentleman is somewhat stubborn and churlish; travel will sweeten him very much, and inbreed in him courtesy, affability, respect and reservation.

While Peacham as early as 1622 foresaw the composite

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71Shadwell wrote The Lancashire Witches in 1681, and Fenton, his book in 1688; hence, Shadwell could not have received the idea for the sport-loving sons from Fenton's discourse. The pictures are much the same, enough that Fenton may have followed Shadwell.
72Fenton, op. cit., p. 23.
73Higford, op. cit., p. 91.
English country squire as the predominant English type, a later writer projects an English nationalism which includes the English squire:

...Yet I confess, had I my option, I would pray a discard of all Exotique trifles, as pestilent to the Religion, Gravity, Veracity, Hospitality and common good of England: Let other Nations habit, live, and do as they think good; nothing is in my apprehension so commendable in an Englishman, as to love and prefer English Laws, Usages, Customs, and Fashions above Foreigne ones.75

Again and again Gailhard insists that, in travel abroad, the purpose should be "to serve your King and Countray."76 In conclusion, he cautions the youth against lost occasions to improve one's self and urges "whil'st you stay abroad, use your utmost endeavors to fit your self when you are come home to serve your King and Country."77

The conclusion to be deduced, then, is that Thomas Shadwell and the writers of courtesy considered that Englishmen needed to be more English. They deplored foreign influences that did not add to an Englishman's stature. As a means of polishing off the insular crudities of their countrymen, travel was acceptable; for learning languages and observing governmental systems, art, and historical treasures, it was especially desirable. But a true Englishman had best learn his own land, respect its own

75 Waterhouse, op. cit., p. 361.
76 Gailhard, op. cit., p. 33.
77 Ibid., p. 193.
past history and heritages before going to the continent to admire European accomplishments. For that reason, though books of courtesy devote much more time to the question of years suitable for travel, the interpreters of contemporary thought were averse to travel in early youth.

Though the dramatist recognizes the value of travel, he shows in his plays more interest in deriding the unusual preponderance of French mannerisms and usages - apparel, French words, the employment of French valets, the insincere French compliment - than in portraying the good breeding and culture acquired in travel through the continent. He particularly brings to view those English men and women who have never been abroad but who pretend to have been. The courtesy writers seem disposed to question the system now employed in educating young men through travel abroad. Many insist that the youths should be taken only after they have learned their own country - England - and have reached years of discretion. Those few who wish to send them early desire it as a means of learning languages. Shadwell agrees with the former group that a knowledge of the country from which a man springs and an understanding of what its customs, principles of government, and language mean are more important than travel abroad. With this in mind, he attacks the transference of France into England.
C. COMPANIONSHIP

The complete development of a fine gentleman includes companionship and Thomas Shadwell exemplifies this quality in his life. He had the friendship of the great and the gallants of his time. The Duke and Duchess of Newcastle were his chief patrons, and on more than one occasion welcomed him as a friend at their seat at Welbeck. The poet was also admitted to the exclusive circle of gallants who used to meet at Will's and the Rose taverns: the circles of Rochester, Sedley, Buckhurst, Buckingham, Etherege and Wycherley. Pepys was a friend of the dramatist and later a godfather to his eldest son, John. Lord Buckhurst, in 1677, Earl of Dorset, was an intimate, for in 1672 Shadwell dedicated *The Miser* to him.¹ From association with the most intellectual, if oftentimes the most dissolute gentlemen of his day, Shadwell could display in his dramas friendships of all kinds—of young men of the mode, of gentlemen and ladies, of fops and would-be wits, and of gamesters.

His most successful portraits are those of friendships among men: In *The Sullen Lovers*, Stanford, the melancholy one, and Lovell, who laughs at Stanford's moroseness; in *Epsom Wells*, Rains, Bevil, and perhaps, in

¹Walmsley, op. cit., "Biography of Thomas Shadwell," xi.
a measure, Woodley, all three men of wit and pleasure; in
The Virtuoso, Bruce and Longvil; in A True Widow, Bellamour, Carlos, and Stanmore; in The Squire of Alsatia, Belfond, Junior, a man "given to good fellowship, but an ingenious, well-accomplished gentleman," and Truman, his friend, "a man of honour and fortune"; in Bury-Fair, Lord Bellamy and Wildish; in The Volunteers, Colonel Hackwell, Junior, "a Gallant well-bred young Gentleman," and Welford, "a brave young Gentleman of good Estate," both of whom having got much honor in the late wars. All these men are of the rank of upper gentry and of equality as suggested by books of courtesy for choice in companions.

Stanford and Lovell represent Shadwell's earliest portrayal of friendship among young men. Stanford, explaining to Lovell that he was "Coming abroad to find you out," adds that Lovell is "the onely Friend with whom I can enjoy myself." Lovell laughs over Stanford's impatience with the fops, Minny and Woodcock, volunteers that he would not be of "your uneasie disposition for the World," and agrees that "if thou wilt leave the World, I'll go along with thee as I told thee, Dear Heart."

Another friendship is that of Carlos and Stanmore. The former, after a trip abroad, is being welcomed by

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2 The Sullen Lovers, op. cit., Act I, p. 18.
3 Ibid., Act III, p. 42.
Stanmore, who says he could not "run more hastily upon my Mistress after a long absence"; he insists that Carlos is "the delight of all thy friends, and even thy enemies take a malignant pleasure to behold that shape, that feature, and that mean." When Carlos remonstrates at the compliment, Stanmore reiterates, "Thou art so improved, a man must love as I do, not to envy thee." 4

Practically the same easy comradeship exists between the two young men in Bury-Fair. They have been separated, not because one has been abroad, but because he has retired to his country estate. Like Stanmore of The Sullen Lovers, Lord Bellamy is tired of the noise of fops. Wildish welcomes him back to town, saying he "cou'd not embrace a Mistress with more Ardour." He thought, he says, that he had lost his friend.

Bellamy. That was your fault: I have as pleasant a House and Seat, as most in England, that is thine as much as mine, Ned.

Wildish demurs that it is in the country, "a pretty Habitation for Birds and Cattel," but not for a herded cattel, like man. Bellamy teases Wildish about coming to Bury; it must be "some Wench or other in the way," he says. 5

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5 Bury-Fair, op. cit., Act I, p. 308.
Philosophizing together are the two young men in The Squire of Alsatia. Truman, a friend of Belfond, Junior, comes to call and finds him hearing music, Betty singing to the accompaniment of the flute.

Truman. Belfond, good morn to thee; I see thou still takest care to melt away thy hours in soft delights.

Belf. Jun. Honest Truman! All the pleasures and diversions we can invent are little enough to make the farce of life go down.

Truman. And yet what a coil they keep! How busy and industrious are those who are reckoned grave and wise about this life as if there were something in it.

Belf. Jun. These fools are in earnest, and very solid; they think there's something in't, while wise men know there's nothing to be done here but to make the best of a bad market.

In addition to these comradeships among gentlemen, Shadwell illustrates friendships between fops; e.g., Sir Nicholas Dainty and Sir Timothy Kastril of The Volunteers; between wits, e.g., Sir Formal Trifle and Sir Samuel Hearty in The Virtuoso, and Oldwit and Sir Humphrey Noddy in Bury-Fair; between gamsters, e.g., Cheatley and Captain Hackum in The Squire of Alsatia, and Rant and Hazard in The Miser; and the scowrers, Sir William Rant and his friends; between women, e.g., in Emilia and Carolina of Sullen Lovers, in Lucia and Carolina of Epsom Wells, in Isabella and Theodosia

6The Squire of Alsatia, Act II, p. 263.
of A True Widow, in Eugenia and Clara of The Volunteers; between old soldiers, e.g., in Major General Blunt and Colonel Hackwell in The Volunteers.

One benefit from company of his fellows is that a young man learns to avoid unwelcome company. The young Belfond has been schooled to recognize the evils of Alsatia and to know it for its worth. He would not fall a prey to their trickery, as his older brother Belfond, Senior, from the country, had done. "I know their infamy too well to be acquainted with their persons," he tells Sir William. Later on, when Belfond, Senior, attempts to introduce his new friends, young Belfond answers, "I know 'em and am acquainted with their worth." Like Brathwait's, it is Shadwell's advice against men who welch on heirs of fortune.

His satire on one who overlooked knowledge of men is in the person of Sir Nicholas, the virtuoso. When asked by Bruce what he would study while travelling in Italy, whether "Wisdom, Policies, and Customs of that ingenious people," Sir Nicholas answers:

Sir Nicholas: Oh, by no Means! 'Tis below a Virtuoso to trouble himself with Men and Manners. I study Insects. 9

7Ibid., Act III, p. 239.
8Ibid., p. 244.
This seems almost a direct reproduction of Quarles's epigrammatic remark.\(^\text{10}\)

In contrast with this picture is that of the hospitable Sir Edward Hartfort: The greatest [happiness] is the enjoyment of my Friends, and such Worthy Gentlemen as yourselves, and when I cannot have enough of that, I have a Library, good Horses, and good Musick."\(^\text{11}\)

The books of courtesy, discussing companions under the head of recreations, devote usually a section or chapter to it. Choice of acquaintance and company should be one's first care, "even with pulling off your boots,"\(^\text{12}\) Peacham says. He divides companions into two groups, those for instruction and development, and those for recreation. For instruction he would "entertaine the acquaintance of men of the soundest reputation for Religion, Life, and Learning, whose conference and company may bee unto you... a living and a moving Library." He reminds the reader that conference and converse were "the first Mother of all Arts and Science...the greatest discovery of our ignorance and increaser of Knowledge, teaching and making us wise by the judgments and examples of many."\(^\text{13}\)

\(^\text{10}\)Infra., p. 189.
\(^\text{11}\)The Lancashire Witches, op. cit., p. 137.
\(^\text{12}\)Peacham, op. cit., p. 39.
\(^\text{13}\)Ibid.
For recreation Peacham insists upon companions of one's own rank and quality, as friendship with them can be "best contenting and lasting." As an aristocrat writing to and speaking for the privileged class, he disdains companionship, as such, with inferiors. Familiarity and over-freedom with inferiors, he thinks, argues a baseness of spirit, and merits contempt. His opinion seems to be that he who prizes himself will command the respect of others. In the section "Of Reputation and Carriage in General" the writer summarizes the result of learning as knowing one's own value and ability, and, as a consequence, choosing friends of like or even better worth.

The first use then (of your learning) is to know your own worth and value, and in choice of your companions, to entertain those who are Religious and learned; for as I said heretofore, converse of all was the mother of skill and all virtuous endeavors. Therefore hold friendship and acquaintance with few, and those I could wish your betters, at the least of your owne rank, but endeare your selfe to none... The best natures I know delight in popularity, and are pliable to company keeping, but many times buy their acquaintance at overdeare a rate, by being drawne either into base actions and places of which they are ashamed for ever after. Or to needlesse expense by laying out or lending to importunate base and shamlesse companions.

14 Ibid., p. 40.
15 Ibid., pp. 222-223.
Though he does not deny the right or benefit of discourse with one's inferiors, or of kindness to people not so fortunate, he still contends, with Aristotle, that the purpose of acquaintance is improvement of the understanding, and companions should be those who dedicate their lives to virtue.

Nor mistake me that I swerve so much on this side, that I would deny a Prince or a Gentleman the benefit of discourse and converse with the meanest: for Majesty and greatness cannot alwayes stand so bent; [it is] relaxation to descend from court to cottage.

There is no better sign in the world of a good and vertuous disposition, then when a Prince or Gentleman maketh choice of learned and vertuous men for his companions; for presently hee is imagined to bee such a one as those to whom hee joyneth himselfe; yea, saith Aristotle, it is a kinde of virtuous exercise to bee conversant with good and understanding men.

Whom when you shall entertaine into the closet of your brest, first sound their Religion; then looke into their lives and carriage, how they have beene reckoned of others; Lastly, to their Qualitie how or wherein they may be usefull unto you, whether by advice and counsell, direction, helpe in your Studies, or serviceable in your exercise and recreations.

There is nothing more miserable than to want the counsell of a friend, and an admonisher in time of need: Which hath been, and is daily the bane of many of our young gentlemen, even to the utter ruine of themselves and their posterity for ever.16

In a pamphlet written nineteen years after his book, after he had known want and trouble, Peacham penned a

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16 Ibid., p. 223.
strange declaration of friendship, not in accordance with his earlier advice that one make friends of few:

And as a necessary Rule hereto coincident, let every Man endeavor by dutiful diligence to get a Friend; and when he had found him (neither are they so easily found in these days) with all care to keep him, and to use him as one would do a Crystal or Venice Glass, to take him up softly, and use him tenderly; as you would a Sword of excellent Temper and Mettle, not to hack every Gate, or cut every Staple or Post therewith, but to keep him to defend you in your extreamest Dangers. 17

The puritan Brathwait maintains that, since acquaintance is "to recreate and refresh our minds, when at any time we are pressed or surcharged either with cares of this world, or in our discontinuance from more worthy and glorious Meditations," we should mingle or associate only with persons of equality in degree and condition. He relates the story of Alexander, that some of his companions demanded of him, if he would run a race with them. "Willingly (said he), if there were Kings to runne withall." 18 Brathwait explains his own reasons for such apparent snobbishness when elsewhere he has subscribed to kindness and service. Maintaining that "respect to an inferior rank begets contempt" and "an eye to superiority begetteth feare," he thinks, "parity breeds affection" in the give and take of jestings, sportings, and delightful meetings.

17 Ibid., Introduction by G. S. Gordon, xxiii. [Taken from "Worth of a Peny," p. 28].
18 Brathwait, op. cit., p. 152.
The same writer, in describing the moderate or temperate man, insists that he will not make sport or pastime a vocation, "as if they were born for nothing else but play"; but will command the pleasures which they use.

Both groups of interpreters of contemporary thought are in agreement that an ideal gentleman must know men. Quarles says, "Reade not Bookes alone, but Men, and amongst them chiefly thy selfe." It is better to listen to criticism from a severe friend, too, than to hear the "deceitful sweetnesse" of a flatterer. He too, like Brathwait, believes that one's company should be one's equals, even one's superiors, for profit and pleasure. If one is the best in the company, it "is the way to grow worse: The best means to grow better, is to be the worst there." The misogynist, Osborn not only holds learning in disdain, but cannot speak of friendships or companions without a slur on tutors "who drop erudition tinctured of virtue and of vice." He would not choose for friends those who "make all places rattle with Latine and Greek." But he does consider good company "a better refiner of the spirits, then ordinary books." Experience and natural

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19 Ibid.
20 Quarles, op. cit., p. 23.
21 Ibid., p. 22.
23 Ibid., p. 14.
parts developed in conversation are better means of training than reading, he contends, which corroborates his idea of a practical education.

Admitting that true friendships are rare, Higford, under the subject of companions, discusses one's neighbors, tenants, and servants, but really accepts only the neighbors who are worthy. He cautions the avoidance of wicked persons, cheaters, ruffians, and debauched persons, who are proud of their state. 24

While preferring the association with one's equals and superiors, Gallhard qualifies his statement with the suggestion that acquaintance with all manner of men is advisable:

It is then a beneficial thing for a Gentleman, when it can be done in a strange Countrey, to see company; but let him frequent persons of quality, by whom he may well be informed of affairs and of whom he will learn a gentle and a good behaviour; and when he is known to frequent the chief and best companies in a Town, upon this account every one will shew him respect: he will also do well to be acquainted with another sort of choice persons, considerable, not so much for their birth and quality, as for their Virtue, Merits, Parts, and abilities, for to learn how to carry himself variety of them, and learn how to comply with all manner of humors and tempers, yet excluding a vicious and sinful compliance. 25

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Writing in the same quarter of a century, Quarles, Osborn, and Higford warn the gentleman to be careful of acquaintanceships and slow to take a friend. Quarles's aphoristic style expresses succinctly that there are three sorts of men to avoid: "the Ingratefull Man, the Multiloquious Man, the Coward: the first cannot prize thy Favours; the second cannot keep thy Councell; the third dare not vindicate thy Honour."

Gailhard warns against bad company: "They give him evil counsel, which to speed it the better, they will endeavor to insinuate themselves through flattery, which is very dangerous, because it suits with our inward desire; it being natural and ordinary for men to love to be praised and flattered."^27

In criticism of the men of the day, Brathwait presents a kaleidoscopic view of possible friends at court, in the city, and in the country. This is a close parallel of Stanford's catalogue of men, of Snarl's, and of Sir Humphrey's in Shadwell's plays:

In the Court we shall find smooth and sweet-scented friends; who make friendship a complement, and vow themselves ours in Protests, Congies, and Salutes: but whereto tend they, but to wind us in, and to become engaged for them? For it stands

^26Quarles, op. cit., p. 22.
with reason thinke they, as wee are familiar with them in complements of courtesie, so they should be familiar with us in the Mercers booke. Too precious are these mens Acquaintance, and too heavy their engagements; let us therefore turne from them, and travell towards the Citie. And what shall wee find there, but many dangerous and subtil friends, who like politike Tradesmen, having heard of our estates, and how we are come to yeeres to dispose of them, will professe themselves to be our Countrey-men, in which respect wee cannot chuse, but make bold with them and their commodities rather than any stranger? Yet see, the generall infection of this Age! Wee shall find there, even where simplicity and plaine-dealing used ever to keepes home, great monied men, who to enrich their seldom prospering Heirs, will offer us any courtesie, and to shew they love us, they will lend us to support our state, and maintaine our riot: but observe their aimes; in feeding us, they feed on us, in succouring us, they soake us; for having made a prey of us, they leave us.

While cautioning against the company of dishonest women, because money is their end, and snares are laid for young travellers, Gailhard is one of the few, perhaps the only one, to praise the company of women for their wit. He discusses it under travelling abroad; hence it may mean the continental more than the English gentlewoman. He says ladies have "from their infancy been used to be in the company of those who have understanding and experience, attending on their Mothers, Sisters, etc., when they make and receive visits; so that of necessity in time they must be brought to a good frame, fit for a delightful and profitable conversation." This opinion does not coincide

28Brathwait, op. cit., p. 163.
with the ideas of those who suggested that young ladies should spend their leisure in reading *Ladies Calling*.

Gailhard goes still further in his respect to the ability of ladies of his time:

...besides that, as the world goes, if one hath a mind to hear news, or affairs; he can find in women's company wherewith to satisfy himself; there being hardly any intrigues in Towns, Provinces, Courts, and several Kingdoms, but they have a hand in it; and sometimes a publick Minister will as well speed in his Master's concerns, by courting Ladies, as by frequenting Ministers of State. 30

He adds that in Europe for fifty years the authority and counsel of women have counted, so that several men have by that means made their fortune. This is more than "the civil carriage and Language" to be learned in their company.

Both the dramatist and the writers of books of conduct recommend companionship as a source of happiness; in fact, both insist upon knowledge of men. There should be wisdom in one's choice, they say; only men and women of wit and good sense, Shadwell suggests. Friends of greater intellectual attainment and of wider experience can be the means of developing one's knowledge of the world as well as a means of advancing one's material interests. Shadwell's dramas do not question that friendships should be among one's own rank. No one of gentility associated in fellowship below his station. Though, since

the courtesy books speak of dangers, there must have been ample evidence of lapses in the code. Gentlemen do observe kindness and generosity toward persons of lesser degree. Since the books of courtesy take up the point of attitude to tenants and servants, it may be interpreted as the beginning of the humanitarian outlook.
D. THE CARE OF ESTATE

The matter of acquaintance is so closely associated with care of one's estate that the suggestions for its continuance and permanence from generation to generation logically follow. Like all subjects of the divisions of this paper, estate is a topic of unvarying interest to society. The drama of the seventeenth century, as well as books of manners, speaks again and again of the loss of patrimony. There is ample evidence that, as a result of the indifferent training given young heirs to fortunes during the commonwealth and the succeeding Restoration, many old families lost their wealth and young men became hangers-on of a society to which by right of birth they belonged.

A poor man himself but a constant companion of gentlemen of wealth and position, Shadwell perceived at first hand the importance of a fortune. In the play of Shakespeare's which Shadwell revised, i.e., Timon of Athens, or, The Man-Hater, his ideas in regard to the over-generous expenditure of one's estate are probably expressed. Timon has been too kind; he has poured all he has on his friends, "as if Plutus The god of Wealth were but his Steward." He returns all gifts "seven-fold"; he is "a noble and well govern'd man."¹ The nobles, Phaeax and

¹Timon of Athens, op. cit., p. 218.
Delius, fear even the interest of his debts is not paid.

Apemantus, the poet, tries to warn Timon that, upon the ebb of his estate and the flow of debts, the flatterers and slaves will leave. Now, he says, they only flatter him.

And when the means is gone that buyes this praise,
The breath is gone, whereof the praise is made.2

In the end Timon loses his kingdom.

An exact parallel of the case of Timon is stated by Osborn, whose family vicissitudes during the Commonwealth had embittered him. No one of these judgments is necessarily original with the writers, as the principle of ingratitude is as old as the history of man.

Imagine few the more capable of Trust, because you have formerly obliged them: nothing being more ordinary than natures that quit such scores with hatred and treachery: And if you consider, whose hearts have been most empty of pity towards unfortunate Princes, Experience may present you with millions of such, whose hands formerly were filled with their bounty.3

Besides Shadwell's revision of Shakespeare's play about too generous spending, two other of his dramas turn upon the theme, "care of estate." The most conspicuous example of one who has mortgaged his inheritance is Sir Humphrey Scattergood. He is the son who has suffered because

2 Ibid.
3 Osborn, op. cit., p. 120.
of his father's restraint and, after he comes into his inheritance, turns all the house and his time into a debauchery. In order to entertain lavishly, he mortgages his land to the usurer, Gripe. Early in the play he sends his steward to borrow:

Gripe. Mr. Steward, What brings you hither?
Stew. My Master's Command.
Gripe. What can his Worship honour me withal?
Stew. It is to borrow Money on a Mortgage.
Gripe. Look you Richard, this is an Ass that will please all his Senses, and he must borrow! Oh damn'd Senses! Well, the Money's ready, 10000 we treated for.
Stew. E're long we shall have occasion to trouble you for more, as Sir Humphrey goes on. 4

Days later, Sir Humphrey finds it necessary to send his steward to borrow from friends to satisfy his creditors; when the steward is unsuccessful, Sir Humphrey goes to his friends himself:

Sir Humph. Gentlemen, my Friends—if you would oblige me so much as to be bound with me for a Sum of Money to stop these ravenous Creditors mouths for the present, I will sell my Timber, and redeem my House and Land afterwards, and secure you in the mean time.
Bell. How Sir! be Bound—hum—your Steward says, you have no Land to give Counter-Security with— I should be glad to serve you—
Wild. I'll venture my life for you, whenever you command me; but for being Bound you must excuse me. I have taken an Oath against that; besides, if I would, you cannot give Counter-Security—
Sir Humph. So! This is the world, I find; yet I could not have believ'd the Companions of all my pleasures and Extravagancies could have thus deserted

4 The woman-Captain, op. cit., Act I, p. 29.
me—I thank you Gentlemen, for clearing my understanding. 'Tis time to be Sober now: Well—I will try some sudden way; A desperate ill, must have a desperate cure—Farewel.

Stew. So—What is become now of my Employment? 'tis not worth above six hours purchase. That I should live till now.—

Bell. So here ends all our Revelling in this House; This is a sudden turn.

Wild. Beyond my expectation! what a Coxcomb he was to run out thus!

Bell. Indeed, I never thought he had much in him; he had but ordinary Sense at the best; but this was such a Folly, I am ashamed of him.5

Mackenzie and Higford review scenes like this. Mackenzie writes of how much young men spent before they are come into their estates:

I have known such as hated Figardliness so much, as that to shun it, they spent their abortive Estates before they were full Masters of them; Brought by that excess to flee Creditors, starve at home, walk in raggs, and which is worse, beg in misery; and so to fall into the extremity of that Vice, whose first and most innocent degrees they ought at in others; And when they beg'd from these who were both Authors and Companions in their Debaucheries; (expecting to be supplied, as well by their justice as their compassion) did get no return but that laughter which was a Lesson taught by themselves; and at best, a thousand curses, for having bred them into a way of living, that did naturally occasion so much mischief.6

The debauchery among sons of good families is assailed by Allestree:

They keep, as it were, solemn Trusts and Turnaments of Debauchery, to challenge all commers—. Gentlemen's Families have become such perfect Academies of licentiousness that the most innocent Puny will there in a short time become proficient.7

5[ibid.], pp. 70-71.
6Mackenzie, Moral Gallantry, p. 19.
He adds that their servants "are disciplined to be the ministers of their Luxuries," and the Masters' vices are taken up by his entire house.

Under the headings of acquaintance, of moderation and of youth, Brathwait speaks again and again of the care of estate, and against filchers of fortunes. To him nothing is more dangerous or more likely to prove fatal than "lightnesse in entertaining many friends, and no lesse lightly cashiering those who are entertained." He has observed new heirs wishing to be attended by a crowd of friends, to be dressed fashionably, and entertained with absurdities. Their acquaintances, judged only by outward habit, are often roisterers and ruffianlike fellows, whom, having chosen, they continue to hold to rather than select better ones.

In discussing the squandering of estate he describes the vanity of young gentlemen,

Who are no sooner mounted in their father's saddle, or made heirs of his providence, then upon purchase of acquaintance (which a young Master cannot want) he begins to squander his revenues upon gifts, to feed his thirsty followers.

To warn young heirs of predators upon their estates, he relates the story of a young man who mortgaged his land

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8Brathwait, op. cit., p. 151.
9Ibid., p. 158. Waterhouse speaks similarly, p. 387.
to "a perfidious chandler," who then refused to let him redeem it. The chandler engaged "vizards and disguises [who] intercepted him, took the summe purposely to redeem his estate, bound him and his man, and threw him into a gravel pit." The writer explains how any mortgage brings on numberless suits of law which eat into the principal inheritance.

Mortgaging one's estate is considered by Higford most unwise. "Every acre of land you sell, you lose in proportion so much gentile blood," he counsels; "and to preserve an estate is an act of skill." A few pages further he insists that those that stand engaged for you, you must underwrite for them also: so that thereby your person and estate will not only lie exposed to your own engagements, which might be weighty enough to pull you down, but for other men's debts also. Your own engagements, with others also, may so re-double and treble upon you, that in a moment you may be swallowed up alive, and that house wherein your ancestors have been glorious for bounty and hospitality, may become the den of a merciless usurer.

Within two years of one another, Osborn and Higford mention the matter of giving surety for friends. They are, furthermore, the only writers devoting a section to surety. It might be revealing to discover why these two, during the years 1556 and 1558, had been enough impressed by such a

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10 Ibid., p. 159.
11 Higford, op. cit., pp. 4-5.
12 Ibid., pp. 19-20.
step to write upon it. Osborn's family lost in the
commonwealth; hence, he particularizes lending on public
faith. He may mean, however, personal and private loans.

Such as are betrayed, by their easie nature, 
to be ordinary security for their friends, leave 
so little to themselves, as their liberty remains 
ever after arbitrary at the will of others. 
Experience having recorded many (whom their 
Fathers had left elbowe rooms enough) that by 
Suretiship have expired in a dungeon.

But if you cannot avoid this labyrinth, 
enter no further than the thread of your own stock 
will reach; the observation of which will, at 
worst, enable you to baile yourself.

Let not the titles of consanguinity betray you 
into a prejudiciall trust: No blood being apter 
to raise a fever, or cause a consumption sooner 
in your poor estate, than that which is nearest 
your own; as I have most unhappily found, and 
your good grandfather presaged, though God was 
pleased to leave it in none of our powers, to 
prevent: Nothing being truer in all Solomon's 
observations, than that a good friend is nearer 
than an unnaturall Brother.

He that lends upon publick Faith is security 
for his own money; and can blame none more than 
himself, if never paid: Common debts, like 
common lands, lying ever most neglected.13

For one time, he says, the pen is a defence because 
what one has not signed is not a contract:

Honesty treats with the World upon such 
vast disadvantage, that a pen is often as useful 
to defend you as a sword, by making writing the 
witness of your contracts: For where profit 
appears, it doth commonly cancell the bands of 
friendship, religion, and the memory of anything 
that can produce no other register, then what is 
verball.

In a case of importance, heare the reasons of others pleaded, but be sure not to be so implicitly led by their judgments as to neglect a greater of your owne: As Charles of England did, to the losse of his Crowne. For as the ordinary saying is, 'Count money after your father'; so the same prudence adviceth, to measure the ends of all counsels: though uttered by never so intimate a friend.14

Many general aspects of estate are discussed by these tutors and guardians, though not always can there be found in Shadwell an exact parallel. With the exception of the matter of travel, there is nothing about which the writers of courtesy had so much to say as frugality and care of estate. They knew well that frugality was certainly not a quality in the deportment of a gallant of the Restoration. Fenton, Osborn, Higford, Quarles, and Waterhouse do not neglect the subject. The earliest of these writers, Peacham, even in the decadence following the Elizabethan Renaissance, commended frugality "The Mother of vertues." He considered her

A vertue which holdeth her owne, layeth out profitably, avoideth idle expences, superfluitie, lavish bestowing or giving, borrowing, building, and the like: yet when reason requirath can be royally bountifull, a vertue as requisite in a Noble or Gentleman as the care of his whole Estate, and preservation of his name and posteritie.15

He cautions about a cheating steward or a crafty bailiff

15Peacham, op. cit., p. 225.
who manages the estate to his own ends, perhaps only a hangover from Chaucer's "Prologue" and the advice of that era.

The sort of men who "stumble in the first part of duty" are those who "by a supine negligence suffer their Estates to moulder and consume insensibly, for want of an easy inspection and oversight,"\(^{16}\) thinks Allestree. He reproves gentlemen for considering this duty "a mean and pleasantly thing." Ruin of a family should not be caused by such "vain whimsies."

Higford is even more emphatic than Osborn or Peacham about the necessity for a good estate and the value of actual "money", (for he used the term). He reminds the youth to whom the book is addressed that his mother, though bred in affluence, denied herself conveniences and comforts becoming her station in order to preserve the family fortune and permit the sons a virtuous education.\(^{17}\) He thinks it is better to make the estate appear less than it is than greater; it will insure the estate's continuing firm and stable.

Probably the wisest and fullest advice about estate is included in Waterhouse's *The Gentleman's Monitor.*

\(^{16}\) [Allestree], *The Gentleman's Calling,* op. cit., p. 63.

\(^{17}\) Higford, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
Waterhouse wrote the book about 1665 when the question of fortunes and family futures was still a pressing matter. "Good husbandry" is one of his most often expressed terms; for instance, "Men are fondly imposed upon when they fancy that luxury is liberality, and that good husbandry is beneath a great mind." Recommending frugality for keeping one in a composure of mind, he thinks it will "Keep us from being cast down with our condition present or raised by what may, in our future state, be more publique and notorious."

He commends to great men that they live within the bounds of their fortune and by frugal living not contract debts. The picture he presents to them of general opinion is a replica of that in drama and in other books of manners.

It is the great Cry and Clamour of the People against men of Estates, that they let their Lands at a Jewish wrack, maintain their Servants at a thrift-less highth, spend their Fortunes at a merciless rate, gratifie their vices beyond measure, spend their bodies and souls for that which is a pitiful exchange for either, disoblige their Neighbors, neglect their Children, overlook the Poor, discourage their Minister, undo their Creditors; To

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pleas© the state of a humour and conceit that to look after their Fortunes does not become them—19

He blames high living for most of the troubles of the nobility and gentry:

For though to live high and splendid, make a noise, filling the sayles of a Family with the ayre of applause; yet the purchase of that flourish is so chargable, exhaustive, and irreparable, that wise Men decline it as the sluce and fire thorow which the encrease of a Family dreyns and passes.20

Later he adds:

Nothing reduces a family to straits, and sale of Patrimony, but vice which is notably advanced toward in High-living; that is, living beyond one's rank, and above one's fortune.21

To admonish the gentry in moderation of gaming, late in the reign of Charles II, Waterhous quotes from the Basilikon Doron. Considering it one grave reason for the decay of estates, he writes:

Vanity of Gaming is another decay of estates because it ventures that in a moment upon a chance, which would last the gradual expence of life a long while—0 that they would consider that of blessed King James, 'To play only for

19Ibid., p. 387.
20Ibid., p. 59.
21Ibid., p. 286.
recreation, resolving to hazzard all they play for, and play for no more then they would cast among Pages, and play alwaies fair; for neither a mad passion for loss, nor falsehood used for desire of gain, can be called a play.\textsuperscript{22}

Another cause is idleness:

\textit{Idleness is inclusive of all turpitude, and they that are idle will be everything that is mischievous; for the mind is a quick and sprightfull part of man, active on something, which, if not good, will be bad, there being between them no medium.}\textsuperscript{23}

The practice of frugality and the employment of one's time are much better:

\textit{Idleness is so apparent a road to a vicious life, in all the extravagancies of it, it must needs be a certain and unavoydable way to the extirpation and diminution of Men and Families; which are only and best built and enlarged by frugality and imployments of Revenue and Fortunary addition or income.}\textsuperscript{24}

This subject then runs through the century, from the \textbf{Basilikon Doron} to Shadwell's time, and later. Waterhous relates to it every activity of Restoration life.

Though Shadwell believes in the care of one's patrimony and so indicates in his play, \textit{The Woman-Captain},

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} Ibid., pp. 268-269. Quotation from \textit{Basilikon Doron}, III, p. 187.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p. 136.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p. 137.
\end{itemize}
he interpolates that the worship of estate is one of the evils of all civilizations. He is careful in two plays to state this fact. In satiric vein he permits Bellamour to exclaim to the miser Goldringham, "O, Sir, there's nothing (in this world) so precious as money, not Honour, Birth, Education, Wit, Courage, Virtue, Wisdom, Religion, Loyalty..." Likewise, in another play, Shadwell implies that the father of the two Belfonds gives more time to the preservation of the estate than to his son's happiness. Sir William Belfond has just returned from accepting the executorship of the fortune of his wife's brother, who has willed Sir William's two sons 5,000 pounds apiece. His brother, Sir Edward of London, says that his brother ought to be a happy man, for money flows in on every side, and he has always accounted riches the greatest happiness. The other answers that he is not sure wealth alone will make him happy.

Throughout the play, however, his business affairs take precedence over the interest in his sons; for instance, when Sir Edward wishes to go to seek the boy, the father agrees to accompany him, only after the completion of a

25. The Miser, op. cit., p. 32.
business matter in the city. Later in the play, he demands a proper marriage settlement for his senior son. Thus Shadwell indicates a second time that the value of possessions can be placed too high.

The miserly evaluation of estate received yet another reprimand when the play and the courtesy hook urge a father not be too strict in a son's allowance and spending. The soner, more lenient brother of Sir William warns the strict father in that play that a son can be so restrained that "he will be impatient for your death."26

That idea is implied in the words of the son himself, Belfond, Senior, whose father, Sir William, has kept the boy from his money and bred him in greatest ignorance. Later, when Belfond, Senior, has come to London, and has fallen into the hands of sharpers who are deluding him into extravagance, his father discovers him with them. Sir William is incensed and humiliated: "...have I from thy first swaddling nourish'd thee and bred thee up with care?"

Belfond Senior: Yes, with care to keep your money from me and bred me in greatest ignorance, fit for your slave, and not your son, I had been finely "dark" if I had staid at home.

26 The Squire of Alastia, op. cit., Act 1, p. 255.
Sir William. Were you not educated like a Gentleman?
Belfond Sen. No, like a Grocier, or a Butcher; if I had staid in the Country, I had never seen such a Nab, etc. [He uses terms taught him by the Alsatians to indicate his new clothes, friends, and pleasures.] The Land is Entailed, and I will have my Snack of it while I am young, and I will. Ha! 27

A son's impatient desire for his father's passing so that he may come into his inheritance is occasionally suggested by these admonishers of precept in warning to strict fathers. Quarles says, "...keep him not too short, lest he thinke thou livest too long." 28 Fenton would have him discharge dues quarterly, while at the university, and not learn how to run into debt. Thrift may be encouraged by allowing the boy whatever he is able to save out of his allowance. The father should not allow him too little, in order that he "may live like a Gentleman," and he should not allow him too much "lest he should set up for nothing else." 29

Discrimination among children, especially the question of the younger son is another point raised in drama and courtesy book. Belfond, Senior, is angry with his father for his parsimony.

27 Ibid., Act IV, pp. 263-264.
28 Quarles, op. cit., p. 32.
29 Fenton, op. cit., p. 49.
Belfond Sr. ...Shall my younger Brother keep his Coach and Equipage; and shine like a Spruce Prigg, and I be your Bayly in the Country? Hi, La Mar; bid my Coach be ready at the Door.30

Belfond, Senior's feeling about the preference shown a younger brother is a re-statement of Quarles's admonition about loving "not thy children too unequally; or, if thou dost, show it not, lest thou make the one proud, the other Envious, and both Poodles."31 Vanbrugh makes much of the younger son theme, - his inability to live well, though reared to expensive tastes; but Shadwell does not bring up that issue.

Estate, closely connected with acquaintances and equally important with travel in a gentleman's regard, receives much consideration. Though deeming it necessary to a man of birth and of liberal interests, Shadwell believes that many fathers place undue value upon mere possessions. In the company alike of men of wealth and of poor dramatists, he had observed the satisfactions of wealth and also its weaknesses. He is certainly averse, though, to youth's squandering, through reckless living, the fortunes amassed by their parents for them. In

30 The Squire of Alsatia, op. cit., p. 264.
31 Quarles, op. cit., p. 32.
agreement on this point, he, Brathwait, Osborn, and Waterhouse urge young men to guard against filchers of fortune—those wishing them to carouse with gaming and drinking, or to mortgage their estates for ready funds. The books of courtesy, more than Shadwell, insist upon good husbandry, thrift, and simple living, which fact is explained by the Puritan bias of authors of most courtesy literature.

Another subject slightly touched upon is the question of an inheritance for the younger son. Shadwell solves the difficulty by having an uncle adopt the younger son and make the youth his heir. Quarles advises parents to treat sons equally, but this idea does not appear to be agreed to by any other writer. It was too early for this change in society.
The custom of engaging in duels as a means of settling questions of honor was, early in the century, losing ground in the courtesy book, and by Shadwell's time was a point of satire on the stage. He foreshadows the eighteenth century sentimental dramatists in being outspoken against the practice. It is easy to have his men and women of sense rail against it, as Stanford and Emilia do in The Sullen Lovers.

Emilia. Is it possible you can have the impudence to endeavor to justify your folly?
Stanf. Not that I care much for satisfying you, but to vindicate myself from the unjust aspersions, know it was my honor oblig'd me to go along with that fool.
Emilia. Out of my sight! Are you one of those Fopps that talk of honour?
Stanf. Is that a thing despicable with you?
He ask'd me to be his second, which I cou'd not in honour refuse.
Emilia. Granting that barbarous custom of Duells: Can any thing be so ridiculous as to venture your life for another man's quarrel, right or wrong.
Stanf. I like this woman more and more, like a sott I am; sure there is witchcraft in't.
Emilia. But to do the greatest act of Friendship in the World for the greatest Owle of Nature.1

Stanford's action is to her like Allestree's term, "the meanest coward in the world" and "to be chafed by a barking whelp."2

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1The Sullen Lovers, op. cit., Act IV, p. 58.
2Infra, p. 216.
It is equally easy to have braggarts and coxcombs copy the customs of real gallants, and threaten duels because of an impertinence or other slights. A satire on duelling shows young Maggot and Prig becoming angry and demanding satisfaction only because young Maggot had called Prig impertinent.

Y. Mag. Do you think I'll suffer you for ever to cross me with your damn'd insipid Songs? let me tell you, it is a grand impertinence.

Prig. Gad, I do not know what you mean by your Cibberish, but I suppose you call me impertinent, and therefore I'll be before-hand with you, you are a Son of a Whore. (Gives Y. Mag. a box on the ear.)

(They draw, the Ladies run out shrieking.)

Bell. Hold, hold.

Carl. Let 'em alone, if you offer to part 'em, they'll hurt one another.

Y. Mag. I'll not be Brutal, you shall answer for it; Sir, you are lately come out of France, and cannot deny a Man of Honour your assistance.

Prig. Stanmore be my Second...3

When the duel comes off, Prig disarms Young Maggot; Carlos, as second, takes up the contest and disarms Prig. Stanmore would have it end there,—disinterested in the cause for which they are fighting; but Carlos demands satisfaction. He says he overheard Stanmore speaking ill of him to his mistress, and, though Stanmore would turn the point aside, Carlos disarms him too. Stanmore then urges them all to keep their swords, join the ladies, and

act "as if nothing has pass'd between us."4

Later, Bellamore and Selfish fight over Isabella's affection. Not a duel, the occasion is similar to one in that Selfish expects to follow rules.

Selfish. Thou art a strange, rough, ill-bred Fellow, to fight so, to fling a Man down, and spoil his Cloaths. ...Could you not have fought easily, handsomely, and like a Gentleman? You were never bred in an Academy; they never fight thus brutally in France.5

The satire on duelling continues in other plays. Sir Timothy threatens to kick Bellfort, who is, he says, with his mistress. But Bellfort readily frightens him with a threat to run him through the body; he will be the fifteenth man, Bellfort says; offering snuff as a sample, he claims to turn their hearts to snuff.6

The Amorous Bigotte consists of love intrigues in a Spanish setting which result in challenges that are quickly dissolved. The satire in The Volunteers is directed mainly at the foppish emphasis upon clothes. Sir Nicholas has had a special costume made to wear in a duel - one of scarlet trimmed with lace. This may be compared with

5Ibid., Act V, p. 353.
Gailhard's "They scorn to wear clothes except they be very rich."  

Though the courtesy material does not mention fops, it is conclusively against duels for moral reasons. Selden, a lawyer, admits that duels are still granted, in some cases, by the law; but he does not approve the practice. His real objection is that "the Law has made no Provision to give Remedy for the Injury."  

Osborn is very much opposed to duels: 

...I cannot find it suitable with Prudence or religion, to make the sword umpire of your own life and another's, no less than the law, upon no more serious an occasion, than the vindication of your fame, lost or gained by this brutish valour, in the opinion of none that are either wise or pious: It being out of the reach of question, that a quarrel is not to be served up to such a height of indiscretion, without arraigning one or both parties of madness; especially since formall duells are but a late invention of the Devils, never heard of, in relation to private injuries, among the Romans, the gladiators fighting for their pleasure, as the Horatii and Curatti for the safety of the people.

Esteem and reputation—that is, a good name—Allestree says will give a gentleman increased authority and responsibility. Warning against the silly notions of honor involved in the

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7 Gailhard, op. cit., p. 31.  
8 Selden, Table Talk. Edited by Singer, p. 47.  
duellist's code, he asks how much God would condone the tearing off those signatures of honor and dignity that He has given man. But today "he whose blood does not boil" at the first glimpse of affront passes, he maintains, for a "Phlegmatic fool." One who offers many injuries is considered gallant, and bearing an injury is deemed an "ignominious Tameness." Estimating the galleys as a state of liberty to the bondage that men must undergo in the enforced duelling of the age, he blames malicious duellers who design it for their own satisfaction and their own thirst for blood. 10

Sir George Mackenzie and Allestree both approach the subject from the standpoint of "Modern Gallantry." Allestree thinks our "Gallantry" is treacherous to itself and confutes its own pretensions, in engaging in "the meanest Cowardice in the World": 11

To be chafed by a barking Whelp, is the property of an Hare, not of a Man. ... For what can be more contemptible than those unjust Scorns of men they so tremble at?...

For to a Christian, 'tis certain the irreligion of fighting a Duel would be the most infamous thing, and even to a sober Heathen the folly of it would be so too.

And now what a Riddle is this thing they call Gallantry, which so startles at the weakest noise, yet stands undauntedly the stroke of a thunderbolt? They who so dread the reproach of vain impotent men, do yet confidently encounter the anger of the omnipotent God. 12

11 Ibid., p. 137.
12 Ibid., p. 138.
He believes that those who make away with themselves deserve to be canonized in comparison with those who die in duels. The one is done in fear; the other is a contempt of God.

Modern Gallantry, a very moralized treatise by Sir George Mackenzie, takes vanity as a reason for duelling, and considers vanity in a gallant gentleman "too airy a Vice to be noble." As to honor, which is the issue between duellists, he maintains that "true honor [is] in an innate elevation of the soul," that it is independent, and cannot flow from any other virtue or stoop to them.13

Believers in Senecan and Stoic doctrines decried the duel, claiming that we should rise above wrongs, which are not injuries unless we believe them as such. Brathwait concurs with this doctrine, but goes further:

But you will ask me, how should this [challenge by scurers, or base persons] be prevented? Can any gentleman suffer with patience his Reputation to be brought in question? Can he endure to be challenged in a public place, and by that means incur the opinion of Coward? Can he endure to be challenged in a public place, and by that means incur the opinion of Coward? Can he put up disgrace without observance, or observing it, not revenge it, when his very Honour (the vital blood of a Gentleman) is impeached?14

Brathwait replies to ignore it; men of eminent esteem "account him who can bear the most, to be the strongest."15

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13Sir George Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 105.
15Ibid.
He advises all young gentlemen whose high spirits cannot endure affronts, "that they would labour to expostulate with passion." He continues: "I know that in passages of this nature, publike imputations require publike satisfactions. But, as one may be angry and sinne not, so one may revenge and offend not, and this is by heaping coales of fire upon our Enemies head; for by this meeknesse is anger appeased." This view from Brathwait, thinks Mr. Ustick, is another example of how the aristocratic ideals are being encroached upon by bourgeois philosophy.

It is not only religious in establishing man's proper relation between himself and his Maker, but it is also earnest as was the bourgeois religious attitude.

Higford's *Institutions*, as all other books of courtesy in this period, advises to avoid duelling as if it is "to be accursed." The duellist has only "two great extremities—to kill and to be killed." The writer suggests how to avoid quarrels: "hold no arguments vehemently," "make no comparisons," "ley no wagers," "avoid all scurrility," "rub no old sores."
The objection to duelling in the seventeenth century is universal and emphatic. A religious reason underlies the distaste of the majority in most of the courtesy literature,—for instance, that of Allestree and Brathwait. There is a second reason for the universal disapproval. Since a gentleman's most likely sphere is to be that of public service, he should cultivate an ability of meeting people amicably. A quarrel is death to popular approval. Duels, as such, would be objectionable, then, to aspirants of public service.

Shadwell's tone is that of the later Steele and Addison. He laughs duelling out of court or fashion. He makes his point by having his most ridiculous characters or "humors," and the rascally young men engage in duels of a sort. His men of wit and sense enter as seconds only when pressed into service as "men of honour"; they avoid active participation as challengers. Their attitude is that duelling is too simple and useless an act for men of sense. Shadwell makes nothing of the Puritan teaching in some of the books of courtesy, that one should rise above wrongs and turn the other cheek.
Though the relation of man and woman and the solving of sexual difficulties, in and out of marriage, have been through all centuries a matter of absorbing interest, it may safely be said in the Restoration to be the one topic of greatest moment. While Shakespeare recognizes the love of man and woman as one of the many passions that animate mankind, he recognizes also the existence of other motives that may bring tragedy and comedy into life. But Restoration comedy is almost solely occupied with the gallantry of amorous adventure.

In the Restoration literature there were four distinct attitudes toward marriage—a fact generally overlooked or largely misunderstood. These are the romantic, the sentimental, the rational or common sense, and the cynical Restoration points of view. The romantic idealizes premarital love and regards marriage itself as the most exalted state of happiness. This is, to a slight degree, the view taken by the writers of books of courtesy.

By means of exaggeration, the sentimentalist, differing only in degree from the romanticist, substitutes false feelings for genuineness of emotion. This is largely the courtesy book attitude. The common sense approach is primarily rational and critical. While not denying the possibilities of attaining romantic love, it recognizes the
limitations of husband and wife in an actual marital relationship.

The comedy of manners combines a certain general philosophy of disdain with a comic element which criticizes the marital relationship through an exploitation of the estranged couple. The Restoration play was not vitally concerned with a criticism of marital incompatibility. Love is treated in plays as the opportunity for trick and indecent jest. Too often a generous and humorous insight into life is wasted on impossible situations and finds its expression in the absurdities of an eccentric, or in gay flirtations of impertinent coxcombs and coquettes. This is true in Dryden's comedies, in Shadwell's, and even in the best of Etherege and Congreve.

Shadwell's plays belong in the fourth or last classification. The philosophy as to morality of a hero of the comedy of manners is ably quipped in a line of The Scourers, itself only in a measure a true Restoration play. The girls are deriding Shackum's type of city wit:

Eugenia. When a man is lewd with a bon Grace there's something in it, but a Fellow that is awkwardly wicked is not to be born [borne].

This is an acceptable standard in any age. Free conversations were cultivated for intellectual stimulation; indelicate hints in speech and flirtations were intended to be artistic and subtle. Skill and grace were requisites, and any result

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1Act II, p. 97.
was excused if the game were only well played. "The gay English cavalier," writes one critic, "like his Restoration successors, follows the way of fashion, realizing that the agreeable, if artificial, role of fashionable gentleman is the only role of distinction in the society of which he forms a part."  

Love and marriage are questions of importance to writers of gentlemanly precepts, but the tenor of their passages is serious in contrast with the flippancy seemingly current in Restoration thought. With the exception of Osborn and perhaps Quarles, most of these writers take the sentimental approach of constancy in love and forbearance in marriage. Sentimental sections of Brathwait and Allestree have not been quoted here. Their reiterated emotional appeals to men and women readers for chastity, forbearance, and faithfulness, each admonition supported by Biblical passages, are in harmony with Puritan theology.

A few courtesy writers recognize a utilitarian value in the right connections. Nothing is more noticeable in Peacham's character of a gentleman than the entire absence of that motive of love for woman which during some centuries gave the knight his point of honor and which implied the philosophy of The Courtier. Much is said of the arranged marriage; considerable doubt is expressed of a marriage for dowry between families, though, in other sections of the

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2 Lynch, op. cit., p. 130.
books, maintenance of the estate is judged to be of utmost importance.

In this trend write Goidal, Fenton, and Waterhouse, which subject will be discussed under another heading. Osborn is the misogynist; he adds to the Restoration fear of marriage a cynicism that is too harsh to be accepted as general, even for the court.

The usual Restoration attitude in drama is an affected fear of falling in love and of marriage itself. The comic theme then is flirtation. Shadwell places on the stage many illustrations of this point in the relations of men and women. His very first play, The Sullen Lovers, though it borrows Le Misanthrope in some respect, does not repeat Molière's staid and sensible lovers, Philinte and Eliante. Shadwell's Love is a gay Restoration gallant; Carolina, a Restoration coquette. Although in love with each other and contemplating marriage, the two contest in wit with a raillery that banishes sentiment. Carolina assures Lovel, "I had rather hear a silenc'd Parson preach Sedition, than you talk seriously of love... My love to you's as pure as the Flame, that burns upon an altar; how scurvily it sounds!" And she adds: "Besides if we were marry'd, you might say, 'Faith, Carolina is a pretty Woman and Humour good enough,

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3Ibid., p. 155.
but a Pox on't, She's my Wife; no, no, I'll none of that." 4

Theodore, in a second play, declares he is in love, and Ranter is prompt with his repartee: "But it's in an honourable way, I hope; not at all inclining to Wedlock?" 5 When Theodore admits that matrimony is his idea, Hazard continues Ranter's theme:

Haz. Pox on thee for an unseasonable Fellow, to think of Matrimony in this age, when an honest Woman is almost ashamed to show her Face, she finds triumphant Punk so much preferred before her.

Rant. If we, honest Fellows of the Town, go on as we begin, honest Women will come to be Ston'd in the Streets.

Haz. What, thou art turn'd a publick spirited Fellow, I warrant, and wisely considerest, that people are wanting in England, and that more frequent Marriage would be a means of Propagation.

Rant. And I believe thou hast subtilly found out that Whoring, and Monasteries, are as great causes of their wanting People in Spain, as their West-Indian Colonies.

Theodore does not let them deter him for, he says, since he has seen Isabelle, he cares "less for a Whore, than you do for an honest woman." 6

Isabella and Theodosia have met Belfort and Doubty, two Yorkshire gentlemen, at the Spa the previous summer. Though very much in love, when they meet again in Sir Hartfort's home, the two pairs of lovers laugh off the idea of marriage. Isabella remarks to Doubty, "The name of a Parson is a dreadfull Name upon these occasions, he'll

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4 Act II, sc. 1, p. 30.
6 Ibid.
bring us into a Condition we can never get out of, but by Death." Further on, she comments, "Men before they are married turn the great end of their Perspective; but the little end after it."8

A True Widow illustrates a similar disdain for love and marriage from Theodosia. Carlos, upon his return from abroad, has re-opened his suit for her hand; but she will not be ensnared by dull love, the talk of which ruins a man of wit. She would wish her suitor to be gay, sought after by all the ladies of the town, and a rival to his own friends. When he is "in vogue," she will notice him:

Theod. How many French ladies have you said as much to?
Carl. I went thither to be cured of Love, not to make it.
Theod. What Love?
Carl. My love of you, which began so early in my Heart, self-love was scarce before it. Then your disdain could not remove it; I tried absence, but in vain too.
Theod. 'Tis impossible you could bring a Heart unhurt from France.
Carl. My Love to you preserved me from all Foreign Invasion.
Theod. If you make Love, you'll grow dull, it spoils a man of Wit, as much as Business.
Carl. If Love be predominant in Conversation, I confess it, but a little relish of it does well.
Theod. The imitation of it may be borne, but the thing its self is a dead weight upon the mind; and a man can no more please under that disadvantage, than a Horse can run a Race with a pair of Panniers on his Back.
Carl. And yet that Horse may do it, if the match be well made.
Theod. I must have my Servant all Wit, all Saiety, and the Ladies of the Town run mad for him; I would not only triumph over him, but over my whole Sex in him.

7The Lancashire Witches, op. cit., Act III, p. 159.
8Ibid.
Carl. This is hard Doctrine for a man of my sincerity and truth in Love.

Theod. Make Isabella slight Bellamour, little Cartrude sacrifice Selfish: Be the third word in every Ladies mouth, from fifteen to five and thirty; and you shall find out what I'll say to you.

Carl. To attempt this, were great vanity, and no less dishonesty, to my friend Bellamour.

Theod. If you love, you'll think any thing lawful: This must be done, I dare not trust my own judgment; I will have you in vogue, e're I favour you in the least.

Carl. Well, since these Ladies are your out-works, I will on, and by the force of imagination, make every one Theodosia, but if I fail, think on my constant love, which will not suffer me to use deceit.

Theod. Suppose I should answer you in your whining strain, and say, my love were true as yours, my flame as great, and all your wishes mine.

Carl. Then were Carlos the happiest man on Earth.

Theod. No, then the game were up betwixt us, and there were no more to do but to pay the stakes, and then to something else.

Carl. We might play Set after Set for ever.

Theod. No, one of us would be broke; go get you about your task I say.9

Attempting to win Isabella to the license of the age, Bellamour paints the picture of the splendors of mistresses.

Isabella's counter-questions and answers serve to loosen his wit and inflame his ardor:

Bell. By Heaven, I love thee more than light or liberty, joy of my heart.

Isab. Such hearts as yours are seldom near their mouthes.

Bell. A kiss of this fair hand will bring mine thither; 'tis there, but if it were your lips, where would it be?

Isab. Raptures in Love have no more meaning in 'em than Rants in Poetry, meer Pustian; 'tis the stum of Love that makes it fret and fume, and fly, and never good.

Bell. Can a young Lady in so warm an Age be insensible of Love?

Isab. A vertuour Woman is ever insensible of such a Love as is unfit for her; but you Sparks, like Wolves, come at last to venture upon the living: modest or not, 'tis all one to you, you are so well flest.

Bell. Not so, Madam; I know my duty and your worth, and would time stand still, I could be content to gaze upon that face, and not tempt you; but our Love is frail, and we must take our pleasures while we may.

Isab. I must consider while I may, and on the shore think on the ruines of a shipwrackt Fame.

Bell. We shall never reach Love's Indies, if we fear tempests already.

Isab. Think not to conquer me by dint of Simile, I'll never venture the pain and peril of such a bold Voyage.

Bell. As tender Barks make it daily, and return home richly fraught, keep Coaches, and live splendidly the rest of their lives.

Isab. Infamously rather.

Bell. I know not that; but they have their days of Visiting, play at Ombre, make Treats as high as often as the Persons of Quality, wear as good clothes, and want no fashionable Folly that Woman's heart can wish for; and of all such my Isabella shall ride Admiral.

Isab. Can you pretend to love, and tempt me from my Honour? Coaches and Clothes! so Rogues will rob, to live like Gentlemen.

Bell. 'Tis no dishonour, custom has made it otherwise.

Isab. When a Man of Honour can turn Coward, you may prevail on me; the case is equal.

Bell. On the contrary, Kindness in Women is like Courage in Men.

Isab. Did not the general licence of the time excuse you, I ne'er would see you more.

Bell. What will nothing down, but to have and to hold? I'll marry no body else, and when my inclination dies, leave you its wealthy Widow, you may marry after it.

Isab. I'll bring no Infamy, where I bring my person.

Bell. This coldness inflames me more: consent to my desires, and none of all the Ladies shall outshine, no Equipage exceed yours.

Isab. And I the while shall be but a part of your Equipage, be kept; what is it but to wear your Livery, and take Boardings?

Bell. I love you well enough to marry you, but dare not put my self into your hands, knowing what a Jade I am at a long Journey.

Isab. If you ever loved, you can never hate, and I can be content where I have had the best, to keep the rest, and if you love me less, shall lay the fault on Nature, not on you.
Bell. It goes more against a man's heart to fall in his Love, than his Expence, and they that do either, most commonly remove for it, there is no enduring it in the same place. Think on my Love, my Fortune shall be yours. 
Isab. I scorn a Fortune, with the ruine of my Honour. 
Bell. It is but heading with another sort of People, leaving the melancholy hypocrites for the gay cheerfull sinners, the emious for the envyed. 
Isab. These tales may catch unheedful silly Creatures, whom Nature half debauches to your hands; but for my self I swear.10

Lady Busy enters just after Isabella derides Bellamore's arguments for the 'Love without Marriage' state, and urges his proposals as reasonable in that day: "The Gentleman is a fine Gentleman, and his proposals are as reasonable as any Lady can wish for; every man cannot bring himself to marry, and yet may love better and longer than those that do."11

Just as Bellamore tells Isabella he knows "What a Jade [he] is at a long journey," meaning marriage, Osborn endeavors to explain to his son what a restraint marriage is:

We brock nothing well, Restraint ties us to: Therefore some take more content in sharing a Mistresse with others, than they can find in the sole fruition of a Wife; The reason is, Strangers are taken for Dainties, Wives as Physick. Riches and Honour were in the same predicament, but that they still leave something behind to be desired, Lust nothing, beyond the repetition of the same againe, which after a few enjoyments grows tedious. Other Courses weary us with Change, this with Continuance...

After that Age, Wearinesse, Wisdom or Business hath disposessed you of this dumb and dese amorous Spirit, and concluded all desires to uxorious vanities, it is possible your Wives appetite may increase, and that Disease of Lust, which your Youth cured before she had leisure to discover it, may then unseasonably interrupt your sleep; calling for That, there shall be nothing in her, but importunity, to provoke you to; nor in you, but the desire of quiet, and to conjure down the fierce Devil of Jealousie, which haunts the houses of married

10Ibid., p. 318. 
11Ibid.
folkes, rendring them no less unhappy, dismall and clamorous, then the Temple of Moloch, where Children and Servants, as you most delight in, shall pass through the Fire of daily Contention.12

Epsom-Wells includes two young gentlemen of wit and pleasure, who believe that variety is essential to a life of pleasure and who have run riot among the women of the Wells. It presents also an intriguer, Woodly, who is married, but who is always looking for fresh faces. He tells Bevil and Rains of his essays that day.

Wood. I have had two damn'd unlucky Adventures. The first Viaormasque I pursu'd, after I had followed her a Furlong, and importun'd her to show her Face; when I thought I had got a Prize beyond my hopes, prov'd an old Lady of threescore with a wrinkl'd, pimp'd Face, but one Eye, and no Teeth; but which was ten times a worse disappointment the next that I follow'd prov'd to be my own Wife.13

Courting his young cousin Carolina, Woodly justifies his action by explaining to her: "Marriage is the least Engage ment of all; for that only points out where a Man cannot love."14 This is a clear statement of dramatic practice, and perhaps of actual life.

Nettleton explains the tone of the Restoration with lines picked from this very play:

Some chance passages in the opening scene illustrate the general tone towards wine and women: 'We should no more be troubled at the Feavers we get in drinking, than the Honourable wounds we receive in Battle'; 'We live more in a week, than those insipid-temperate fools do in a year'; 'Is it not better to let life go out in a blaze than a snuff?"

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12Osborn, op. cit., pp. 61-63.
14Ibid., p. 123.
'Well, the sin's so sweet and the temptation so strong; I have no power to resist it.'

In *Epsom-Wells* the "fine art of cuckoldling" of the wives, Mrs. Fribble and Mrs. Bisket, and the short-lived marriage of Jilt and Clodpate, have been observed by Carolina and Lucia. "See what matrimony comes to," is Lucia's comment. Consequently, these young ladies scoff at marriage. In witty, sometimes brilliant conversation and the repartee of a Congreve sort, they parry the quips of Raines and Bevil.

The repugnance to marriage is shown in another passage. Only a Restoration audience could appreciate the manner in which Cavalier friends deplore Theodore's marriage and take comfort in reminding him: "But 'tis but having a little Patience, and we shall have you amongst us again, as honest a Sinner as the best of us."

*A True Widow* contains somewhat the same statement. Carlos is to marry Theodosia, and Isabella, Bellamore. Stanmore and Selfish felicitate them, but show no regrets at not entering matrimony.

Stanmore. So, Gentlemen, we have lost ye, ye are not Men of this World; now make much of your Matrimonial Bonds; I am glad, I have done my Business without 'em.

Selfish. Ladies are so kind to me, I need never marry one for that matter. Well, I will go home, and put on a very delicate, neat, convenient Suit, to dance with the Brides in here.

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The Libertine adds another note to complete the diapason. Woman's constancy is a quality Don Juan cannot appreciate. He says, "nothing is so sweet to frail humane flesh as variety," and men's promises were "Snares to catch conceited women with." 19

Shadwell, then, depicts the raillery and wit about love and marriage which is general among playwrights of the period. This is not his belief, necessarily, but his acceptance of the code of the time for the stage. The only courtesy writer who agrees with this attitude is Osborn, but his tone is not flippant. It is deadly serious.

And the ladies in Shadwell's dramas are likewise followers of fashion. They are desirous of gaiety and seek out flirtations. Shadwell shows Theodosia's dissembling, and Isabella's being honest:

Theod. Dear Isabella, how I love these solitary walks, free from the noise and importunity of Men.
Isab. So much the contrary, that should you hear the ratling of a Coach, you'd be ready to leap over the Wall.
Theod. If it were Bellamour's.
Isab. Why Bellamour's? No, though you knew it to be a tired Hackney, with six dusty Passengers in it; thou art the giddiest Creature.
Theod. I do not love to be solid as you are, and fix upon one Man; 'tis better to like all, and love none.
Isab. Thou hypocrite; do not I know that none but Carlos can please you, he has caught you fast?
Theod. No, never think so; Do but hear the Men talk of another and 'tis antidote enough against 'em, they are as malicious as we Women, and would quarrel as often, if it were not for fear of fighting.
Isab. Of all men I wonder Stanmore escapes it, he speaks well of no man.

Theod. 'Tis fit to speak ill of Fops, who were lost to the world, if men of wit might not show 'em.

Isab. For ought I see, laughing at them does them no hurt; for they rise and get fortunes for all that; Fools are lawful prize; but Stanmore speaks ill of witty men.

Theod. When witty men fall upon one another, they make sport for the fools, and so laughing goes round, no matter how.

When Caroline, one of the nice young ladies, expresses to the other Lucia, aged seventeen, a fear that their lovers are too wild, Lucia replies, "Are they naturally wilder than I, or you either, for all your simpering, I'll be condemn'd to Fools and ill company for ever."

Caro. Do not wish that dreadful curse; we are already so much past'er'd with gay Fools, that have no more sense than our Shock-dogs, that I long for an acquaintance with witty men as well as thou dost. But how can we bring it about without scandal?

Luc. Let this brain of mine alone for that. I blush for my Sex, to see the Ladies of London (as if they had forsworn common sense) make insipid young Fools their greatest Favourites.

Caro. 'Tis a shame that company of young, wall-faced Fellows, that have no sense beyond Perruques and Pantaloons, should be the only men with the Ladies, whilst the acquaintance of witty men is thought scandalous.

Luc. For my part, I am resolv'd to redeem the honour of our Sex, and love Wit, and never think a Fool a fine Gentleman.

A picture of city courtship and of a woman's flirtation is detailed in Bury-Fair in a scene between Gertrude and Wildish. The smart young woman is holding off Wildish, a Restoration rake, in pretense of not liking him: "You Sparks have such vanity, that you are ready to turn

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everything to your own advantage. Can you believe I come to meet you here?" she asks him. She does not care for a London wit, and she does not want "a Slave for a time," who may attempt later to make her one. She knows that if she married him he would change in three months.

Wildish is persistent; he will never leave her, he says, but "will wait upon your Person and Hatch about your House continually." He will follow her to the city, will send letters, will ogle at the playhouse, at the Park and at the Mall; he will sing a silly new song or two. She assures him that if he joins "the Beaux," she will surely not look upon him: "For there is not upon Earth a more odious sight, than those Boxes full of ugly Beaux." The beaux are "the ugliest Hatchet-fac'ed Fellows about Town," she scolds. This does not deter Wildish. He will follow her to the drawing-rooms and to church, he assures her, until she will be convinced of his "gentle Siege."

Sometime later, Gertrude, left by a reluctant Wildish and her father, Oldwit, with Bellamy, who is suing for her hand in most formal terms, chooses to mimic Bellamy's words of love: "Inflames," "beautiful," "Divine," "Lustre

23Ibid., p. 334.
24Ibid.
25Ibid., p. 335.
of your eyes," "the honour to kiss your fair hands." 26

She

resists an arranged-for proposal, which a young lady must receive in sullenness or in blushes. Bellamy attempts to remonstrate that "a Lady of your wit and sense, knows 'tis the great end that Woman is design'd for; and 'tis in vain for you to speak against Love." 27

But she laughs at him; a woman, she says, appears so silly listening to compliments and love making:

My Lord you are a Man of Honour, and I will speak plainly to you: I am resolv'd against Love, therefore pray deal frankly with me: Dissappoint the Old Gentleman, and let's not have one word of it betwixt us. My happiness or ruin depends upon your Breath. I am too young and giddy, to fix upon so solemn a business; and the pleasure I find in being free, cannot be bought at any rate. Bell. Your Father, Madam, I hope may be a prevailing Advocate.

Gert. Hope is a very thin Diet, fit for Love in a Feaver; but, to tell you true, I am apt to believe there is no such thing as love: but, if there be, I can assure you, you have gone the wrong way; for my Father is no Outwork of mine; you may take him, but you are ne'er the nearer me. I am a free Heiress of England, where Arbitrary Power is at an end, and I am resolv'd to choose for my self. How happily am I reliev'd! 28

It is doubtful that Shadwell really subscribed to these attitudes toward marriage. Nothing is known of his own private life except that his family was often in dire financial straits because of his absence from the stage or from the failure of a play to meet public approbation. He was most probably accepting for the stage the attitudes

27Ibid.
toward love and marriage then current among aristocratic circles.

The courtesy writers are easily grouped in two divisions, the sentimentalists and the cynics. Osborn and Selden are the only courtesy writers who discountenance marriage. Selden thinks it is an institution of least concern to others, yet the action of life most meddled with. Lawyer that he was, he insisted upon constancy to a contract, for "Marriage is nothing but a Civil Contract. 'Tis true, 'tis an Ordinance of God: so is every other contract; God commands me to keep it when I have made it." Marriages, however, does not merit praise from Selden. He compares the act to frogs in Aesop refraining from leaping into the well, because they could not get out again.

Like many another man, Osborn avers that marriage is a trick of society to insure the propagation of the race and the security of the commonwealth, but an institution without care or forethought for the individual. This is the nearest to an expression of the Restoration attitude that the books of courtesy contain.

Marriage is a Clogge fastened to the neck of Liberty by the jugling hand of Policy, that provides only for the general necessities of all in grosse, not the particular conveniences of single persons; who, by this, give stronger Security to the Common-wealth, than suits with Prudence or Liberty. And to such as ask, How should the world submit, did all observe the like caution? It may be answered,

29 Selden, Discourses, or Table-Talk. Edited by Singer, op. cit., p. 19.
As well as without unthriftya, who by spending their
estates profusely, make way for wiser men to be the
more happy; and as it is impossible to find a dearth
of the latter, though not compelled thereunto by any
other Law, than the instigation of their own Folly;
so doubt not but there will be enough found by the
former, to stock the world, without putting so
chargable an experiment on your own conveniency. 30

To Osborn there is no fate worse than married life. A man
should rather turn and cast himself into the sea, he says;

ownership of a beauty brings only misery and deception.

Therefore (deare Son) if you find yourself
smitten with this poisoned Dart, imitate His prudence,
who chose rather to cast himself into the arms of the
Sea, and Travell, than to let his Hopes and Parts
wither in those of a poor whining Dido; who is no
more able to give you Caution, for the continuance
of her own Affection, then you are of yours, or of
her Beauty.

I have heard a well built woman compared, in
her motion, to a Ship under Saile; yet I would advise
no wise man to be her owner, if her Fraught be nothing,
but what she carries between Wind and Water.

A neat Wench, like a faire Picture, may adorn a
roome for a generall Commerce, or like a painted Innes-
post, may tempt you as a Stranger, to while away some
scorching hours; but to hand her in your Heart, and
turne Host to a bare Hollybush, is so high a Blasphemy
against Discretion, that it would not onely exceed
repentance, but pity and forgiveness, especially in
relation to you, who have had these Rocks marked out
on all sides, by the advice or splinters of an in-
dulgent Father. 31

Osborn goes further to vow that, if his son becomes a pupil
of "Shining Love," he will be "in League with Misery, and
embrace Beggery for a Friend." All he will win from fame is
to be sung about in ballads "by Dairy maids to a pitiful
tune." 32

31Ibid., p. 68.
32Ibid.
With all this disdain for marriage, on the stage and in courtesy book, we are led to believe, however, that the young couples of the drama and their counterparts in actual life really believed in marriage, and were reading the sentiments of Brathwait's *The English Gentlewoman* and Allestree's *The Ladies Calling*. Both stage and book of manners command woman for her virtue, certainly a sentiment of these two books. Conscious of the standard of virtue, Isabel tells Bellamour, "A virtuous woman is ever insensible of such a love as is unfit for her."

A blending of the romantic attitude and the common sense attitude, so pronounced in Congreve's Mirabell and Millamant scenes, is apparent in Shadwell's presentation of his ideal men and women. The characters in plays show an awareness of what true love means. Belfort and Doubty are caught in a storm searching the neighborhood for the girls' estates. They both agree that they must see those girls again. They have lost heart for former pleasures in a "Tennants Daughter in the Countrey" or "a Keeping Pool in the City."

Gentility and good breeding are noticeable in the reconciliation of Isabella and Bellamore. The latter had for a moment been jealous of Selfish, the fop.

Isabella. There can be no defence to suspect me, and with that wretch Selfish too.

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33 *A True Widow, op. cit.*, Act V, p. 318.
Bell. Jealousie, like the Small-Pox; if it comes out kindly, is never mortal; and my Love will be the stronger, and the more vigorous, for this short distemper.

Isabella. It may relapse again.
Bell. 'Tis past all danger now.
Isab. And will you still give a thousand pounds down, and three hundred pounds a year, for this Tenement, notwithstanding the incumbrance of Selfish upon it.
Bell. When I made these offers, I did not know half your worth. I was a fair chapman for your Beauty; but your vertue, and other Perfections, are inestimable.

Isabella asks if she shall join the other ladies in the parks with her "grey Flanders," crowd the walk with her carriage, and be the envy of all the "Butterflyes in Town."

Bellamore beseeches her forgiveness.

Isab. Sure a Man of your wit will never marry; every rich Fool can get a Woman that way.
Bell. Do not insult, but take me quickly to your Mercy.
Isab. I'll not deceive you: What-ever show my Mother makes, I have no Portion, nor was ever troubled at the thought of it till now.
Bell. I am glad of it; for now my Love will be the more easily believed, and better taken.
Isab. No, Bellamore.
Bell. Now, Madam?
Isab. No, I say - for were I queen of Europe, your Love would be as well accepted as 'tis now.
Bell. You surprise me with an Honour too great to bear.

Isabella of Lancashire Witches is another example.

When Sir Jeffrey and Lady Shacklehead complain to Sir Edward of her treatment of her intended fiance, Sir Timothy, Isabella dissembles a little. But when her father asks her, "You would not use him, you intend to marry, ill," she relents, and can scarcely hide the fact that she loves another.

Isab. I love him I am to marry more than Light or Liberty. I have thus long dissembled it through

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Modesty; but, now I am provoked, I beseech you, Sir, think not that I'd dishonour you so.\textsuperscript{36}

Her father orders them to let her alone; they have made her weep, he ways, and she has always been obedient and true.

There is sentiment in Philadelphia's part in Bury-Fair; in Timon's defence of Evandra in Timon of Athens: "is not one kind, faithful, loving Whore, better than a thousand base, ill-natur'd honest Women?";\textsuperscript{37} and in Eugenia's desire not to dissemble about love.\textsuperscript{38}

The courtesy books endeavored to maintain that society—the male in particular—paid tribute to the woman who retained her chastity in the face of a suitor's ardent attack. Shadwell follows the same thesis when his character falls in love with the young lady he has endeavored to make his mistress, as Bellamore with Isabella in A True Widow.

A third point of agreement and comparison between Shadwell and the courtesy books is the question of arranged marriage. The utilitarian attitude of mind which persisted throughout the seventeenth century, from Peacham to Higford, is reflected in the general outlook toward marriage as a means of augmenting a depleted family fortune.

Shadwell appears to accept the custom of dowries with marriages arranged by seventeenth century fathers. In The Libertine, The Miser, A True Widow, The Lancashire Witches, and The Squire of Alsatia, marriage de convenance sometimes moves the plot, sometimes is submerged in other themes.

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., Act IV, p. 156. \\
\textsuperscript{37}Timon of Athens, op. cit., Act V, p. 270. \\
\textsuperscript{38}The Volunteers, op. cit., Act II, p. 136.
The Spanish Flavia and Clara moan that they are "condemned without reprieve," and fear that they will grow wild by confinement, which their future husbands will find out soon enough. 39

In The Miser, the arranged marriages do not come to conclusion. The son has been provided a "grave matron of about 50 with a great deal of money." 40 The miser's own daughter likewise is being married to Timothy Squeeze, "the rich Scriveners Son, a very thrifty young man," whose father, for the sake of a good alliance, will let his son marry the miser's daughter without a portion. Both children are permitted by the dramatist to circumvent these.

Sir Edward Hartfort and Sir Jeffrey Shacklehead have betrothed their sons and daughters in order to keep great estates intact. Sir Edward, a wiser father who loves his children, appears to be persuaded by the other parent. He is reconciled with the hope that the matching of his clownish son to Sir Jeffrey's daughter may restore the breed to better descendants. 41

He humbly admits to his daughter Isabella, whom he has betrothed to Sir Timothy, that Sir Timothy is not much of a catch but that "his Estate is Large and lies altogether

about his house... [It] exceeds most in the North; thou knowest, my Child. How this Cross match will strengthen and advance My Family..."42

In The Squire of Alsatia, Sir William is arranging his son's marriage. The attorney of the girl's father having come to sign the contract, Sir William speaks of his son's qualities:

Sir Will. That Son is all the joy of my life; for him I hurry up and down, take pains, spare, and live hard to raise his Fortune.
Att. Indeed, I hear he's a fine Gentleman, and understands his Country affairs as well as e're a Farmer of them all.
Sir Will. I must confess he proves after my own Heart. He's a solid Young man, a Dutiful Child as ever man had, and I think I have done well for him in providing him a Wife with such a Fortune, which he yet knows nothing of. But will not this Godly Man, this Mr. Scrapsall, take a Farthing less say you for his Niece?43

The attorney answers that the father will not take less, though he had "higgled with him as if I were to buy of a Horse-courser." Though Sir William cannot understand how he is such a godly man and yet such an extortioner for a niece whom his brother gave to his charge, he instructs the attorney to prepare the papers. He is resolved to send for his son Timothy.

In Bury-Fair Lady Fantast suggests to her daughter it is time that she "manifest [her] Judgment" in the disposal of her person. The mother confesses she never would have

42 Ibid.
herself married Mr. Oldwit but her jointure "was somewhat intangled." Her daughter prefers Mr. Trim, but he lacks the estate she "would have"; Sir Humphrey Noddy has a good estate, but lacks Mr. Trim's accomplishments in polite conversation. She intends to hold Mr. Trim as her "Platonic Servant." In this play the estate is considered by the girl herself.

Shadwell shows, though, that sons and daughters object to alliances planned by their parents. Theodore and Theodosia, son and daughter of the miser, say they will join in their complaints to their father; if he opposed them, they will "quit—his insupportable Tyranny," and together seek other fortunes. Bellemore, who loves the girl, suggests to the miser that the inclination of the daughter ought to be regarded a little.

The two girls in Lancashire Witches are betrothed to the brother of each other, each of whom is a tiresome, gaming fellow, incapable of courtly manner and romantic love. Isabella tells Theodosia that she has just been tormented by "thy foolish brother's awkward Courtship," and must be rid of him, and Theodosia responds:

Theodosia. Prithee do, my Dear, I shall be as free with thine, though he is not so great a Plague, for he is bashful, very indifferent, and for ought I perceive, to my Comfort, no Lover at all: But mine is pert, foolish, confident, and on my conscience in love to boot.

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They both resolve not to marry as their fathers have planned. One says she is "a free English woman, and will stand up for [her] Liberty, and property of Choice"; the other will be "a mutineer on [her] side." As far as marriage without dowry or estate, that is not to be hoped for: Men are not such "Romancy Knights." Theodosia throws stones at Timothy and cuffs him, creating in him a fear of her, which he reports to his parents, and they to her father. When approached, Isabella claims that the witch is the cause, which excuse Sir Timothy's father seems willing to believe. Gertrude, in Bury-Fair, will not accept Bellamy because it appears an arranged affair, and she will choose for herself.

Some of the courtesy writers are too pious to state flatly that an addition to the family fortune is a purpose of marriage, but in cautious terms they expound the same theme. For instance, Higford is one of the most politic:

Another, and that an especial means to preserve your estate is your choice of a wife...which by your care will add unto you both an increment of estate, and strength and alliance of friends. It is the weightiest action you can perform in all your life, and it is resembled to war, in which it is said, you cannot err twice. If love be your incentive, let discretion be your directive.—I trust you will take care by marriage to advance and augment your estate.

48 Ibid., pp. 143-144; 156-157.
Brathwait, a puritan in attitudes, is the most ludicrous in his caution against a seeming worldliness.

At first he advises to "match with your equall, if not in fortunes, for so both may prove beggars, at least in descent." He considers that quarreling is often due to difference in descent. After warning next not to choose "for outward perfection" but for "inward faire, which onely maketh woman worthy loving," he slips slyly to the "matter of Portion":

A business not altogether to be neglected; for if she be a good wife, a good portion makes her no worse; and if an ill one, she has need of a Portion to make her better.--I can command his wit who having made a choice of a Proportion, moving enough to gain affection, was not content so, but he must know further touching her Portion; that as her Proportion procured love, so her Portion might enable him to live; ... see that neither gets a good wife, nor good portion, will make but a hard saver.53

Considering only virtue a requisite for a good wife, Waterhouse disqualifies fortune as a requirement:

Nor doe I under the term of unfortunate reduce those marriages where every good vertue is present, though not commended by a suitable fortune; which to some persons is useless, they having enough before, and so happy enough...nor...religion, beauty, modesty, wisdom, thrift, courage, constancy less than counterpoises to any money or land fortune.54

But he qualifies this by saying that marriage with wisdom is acceptable. "To marry a serious wife, near one's estate,

51Brathwait, op. cit., p. 145.
52Ibid., p. 143.
53Ibid., pp. 145-146.
54Waterhouse, op. cit., p. 145.
with a reasonable portion, and of a genteel and thrifty family is to obtain a convenience which will deserve every way... grace to acknowledge and wisdom to manage it aright." At another page, he places "apt matches in marriage" as good help as company to raise and advance families. The apt marriage is described as that in which there is "no scissure or flaw of separation in thought or of alienation in Carriage or Language."

The good attributes of understanding, discreetness, diffidence, and chastity are Quarles's admonitions for marriage. For the wife he suggests some authority, which is a sign of the approach of the Restoration era. About arranging marriages for children, Quarles insists upon a likeness in religion rather than dowry, and no hereditary diseases. Wisdom and parentage he thinks more important in a young man than wealth. The youth should "exceede in years" the wife he marries.

To Osborn there is only one redeeming fact in marriage and that is the bride's portion. A great estate is its own reward for all the other disillusionments of marriage. The son should not listen to report only, but should investigate actual data about it beforehand.

55 Ibid., p. 304.
56 Ibid.
Though nothing can wholly disengage Marriage from such Inconveniences, as may obstruct felicity, yet they are best palliated under a great Estate; all other arguments for it receiving commonly confutation from Time and Experience, or are evaporated by Fruition; Birth imposing a necessity of Charge, as Beauty doth of Jealousy, if not of bad report; Innocency being often found too weak to guard itself from the poison of tongues.

The true extent of her Estate therefore is first to be surveyed, before you entangle yourself upon the Owner: And, in this, common Fame is not to be trusted, which for the most part dilates a Portion or Joynerture beyond its natural bounds, proving also not seldom litigious, and that found given by Will, questionable: by which Husbands are tied to a black Box, more miserable than that of Pandora; there being in the Law hope of nothing but trouble and injustice.

Neither do Widdows seldom put their Estates out of their own reach, the better to cheat their Husbands, perverting so farre the course of nature, as to make him thrash for a Pension, who ought to command all. This requisites Love to be ushered into this indissoluble House, by Discretion, since it hath rarely fallen within the compass of Example, that both parties (if Wise) should be cordially pleased with their bargain: Therefore the Yoke of Marriage had need be lined with the richest stuff and softest outward conveniences, else it will gall your Neck and Heart, so, as you shall take little comfort in the Virtue, Beauty, Birth, etc. of her to whom you are coupled.

As the fertility of the ensuing year is guessed at by the height of the river Nilus, so by the greatness of a Wives Portion may much of the future conjugal happiness be calculated: For, to say truth, a poor Marriage, like a Father's Theft or Treason, entails shame and misery upon Posterity, who receive little warmth from the Virtue, much less from the Beauty of their mother.

The best of husbands are servants, but he that takes a Wife wanting Money, is a slave to his affection, doing the basest of Drudgeries without wages. Experience cries in the Streets, that he who takes his Maid into the Marriage bed, finds her no less Imperious a Mistress, than he that is coupled in the highest Link: For such as bring nothing esteems themselves alighted if they command not at all; whereas better Educations are apter to confess an Obligation than those basely born.59

For some reason, furthermore, Osborn is very bitter about how the English laws favor the wife. Not only is it very difficult to dissolve an English marriage, though the very church which sanctifies it will not impose like restrictions on its churchmen or priests, but the husband is obliged to care for all the children of a faithless wife.

This is another argument for a good dowry.

The English Laws are composed so far in favor of wives, as if our Ancestors had sent women to their Parliaments, while their Heads were a wool-gathering at him, allowing no abusing of husbands capital, nor marriage dissolvable, but in case of adultery, not subject to proof but under the attests of two witnesses at one and the same time: nor is non-cohabitation a sufficient discharge from his keeping all such children, as her Lust shall produce during his abode between the four English Seas; so as if his wife be a Strumpet, he must banish himself, or deale his bread and clothes to the spurious issue of a Stranger; a thralldom no wise man would sell himself to for the fairest inheritance, much less for trouble, vexation and want during life. Whence it may be strongly presumed, that the hand of policy (which first or last brings all things, expedient to humane society, under the imperious notion of Religion) hung this padlock upon the liberty of men, and after Custome had lost the Key, the Church according to her wonted Subtilty, took upon her to protect it; delivering in her Charge to the people, that single wedlock was by Divine Right, making the contrary in diverse places, Death; and, where she proceeded with the greatest moderation, Excommunication; condemning thereby (besides foure fifth parts of the world) the holy Patriarchs, who among their so frequent Dialogues held with their Maker, were never reproved for multiplying Wives and Concubines; reckoned to David as a Blessing, and to Solomon for a mark of Magnificence. Nevertheless the wily Priests are so tender of their own Conveniences as to forbid all marriage to themselves, upon as heavy a punishment, as they do Polygamy unto others: Now if nothing capable of the name of Felicity was ever, by men or angels, found to be denied to the Priesthood, may not marriage be strongly suspected to be by them thought out of that list? though to render it more glib to the wider swallow of that long abused Laity, they have gild it with the glorious epithet of
a Sacrament, which yet they loath to clog their owne stomachs withall. However the patient submission to the Institution of Marriage is the more to be wondered at, since Man and Woman not being allowed of equal strength, are so far prevailed upon by Policy, as quietly to submit themselves to one Yoke.59

Fenton concedes it wise to marry one's children early, though he considers it barbarous to arrange marriages and force them into matrimony without their consent. Grieving over the wasteful life of his own son, Fenton contradicts himself in averring that he should have encouraged the boy to marry upon the son's return from travel. Now bad company and vices in fashion have made it impossible: "his Comrades had instilled into him such an Aversion, and taught him to rail at Matrimony in the Language of the Stews, that the design of Happiness to my Family was utterly defeated."60

In discussing with a friend the contempt into which matrimony in his time had fallen, Fenton elaborates eleven reasons,61 arranged marriages one of them, immorality of husband and wife as another.

The value of a portion is not stressed by Fenton. His portrait of the ideal wife was deemed by Mason worth reproducing: "very beautiful, and not proud; well-shap'd, and not stiff; witty, and not impertinent; familiar, but not fond; good-natured, but not easie; rich, but not imperious;

59 Ibid., pp. 56-57.
60 Fenton, op. cit., p. 24.
young, but not foolish; religious, but not fantastical."

Allestree corroborates Penton's story of his own son's aversion to marriage, for he says in characterizing the Restoration gentleman, that "The embraces of a wife are as nauseous to them, as Manna to the Israelites. 'Tis Variety they hunt after." This pious writer, in a chapter "Of Virgins," makes out the best case in favor of marriage for love, as opposed to arranged marriages. The daughter, he writes, cannot love where she abhors; nor can she anticipate the wish of parents and place her love only there.

Marriage under stress is nothing more than perjury, and the end cannot be good:

But as a Daughter is neither to anticipate or contradict the will of her Parent, so I must say she is not obliged to force her own, by marrying where she cannot love; for a negative voice in the case is sure as much the child's right, as the Parents,—I confess I see not how she can, without a Sacreligious hypocrisy, vow so solemnly to love where she at the instant actually abhors; and where the married state is begun with such a perjury, 'tis no wonder to find it continued at the same rate, that other parts of the Vow be also violated; and that she observe the negative part no more than the positive, and as little forsake others, as she does heartily cleave to her husband.

And if they may not upon the more generous motive of obedience, much less may they upon the worse inducements of Avarice and Ambition; for a Woman to make a Vow to a Man, and yet intend only to marry his Fortune, or his Title, is the basest insincerity; and such as in any other kind of civil Contracts, would not only have the infamy but the punishment of a cheat.——and it may well be presum'd one cause why so few Matches are happy, that they are not built upon a right Foundation. Some are

62Mason, op. cit., p. 165.
63[Allestree], The Ladies Calling, op. cit., p. 81.
grounded upon Wealth, some on Beauty, too sandy bottoms God knows to raise any felicity on.

A Marriage day is but a kind of Bacchanal, a more licensed avowed Revel—

The conclusion may be deduced, then, that the exponents of manners, with few exceptions, compromise on utility in marriage for the gentry. One, Osborn, considers the portion the sole reason for marriage. The few hold that compatibility and love should take precedence over utility. While Shadwell seems to accept the utilitarian standards of his time, his satire appears directed against the weak point in the custom—that the sons and daughters are unhappy in the marriages of contract and that incompatibility and absence of affection are not reasonable foundations for English home life. In fact, both drama, by indirection, and courtesy book, by pious direction, hold that virtue in woman and honor and respect in man are the best relations upon which marriage exists.

The Restoration, with its indifference to a display of emotion, was averse to any interest which might be construed as jealousy in the other partner of a marriage. Shadwell's Bellamore admits to Isabella that his jealousy was ungrounded, and his love will be more "vigorous for this short distemper." Shadwell's character Flavia rebels at the jealous husband and the restraint under which she lives. She longs for

64 Ibid., pp. 177-179.
England where wives may have certain freedom in marriage.

Flavia. None live pleasantly here but those who should be miserable Strumpets: They can choose their Mates, but we must be like Slaves condemned to the Gallies; we have not liberty to sell our Selves, or venture one blow for our freedom.

Clar. O that we were in England! there, they say a Lady may choose a Footman, and run away with him, if she likes him, and no dishonour to the Family.

Flav. That's because the Families are so very Honourable, that nothing can touch them; their Wives run and ramble whither, and with whom they please, and defiance all censure.

Clar. Ay, and a jealous Husband is more monstrous Creature there, than a wittal here, and would be more pointed at: They say, if a man be jealous there, the Women will all joy and pull him to pieces.

Flav. O happy Country! we ne'r touch money, there the Wives can spend their Husband's Estate for 'em. O Blessed Country!

Clar. Ay, there they say Husbands are the prettiest civil easie good natur'd indifferent persons in the whole world; they ne'r mind what their Wives do, not they.66

Lady Woodly in Epsum-Wells is Shadwell's example of jealousy, but hers is anger over losing her lover, Bevil, to Carolina. She upbraids Bevil and, discovering herself no longer foremost in his affections, informs Lucia and Carolina that Bevil and Haines have boasted of their acquaintance throughout the town. At home she acts the termagant toward her husband Woody.

Wood: If to seek quiet abroad, when one can't have it at home, is a Sin, Heaven help the wicked, but pox on't.

Mrs. Wood: Ay, now you ban and curse, you Wretch; this you get by keeping Company with Wits, as you call them, a Company of wicked Fellows, the Scum of the Nation, Fellows that have no Religion

in 'em, that swear and drink, and wench, and never consider me that am disconsolate at home.

Wood. Oh the incomprehensible blessings of Matrimony! 67

Lady Maggot in The Scourers follows a similar pattern. 68

Allestree writes of jealousy on the part of a wife; but his treatment is the moral one, that jealousy eats into one's soul and destroys it. Shadwell's is merely following a fashion.

But of all I know nothing more dangerous than that unhappy passion of Jealousy, which tho 'tis said to be the child of love, yet like the Viper, its birth is the certain destruction of the parent. So should they be as resolute to resist all that occurs to themselves, be so far from that busy curiosity, that industry to find causes of suspicion; that even where they presented themselves they should avert the consideration; put the most candid construction upon any doubtful action.---

It is infinitely the wisest course, both in relation to her present quiet, and her future innocence. The entertaining a Jealous fancy, is the admitting the most treacherous, the most disturbing Inmate in the World; and she opens her breast to a Fury that lets it in. 'Tis certainly one of the most enchanting Frenzies imaginable, keeps her always in a most restless importunate search after that which she dreads and abhors to find, and makes her equally miserable when she is injured, and when she is not.

68 The Scourers, op. cit., p. 103.
And as she totally loses her Ease, so 'tis odds but she will part also with some degree of her innocence. Jealousy is commonly attended with a black train; it masters all the forces of our irascible part to abet its quarrel, Wrath and Anger. Malice and Revenge; and by how much the Female impotence to govern those Passions is the greater, so much the more dangerous is it to admit that which will so surely set them in an uprore. For if Jealousy, as the Wise Man saith, the rage of a Man, we may well think it may be the Fury, the Madness of a Woman. 69

For husbands and wives to be seen in public together is un-fashionable, declares Allestree. Congreve's Millament is recalled here, as well as Shadwell's Clara in The Libertine.

"There are fashionable Maxims taken up, to make men and their wives the greatest strangers to each other. Thus 'tis pronounced a piece of ill Breeding, a sign of a Country Gentleman, to see a man go abroad with his own wife (I supposed those who brought up these Rules are not to seek what use to make of them). And were the time of most of the modish couples computed, 'twould be found they are but few of their waking hours (I might say) minutes together: so that if nothing else, meer desuetude and intermission of conversation must needs allay, if not quite extinguish their kindness. 70

In a satiric vein, Shadwell permits Flavia and Clara to find this lack of restraint among married couples in England most desirable. The delineation is highly entertaining:

Flav. In England, if a Husband and Wife like not one another, they draw two several ways, and make no bones on't, while the Husband treats his Mistress openly in his Glass-Coach; the Wife,

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69 [Allestree], Ladies Calling, op. cit., p. 180.
70 Ibid., p. 138.
for Decency's sake puts on her Vizar, and whips away in a Hackney with a Gallant, and no harm done.

Clar. Though of late 'tis as unfashionable for a husband to love his Wife there, as 'tis here, yet 'tis fashionable for her to love somebody else, and that's something.

Flav. Nay, they say, Gentlemen will keep company with a Cuckold there, as soon as another man, and ne'er wonder at him.

Clar. Ah, happy Countrey! there a Woman may chuse for herself, and none will into the trap of Matrimony, unless she likes the Bait; but here we are tumbled headlong and blindfold into it.71

Woodly places a new light upon the advantage of an intrigue with a married man. Carolina tells Woodly that he has already paid tribute to Madam Woodly in marriage; consequently there's nothing in his court to her.

Wood. I am so; and there's the less danger in my Love; I should else be tempting you to accept me for better for worse till death us depart, etc. Now, Madam, take my heart upon its good behaviour, as much as you have use on, and the rest again and no hurt done.

Caro. Where there are so many free; why should I venture upon a heart with so manifest a flaw in the title as a marry'd man's.

Wood. 'Faith, there are none without their incumbrances; your fashionable Spark has his Miss in the Play house; your Lady's eldest Son his Mother's Chamber-maid; the Country Gentleman his Tenant's Daughter; a handsome young Fellow that is to make his Fortune, some elderly Sinner that keeps him fine.72

71 The Libertine, op. cit., p. 60.
Osborn criticizes the opposite relation—that of entanglements with married women, great ladies of society, who wish a young man's company to masques, plays, and public spectacles. This action was customary among fops and would-be-wits of Shadwell's plays and those of other Restoration dramatists.

To make love to married women doth not only multiply the Sinne, but the danger: neither can you, if questioned by her husband, use, with hope of victory, any sharper weapon than repentance sheathed in a modest excuse.

Fly, with Joseph, the embraces of great Ladies; lest you loose your liberty and see your legs rot in the stocks of the Physician; they being often unwholsome, ever so unreasonable, as to exact a constancy from you, themselves intend to observe; perverting so far the curse of God, as to make your desires subject to theirs.

Usher not women to Maskes, Playses, or other such public spectacles to which you have not an easy access for Money or Favor; such places being apter to create injury, than afford an handsome opportunity for revenge: Besides, if those you carry be old and deformed, they disparage you; if young and handsome, themselves.

Osborn is almost vicious in the description of the immorality of wives and the helplessness of Restoration husbands. His misogynistic slant shows itself best in this review of the deep-seated illnesses of England's social fabric.

If none of my persuasions, nor others wofull Experience, daily met with in the world, can determine you from yoking yourself to another's desires, make not a celebrated beauty the object of your choice; unless you are ambitious of rendering your house as populous as a Confectioners shop; to which the gaudy Wasp, no lesse than the liquorish Flies,
make it their business to resort, in hope of obtaining a lick at your honepot: which though bound up with the strongest obligations or resolutions, and sealed by never so many protestations, yet feminine vessels are obnoxious to so many frailties, as they can hardly bear without breaking, the Pride and Content they naturally take in seeing themselves adored: Neither can you, according to the loose customs of England, decently restrain her from this Concourse, without making demonstration of Jealousy towards her (by which you confess your self a Cuckold in your own imagination already) or Incivility to such as come to visit you; though it may be strongly presumed, Your sake hath the least share in this Ceremony; however tied in manners to attend with patience, till his Worship, or perhaps his Lordship, had pumped his wit dry, having no more Complements left but to take lease; Thus, with his Inventions rebated, but not his Lust; he returns home; where the old preserver of baudery, his Kinswoman, perceiving, by his dejected countenance, that he came short of his desires, and wanting a new gowns, imbanks herself for the employment; and to put the housester fall upon so ugly a designe, she contracts a strait alliance with your (yet possibly enconquered) Bedfellow, and under pretense of Gossiping, or perhaps a voyage to some Religious Exercise, hurries her away in his Honour's Coach to a Meeting house, where though she be taken by Storms, is fairly sent home with Bag and Baggage, being only plundered of what you are not likely to misse; And finding it unsafe to complain, returns againe upon her parole, or so often as her new Governor pleaseth to summon her, sheltering the Fault under Custome, your unavoidably Fate and perhaps Providence (which for their excuse, some are wicked enough to pleade) till her Forehead be as much hardened with Impudence, as yours is by Reproaches, etc.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{74}Ibid., "Love and Marriage," pp. 53-55.
One of the best observations on Shadwell's treatment of marriage is that contained in a review of Vanbrugh's dramas. The writers (the article is a collaboration) summarize Shadwell thus: "Four of the thirteen plays of Shadwell deal incidentally with the affairs of an incompatibly married couple: The Humorists (1670); Epsom Wells (1672); The Virtuoso (1676); and Bury-Fair (1689). Shadwell's treatment, however, is distinctly in the earlier tradition of the Comedy of Manners."75 The wife is usually the offender, seeking a new love affair with a gallant, one of the lovers of the main plot. The husband is the cuckold, or at least a conscientious objector. She is usually discovered and cast off or doomed to separation. Lady Loveyouth of The Humorists, Lady Gimcrack of The Virtuoso, and Mrs. Woodly of Epsom Wells are Shadwell's replicas of Lady Touchwood and Lady Cockwood. Lady Fantast of Bury-Fair offends only with her affectation. Her husband is glad to be rid of her complaints of his lack of breeding. Only Lady Gimcrack's independent fortune saves her so that she has the upper hand over the Virtuoso. He incidentally has followed her example.

The Virtuoso includes numerous satires on marriage and intrigues—Sir Nicholas, the Virtuoso, and Mrs. Flirt; Sir Formal in a vault attempting to seduce Sir Samuel (disguised as a woman); and Snarl and his mistress, Mrs. Figgup—but the most successful characterization is the intrigue between Hazard and Lady Gimpcrack. Hazard says the thought of her husband keeps him unquiet.

Lady G. Fear not a Husband. Husbands are such phlegmatick indifferent Rivals, they ne'er can hurt the Gallants; they poor easie Souls do every thing as if they did it not.76

Hazard calls a husband "a very insipid foolish Animal who is growing out of fashion."

Lady G. We shall begin to lay 'em by. Husbands will be left off as Gentlemen Ushers are; indeed they are more unnecessary Instruments than those spindle-shankt finical Fools, with Hose-gays and white gloves were.

They call a husband such names as "insect[s]," "drone," "cuckoo," "flegm," "drudge," "excuse," "a cloak at a pinch," "good for nothing, but to cover shame, pay Debts, and own Children for his Wife." Lady Gimpcrack concludes the classification with "In short, a Husband is a Husband, and then's an end of him."77

Epsom-Wells attacks also the cuckoldry of citizens

76 The Virtuoso, op. cit., Act IV, pp. 147-151.
77 Ibid.
by their wives. It was said to be one reason the middle class did not attend plays. They feared to be made the butt in ridicule from the stage.

Lucia and Carolina, looking over Epsom, say there is nobody there but "some impertinent ill-bred City-wives, where they have more trading with the youth of the suburbs, than their Husbands with their Customers within the walls." Mrs. Woodly, waiting for Bevil, wonders if he has been diverted by "some paltry Citizen's Wife; here are such a Company of them that lye upon the snap for young Gentlemen, as Rooks and Bullies do for their Husbands when they come to Town." Mrs. Bisket and Mrs. Fribble play the game of deceit in Epsom-Wells. While the husbands neglect them for drinking and making merry over games, the wives are inviting gentlemen of their own choosing. Each has a way of disposing of the husband. Mrs. Fribble has discovered that her husband can be kept away if she begs him to remain at home. Mrs. Bisket has trained hers to invite gentlemen of her choosing to visit her in order that he himself may go abroad.

The end of the story is handled originally. The husbands do not separate from their wives, as Woodly and

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78Epsom-Wells, op. cit., p. 113.
79Ibid., p. 129.
his wife do. They bring Kick and Cuff, the malefactors, before the justice, but there they remind themselves of the damages to be secured when these bullies are tried before a "good substantial Jury of all Married Men."80

Not intending that only citizens are made dupes by their wives, Shadwell lets Woody, a gentleman of wit and pleasure, who follows vistor-masques himself every day, be hoodwinked by his wife. Though Rains and Bevil know she is Bevil's mistress, Woody pretends to think marriage is a happy condition, and says his wife "loves me extremely, is intolerable handsome, and, I am sure, vertuous."81 He calls Bisket a cuckold, and swears he himself would not be one "for the world." Bevil laughs aside, "How blind a thing a Husband is."

Another shaft of Shadwell's satire is directed at the very middle class husbands who took pride in the ministers and gallants liking their wives. Bisket must keep his pretty wife, Molly, entertained with a gaming companion, and Rains is her choice. She becomes very angry, Bisket says, if he does not insist upon Raine's attendance.

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80 Ibid., Act V, p. 179.
81 Ibid., p. 117.
Risk. For Heaven's sake, as you love me do not deny me. I shall have no quiet with her; besides, some Cheapside Neighbours of mine are to have a Game at Bowls, and a merry meeting this Afternoon, and she wishes the Waters may we're go through her, if she'll give me leave to go to 'em, unless I bring you to her, to keep her Company, and sing and play at Cards with her, therefore, dear Mr. Rains.

Wood. This is beyond all Example.

Rains. Well, there is not in Nature so tame and inoffensive a Beast as a London Cuckold, I'll say that for him. When Rains agrees to go, Brisket thanks him "a thousand times" for the favor, for his wife will be in a very good humor the rest of the day.

While the solution in Epsom-Well is the taming to wedlock for the two young gallants, Rains and Bevil, Woodly is "treading on air" for joy at being rid of Mrs. Woodly. Both are natural states growing out of the action of the play. But the dramatist places his real moral in the epilogue to his play. Just as Fenton scolds gallants and ladies for "the inconvenience of Nation by Immorality, to Families for want of Heirs, and good young Ladies for want of Husbands," so Shadwell concludes his play on marriage with a reprimand for the condition in which matrimony is held and begs the gallants to take wives:

82 Ibid., Act I, p. 118.
83 Fenton, op. cit., p. 27.
To th' great decay of children in the Nation,
They laugh poor Matrimony out of fashion.

...............take the first occasion,
And Marry all of you for th' good of th' Nation.
Gallants, leave your lewd-whoring and take wives,
Repent, for shame your Convent-Garden lives.34

In spite of his use of separation of incompatible couples as a resolution of his dilemma, it is certainly true that Shadwell was not vitally interested in criticism of marital incompatibility. The closest to it is his permitting Woodly to be freed of his wife for her infidelity. This disregard of marriage as a solemn state is the Restoration attitude. One reason for this conclusion is that the characters concerned are invariably minor and unintelligent; another reason is that the causes of the quarrel are usually external. Unlike Vanbrugh, who shows the plot and characters hinging upon incompatibility and who analyzes it as a clash of personal temperaments, Shadwell and his fellow Restoration dramatists accept in a measure the code set by fashion. Neither Etheredge nor Wycherley, Congreve nor the lesser Restoration dramatists ever reached Vanbrugh's attitude in the marital relationships in their comedies. Dobrée does think Dryden's

Marriage a la Mode forestalls, in the treatment of marriage quarrels, Vanbrugh's idea, but that is one opinion. Shadwell's motive is dramatic. Jealousy, incompatibility, unfaithfulness make good drama. That his characters are against marriage as an institution, and that there is unfaithfulness he accepts. It does not mean, however, that he does not present also conservative tenets. Several times in his plays, to comply with the sentimental tendency of the age, he has a few characters sanction Christian precepts, such as Belfond Junior's declaring "Marriage as the most solemn Vow a Man can make." The courtesy books, on the other hand, illustrate the Puritan attitude of fidelity, chastity, submission, as well as the worldly, realistic cynicism. Like Shadwell, they follow accepted standards.

85Dobrée, op. cit., p. 107.
G. AFFECTATIONS OF FOPS

The action of the comedy of manners is not in reality what holds our attention. It is only a frame for the pictures of affected humors and mannerisms of the day. The true "beau monde," young ladies and gentlemen, are on the one hand and parvenu or affected folk are on the other. This is on the stage.

In real life society had, nevertheless, a certain homogeneity in aim, because the citizens, apprentices, and others were admirers and would-be imitators of the rakes at the court whose escapades had given the tone to society. Only occasionally does anyone criticize affectations as Shadwell does through one of his characters, Sir Humphrey.

A Fop breaks his Brains with Metaphysical Nonsense; an Mathematical Coxcomb besots himself with a, b, c, Superficies, Lines and Angles; our Virtuoso contemplates Lice in Microscopes; your Orator studies to show his parts in Whipt-Cream-speeches; your Schoolman wastes his time in Bulls and Nonsensical Distinctions to make the same thing differ from it self; and your politick Owl drudges and makes a business of what is none...

These fops or affected folk were extremists in their pretenses. In addition, they were proud, boastful, and impervious to suggestion or criticism. Shadwell and the courtesy writers take many occasions to find fault with

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1A Woman-Captain, op. cit., p. 49.
the social life for their foibles in apparel, in imitations of scientific research, in the arts—music, poetry, and playwriting, — and in wit. It is a satire of what man should not be that he may set forth what man might be.

1. Apparel

The royalists who had followed Queen Henrietta to France and others who later joined them, lived rather happily for many years at the balls, concerts, promenades, and various fetes customary with nobility in France. They returned to England with the Restoration, ready for the favors which they felt Charles would confer, but bringing back a genuine liking for the French manner of living. The charms of a superior civilization of France were conceded in the French tastes of good society in England.

Fashions in dress were taken from the French — hats and periwigs, gloves, mirrors, perfumes, ribbons, and rings. Lace, embroidery, and fans were brought from Paris. This tendency to extreme decoration was a natural revolt among men who held in detestation the simplicity of the Puritan regime and wished to get as far as possible away from the ascetic ideal of dress and conduct.

But simplicity in clothes is the English ideal, if not their practice. Recognizing that fact, Shadwell ridicules,
in his plays, the excessive foppishness in dress then so popular. His first example is not his best. Naturally, the miser Goldringham would resent his son Theodore's courtly apparel, though Theodore, we are told, is a very modest young man, who has his own fortune from his mother, not his father. Goldringham scorns "the multitudes of Ribbands, this Flaxen Hop of Whores Hair, and this Flanders Lace upon the Shirt." He would prefer his son's placing that thirty-pound sum out at interest: "thirty pounds comes to six and thirty shillings a year, according to 3atuable use." ²

Shadwell does not reach his best satire in the second instance, the words of the misanthrope Snarl, but he makes his point. Snarl's two nieces, Miranda and Clarinda, have arisen early, which surprises him as usually they remain in bed till eleven o'clock. Ironically he assures them they will make "excellent wives," for their minds are on nothing but "prinking your selves up." Women have so many tricks to disguise themselves—washing, painting, patching, and their "damn'd ugly new-fashioned Dresses, that a man knows not what to make on 'em."³ His nieces laugh at him because he likes only fashions of the year 1640. Scorning the use of patches, which women have copied from France, he scoffs

² The Miser, op. cit., Act I, p. 29.
³ The Virtuoso, op. cit., Act I, p. 114.
at young men who ape French fashions too late in the season:

Snarl. Some Ladies with soabs and pimples
on their faces invented patches, and those that
have none must follow: Just as our young Fellows
imitate the French; their Summer Fashion of going
open-breasted came to us at Michaelmas, and we
wore it all Winter; and their Winter-fashion of
buttoning close their strait-long-wasted Coats,
that made them look like Monkies, came not to us
till March, and our Coxcombes wore it all Summer.
Nay, I'll say that for your comfort, the young
fashionable Fellows of the Town have as little
Wit as you have. 4

Not satisfied, Snarl criticizes, furthermore, the manners
of men and women. He calls the women "Jillflirts, planting
vain Cockatricefs"; and vows that the men are all likely to
be effeminate coxcombs.

The fops are Shadwell's easiest source of satire
on clothes and other affectations, for example, Selfish of
A True Widow, Sir Nicholas and Sir Timothy of The Volunteers.
Selfish is interested in the cut of the breeches which Carlos
wears; the English tailors are such blockheads, he thinks;
he must have some new French clothes like those Carlos has
brought over. The crowd twit him about his complexion, the
trimming on his clothes, his peruke and his suit, until
Lady Chestley remonstrates, "Tis enough; we shall make the
man hang himself." Hackwell, Junior, is not a fop, but to

4Ibid., p. 115.
Major General Blunt, the rough old officer of *The Volunteers*, he looks like one. Major Blunt compares Hackwell, Junior, to a gentleman usher with "White Gloves, Pearl Colour'd silk Stockings, and a Nose-gay."\(^6\)

But to Shadwell the most ludicrous picture was the fop in the army. In 1691 an English army appeared on the continent under the command of an English king. A camp, which was also a court, was attractive to many patricians, full of natural fearlessness and ambitious of favors of women. Macaulay says, "To volunteer for Flanders became the rage among the fine gentlemen who combed their flowing wigs and exchanged their richly perfumed snuffs at the Saint James's Coffee House."\(^7\) It was to be expected that these young men needed in the army the accustomed luxuries of London. Fighting for their king and country did not connote privation and hardship; hence William's headquarters were forced to include splendid carriages and sumptuous banquets. Macaulay related how the stage was quick to catch the satire:

In a few months Shadwell brought these valiant fops and epicures on the stage. The town was made merry with the character of a courageous but prodigal and effeminate coxcomb, who is impatient to cross swords with the best man in the French household troops, but who is much


dejected by learning that he may find it difficult to have his champagne iced daily during the summer. He carries with him cooks, confectioners, and laundresses, a wagonload of plate, a wardrobe of laced and embroidered suits, and much rich tent furniture, of which patterns had been chosen by a committee of fine ladies.8

Shadwell's Dramatic Personae describes Sir Nicholas Dainty as "A most conceited fantastic Beau, of drolling affected Speech; a very Coxiomb, but stout; a most luxurious effeminate Volunteer."9 But the most satiric effects in Shadwell are secured in the preparation of the fop for going to camp, and for war. Sir Nicholas says that he will not have time to get his points and lace done up, that a Gentleman cannot "go undress'd in Camp." He is taking two laundresses, and has "two Campaign Suits, one trimmed with Flanders-Lace, and the other with rich Point."10 Later on he is choosing patterns of fringes and embroidery for his tent; he is counting his "12 rich Campaign Suits, six Dancing Suits, and 12 pair of Dancing Shoes"; he regrets that he had not time to put on his fighting suit for the duel, as a man "ought to be drest proper for all occasions." His suit is "Scarlet slightly flourished with Silver; a Bloody Cravat; and the neatest, best stitch'd Beau Gloves; the finest light Perrewig; and the

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8Ibid.
9The Volunteers, op. cit., Act II, p. 152.
10Ibid., p. 183.
prettiest Shoes in the world; and the motto upon my Sword is Love and Honour, because Gentlemen fight for nothing else.11 This description is what, Macaulay reports, made the town of London very merry at the play.

Simplicity and good taste are the advice of books of manners concerning apparel. Elyot thought "dress should be fit," since there is "apparaile comely to every estate and degree."12 Peacham despises a concern for dress; he thought that "variety of cloathing doth so much adorn a man, as it doth discredit him." Advising gentlemen to give up perfumes and be content "to savour of virtue and honesty," he is in this instance thoroughly Puritan.

He approves the plainness of the habit of Charles I and of his son, the Prince of Orange: "habite as plaine as any Country Gentleman." Thrift in apparel and clothing, he judges, will result in the goodwill of the gravest and wisest censor.

Henry IV of France would oftentimes say, By the outside onely, he could Sound the depth of a Courtier; saying who had least in them made the fairest show without, inviting respect with gold lace and great feathers, which will not be wonne with toyes.13

Moderation is to be one of the guiding principles in clothes, as well as in food, drink and recreations. In

11Ibid., Act II, pp. 192, 193, 199.
12Elyot, op. cit., Bk. II, Chapt. 2 and 3.
Centuries II and III Francis Quarles reverts to the subject of dress, and urges to "avoyd Singularity, Profuseness and Gaudiness." He would advise being not too early in a fashion, for decency is "the halfe way between Affectation and Neglect." Insisting upon the supremacy of the soul to the body, he advises youth to study the former more than apparel for the latter. In another "Century," he suggests a decent apparel, "suited to the quality of thy Place and Purse." 15

The Puritan Brathwait, conscious not of the good that is within man's reach, but only of the evil, calls the body "a shell of corruption," and the gorgeous apparel "the Attire of Sinne." Apparel to him "dilates itselfe purposely to accomplish the desire of vanity." For the women, habit is only "the ornament of decency" and should not have the least edging of vanity. They should not sigh, he thinks, after "phantasticke fashion," but rather "that your Country should labour of so vaile a birth, as to preferre forraigne inventions before the ornament of a Maiden Ile, constant Modesty." 16

Later by actual date than Peacham, Quarles, and Brathwait, Osborn interestingly would have his son dress

15Ibid., p. 35.
16Brathwait, op. cit., pp. 9, 275, 277.
better than others of like fortune. He says "that charge
is borne out of acceptance everywhere"; he would sacrifice
in other respects rather than let himself prove defective
in apparel. 17 Samuel Pepys remembers this admonition and
writes down for posterity:

I not being neat in clothes, which I find
a great fault in me, could not be so merry
as otherwise, and at all times I am and can
be, when I am in good habit, which makes one
remember my father Osborn's rule for a gentle-
man to spare in all things rather than in that. 18

Osborn considers that buying with ready money is better than
with credit, and where things are cheap and good rather than
from friends or acquaintances. He even advocates "going
from one shop to another" for experience. When his son
travels, Osborn thinks the fashions to follow are those
"in use as well at home as abroad," as those are least
gazed at. He cannot countenance, though, esteeming as better
the glove or doublet that passed the hands of a French tailor,
"a vanity found incident to England." 19

The fop of Shadwell's The Volunteers might have been
described by Allestree, who thinks a whole ship could be as
cheaply and easily rigged out as "a Gentleman in his complete
Equipage." The artificers who piece him together are without

number; one to each limb "would much contract the number," for they would equal "most of the trades of the Commonwealth." The lady's emphasis upon dress Allestree considers only from the point of the waste of time, and from the question of marriage—that it frightens off would-be suitors.

The English have consistently maintained good sense and durability as a guide for apparel, and the Puritan Commonwealth served only to corroborate that philosophy. The craze for sumptuous attire recurring with the Restoration was only momentary, for the books of manners and the stage plays gave no encouragement to luxury in the English way of life. The books of courtesy remonstrate with the gentry's copying the extravagance of the Court. Shadwell's plays ridicule the fops who place emphasis upon superficialities of dress. Both have a similar motive—that of toning down to good sense and moderation every interest of English life.

2. Wit

The importance of the grace and wit and morals of the whole group of ladies and gentlemen of Charles II's

court upon society and consequently upon drama cannot be overestimated. The practice of wit and repartee reached a delightful stage in this era. True wit could be heard in the conversation of men like Sedley, Rochester, Dorset, and Etherege and is reproduced at its best in plays like Etherege’s The Man of Mode and Congreve’s The Way of the World. But the imitation of wit was another matter. In the drawing rooms and boudoirs one could become well acquainted with those who made themselves ridiculous in forced wit and flowery oratory. It spread to every group of society, among both men and women.

The bore and the braggart were familiar figures in classic satire, and Shadwell included them in his expose of Restoration humors. One type of bore was the person who affected wordiness and bombast in speech; another, one who spoke in an oratorical style; a third, the person who practiced puns and horseplay; another, one who interpolated French words. Sir Positive is the bore and braggart of The Sullen Lovers; Sir Formal and Sir Samuel, of The Virtuoso. In Bury-Fair, Trim is the character of mellifluous tongue, with Sir Humphrey and Mr. Oldwit the punsters and wits at horseplay. Numerous others of various afflictions are Prig, Selfish, young Haggot, and Sir Timothy.

If one may judge from Shadwell’s satire of bombast and wordiness in speech, it characterized in a large measure
the Restoration would-be wits. Interested in society as Shadwell was, he could not pass by the subject. In an early play, *Epsom-Wells*, he shows how cognizant he was of the folly in the contagion. Woodly, complaining to Bevil and Raines of the foolish company, Justice Clodpate, whom he has just left, is advised by them to beware of fools. Raines is the spokesman.

Raines: ...for conversation is to the mind, as the air we live in is to the body; in the good we by degrees suck in health, and in the ill Diseases. Wit is improv'd in good Company; but there is a Contagion in Folly, that insensibly insinuates into one that often converses with Fools, let his constitution of mind be never so good.21

These words appear to be Shadwell's own interpretation of the kind of wit upon which the mind can feed.

Shadwell points out that, while a Lady Cheatley is charmed with wit, serious upper gentry and middle class objected to it and all affected conversations for men of wealth and certain responsibilities. Through his early 'humor' plays and later in good comedies like *Epsom Wells* and *Bury-Fair*, his characters point out the nuisance of the wits or the dangers to social life that the condition fosters. It is attacked by the miserly Country Justice Clodpate:

Clodpate: ... for Wit, there is such a stir amongst you, who has it, and who has it not, that we honest Country Gentlemen begin to think there's no such thing, and have hearty Mirth and good old Catches amongst us, that do the business every whit as well.

Reins: He's in the right. The Wits are as bad as the Divines, and have made such Civil Wars, that the Little Nation is almost undone.

In another play, just before his nine years' absence from the stage, he shows three characters, Old Maggot, a business man, Lump, the brother of Lady Cheatley, and Prig, the gamester, explaining to Lady Cheatley their objections to Wit. Old Maggot has come to look for his nephew, who, he hears, is practicing the style.

Maggot: Gentlemen, I come to look out an ungracious nephew of mine, who, I hear, by virtue of your company, sets up for a wit. Will any of you keep him when you have made him good for nothing?

Bell: Good for nothing! Why, he is the darling of the ladies; they dote on him for his songs, and fear him for his lampoons; and the men think no debauch perfect without him.

Maggot: Yes, I hear he writ a libel. I shall have him scribble away his ears, or write himself so far into the ladies' favours to lose his nose, or be knocked on the head; these are the fruits of Wit.

Lump, Lady Cheatley's brother, adds his practical sense; to him Wit does not fall under the head of good business.

Lump: ...But, sister, I am to give you a main caution. Have a care of Wits at this end of the town: Wits are good for nothing, of no use in a commonwealth; they understand not business.

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Lady Cheat: The better for my purpose; they value pleasure and will bid high for't.
Lump: I say they are good for nothing; they are not men of method and business.

Two acts later in the play, the three men are still insisting to Lady Cheatley, who has come to town to marry off her daughters and who is delighted with the frivolous, witty age, that wit makes a man dangerous rather than solid and trustworthy.

Lump: And for the wits that come higher, I doubt not but these Gentlemen are of my opinion; I say, they are dangerous scandalous, and good for nothing.
Maggot: 'Tis true, Madam, they are a company of flashy, frothy, Fellows, and these Coxcombs mistake dulness for solidity in them.

One courtesy writer, the unknown author of The Gentleman's Calling and The Ladies Calling, finds this same fault in wit, namely, that it enables vain persons to deride and censure others. Shadwell's character expresses the same idea - that it has stirred the country to civil wars.

But I believe it is not more frequently introduced by anything then the vanity of Wit, which has no where a more free and exorbitant range then in censuring and deriding; nay, finds not only exercise but triumph too, vain Persons seldom considering the Infirmiti's or Follies of others, without some Complacencies, and assuming reflections on themselves which how disagreeable it renders this liberty of talking to that Modesty we recommend, is obvious enough.

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24 Ibid., p. 300.
25 Ibid., p. 317.
26 [Allestree], op. cit., The Ladies Calling, p. 11.
The same year of *A True Widow* (1679), another drama, *The Woman Captain*, appeared. The character, Sir Humphrey, chooses to have no wit in his new style of living, for "'tis exploded ev'n upon the Stage."

Sir Humph: I'll keep no Fool, 'tis out of fashion for great Men to keep Fools.

Fool: Because now adays they are their own Fools, and so save Charges: But for all that they delight in Fools out of Livery. When do you see any of 'em favour a Wit?

Sir Humph: I'll have none, 'tis exploded ev'n upon the stage.

Fool: But for all that Shakespeare's Fools had more Wit then any of the Wits and Criticks now adays; Well, if the History of Fools were written, the whole Kingdom would not contain the Library; yet a vast number of Fools have been in Print, and written their own Histories.

Sir Humph: You are a Satyrical Fool, and will give offence.

Fool: Indeed this Age is not able to bear Satyr: and yet 'tis a very laughing jeering age: all Fools laugh at one another, and scarce any one is such a Fool, but he has a sub-Fool that he can laugh at...

Sir Humph: Begon Sirrah! I'll have no fooling.

Fool: Good Sir Humphrey, I will be a fashionable Fool, and learn to lisp, speak French, and be very much affected. I will be a well-bred Fool, a Flatterer, or a Pimp, if you please, you may turn away a Knave or a Champlain for me.27

Osborn and Allestree are the courtesy writers in the period who appear concerned about what is spoken and written. The strife of political parties, Whig and Tory, and of the church, Protestant against Catholic, filled the minds of men

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of the time. England had had no respite from unrest and party strife. Much was written by each side, in bitterness and anger. This condition probably led Osborn to pen from his own rich observation the lines:

Spend no time in reading, much less writing strong lines: which like tough meat, ask more paines and time in chewing, then can be recompensed by all the nourishment they bring. 28

He is even better in his positive admonition about wit, that is, wit in its modern interpretation:

Let your wit rather serve you for a buckler to defend your self, by a handsome reply, then a sword to wound others, though with never so facetious reproach, remembering that a word cuts deeper than a sharper weapon, and the wound it makes is longer in curing: A blow proceeding but from a light motion of the Hand agitated by passion, whereas a disgraceful speech is the result of a low and base esteem felled of the party in your heart. 29

Allestree likewise pleads for temperate language, and words that are pertinent and weighty. His allusions to anger, though, scarcely applied to Restoration society who in respect to good breeding kept feeling under control.

Next for the words, 'tis not to be doubted but that calm and temperate Language has the advantage of that which is passionate and rageful; and that not only in respect of decency, but ease too; of which there needs no other testimony than that visible perturbation and unseasiness observable in all who are under such a transportation. ...When

29 Ibid., pp. 39-40.
the words are pertinent and weighty, they give not only more satisfaction to the heaven, but to the speaker also.

These excerpts relate as much to the other variations of wit which follow. Prig states his own volubility. In talking with Bellamour, Lady Cheatly, Carlos, and Prig, Stanford has expressed the thought that discourse, in comparison with sports and games, is a pretty good way of passing one's time.

Prig: Gad, so it is: I talk as much as any man in England, my Tongue seldom lyes still; 0! I love Discourse mightily; and though I say it, I am able to run down all I meet about Dogs and Horses.

Another example is Sir Formal Trifle, who is the triumph of the florid and verbose. Snarl, the misogynist of the old school, expresses contempt for his incessant stream of talk, as Sir Formal greets him thus:

Sir Form: Sweet Mr. Snarl, had my eyes sooner encounter'd you, I had more easily paid you the Tribute of my respect, which I opine to be so much your due, that though I ignore not that you are happy in having many admirers, yet . . .

Sir Form: What is it so disorders the Operative Faculties of your noble Soul? But I beseech you argue you me not of Oratory; though I confess it to be a great virtue to be florid; nor is there in the whole World so generous and Prince-like a quality as Oratory-

30[Allestree], op. cit., p. 47.
32The Virtuoso, op. cit., Act I, p. 117.
Snarl can endure no more. He interrupts Sir Formal.

**Snarl:** Prince-like, Pimp-like in sadness!
I never knew an Orator that was not a Rascal,
by the Mass: Orators are foolish flashy Coxcombs,
of no sense or judgment, turn'd with every wind;
they are never of the same opinion half an hour
together, nor ever speak of the opinion they are
of[33]

These are two passages. There are many others of equal
froth and bombast throughout the play.

Sometime later, the two young ladies, Miranda and
Clarinda, lead him on to a discourse on a mousetrap. The
joke reaches prodigious proportions when he is caught in a
trap-door of a vault, a prank instigated by Bruce and Longvil.
While they are enjoying the fun, Bruce declares that Sir
Formal Trifle "uses as many Tropes and Flourishes about a
Mouse-Trap as he would in praise of Alexander."[34]

Sir Formal Trifle dominates the play so much that
Mr. Summers regards him as surely an immortal figure:

He is literally hypnotized by the eager of
his own verbosity; he is one who knows the magic
of words; a man of silver eloquence, equal to any
occasion. He pours forth such excess of nonsense
that he would have rivalled the Bishop of Birming-
ham in the pulpit, or the President of some
scientific Assembly on the platform. Yet what
could be finer than his resolve to confront the
angry rabble, alone and unarmed, and to conquer
them by his Demosthenic periods? What could be
more gracious, what could be more superb than
his morning salutations; what could be neater than

[33]Ibid.
[34]Ibid., Act III, p. 145.
his desire to be both 'concise and florid'? Even when he pays irregular addresses to a lady, what gallantry, what ardour, what urbanity and breeding? 35

So much does Shadwell satirize wit and its forms in the first great period of his dramatic activity. When he returned to the stage, after nine years' absence, he reverts to the topic in Bury Fair. The main plot satirizes two types— that which "displays itself in extravagant compliments, affectation of learning, artificial methods of expression, and exaltation of French breeding, and that which appears in horseplay, puns, and practical jokes." 36 This is the pattern of extravagant, flowery phrases; Lady Fantast and Mrs. Fantast, the exaltation of French breeding; and Sir Humphrey and Oldwit, the horseplay and punning.

The opening scene with Wildish and his valet on the stage sets down the attitude toward wit at the moment. Wildish, a gentleman from London, newly come to Bury, does not wish to be called a wit; he would prefer to be named even a pickpocket. His valet has told him that London wits, himself included, will not give any man or anything a good word. Wildish counters that a wit is "always a merry, idle, waggish fellow, of no understanding," and the——

36Borgman, op. cit., p. 223.
solid fop is a better man. He says the wit will neglect all opportunities for pleasure, or "if he brings his business into a hopeful way he will laugh at or draw his wit upon some man or other, and spoil all." 37

His valet, teasing him, suggests two "fine facetious witty" persons of their acquaintance at Bury, Oldwit and Sir Humphrey Noddy; but Wildish disdains them both, calling one "a paltry, old-fashioned wit and punner of the last age, that pretends to have been one of Ben Jonson's sons, and to have seen plays at the Blackfriars," and the other "a blunt, noisy, laughing, roaring, drinking fellow, as troublesome as a monkey and as witless as a jackdaw." 38

His valet insists that, if Wildish talks thus in Bury, he will be thought a madman and be stoned in the streets, for these styles "carry all the town before 'em." 39

Wildish is not surprised. It is that way in every town. The people of sense, "the wise and ingenious," are few, modest, and reserved. The men of real worth, and the women "of great wit, beauty, and ingenuity, and well-bred, too," are seldom heard from. The pretenders have nothing in them, he says; yet they carry all before them.

38Ibid., p. 300.
39Ibid.
The wits, Trim, Sir Humphrey Mody, and Mr. Oldxit, call upon the visiting Mr. Wildish. They compliment him for being "so noble a figure among the nimble and quick spirits of the age," and "the chief genius and high wit of the age." Wildish has been a writer in London; Oldwit assures him "his pen has already betrayed him as the choicest wit of the times." Sir Oldwit lapses into reminiscences of his days with the wits in Jonson's time, while Sir Humphrey collaborates on their making nothing of "those silly fellows, the poets, and yet, they say, they were Cook Poets." Wildish joins in: "We have Poets, as pretty Fops as any about Town; and are fitter for Subjects of Comedies, than Authors of anything." Following his earlier method, Shadwell thus has here a demonstrator, Wildish, set to view the objects of his satire.

The satire of a figurative and euphuistic style of speech is directed against Trim in this play. Speaking of his friendship with Mrs. Fantast, Trim describes his preference for "a Conversation that savours somewhat of Gallantry, mix'd now and then with Ombre, Crimp, Comet, or Incertain; and

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40 Ibid., p. 302.
41 Ibid., p. 305.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., p. 306.
sometimes we read an Author, or so." In this manner he pays Mrs. Fantast a compliment: "Not all the clouds assembled in the Firmament, can hide, or can eclipse so muffle the Sun, but we poor Mortals know it shines, and feel the warm effects. Why should Dorinda think to blunt her pointed Glories, or conceal the Radiant Lustre of her conquering Beams? He is so wordy in asking the pseudo-Count to give himself "leisure circumspectly to have made Inquisition into any part of the History of my Life and Breeding, or into the sedate Composure and Serenity of Mind," that even the count calls Trim "one great Fool indeed."

A fourth extravagance in speech is represented by the Fantasts. While Lady Fantast may be an imitation of Margarille in Molière's Les Précieuses ridicules and of Melantha in Dryden's Marriage-a-la-Mode, she and her daughter illustrate, though slavishly, the use of French language in affectation.

Mrs. Fan: Heroic Numbers upon Love and Honour, are most Ravissant, most Suprenant; and a Tragedy is so Touchant! I dye at a Tragedy; I'll swear I do.

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46 Ibid., p. 329.
47 Allen, op. cit., pp. 121-122.
Bits of her French affectations are included in another chapter.

The entire two acts seem to be a direct satire by Shadwell on the pseudo-wits of his time. Bury-Fair, written in 1689, would be the turning point in interest in wit. The accession of serious, Dutch-minded William and his queen Mary may have contributed to the change.

Shadwell's method is negative. By ridiculing the various forms of wit and criticisms of the men of sense, he shows what a man of breeding ought not to practice in speech and in writing. On the contrary, the courtesy writers usually choose the positive statement of the speech and manner to be desired.

Brathwait has much to say about the subject. Most of his expressions have a biblical cast:

May your Speech, (Gentlemen) bee so seasoned, as it may relish of discretion: rather learne the art of silence, than to incurre the opinion of rashnesse: for the one seldom gives argument of offence, but the other ever.49

In another passage he most actually characterizes Shadwell's flowery Trim or his bombastic Sir Formal:

49 Brathwait, op. cit., p. 8.
The first sort generally are so miserably enamoured of words, as they little care for substance. These are ever drawing a Leaden sword out of a gilded sheath; and will not lose a dram of Rhetorick for a pound of Reason: ... These will lay themselves open to their profess'at enemie, so they may gain applause, and get the opinion of good speakers; being the only marke they shoot at ... These are fools which carry their Hearts in their Mouths; and farre from those wise men, which carry their Mouthes in their Hearts. Though discretion of Speech be more than Eloquence, these preferre a little unseasoned Eloquence before the best temper of discretion.50

Gailhard likewise suggests few words and a listening attitude. Speaking of how many kinds of conversation there may be, he strikes at the tiresomeness of one-sided conversations, such as that concerned with "mirth, eating, drinking, or of cloaths a la mode"; or "with Travels, Books, Horses; of Building, Hunting, Hawking, Coursing, and such."51 He thus strikes directly at the fops which Restoration drama, particularly in Shadwell's humors, satirizes: "Those who are constantly talking of one thing, and never but of that thing, are the plague and persecutors of reasonable persons."52

Cloathe not thy language, either with obscurity, or Affectation: In the one thou discover'st too much darkness, In the other, too much lightnesse: He that speakes from the Understanding, to the Understanding is the best Interpreter.53

50 bid., p. 47.
52 bid., p. 84.
53 Quarles, op. cit., Cent. IV, p. 43.
There must have been a greater interest in words as such in the early part of the seventeenth century which did not continue in exactly the same pattern or intensity later in the century; for writers of books of courtesy like Peacham (1622) and Quarles (1640) spend several paragraphs on style and choice of words. Quarles's second passage about words urges that "thy Discourse be such as thy Judgment may maintain." Words spoken hastily are lost, he says. His advice is to "Husband thy Gifts to the advantage of thy selfe, and shape thy Discourse to the advancement of thy Hearer." Books of precepts such as Quarles's *Enchiridion* are positive against divulging one's thoughts too quickly. Give not thy tongue too great a liberty; lest it take thee prisoner: A word unspoken is like the Sword in thy Scabbard, thine: If vented, the Sword is in another's hand: If thou desire to be held wise, be so wise as to hold thy tongue.

Shadwell's *Sir Positive*, who boasts his excellence in a dozen fields of endeavor, and his young Maggot and Finny, who boast of their poetry, also receive attention in Osborn and Gailhard. Osborn cautions against pride of thinking yourself wiser or greater than you are. Gailhard warns that a man should not speak well of himself:

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54 Ibid., Cent. III, p. 30.
56 Quarles, *op. cit.*, Cent. III, p. 32.
57 Osborn, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
"They who take a pleasure to speak of their exploits, and
to be trumpet of their own praises, are laught at in
companies." 58

The crudest forms of wit were horse play and puns.
Sir Humphrey interposes horseplay during the conversation
by pulling a chair from under Trim and by pinning Oldwit
and Wildish together; at both pranks Oldwit is a voluble
audience, begging Sir Humphrey to "give over or he will
die." 59

Sir Humphrey, explaining his gift to Trim and
Wildish, related how he pushed a gentleman into the water
"up the knees," and how he "twirled another fellow's hat
over a little river that was not navigable." so that "I
thought my lord [his host] would have killed himself
[laughing]." 60

In a later scene the punsters are in action. The
men having retired for smoking and drinks, it is a good
occasion for mental gymnastics. Oldwit, as host, calls
on Wildish, who begs to be excused; but Sir Humphrey
eagerly takes it up. He attempts plays upon rabbet and
rawbit, and woodcock and goose. Wildish baits him further:
"Why you can make a Joque, Sir Humphrey upon anything,"

58 Galhard, op. cit., p. 83.
59 Bury-Pair, op. cit., p. 304.
60 Ibid.
and leads him on with words wainscot, window, looking-glass, day.

Quarles might have been thinking of the two pranksters in horseplay when he wrote:

Wrinkle not thy face with too much laughter, 
est thou become ridiculous; neither wanton thy Heart with too much Mirth, lest thou become vaine: The suburbs of Folly is vaine Mirth, and profuseness of Laughter is the City of Fooles.61

Further on, he emphasizes over-exuberance and frivolity as a poor profession:

Let not mirth be thy profession, lest thou become a Make-Sport. He that hath but gained the Title of a Jester, let him assure himself, the Fool's not farre off.62

All the foregoing examples from both the plays and courtesy literature would indicate that affected speech was a source of annoyance and chagrin to the observers of Restoration society. Puns and pranks must also have reached a low level. Shadwell illustrates bombast and wordiness, flowery terms and heroic style in the speech of certain characters - Sir Positive At-all, Trim, Young Maggot, Sir Samuel Hearty, and Sir Formal Trifle. His examples of affectation in borrowed language are Lady Fantast and her daughter. Oldwit and Sir Humphrey are the ones to play on words and to deal in horseplay. Shadwell's plays crossed

62 Ibid., p. 33.
the dividing line between a vogue of wit and a decadence of it. The stage had ceased to show much wit by the time of Bury-Fair.

On the other hand, the courtesy writers use the term very seldom, but every word written about speech demands simplicity and directness, which are opposing qualities to wit. They speak particularly against volubility and affectation, qualities which Shadwell satirized in Trim, Sir Formal Trifle, and Sir Samuel Hearty. They write against pride in one's speech, which is the weakness in Sir Positive At-all. They even caution their readers to guard against ridiculous action in laughter and jest, which is Shadwell's point against the jokers in Bury-Fair. In fact, the subject of wit and speech is one which shows much to compare between the dramatist's teachings and those precepts of courtesy writers.

3. The Scientific Movement

When Shadwell wrote The Virtuoso and Osborn his Advice, the Royal Society had already (in 1662), been formally established. Scientific research of men like Hobbes and Newton was absorbing the minds of leading thinkers of the day. There was certainly the beginning of real science, but side by side with it were much foolish experimentation, old superstitions, and imitations of true
science. The term "virtuoso," though defined as "a learned or ingenious person, or one that is well qualified," came to be applied, in ridicule, to imitators of real scientists. The scientific movement was much in disfavor in the seventeenth century with old-fashioned folk, who objected to these students and scholars who carried on, they considered, idle pursuits in a dilettante or trifling manner.

Dryden caught the public disfavor in the passage in *Sir Martin Mar-all*, produced August 15, 1667. Sir Martin is trying to impress old Moody by averring: "I am sure, in all companies I pass for a Virtuoso"; but the veteran Moody cut him short with "Virtuoso! What's that too? Is not Virtue enough without O so?"^64^ How Shadwell felt toward the new science may perhaps be determined through his plays. In *The Sullen Lovers* his opinion of a pseudo-scientist is set down in Emilia's words. A woman of sense, she has been explaining to a disgruntled, morose Stanford how she feels about the men she must be companionable with—all intolerable fops. She would give money to see a sensible, reasonable gentleman. Among the types by whom she is plagued is a pseudo-scientist.

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Emilia. Others, after twenty or thirty years' study in philosophy, arrive no further than the weighing of carps, the invention of a travelling wheel, or the poisoning of a cat with the oil of tobacco; these are your wits and virtuoso's.65

A "virtuosa" is pictured in the character of Lady Vaine, who will not cease talking about virtue and honor, and who will not leave Emilia until she has cured her with "Flus Unguentorum, Paracelsian and Green-Salve," or burned some "Blew-Inkle, and Partridge Feathers under [her] nose."66

But Shadwell's really acute satire is his play named for the pseudo-scientist, The Virtuoso. In this drama the vagaries of Shadwell's character and his grandiloquent drawback are a bob for the Royal Society's similar to Butler's whimsical "The Elephant in the Moon" and "A Virtuoso" in his Characters. Sir Nicholas Gimorack is the composite of all the foolish scientific students who described their experiments in the Philosophical Transactions and similar publications known to Shadwell's audience. Although Sir Nicholas Gimorack does not maintain consistently his character of the scientist, yet he holds his humor sufficiently. Lady Gimorack describes his experiments to Bruce and Longvil:

65 The Sullen Lovers, op. cit., Act III, p. 45.
66 Ibid., Act II, pp. 31-33.
L. Sim. He has a Frog in a Bowl of Water, ty'd with a pack-thread by the loins; which pack-thread Sir Nicholas holds in his teeth, lying upon his belly on a Table; and as the Frog strikes, he strikes; and his Swimming-Master stands by, to tell him when he does well or ill.

Long. This is the rarest Fop that ever was heard of.

Bruce. Few Virtuoso's can arrive to this pitch, Madam. This is the most curious invention I ever heard of.

L. Sim. Alas! He has many such; He is a rare Mechanick Philosopher. The Colledge indeed refus'd him, they envy'd him. 68

Playing the real virtuoso himself in his study, Sir Nicholas explains his discoveries to Bruce and Longvil. To a question he admits that he has never swam in water, but can swim "most exquisitely on Land," and that he contents himself with the "speculative part of Swimming." 69 He tells them he has performed a blood transfusion between a spaniel and a bulldog which may be named a wonder, and one of a sheep's blood and a Mad-man's.

In his final speech he maintains the humor in the extreme:

"Well now 'tel time to study for Use: I will presently find out the Philosopher's Stone: I had like to have gotten it last year, but that I wanted Hay-Bew, it being a dry Season." 70

Shadwell's play may not have received the attention it merited, for his rival did not fail to disparage it.

68 Ibid., Act II, p. 125.
69 Ibid., p. 127.
Dryden's *Mao Flecknoe* is very severe on Shadwell's burlesque of virtuosi:

Thou art my blood, where Johnson has no part:
What share have we in Nature or in Art?
When did his wit on learning fix a brand
And rail at Arts he did not understand? 71

Of the many books on manners, only one mentioned the scientific excesses of persons writing for *Philosophical Transactions* and such publications. That one book is Osborn's *Advice to His Son*. Osborn's practical mind warned him against new discoveries that could not be found in "the list of mathematicks."

Do not prosecute beyond a superficial knowledge, any learning that moves upon no stronger legge, than the tottering basis of conjecture is able to afford it: For though you may please yourself in your owne conceit, it will not be easy to satisfy others: The capacity of the ignorant lying as much below such speculations, as the more knowing are above them: there remaining to all, in things dubious, a power to reject, or admit what opinions they please.

Therefore no study is worth a man's whole employment, that comes not accompanied with profit, or such unanswerable reasons, as are able to silence all future debate; not to be found out of the list of the Mathematicks, the Queen of Truth, --- (It is) the only knowledge we can on earth gaine, likely to attend us to Heaven. ---As for other humane learning, so much of it as is now hewed out of this rock, is nothing but lumber and formes, owned for the majesty and employment only of academies, and of little better use than to find discourse by the fireside. 72

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This paragraph is consistent with his other admonitions for a "mixt" education, not one extreme in following fads. Why others have not denounced this movement may be explained only by conjecture:—humanistic leanings or lack of sufficient interest in new avenues of thought.

It may be logical to conclude, then, that Shadwell, Dryden, Osborn and perhaps others of their circle thought alike on the question of scientific study which took too scant a drink of the Pierian spring. This attitude continued into the succeeding century, for Swift's ridicule in Gulliver's Travels, Book III, is directed principally against the inconsequence of their experimentation.

4. Music

What are the opinions on the arts, music and poetry—those arts which Castiglione considered the attributes of a gentleman?

The fact that the dramatist Shadwell was himself trained in music gives point to his satire of foppish imitators. A study on the songs of Restoration drama shows that several of Shadwell's have survived. Three were prepared for his own plays; a fourth was for Sedley's

Bellamira, and the fifth had no theatrical history. Mr. D. M. Walmsley noted two songs by Shadwell that he discovered in B.M. Add. MS. 19, 759, ff. 17 and 20, a collection of music which once belonged to Charles Campelman. 74

In the Preface to his Psyche Shadwell states that he had "some little knowledge (of music), having been bred, for many years of my Youth, to some performance of it." 75 He chalked out the way to the composer in all but the "Song of Fairies and Devils" in the fifth act of that opera. Deficient, perhaps, in a melodic sense, he may be called a careful workman. He took pains to see that the music used in his plays, for instance, The Squire of Alsatia, should be appropriately scored (the accompaniment to be two flutes and a thoroughbass).

Of Shadwell's wider musical interests we know or can infer a considerable amount. His plays are "a treasure-trove of allusion to popular songs and ballads of the day." 76 He knew men of eminence in music, praised their efforts and seemed to have been on terms of intimacy with some of them.

75 Preface to Psyche, p. 280.
76 Thorp, op. cit., p. 106.
Shadwell's attack on fops, and the attacks of Etheredge and others are a restatement of the belief that the dignity of a gentleman must not be endangered by acts connotating the professional entertainer. From Sir Positive, Minny, and Woodcock of The Sullen Lovers to the final curtain on Sir Timothy in The Volunteers, Shadwell was satirising the extreme cases of pretence in skill in the arts. His satire in regard to music is directed toward those fops and other practicers who, as Osborn explained, "never know when to begin or to give over."

Sir Positive boasts that he understands music; Minny can sing, as well as write poetry; Woodcock dances, and sings about a wizard mask. Each follows his own humor to extreme, in the Jonson manner. Stanford describes Woodcock to Lovell.

... But no sooner, by some happy accident or other, had I got rid of him [Minny], but in come that familiar living puppy Woodcock, that admires fools for wits, and torments me with a damned coranto, as he calls it, upon his violin, which he used so barbarously, I was ready to take it for a bagpipe.77

In a similar vein, Emilia in The Sullen Lovers complains to Stanford: "Others learn ten years to lay o' the fiddle and to paint, and at last an ordinary fiddler or sign-painter, that makes it his business, shall out-do

After four or five meetings with them Emilia exclaims, "This impudence is beyond all example, and there is no possibility of getting from them."79

The drama, The Humorists, presents the affected gentleman in Brisk, "an airy, Fantastick, Singing, Dancing Coxcomb, that sets up for a well-bred Man, and a Man of Honor; but mistakes in everything and values himself only upon the Vanity and Foppery of a Gentleman."80 Affectation in singing received condemnation as did all the mannerisms and pretended skills.

Other satiric songs occur in many plays: A tavern song from Prig to Young Maggot, Carlos and Bellmour,81 a song by Young Maggot,82 and again Prig's song to Isabel and Lady Cheatley.83 Miranda's maid sings "The Slavery of Love" for Longvil and Bruce.84 The Amorous Pigotte includes the song "Fire of Love."85 The play with music to refresh a jaded spirit is The Woman-Captain; one song to please Sir Humphrey Scattergood is "A Drinking Song."86

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78 Ibid., III, p. 45.
79 Ibid., Act IV, p. 72.
80 Dramatis Personae, p. 191.
82 Ibid., p. 314.
83 Ibid.
84 The Virtuoso, op. cit., p. 155.
85 Act I, p. 52.
The Scourers indicates Shadwell's attitude toward unprepared music instructors, whom young women are forced to accept. The governess, Priscilla, remonstrates with Eugenia and Clara against [their] resisting their aunt's arbitrary orders. She tells them that they at least will have cultivation in music and dancing. Eugenia criticizes the person of their dancing teacher, and both Clara and Eugenia, their Music master:

Eugenia. Yes an ignorant, illiterate hopping Puppy that rides his dancing Circuit thirty miles about, Lights off his tyred Steed, draws his Kit at a poor country creature, and gives her a High in her pace, that she shall never recover.

Clara. And for Musick an old hoarse singing man riding ten miles from his Cathedral to Quaver out the glories of our Birth and State, or it may be a Scotch Song more hideous and barbarous than an Irish Cronan.

Eugenia. And another Musick-master from the next Town to teach one to twinkle out Lilly bolero upon an old pair of Virginals, that sound worse than a Tinkers kettle that he cries his work upon . . . We'll ha' no more on't, we are come up to London and common sense, and we defy thee and thy works.67

Shadwell's plays do not satirize musical talent in women. Either he was writing for a man's world or accepted that music might be naturally a woman's sphere. He places the fops and wits in contrast with natural musicians such as Lucia, the attorney's daughter, in The Squire of Alsadia;86 Charles, who is Philadelphia (disguised) in

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86 Act II, p. 224.
Bury-Fair: a singer of the country ballad called for by Glodpate in Epson Wells; and the Italian music played by Sir Edward Hartfort's artists for Belfort and Doubty in The Lancashire Witches.

His own words in The Squire of Alsatia indicate how well he understood the part music plays in a properly integrated life: "I love Music: Besides, I would have young Gentlemen have as many helps to spend their time alone as can be; most of our Youth are ruin'd by having Time lye heavy on their heads, which makes them run into any base company to shun themselves."

Perhaps because writers of courtesy books were not, like Shadwell, musicians themselves, their attitudes in regard to the arts vary with the writers. A proficiency in music, art, and poetry as an attribute of a gentleman goes back to Castiglione who considered an appreciation of arts a part of that esthetic grace with which the ideal courtier should be endowed. Elyot, in the sixteenth century, considered music a fine recreation for boys, provided they do not "in playinge and singynge only . . . put their holle studie and felititie." On the utility of

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89 Act I, p. 310.
90 Act III, p. 139.
91 Act III, p. 137.
92 The Squire of Alsatia, supra, p. 116.
studying geometry, history, and music, he says that music "is a great lengthener of life . . . The exercise of singing openeth the breast and pipes: it is an enemy to melancholy and dejection of the mind." Whatever endangered his dignity, however, such as "the connotation of a professional entertainer," was looked at askance. That attitude condemns the use of musical instruments, except the lute and the harp, and a skill in mechanical arts.

Every writer insisted that exact skill would be undesirable, for the time necessary to attain skill should be elsewhere employed to better advantage.

Music a sister to Poetry, nextcraveth your acquaintance. I know there are many . . . who avoid her company . . .

Thus does Peacham begin an erudite discourse on the value of music in a well-rounded life. He quotes from the scholars, Plato, Homer, Aristotle, and Tully on music. He thinks that music should be learned, however, not for great excellence in performance. One may be trained enough to sing his part surely, at first sight, and play upon the viol, or the lute, for one's self. In his opinion, music has the greatest value in its religious bearing:

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93 The Boke Named the Governour, op. cit., Book I, pp. 52-53.
94 Mystick, op. cit., p. 417.
95 Peacham, op. cit., pp. 96-98.
... Account this goodly science not among the number of those which Lucian placeth without the gates of Hell, as vaine and unprofitable; but of such which are... the fountains of our lives good and happiness; since it is a principall means of glorifying our mercifull creator, it heightens our devotion, it gives delight and ease to our travailes, it expelleth sadnesse and heaviness of spirit, preserveth people in accord and amity, allayeth fiercenesse, and anger; and lastly, is the best phisicke for many melancholly diseases.96

He praises native music, too, backed by native artists such as Doctor Dowland and "our Phoenix M. William Byrd."97

Higford is broader than other writers. He recommends courtly recreations, dancing as well as music, for gallant gentlemen and ladies of quality. Reminding the reader that music through all time has been "esteemed a quality becoming a whole personage,"98 he advocates musical training, particularly vocal music. Psalm singing "with the viol for ease and refreshment" he remembers to have heard charmed the pagans in the colonies.

Though Milton's essay on education is only in a measure related to the genre of books of courtesy, it is pertinent here. He propounds, in his new theory of education, a reasonable place for music as man's recreation. In addition to illustrating his belief through his two

96 Ibid., p. 104.
97 Ibid., pp. 103, 100.
98 Higford, op. cit., p. 84.
well-known companion poems, in this essay he admits the profit and delight in recreating and composing "their travail'd spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of Music heard and learnt." He likes symphonies on the organ and the lute, and ditties, religious, martial and civil.

Osborn's opinion was that music was too expensive an art; but his primary objection was that those qualified, particularly women, never knew when to play or cease playing.

The art of musick is so unable to refund for the time and cost required to be perfect therein, as I cannot think it worth any serious endeavor; The owner of that quality being still obliged to the trouble of calculating the difference between the morose humor of a ridgid refuser, and the cheap and prostituted levity and forwardness of a mercenary fiddler: Denial all being as often taken for pride, as a too ready compliance falls under the notion of ostentation: Those so qualified seldom knowing when it is time to begin, or give over: especially women, who do not rarely decline in modesty, proportionably to the progress they make in Musick: such (if handsome) being traps baited at both ends, and catch strangers as often as their husbands, no less tired with the one than the other.

In summary, one deduces that training in the art of music was generally conceded as proper. The stress is

differently placed. The courtesy books feared an over-emphasis, to the exclusion of weightier matters. Shadwell, on the contrary, is fired by the general abuse of the arts in his century. He did not approve trivial compositions imposed upon hearers, or the quality of teachers inflicted upon children. His satire is directed at both. In a positive way the poet interpolated excellent music at certain points in his dramas—a girl's singing, a country ballad, and compositions for stringed instruments.

5. Poetry

Like Molière's ridicule of the fad of portraits in Les Precieuses ridicules, Shadwell's early dramas satirize the foppish predilections for music and poetry. As has been stated, he despised jingling music and poor players. He resented also third- and fourth-rate poets. Again the fops illustrate the point. They are enamored with their own verses and present poems to every acquaintance: in The Sullen Lovers, Minny; in A True Widow, young Maggot; and in Timon of Athens, one unnamed who is berailed by Apemantus for his kind.101

The complaisance of Minny toward his jingling

rhymes exasperated the common sense mind of Lovell:

Hinny to Lovell. Sir, I am happy to meet with one that is so great a judge of poetry as you are; for it is a miserable thing for an author to expose his things to empty giddy fellows; and let me tell you, between you and I, there are seven thousand fools to seven wise men.

Lovell. That so great a truth should be spoken by one that I'll swear is none of the seven.102

The fop never sees his own ridiculousness. Woodcock and Hinny condone with Stanford and Lovell because Stanford is tired of the world. They say they know a lady like that, who came to town only yesterday, but they hope she will not leave, as each one is falling in love with her. Woodcock admits he does not blame her for being troubled: "Impertinent People are so numerous in this town, that a Man cannot live in quiet for 'em." Hinny adds that she told him, too, she was leaving, "last night as I was reading A scene of my play to her."103

The exasperated Stanford thinks aloud, "No doubt she had reason."104

Later in the same scene Woodcock compliments his friend Hinny on his verses and insists that Stanford hear them. Stanford tries to leave, but Hinny holds him,

102 The Sullen Lovers, op. cit., Act I, p. 22.
103 Ibid., Act I, p. 23.
104 Ibid.
beginning his lines and interpolating what he is endeavoring
to express and why:

Winny. Hold, hold; You shall hear.
Your sad indifference . . . (Look you Sir, 'tis upon a
Lady that is indifferent in her Carriage
tow'rd me)
Your sad indifference . . . (I am confident this
Will please you, here are many thoughts I
was happy in
And the Choice of words not unpleasant,
which you
Know is the greatest matter of all) . . .
Your sad indifference
So wounds . . . (Look you, you shall find as much
Soul and Force, and Spirit, and Flame in this
as ever you
Saw in your Life.)

In Act III Woodcock again recommends a song which he wants
to sing, written by the poet Winny.

In the resolution of characters, Winny and Woodcock
learn that the girl Emilia has chosen Stanford. Winny is
chagrined and will give up poetry, except the lampooning
kind:

Well, let the nation sink or swim an it will
for me; hence forward instead of Herick Verse,
hereafter I will show all my power, and soul and
flame, and mettle in Lampoon, I durst have sworn
she lov'd me.

\[105\] Ibid.
\[106\] Ibid., Act V, p. 91.
Osborn's apt description of poestaters and their kind is what Shadwell actually personifies in his characters Binny and young Maggot. Osborn complains that they never will give over:

It is incident to many, but as it were natural with poets, to think others take the like pleasure in hearing, as they do in reading their own inventions, not considering that the generality of ears are commonly stopped with prejudice and ignorance; Neither can the understandings of men, any more than their tastes, be wooed to find a like flavor in all things: one approving what others condemn, upon no weightier an account, than the single score of their own opinions. Yet some, like infirm people, make it the chief part of their entertainment to show strangers their gouty lines; in which they do not seldom become more unhappy, than those really diseased, who by such boldness do sometimes hear of a Remedy, whereas the others render themselves incurable; For though neat wits, like fair ladies, may take pleasure in making communicable the beauty of their parts; yet they both appear most grateful when they are obtained with struggling and blushing.107

Young Maggot wants not only to read his poetry to Gertrude, but also to explain his ridiculous method of composition.

Y. Maggot. Now pretty Mrs. Gartrude, and the rest of the good company, I have a Poem about me, which I told you I writ upon Beauty; 'tis elaborate, I kept my chamber about it as long as a Spark does, of a Clap, or a Lady of a Child; I purged, and bled, and entered into a Diet about it, and that made me have so clear

a Complexion, and write so well, and brought
down my Belly too.108

This explanation of how poetry is given its birth is
considered a high point in Shadwell's invention and
originality.

Shadwell's satire is further directed toward the
sentimental subjects chosen for poetry. Young Maggot's
father, who does not like his son's wasting time on poetry
any more than Osborn would, overhears his son's speech.
He insists upon seeing "that damn'd Poem you lay in of so
long," when the boy should have been studying law. Opening
a bundle of Young Maggot's papers, he reads off the titles
of poems, and vows he will put his son to work in the
trades.

Maggot. What's here? A Poem call'd "A
Posie for the Ladies Delight." A second, "The
Flower of Love's Constancy." "An Answer to It."
"Disticks to write upon Lady's Busks." "Epigram
written in a Lady's Bible in Convent-Garden-
Church." Oh wicked Wit! "Rosies for Wedding-
Rings," Oh idle Rake-hell! I shall have you come
to write to Tobacco-Boxes and Sword-Blades, and
Knives, and to all the Iron-work at Sheffield;
all these go to it.109

Only a fair poet himself, Shadwell could merely
express a personal reaction to a fashion of the time. His
erudition might be judged of more intrinsic merit than that

109 Ibid.
of an earlier Peacham, who appears an old scholar in praise of poetry of the ancients. Recounting its history, he says: "Hence hath Poetry never wanted her Patrones," even among monarchs, princes, Christians and heathen. The reason for it, he thinks, is that mirth, graces and perfect health, have an affinity for the Muse of poetry; he illustrates that a noble lady, dangerously ill, was advised by the oracle to read poetry for a remedy. The story also is handed down, he avers, that Alexander, by reading Homer, was moved to his conquests. He recommends all the classic poets, beginning with Virgil and Ovid; for lyric poetry, Horace; for satire, Juvenal; for epigram, Martial. Of the English writers he recommends Chaucer, Gower, Joseph of Exeter; Sidney, Spenser, Daniel. He believes that poetry in his day has declined because "virtue in our declining and worser daies generally findeth no regard." His choice of poets is strangely indicative of the Milton

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110Peacham, op. cit., p. 81.
111Ibid., pp. 87-96. Spingarn adversely comments on Peacham's compilations of poetry, as "piecemeal borrowings and exaggerated deferences to Scaliger" which are "indices of Jacobean ideals of scholarship." The long list of poets, "with his tag of critical comment," and his defense of poetry are "interesting as Elizabethan survivals."--J. S. Spingarn, Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century. 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908-9), I, Intro., xx.
112Ibid., p. 82.
Ideal—"to encompass the Songs of Sion, and address the fruit of our invention to his glory who is the author of so goodly a gift." There is no playwright mentioned anywhere, - no Marlowe, or Jonson, or even Shakespeare. Peacham, though a Cavalier, seems to be struck, like others, with the conscience aroused by the Puritan age.

While Peacham praises poetry, another courtesy writer of a later time, Osborn, does not favor it. Viewing the excesses of pseudo-poets, as Shadwell was viewing them, he could remember only its abuses. An aptitude for poetry may induce a youth to carry such a recreation to the extreme, he explains:

Be not frequent in poetry, how excellent soever your vein is, but make it rather your recreation, then business: Because, though it swells you in your own opinion, it may render you less in that of wiser men, who are not ignorant, how great a masse of vanity, for the most part coucheth under this quality, proclaiming their heads, like ships of use only for pleasure, and so richer in trimming than lading.

These are the viewpoints of the century. Among other writers, Gailhard recommends poetry only for those "who have any genius toward it," but not to the neglect of "Tongues and School Languages."

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113 Ibid., p. 80.
Reminiscent of his master Ben Jonson's part in the war of the theaters and of Jonson's dislike of poetasters is Shadwell's satire of poor poets. His Prefaces, Prologues and Epilogues explain his disgust with third- and fourth-rate poets of his time. Shadwell does not agree with Osborn, that poetry should be only a recreation, but rather with Gailhard that only those who have genius for it should devote their hours to composition.

6. Play-writing

The writing of a play, during Charles II's time, was supposed to be an accidental fruit of one's leisure. It was an affectation to pretend to throw off a play or a poem in a fit of absent-mindedness. Congreve, Wycherley, and Sir George Etherege rather cultivated that impression. But Shadwell, who was seriously making dramatic writing a profession, did not condone the affectation. Rather did he direct attention, in his plays, to fops who attempt to write. Like his predecessor in humors, he hated poetasters trying to produce drama, when there was no talent. His two pseudo-playwrights are Sir Positive in The Sullen Lovers and Young Maggot in A True Widow.

Sir Positive's play, during its performance, had been interrupted by citizens who did not approve a scene.
Afterward, Sir Positive challenged one of them, a clerk, to a duel. With Stanmore as his second, he appears at the appointed place, but, to Stanmore's disgust, reluctant to fight, rather prefers to discuss the good points of his play with his supposed opponent.

Sir Positive. Sir, no man in England would put up this affront; why look you, Sir, for him to sit in the Eighteen pence Gallery, pray mark me, and rail at my Play aloud the first day, and did all that lay in his power to damn it: And let me tell you, Sir, if in any Dramatik Poem there has been such breaks, such characters, such Figures, such Images, such Heroick Patterns, such Heights, such Flights, such Intrigues, such Surprises, such Fire, Salt, and Flame, then I am no judge: I understand nothing in this world ...  

1 Clerk. 'Tis true, I sate in the Eighteen Pence Gallery, but I was so far from Railling against your Play, that I cry'd it up as high as I could.

Sir Posit. How high did you cry it up?

1 Clerk. Why, as high as the upper Gallery, I am sure of that.

2 Clerk. O Cowardly Curst! will they never fight? Ye lye, ye did Rail at his Play.

1 Clerk. Sir, I'le hold you twenty pound I dont lye; Sir, were you there? Did you hear me; This is the strongest thing in the world.

Sir Posit. Why do you say, you did not Raile? Did not I sit just under you in the Pit?

2 Clerk. Lord! Who would expect to see a poet in the Pit at his own Play.

Sir Posit. Did not you say Fy upon't, that shall not pass? ... What can you say? Do Gentlemen Write to oblige the World, and do such as you traduce 'em--ha--

1 Clerk. Sir, I'll tell you, you had made a Lady in your Play so unkind to her Lover (who methought was a very honest well meaning Gentleman) to command him to hang himself. Said I then that shall not pass, thinking indeed the Gentleman would not have done it, but indeed did it, then said I, fy upon't that he should be so much over-taken.
Sir Posit. Overtaken! that's good i' faith, why you had as good call the Gentleman fool; and 'tis the best Character in all my Play. D'ye think I'le put that up?

1 Clerk. Not I Sir, as I hope to live; I would not call the Gentleman Fool for all the World, but 'tis strange a man must pay eighteen pence, and must not speak a word for't.

Sir Posit. Not when Gentleman write; take that from me.

2 Clerk. No, I would they would let it alone then. (aside)

Sir Posit. But Stanford, it would make an Author mad to see the Invincible Ignorance of this age.116

This scene compares with the lines of the courtesy writer, Osborn, who speaks of "some, like infirm people, make it the chief part of their entertainment to show strangers their gouty lines"; and of "neat wits, like fair ladies, may take pleasure in making communicable the beauty of their parts."117

Young Maggot is another fop who writes plays as well as poems. He collaborates with another playwright by lending him "the Catakstrophe [of the play], the love parts, and the songs." Not interested in gambling, as Prig is, young Maggot takes "writing and inventing" for his business, and these keep him in figure without exercise.

Bellasour. A man must use exercise to keep himself down; he will belly else, and the ladies will not like him.

Young Mag. I have another way to bring down my belly.

Stanford. Another? What's that?

Young Mag. Why, I study; I study and write. 'Tis exercise of the Mind does it. I have none of the worst Shapes or Complexions. 'Tis writing and inventing does my business.

When Carlos and Prig scoff at such means for keeping a figure to suit the ladies, young Maggot explains:

Young Mag. I have an engine to weigh myself when I sit down to write or think, and when I unbend myself again.

Prig. How do you unbend?

Young Mag. Why, I unbend my imagination, my intellect...

The scene is considered by critics one of the merriest in Shadwell's plays. There is no parallel in the courtesy books, except the reference to the conceit of fops alluded to elsewhere.

In the foregoing parallels, it has been indicated that the dramatist Shadwell felt the affectations in apparel, wit, scientific strivings, and in the arts—music, poetry, and playwriting—needed an exposure on the stage. He may have been encouraged in this attitude toward foppish pretensions by writers of books of courtesy, who in one form or other criticised the imitation and encouraged the real in these aspects of life.

H. IDLENESS

Idleness among the upper classes in the Elizabethan period is spoken of by Traill;\(^1\) by the late Jacobean time the nobility and upper gentry were notorious wasters. The habit continued to be the temper and quality of the Restoration life. The nomad life on the continent left Charles and his court ready to take their ease when they returned home. They had no energy left for strong principles or for combat with debatable issues. Etherege speaks of his own laziness as "this noble laziness of the mind."\(^2\) It was a sort of cheerful indifference to convictions upon any matter or to making decisions.

These gallants who directed courtly taste spent a great part of their time in seeking diversions, in running from theater to theater, or in sauntering through Hyde Park till they found some interesting damsel, or till all the fine ladies had taken their leave; they visited the crowded shops of the New Exchange, and took journeys to Epsom Wells.

In this study of Shadwell and the courtesy books the means for frolicking through the day and night will

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\(^1\)Traill, _op. cit._, IV, 157-172.
\(^2\)The _Letterbook of Sir George Etherege, op. cit._, p. 167 (Letter to Dryden, February, 1667).
include gaming, attendance at plays, drinking, and scouring. Like his master Jonson, Shadwell shows an impatience with the irresponsible attitude of the age. Sometimes he speaks through a man of sense like Stanford, who is the demonstrator of *The Sullen Lovers*, "a morose melancholy man, tormented beyond measure with the impertinence of people, and resolved to leave the world to be quit of them." He is tired, he tells his friend, Lovel, of the impertinence of fops. Everywhere he meets their irresponsible complacency. Occasionally he has ventured for a change into a coffee-house:

Stanf. There I found a company of formal starched fellows talking gravely, wisely, and nothing to the purpose, and with undaunted impudence discoursing of the right of empires; the management of peace and war; and the great intrigues of councils; when on my conscience you would have sooner took 'em for tooth-drawers than Privy Councillors.

Lovel. But why don't you make this pleasant to yourself, and laugh at them as I do?

Stanf. Faith, sir, I cannot find the jest on't.4

Lovel asks why he does not go to the court where conversation is refined.

Stanf. Why, so I do; but there I find a company of gaudy nothings, that fain would be courtiers; that think they are hardly dealt withal not to have employment too.5

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3 The demonstrator is explained in Chapter I, p. 11—a sort of Crites in a Shadwell play.
5 Ibid.
Through the other plays the dramatist continues an emphasis upon the idleness of the time. The principal character in The Woman-Captain occupies his days and nights in frivolity. The crowds at Epsom Wells flock to the resort for gossip and other diversion. Bury Fair is a place of amusement for the gentry and every other class. Since he was writing for a leisure class, Shadwell pleased them when he ridiculed them.

Sometimes he speaks through a country justice, such as Clodpate in Epsom Wells, which play is a satire on the evils in London and the idleness of courtly society. Bevil and Woodly have expressed their intention of going to London tomorrow and ask Clodpate, a Country Justice and discontented fop, if he will accompany them. Clodpate replies that he is almost sick even at Epsom when he gets the wind from the city. Woodly queries, "Why, there's no Plague?"

Clodpate. There's Pride, Popery, Folly, Lust, Prodigality, Cheating Knaves, and Sitting Whores; Wine of half a crown a quart and Ale of twelve pence, and what not.6

Woodley wonders that Clodpate feels forced to take any of this; but Clodpate continues:

Clodpate. Why to sit up drunk till three a clock in the morning, rise at twelve, follow dam'd French Fashions, get dress'd to go to a dam'd play,

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choak your selves afterwards with dust in Hidepark, or with Sea-coal in the Town, flatter and
defawn in the drawing room, keep your Wench, and turn
away your wife, Gads-ooks."

Shadwell reaches his height in portraying an idler
in one of his best plays, The Virtuoso. Mr. Summers's
pertinent comment upon the perfection of the two characters,
Sir Samuel Hearty and Sir Nicholas Gimcrack, will make the
point.

Sir Nicholas Gimcrack and his lady, and
even the minor characters, Hazard and Flirt, are
very well drawn; but the three glories of the
piece are Sir Samuel Hearty, old Snarl, and Sir
Formal Trifle, and the greatest of these is Sir
Formal. Sir Samuel we can meet any day; the
eternally idle, eternally busy, good-natured,
frankly conceited fribble, whose chief occupation
in life seems to be to waste his own time and the
time of all those unfortunates whom he can button
hole and compel to listen to his drivelling stories.
He has always just come from watching a football
match, or dancing at some dance-tea, and seeing
the latest revue, and he is never happy until he
has told all his acquaintance - he has no friends -
the amplest details of these exciting and important
adventures. His dialect largely consists of clipped
English, sporting terms, and the American language,
so that it is quite unintelligible to the ordinary
person who has little or no acquaintance either
with the foreign tongues or the temporary graces
of fashionable conversation.8

Mr. Summers derived the impression of Sir Samuel's volubility
from expressions of other characters. Longvil and Bruce, the

7Ibid.
8Summers, op. cit., Intro. cxlili-cxliv.
two demonstrators in this play, describe Sir Formal Trifle, the coxcomb, and Sir Samuel:

Longvil. A Rascal that is Vertuoso's Admirer, Flatterer, and great Confident, the only Man he'll trust his Neeces with, who has discovered to me that he has a passion for your Clarinda.

Bruce. Curse on him: But a Rival's a very improper Instrument.

Longvil But this is a Rival so conceited of his own parts, that he can never be jealous of others. He is indeed a very choice Spirit; the greatest Master of Tropes and Figures; the most Ciceronian Coxcomb; the noblest Orator breathing; he never speaks without Flowers of Rhetorick; In short, he is very much abounding in works, and very much defective in sense, Sir Formal Trifle.

Bruce. There's an Ass, an Original of another kind; one that thinks that all Mirth consists in noise, tumult, and violent laughter: At once, the merriest and dullest Rogue alive—One that affects a great many nonsensical by-words, which he takes to be Wit, and uses upon all occasions.

Long. But the best part of his character is behind; he is the most amorous Coxcomb, the most designing and adventurous Knight alive; a great Masquerader, and has forty several disguises to make love in; ---. He has never made love where he was not refused, nor wag'd war where he was not beaten. Such appraisals, with the actions of the characters, make out a case against the wasters, and there are numberless examples through Shadwell's plays. For example, Eugenia, visiting London from the country, is astonished at the waste of time in senseless activities:

Eugen. Who that has Sense—cou'd endure the piteous Dullness of new Plays, the Idleness of Basset and Comet; the most provoking Impertinence of how do you's, and visiting Days, with Tea Tables.10

10The Volunteers, op. cit., Act I, p. 164.
By far the clearest exposé of idleness is a fop's excuse for not being found at home when guests called. Sir Nicholas Dainty has only now been introduced to two young volunteers. He asks Hackwell, Jr., if he is "the noble Person who is a Brother Volunteer," and learning that he is, assures young Hackwell that he has called twice at his lodgings to beg the honor of acquaintance. When Welford, the friend, asks where to return the visit, Sir Nicholas says he lives in St. James' Square:

Sir Nich. But you must know Sir, we young Gentlemen of the Town, are so taken up, either with Ladies with us in a morning, or receiving and answering Billets Doux, that it is Improper to have Visits from men at that time; and in the afternoon we are always hurrying up, and down to the playes, Park, Musick meeting and like.

Welf. Then I can never repay your favour.

Sir Nich. Sir I am everyday before dinner, and awhile after dinner, at the Wits Coffee-House, and I shall be glad to wait on you, and either Dine or Sup.

Welf. What is that Sir?

Sir Welf. What Sir, never hear of the Wits Coffee house?

W.O. Bl. How the Devil shou'd any man know the Wits Coffee house. A dod every Man thinks himself a Wit.

Sir Nich. Why Sir there is but one. 11

This scene, in a few strokes, sketches the eternal frittering away of the Restoration gentleman's day. Sir Nicholas is a perfect fop, simple, frivolous, without a mind of his own, his whole thought that of following and vying with society.

If, by 1680, a dramatist then was conscious that the gentlemen of England were questionably wasteful of time and opportunity, the writers of courtesy literature were certainly more aware of the danger to the future of England. A late seventeenth century development, it was called by some a bourgeois tendency.

Persons interested in the education of noble youths are insistent that gentlemen, be they never so rich, must not be idle—as Panton's *Speculum Juventutis* (1671) puts it, "if not for profit, at least for honor." This English idea of "virtue" corresponds somewhat to a general principle advanced by Pufendorf on the continent. He contends that idle young people, "content with the estates their Ancestors have left them, think they may give themselves up to Idleness without blame"; but they are guilty of a breach of the duty of all men to promote the good of others.

The English writers of the seventeenth century began to encourage the idea of thrift of time and a sense of responsibility for men of wealth and position. It developed more and more, however, into the parable of the talents and the accounting to a Creator for their use. Peacham belonged in the first era, and Quarles and Allestree are examples of the latter one.

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12 Ustick, Mod. Phil., XXX, 156. This book was not available, so Professor Ustick's quotation is depended upon.
13 Ibid.
Higford suggests King Alfred's plan for the division of a day: one third part spent in the necessities of nature, viz. eating, drinking, dressing, sleeping, etc.; another third part in hearing and composing matters of state and negotiations of his kingdom; but the other third in constant devotion to meditation and wisdom. Comparing young noblemen with kings and princes who have difficulties in governorship, with masters of families and trades who have full employment of their time, he thinks "you who are freed from all those encumbrances, it were noble to vindicate from sleep and sports some hours every day, and to dispose them in the exercise of learning."

The use of time has always been an index to a well-organized life. Quarles is the pietist, quoting almost biblical terms:

Make use of Time, if thou lov'st Eternitie; 
Know yesterday cannot be recall'd. Tomorrow cannot be assured: Today is onely thine; which if thou procrastinate, thou losest, which lost, is lost forever; One today is worth Two of Morrowes.

Another pietist, Stephen Penton, later than Quarles, bewails the passive attitude toward religious observances, and asks

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14 Higford, op. cit., p. 52.
15 Ibid., p. 53.
16 Quarles, op. cit., Century IV, p. 48.
that "Pastime, Business, or Company not waste all the day."\textsuperscript{17} He advises a person to retire a little and "enjoy his own Soul." Henry Peacham writes not from piety as from practical sense:

Husband your time to the best, for, The greedy desire of gaining Time, is a covetousness onely honest—divide the day into several tasks of study, you shall find a great ease and furtherance hereby.\textsuperscript{18}

Allestree relates that he has observed the men of the period occupying the whole day in pleasure of lustful living and in drinking, with little sleep:

They have made a most strict league with the Flesh, and like faithful Confederates they omit no endeavor to strengthen its Party, to supply it with fresh forces, the expense of the whole day is managed wholly in order to that end. Thus that they may be sure to keep their Lust high and vigorous, they give it a nourishing breakfast of Sloth in the morning, a full meal of gluttony at noon, besides multitudes of Auxiliaries, it need not doubt to maintain the Field against poor macerated Chastity. So again, lest Sobriety should happen to surprize them and gain but the honour of one day, how vigilant are they to give it the first assault? Scarce a day that they draw not up in Batalia against it, and seldom miss giving it a total Rout; and if Sleep like a Mist befriend it to steal upon them in the moring again, yet that little success is but a preparation to a more signal Defeat in the afternoon which is with many, a time allotted wholly to these skirmishes; perhaps the chase followed all night, nay, pursued so far by some, till an habitual Scottishness save them the laborer of these Quotidian Combats.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{17}Fenton, op. cit., p. 12.
\textsuperscript{18}Peacham, op. cit., p. 40.
He contends that they find full leisure for "contrary employments." God is often in their mouths, rather in oaths than prayers. They spend no time in reading, unless it be romances. Then Pride is not forgotten in the distribution of their time, for "a good scantling of it is cut out to its use." They contrive and design their clothes; they try them on; they admire themselves, or plan how they are to be admired by others. Some waste time in hearing flatteries, and more time "in reflecting and ruminating upon them."20

That one's time should be of value to one's country and should be spent in its service is another note struck in Moral Gallantry by Sir George Mackenzie. He insists that their time makes "The richest part of the publik's Treasure," and that "every hour ye mispend of that, is Sacrilegious theft committed against your Country."21

Contrasting the two types of gentlemen, the true gentleman and "the degenerous," Thomas Fuller in his Holy and Profane State, says of the latter that he "idles his time at school and Inns of Court; wastes his patrimony in drinking and gaming; and within two generations his name is quite forgotten."

20Ibid., p. 99.
22Thompson, op. cit., p. 154. Fuller's book was found only in excerpts at Tulane library.
Gailhard criticizes the manner of breeding used by Sybarites, which turns out effeminate, soft young men. "Some will eat no coarse meat, only the most delicate they can find for money. They scorn to wear cloaths except they be very rich; they will think it is below them to walk, but if they go out, it must be in a Coach; they will not so much as take the pains to stick a pin about them; and if there be no servant to give them a glass of wine, they will rather be choakt then take it themselves. Sometimes the weather is not good for them to walk out, therefore they will sit at home, and Dice or Card away many a pound, or in a Tavern, and drink away their health, till the Gout, or Gravel comes upon them, or a Pleurisie, an Apoplexy, or some other sudden Disease carries them to their Grave. After this way of breeding, certainly we must not look for many manly spirits."23

In the Gentleman's Calling Allestree goes into detail explaining how they waste time; he says sharks are watching for just such idlers.

Thus may bestow visits on others, not out of any purpose or kindness, but either to trifle away their own time, or to make observations, what they can spy ridiculous to entertain their laughter. A mystery the London-visitants are generally well read in, who have put this business long since into a settled course; so that the discoveries of one visit sets them in a stock of defaming, backbiting discourse for the next, and so successively ad infinitum.

So again, many call out a young Heir of much wealth and little prudence, how officious, how diligent are they in attending him? Watching him as gladly as a Vulture does the fall of a Carcase, till they find an advantage to rook him at Play, entangle him in Suretisip, or perhaps betray him to some mean an unequal Match. So if they hear but of a beautiful Woman, what contrivances, what designs do they lay, first to see, and then to corrupt her; make it a business to themselves, as well as a trade to their agents and factors, to spring such game? And upon such occasions as these can liberally sacrifice their Time, of which when any Charitable office would borrow from them but some few minutes they are then such busie persons, they can by no means afford it.24

A valuable comment on the aimless life of youth is made by Milton. Dividing into three wasted classes the product of the Universities, who "with hatred and contempt for learning go their several ways", he speaks first of those who go to the trade of Law, not for contemplation of justice but for fat fees; then of those who enter state affairs, the flattery and Court shifts, "a conscientious slavery." Lastly, another group, "of a more delicious and airie spirit, retire themselves knowing no better, to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their daies in feast and jollity; which indeed is the wisest and safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the fruits of mispending our prime youth, at the Schools

24[Allestree], op. cit., p. 103.
Milton saw eye to eye with Penton, but for a different reason.

Penton blames the parents for the idleness of youth. As Penton tells the story, his conference with a strict old master at the university disclosed to him that the University has a real case against the parents. This tutor felt "the gentlemen in the University ought to doe more Exercise than others, for they stay but little time there, and ought to be accomplished in haste, because their Quality and the National Concern make them men apace." Reminding him that the gentry condemn the universities for not sending home their sons furnish'd with "Ethicks, Politicks, Rhetorick, History, the necessary Learning of a Gentlemen, Logic and Philosophy, etc., and other useful Parts," he contends that the gentry send their sons up for only two, perhaps three years, and suffer them, furthermore, to trifle away half that time. If the father (Penton) enters the second son, the tutor requires that there be no letter requesting him to go home during the first whole year, for the fondness of the mother and the rounds of entertainments soften and ruin the youth for study.

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26Penton, op. cit., pp. 45-46.
27Ibid.
Idleness among fashionable ladies of the Restoration was as noticeable as that among the gallants. Shadwell depicts at least one in every play: Lady Fantast, Lady Schacklehead, Mrs. Woodley. Ladies must provide against dangerous assaults, Allestree says, such as ill company and idleness.

Against the first they must provide by a prudent choice of Conversation, which should generally be of their own Sex; yet not all of that neither, but such who will at least entertain them innocently; if not profitably. Against the second they may secure themselves by a constant series of Employments: such are the acquiring of any of those ornamental improvements which become their Quality, as Writing, Needle-works, Languages, Music and the Like. If I should here insert the Art of Economy and Household Management, I should not think I affronted them in it; that being the most proper Feminine business, from which neither wealth nor greatness can totally absolve them.

With a moralizing piety, he places curiosity and fancy in the sphere of defilement and corruption of the mind, warning against both as mischievous temptations.

The habit of constantly moving from place to place, described in so many plays of the Restoration, for instance, those of Congreve and of Etherege, Allestree also reprimands women for. This is one of his most definite passages:

As for the Entertainments which they find abroad, they may be innocent, or otherwise, according as they are managed. The common intercourse of Civility, is a debt to Humanity, and therefore Mutual Visits may often be necessary, and so (in some degree) may be several harmless and healthful recreations which may call them abroad, for I write not now of Nuns, and have no purpose to confine them to a

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cloister. Yet on the other side to be always wandering, is the condition of a Vagabond; and of the two, 'tis better to be Prisoner to one's home, then a Stranger—'Tis an unhappy impotence not to be able to stay at home, when there is anything to be seen abroad; that any Mask, or Revel, any Jollity of others must be their rank and torment, if they cannot get to it. Alas, such Meetings, are not so sure to be safe, that they need be frequent, and they are of all others, least like to be safe to those who much dote on them. And therefore those that find they do so, had need to counterbias their minds, and set them something better, and by more serious entertainments supplant those Vanities, which at the best are childish, and may often prove worse; it being too probably that those Dinahs which are still gadding, tho on pretence to see only the Daughters of the Land, Gen. 34, may at last meet with a son of Hamor. 29

Another moralizer, Brathwait, criticizes the vanity and idleness of the women:

The first are such who gives too easie raines to liberty, making Pleasure their Vocation; as if they were created for no other end, then to dedicate the first fruits of the day to their Glass; the residue to the Stage of Exchange. These, no sooner have they laid their Artificiall Complexion on their Coach. They must visit such a Lady, or what, perchance, is worse, such a Lord. A minute now in their Chambers seems a moneth. Shall wee display one of these in her colours? The Play-bils must be brought her by her Pentioner: her eye views and reviews, and out of her feminine judgement culls out one from among them which shee will not see, purposely to be seen. Much shee observes not in it, onely shee desires to be observed at it. Her Behaviour in a Box, would make any one thinke shee were a Bee in a box. 30

29 Ibid., pp. 166-167.
30 Brathwait, The English Gentlwoman, p. 2991
He attacks some libertine's conclusion, that prayer and fashion can be reconciled. He says, "She bestowed too much time on her Glass, to reserve any for her Lampe...She bestowed the forenoons on her Skinne, the afternoons on a Play, closing her Evening Lecture with a reere supper; and this was her Christian Task." He wonders how one can so easily forget his part on the stage of life.

The deduction is, then, that all those taking time to place down their thoughts about the age were depressed by the frivolous, purposeless life of Restoration youth. These men observed the evil in their dawdling at the coffee houses, and riding in the parks; in their senseless conversations, and their attendance at plays; in gambling, drinking and securing.

1. Playgoing

Thus far only the general idleness has been outlined, in play and in book of courtesy. It is well next to study the many specific forms in which this insinuating disease of the era manifested itself. Paramount among them is theatre-going.

31Ibid., p. 277
In dealing with dramatic literature of the Restoration one must recognize that the audience for whom the comedies of Shadwell were written was but an infinitesimal portion of one town, the court and its satellites of the city of London. There were no theatres in the provinces; Puritanism forbade plays in Scotland; and only Dublin in Ireland had a definite playhouse. Not by any means did all the citizens of London attend public theaters. The great mass of sturdy, self-respecting middle class that had supported the Puritan movement of the 1640's did not forsake their bourgeois virtues. Plays and poems for the middle classes of London and elsewhere had little or slight attention from them. Only four times was the presence of citizens at plays noted by Pepys. They simply held themselves in retirement, kept away from the theatre, and read the numerous pamphlets and heavy tomes dealing with theological subjects. Three-quarters of the entries of The Term Catalogues indicate the preponderance of these writings, and the majority of the books of courtesy reflect the same religious bias. Usually those who engaged in business, unless younger sons of nobility, were ridiculed in plays. Furthermore, wives of the middle class were often made game of by debauched gallants, as were their husbands. Even the many vacillating spirits who fell in with the playgoers and were caught in the tidal wave of reaction from the

Puritan regime boasted of a defiance to the Puritanism which they were far from putting into practice.

Nor must it be presumed that this small audience had "a monopoly of scintillating wit, of good taste, of fine cultured judgment or of wisdom." 33 They lacked a humanitarian attitude; there was an absence of sympathy for the lower classes in poverty, outside their circle. Their moral sense was very low, or they would never have permitted the utter filth which the dramatists, in every play, flung before them. The struggles of the Royal Society and the calls to godliness of the divines had little appeal.

The theatre became then a meeting-place for the courtiers, who brought there their dubious loves. "The nobleman in the pit and boxes," says Nicoll, "the fops and beaux and wits or would-be wits," 34 the ladies of the court, as immoral as the men, and the women for the moment in favor with gallants constituted the audience. A few visitors from the country, relatives of the court or their satellites, and their servants in the gallery made up the rest. Instead of appealing to men from virtually every class in the nation, they depended for success on the suffrage of a narrow circle led by the most dissolute rakes of the day. The audience was

33Ibid., p. 3.
34Ibid.
fairly homogeneous up to the revolution of 1688, when the middle class increased. In the Restoration comedies, though it is not found in Molière, there is a double scope. The members of the "beau monde" are themselves the objects of satire. Their conduct at the theatre, for instance, gave point in Elizabethan times to Dekker's Gull's Hornbook, an early satire on their monopolizing the centre of attention. It has been an issue with many dramatists themselves who resented the gallants' interference with the actors and the lack of the appreciation of the dramatists' products.

The plays, The Virtuoso and A True Widow, satirize the action of young gallants at the playhouse as Shadwell observed it. Miranda and Clarinda, the two alert young ladies of The Virtuoso, are teasing their lovers, Bruce and Longvil, as to why they have happened to meet them; they compare them to sparks at a playhouse:

Miranda. Lord! that it should be our Fortune to see you in a place so little us'd by you.
Clar. I warrant they came hither as they do to a Play-house, bolting out of some eating house, having nothing else to do, in an idle afternoon.
Miranda. 'Tis a wonder they do not come, as the Sparks do to a Playhouse, too, full of Champagn, venting very much noise, and very little wit—\

In the same play Snarl, who lives in the past, desires no acquaintance with young men of this age. Longvil, a

\[\text{35 The Virtuoso, op. cit., Act I, p. 120.}\]
young man about town, asks why:

Snarl: Why they are vicious, illiterate, foolish fellows, good for nothing but to roar and made a noise in a play-house. To be very brisk with pert whores commonly too hard for them at their own weapon. Repartee—And when whores are not there, they play monkey-tricks with one another, while all sober men laugh at them.

Bruce: They are even with them, for they laugh at all sober men again.

Long: No Man's happy but by comparison. 'Tis the great comfort of all the world to despise and laugh at one another.  

This play intensifies its slurs at fops in relation to the drama, though all plays repeatedly allude to their play-going proclivities.

In A True Widow the interior of a theatre is shown for the third or fourth occasion during the Restoration; but Shadwell's originality consists in his relating the comments of the audience of fops and wits themselves. Many kinds of persons are introduced clamoring to get in:

Orange Wom: Oranges! will you have any Oranges?

1 Bully: What Play do they Play? some confounded Play or other.

Prig: A Pox on't, Madam! What should we do at this damn'd playhouse? Let's send for some cards, and play at lang-trilloo in the Box. Pox on 'em! I ne'er saw a play had anything in't; some of 'em have wit now and then, but what care I for wit?

Selfish: Does my cravat sit well? I take all the care I can it should; I love to appear well. What Ladies are here in the Boxes? really I never come to a play, but upon account of seeing the ladies. Carlos: Doorkeeper, are they ready to begin?

Door-keep: Yes, immediately.  

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36 Ibid., Act II, p. 131.
37 Act IV, p. 334.
Young Maggot, the pseudo-poet and playwright, interprets the play to Prig and others around him:

Young Maggot: You'll find it an admirable Plot; there's great force and fire in the writing; so full of business, and trick, and very fashionable; it pass'd through my hands; some of us helppt him in it.

Bull: Dam' me! When will these Fellows begin? Plague o'nt! here's a staying.

Man: Whose Play is this?

Man: One Prickett's, Poet Prickett.

Man: Oh hang him! Pox on him! he cannot write; prithee let's to White-hall.

Young Maggot: Not write, Sir? I am one of his Patron's; I know the Wits don't like him; but he shall write with any of 'em all for an hundred pound.

Prig: (The Gamester) Ay that he shall. They say, he puts no Wit in his Plays; but 'tis all for that, they do the business; he is my Poet too; I hate Wit.38

While the actors, a lover and a wife, speak bombast, Theodosia and Carlos in the audience call the play "lewd Stuff," and "florid, impertinent talk"; but young Maggot considers it "very strong, sinewy, and correct style, and yet neat, and florid." Selfish says he "always strives to write like a Gentleman, so easie and well bred. Men love Drums, and Trumpets, and much ranting, roaring, huffing, and fretting, and good store of noise in a Play."39

The young Theodosia satirizes the gallant of the "beau monde." In a desire to win Carlos, she explains to him the extreme to which a gallant at court must go to win

38 Ibid., pp. 334-335.
39 Ibid.
the attention of a woman. For a time, in order to win
Theodosia's approval, he has been paying court to Gertrude.
He says he has done as she ordered him.

Theodosia: Not so! I would have you gain their
esteem, and be cryed up among 'em; using us sourvily,
often does that; Women love the careless, insolent,
and loud.
Car: Faith, Madam, I am a moral man, C do as
I would be done by. I would not be in Love with
you for a million, 'twould tempt you horribly.

Theod: Love in this Age is as well counterfeited
as Complexion; what with the Men's lying and swearing
and the Women's waters and washes, we know not what
to make of one another.
Car: Try me with Commands.
Theod: I must have you Poetical, that's a
great sign of Love in a Man of Wit; I must have Songs
and Sonnets plenty.  

In Shadwell's best satiric style, she sets forth a gallant at
a play; she explains to him how he must conduct himself to be
the true gallant that women admire:

Theod: I must never have you see a Play but when
I am there.
Car: That is, I must see none at all; for when
you are there I can see nothing but yourself.
Theod: Then upon no pretence whatsoever must
you go behind the scenes.
Car: That's grown the sign of a Fop, and for
my own sake I'll avoid it.
Theod: But the Women have Beauty and Wit enough
to hearken to a Keeper.
Carlos: Some of 'em are so far from having Wit
of their own, that they spoyle that little the Poets
put into 'em, by base utterance; and for Beauty they
lay it on so, that 'tis much alike from fifteen to
five and forty.

Theod: Item, you must not talk with Vizors in the Pit, though they look never so like Women of Quality, and are never so coming.41

A man of wit and sense, Carlos does not enjoy her raillery.

He is aware how the courtiers and their satellites appear at plays:

Carlos: Be it so. I never knew any good come of that way of fooling yet; for if they were afraid of me, I was ever more afraid of them. But how shall I arrive at the general Fame and Reputation you spoke of, with these restraints? The Men in vogue forbear none at all these things; they dive like Ducks at one end of the Pit, and rise at the other, then whisk into the Whore-Boxes, then into the Scenes, and always hurry up and down, the Devils in an opera are not so busie.  

Theod: You must take other Courses.  
Carlos: I have bespoken a Play for you, and all the good company of this House; when the other is done, I hope, Madam, you will honour it with your presence.  

Theod: I'll do as the rest do.  
Isabella: This is a new piece of Gallantry, Theodosia.  

Theod: The invitation's general.42

In Bury-Fair, the same scene occurs, with the young woman resenting the beau's attendance at a play. Wildish is the persistent wooer of Gertrude, and is being refused. She vows she will leave Bury for London, where she will be lost in the crowd. But he insists that he will haunt her "worse than any Beau, and pelt her with Billets doux."

Cert. What, will you Dress at me? and tye Cravats at me? and strut like a Turkey-cock, and preene yourself?

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41Ibid.
42Ibid.
Wild. Even so; and stare, and goggle at you; and never have my Eyes off you, while I Side-box you in the Play-house.

Gert. What, where the Beaux draw up three Ranks deep every day?

Wild. Yes.

Gert. Well, and I'll never cast my Eyes upon you for a whole Play together.

Wild. That will be over acted; and cunning Intriguers will Censure you from that.

Gert. Very fine! But if you joyn with the Beaux, you shall never be look'd upon by me; for there is not upon Earth a more odious sight, than those Boxes full of ugly Beaux. I observe, the Beaux now are the ugliest Hatchet-fac'd Fellows about Town.43

Since the theater was the toy of the upper classes, gentlemen often insisted upon entering without payment, or would ask peremptorily for credit, and ignore the doorkeeper's cries. Shadwell's A True Widow indicates how grossly rude these acts were, and how pernicious they had become.

Door-keep: Pray, Sir, pay me; my Masters will make me pay it.

3 Man: Impudent Rascal! do you ask me for Money? Take that, Sirrah.

2 Door-keep: Will you pay me, Sir?

4 Man: No! I don't intend to stay.

2 Door-keep: So you say every Day, and see two or three Acts for nothing.

4 Man: Set it down; I have no Silver about me; or bid my Man pay you.

Theodosia: What, do Gentlemen run on Tick for Plays?

Carlos: As familiarly as with their Taylors.

2 Man: Pox on you, Sirrah! go, and bid 'em begin quickly.44

44 Ibid., Act IV, p. 334.
In spite of the presence of royalty and fashion, the theatre was far from being a place of decorum. During the reign of Charles, in particular, it was a place of assignation and riot. Fights were frequent in the pit and not unknown on the stage. Thorndike writes: "The picture of the stage in Shadwell's *A True Widow* recalls the hurly-burly of Hogarth's print 'Strolling Actresses in a Barn,' and it did not go beyond reality."45

As the interest in the play waned, one man said, "Dam' me! I don't like it." One spectator "sits down and lolls in the Orange-wench's Lap"; others flirt with the wizard masks. Prig raps people on the back, twirls their hats, and finally precipitates the quarrel which frightens the actors from the stage and the audience from the playhouse.

Miranda and Clarinda tease Snarl to attend the new plays. Snarl, who in his youth has seen plays at Black-Fryers, and the actors, Joseph Taylor and Lowen at Swanstead, replies that he will not be such a coxcomb as to go to see Plays "since women came on the stage." Clarinda urges that there are a "great many new Plays."

Snarl. New Ones! yes, either damn'd insipid dull Farces, confounded toothless Satyrs, or plaguy Rhuming Plays, with scurvy Hero's worse then the Knight of the Sun, or Amadis de Gaul: by the Mass. Pish, why should I talk with such foolish Girls.46

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Besides these passages, Cudpate in Epsom Wells and Sir Nicholas in The Volunteers allude to the playgoing, one, reviling it, the other, praising.

Practically all the courtesy books attacked plays as a diversion. The influence of drama was thought evil. One reason was the attendance by the court; another, the slurs at citizens and their wives; a third, the general tenor of subjects chosen as themes for plays.

The moralist Brathwait is one who agrees to attendance at plays if they be good. Though approving of the moderate use of and recourse to plays, he condemns the daily frequenting of them: "as some there be (especially in this Citie) who, for want of better employment, make it their Vocation." Their habit, he comments, is "to leave their beds to put on their clothe formally, to repaire to an Ordinary, and see a Play daily." He complains that they find time enough for recreation but have not time for devotion, and believes their last illness could be like that "of a certain young Gentlewoman. Every day she had seen a play or other, when she was struck with a fatal sickness. Exhorted by the divines to call upon God, that he would in mercy look upon her, she continued ever crying, 'Ah, Hieronimo, Hieronimo, methinks I see thee brave Hieronimo!,' and sending out a deep sigh, suddenly died."47

Later, under the head of estate, Brathwait states that time should be valued above any inferior substance, "seeing that without the company of Time wee are wholly deprived of the use of our Substance." 48

Gailhard admits that plays might have an instructive value, but that they seldom do. Speaking of the "suppression of all vicious and corrupt places, or any that engage Youth to debauchers," 49 he insists that the number is exceedingly large in England. He says even plays ought to be discouraged when "prophane, lascivious, blasphemous, or other vicious parts are acted." 50 If virtue is presented to encourage one to love it and follow it, and vice made to appear in his own shape, "so that it will seem odious," then plays he thinks will be following the first use of comedies, instructive in the days of early Rome, comedies, he says, degenerated "to delight spectators and flatter great men in their vices."

So much he writes in regard to the general value. Of England's dramatic history, he makes indirectly some reservations:

The life of Actors and Actrices, their gestures, actions, carriage, and whatever else is in them joyned to the bad inclinations of the generality of spectators, will quite hinder any good effect, and destroy what good dispositions might happen to be in them; besides that, History will instruct us of all these passages, which yet being acted,

48Ibid., p. 189
50Ibid.
will make a deeper impression upon the faculties and passions of the foul, both to instruct and to delight it. In a word, a good use may be made of Plays, though generally none but a bad one be made of them.  

A doubt may be expressed at this juncture whether Shadwell was following Jonson and the tribe of Ben in their healthy interest in frank realism, and particularly Jonson's sense of reform; or was he, like Etherege and Wycherley, interested in wasters because they were typical, but not taking sides by holding them up to any standard of sound sense or social welfare. The Restoration, we are encouraged to believe, "not only laughed at witty rogues but applauded the crimes of youth and pleasure. Every restraint was felt as an impertinence, and they who most ingeniously and successfully evaded those restraints become the most delightful figures in the theater."  

Were these dramatists writing with a moral purpose?Were they expressing, even then, their own ideals? Since none of these wits or fops or courtiers of the audience were thinkers, since all that attracted them was an attachment to royalty, and an enjoyment of the senses in the day's pleasure, art to them was a toy. Writing a drama or poetry was a playful exercise, a means to while away the time.

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51 Ibid., p. 94.
52 Miles, op. cit., p. 43.
Etherege with comedy, Sir Robert Howard with tragedy, Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, with his heroic dramas represent the mode. The contention is that there was, therefore, from these men no attempts to express great ideals, because there was no definite sincerity, no individuality of utterance. 53

How many of the professional authors of this time—Dryden, Lee, Killigrew, Congreve, Wycherley, Shadwell, "all on the fringe of the elegant circle" 54—expressed their own views or reflected what had been said before them by others more fortunately born. Otway definitely did; perhaps Shadwell, to a certain extent. The latter seems to be touched by a moral purpose. Whether it was conscious or not, he impressed Collier and others as the most didactic, as making his comedies a reflex of real life, in order to point out and correct weaknesses in the life of the English upper class.

Certainly Shadwell shows in action on the stage what the courtesy book writers wrote against—the daily attendance at plays, the senseless conversation during the performances, the boldness of entering the playhouse without payment of fee, the questionable conduct of gallants and their mistresses, the immoral scenes of the plays themselves. While Shadwell was more interested in dramatic effects than in moral issues, the writers of courtesy books approach the subject of

53 Nicoll, op. cit., p. 20.
54 Ibid.
playgoing only from the standpoint of the degrading influence. Idleness at plays to them is not the proper use of one's God-given talents.

2. Gaming

During the interval between the Restoration and the Revolution the riches of the nation were rapidly increasing. The problem of how to employ one's surplus made some form of gambling a natural consequence. Even the Puritan fathers were attracted by the lure of gain. The predominance of the practice in recreations of the time is proven by the fact that Peacham and James I do not give much time to the subject, but later courtesy writers like Brathwait, Penton, Allestree, and Waterhous speak fully and decidedly upon the topic.

The pertinence of gambling in manners of his day is not overlooked by Shadwell. He definitely does not favor the extent to which gambling has taken hold and illustrates in his plays every type. From The Sullen Lovers, where Huffe is the gambler at backgammon, to The Volunteers, where the stockjobbers play big sums, the playwright covers the weaknesses of the period in games of chance.

The curse of "total recall" affects Huffe, who spends much of his time hectoring Stanford to lend him...
money with which to cover his gambling losses. He has been "Nick't out of twenty pound just now at Spierings, and lost seven to four." When he does not win Stanford's attention, he endeavors to beguile him with "the finest fresh Girle, newly come out of the Country"; or tempts him with what "concerns [his] Honour." Finally he asks for "two Pieces," which Stanford may "have agen within Four and twenty hours, or may I perish."

When Huffe later returns, Stanford is entertained with an account of backgammon which he won:

Huffe. I was playing at Back-Gamon for my dinner, which I won; and from thence we came to five up for half a piece; of the first Set I had three for love, and lost it; of the second I Gammon'd him, and threw Doublets at last, which you know made four, and lost that too; of the third I won never a Game.

Stanford and Emilia would silence him, but he adds more:

Huffe. I'll tell you, Sir, of the fourth Set I was four to two, and for the last game my Tables were fill'd up, and I had born my three odd men, so that you know I had two upon every point.

Stanford says that does not understand backgammon, at which Huffe assures him that he will instruct them both:

Huffe. Well; then, as I was saying, I had just two upon every point, and he had two Men to enter; and as the Devil wou'd have it, my next throw was Size-Ace; he enter'd one of his Men a

55 The Sullen Lovers, esp. cit., Act I, pp. 33-34.
56 Ibid., Act III, p. 47.
Size; then, Mr. Stanford, to see the Damn'd luck
on't, I threw Size-Sinke next, and the very next
throw he enter'd upon a Sink, and having his
Game very backward, won the Game, and afterwards
he Set so, that I lost every Penny.57

Stanford asks, "What the Devil's this to me?" at which
Huffs replies, "No, but did you ever hear the like in your
life?" The tedious repetition of a game after it is
completed, and the hectoring of a persistent gambler are
the purposes of Shadwell's satire in this play.

The gamester or sharper, warned against by Higford,
Osborn, and Allestree, appears in The Miser, in The Squire
of Alsatia, and in The Stock-jobbers. Rant and Haze admit
they cheat, rather "play a little upon advantage---(as many
people of Quality and most Gentlemen that are Gamesters
do.)"58 Theodosia, to whom they are talking, concedes
they are "a couple of good honest Fellows, that is, as Farr
as those that use Caterdeuce-azes, and smooth Boxes, and
cheat at Dice, can be." These are the gentleman sharpers.

The gamesters of The Squire of Alsatia, are numerous.
Shadwell sketches three dwellers in the place—Cheatly,
"who by reason of Debts dare not stir out of White-fryers";
Shawell, "who being ruin'd by Cheatly, is made a Decoy-
Duck for others; not daring to stir out of Alsatia, where
he lives"; and Captain Hackum, "a Blockheaded Bully of
Alsatia; a cowardly, impudent, blustering Fellow; formerly a Serjeant in Flanders, run from his Colours, retreated into White-Fryers for a very small Debt; where by the Alsatians, he is dubb'd a Captain. They take a central part of the plot and are delineated purposely as enemies to young heirs of estates.

Another type of gamester, not so vicious as those in Alsatia, or those Osborn warns of abroad, is Prig of A True Widow. His gaming interest is betting on horses and dogs. Stanmore describes him to Carlos, who has only now returned from travelling, as "an universal gamester, an admirable horse and dog herald" who knows "all the remarkable ones, their families and alliances, and is indeed more intimately acquainted with beasts than men." Bellamour adds to Prig's portrait when he explains that his living is earned by preying upon the fortunes of other people. Stanmore calls him a "Led-eater, Intelligencer, and dry jester to Gaming and Jockey-Lorde"; while he "flatters, rooks, and passes for a jolly Companion amongst 'em," he makes those things, which are "but the recreations of men of sense, his whole Business." This is Allestree's

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60A True Widow, Act I, p. 204.
61Ibid.
and Brathwait's point also. Prig expresses his creed in the question, "What a Fox should a Gentleman think of, but Dogs, Horses, Dice, Tennis, Bowls, Races, or Cock-Fighting?" He talks of nothing but sports, even urging Lady Cheatley to marry him a day earlier than was intended in order that he may go to Newmarket, where he has laid some money upon a cockfight.

The coxcomb, Selfish, is another who lives by his wits. Making no secret of his betting, he explains to young Maggot, who is not interested in anything but his own poetry, how he (Selfish) manages to secure an income.

Selfish: ...But how like you this Peruque?
Yo. Maggot: 'Tis very proper.
Self: I have five as good by me, I have a hundred pound I got at Ombre, Mr. Whimsey owe me two hundred, I have a Pad or two, and when I get this debt in, I will buy a Chariot, and perhaps have as good Equipage as any Man, if I can get an hundred pound Sir Nicholas Whackum owes me; I only want a couple of Hunters for Windsor, and then.
Yo. Maggot: You don't mind my Song; 'tis to my Mistress.
Self: Yes, but I was saying, now I am at ease in my Fortune till next Michlemas.

Another type of rascal is the stockjobber. A natural effect of wealth was that a crowd of progenitors of schemes came into being. Some schemes were ingenious, some absurd; some, honest; others, knavish. It was "about the year 1688

62 See below, p. 359.
64 Ibid., Act II, p. 312.
that the word 'stockjobber' was first heard in London.\textsuperscript{65}
Though some companies were very ostentatious, others were content with contracts on paper, and met at coffee in the neighborhood of the Royal Exchange. An impatience to be rich was noticeable through all society, and took possession even of grave Senators, Wardens of Trade, Deputies, Alderman.\textsuperscript{66}

Macaulay alludes specifically to the satire of the Puritans as stockjobbers, a practice also satirized by Shadwell:

The new form which covetousness had taken furnished the comic poets and satirists with an excellent subject: nor was that subject the less welcome to them because some of the most unscrupulous and most successful of the new race of gamblers were men in sad coloured clothes and lank hair, men who called cards the Devil's books, men who thought it a sin and a scandal to win or lose two pence over a backgammon board. It was in the last drama of Shadwell that the hypocrisy and knavery of these speculators was, for the first time, exposed to public ridicule. . .\textsuperscript{67}

Nickum, a Sharper and Rogue, declares the Stock-jobbers are 'Rogues,—worse than us Sharpers with Rare and false Boxes.'\textsuperscript{68} The satire shows the old man, Colonel Hackwell, though hood-winked by his new wife to disown his own worthy son, Hackwell, Junior, and to turn out of his home his daughter, Eugenia, when it comes to business, is a sharp rascal himself. He pretends to be an Anabaptist, yet

\textsuperscript{65}Macaulay, \textit{op. cit.}, IV, 371.
\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., p. 392.
\textsuperscript{67}Ibid., p. 393.
\textsuperscript{68}The \textit{Volunteers}, \textit{op. cit.}, Act II, p. 188.
he does not mind collecting exorbitant usury in all sorts of trade exchanges—glass, copper, "tin, divers," paper, dippers,—and in patents and stocks.69

The best scene is that in which four or five stern Non-conformists, clad in the full Puritan costume, after discussing the prospects of the Mousetrap company and the Flea killing company, examine the question whether the Godly may lawfully hold stock in a company for bringing over Chinese rope dancers.

1 Jobber. There is likewise one who will undertake to kill all Fleas, in all the Families in England, provided he hath a Patent, and that none may kill a Flea but himself.

2 Jobber. There is likewise a Patent moved for, of bringing some Chinest Rope-Dancers over, the most exquisite in the World; considerable men have shares in it; but verily I question whether this be lawful or not?70

The stout old Round-head, Colonel Hackwell, who has fought at Marston Moor, reminds his weaker brother that the saints need not themselves see the rope dancing, and, in all probability, there will be no rope dancing to see:

Hack, sen. Look thee Brother; if it be a good end, and that we ourselves have no share in the vanity or wicked diversion thereof, by beholding of it, but only use it whereby we may turn the Penny, and employ it for Edification, always considered that it is like to take, and the said Shares will sell well; and then we shall not care, whether the aforesaid Dancers come over or no.71

70Ibid., Act II, p. 183.
71Ibid., p. 183.
It is little wonder that the Sharper Nickum pronounces them "worse than us Sharpers with Bars and false Boxes." This seems to be the one remarked upon by Macaulay for its pertinent exposure of some unscrupulous Puritans.

Though gambling was a popular recreation in the life of Stuart gentlefolk, many were the admonitions against it in books of courtesy. The writers do not all agree in the extent to which they condemn gaming. King James's *Basilikon Doron*, written in 1599 but published in 1603, is less strait-laced than might be expected. The king is against playing with the desire to win; he would not regret losses when they occur, but disallows unfair play, dissembling looks, and the like.72

It is interesting to note that, while Peacham devotes much time to the recreations of sports like fishing, hawking, and hunting, he has little to say about cards. He seems to have nothing of the puritanical bias. Praising the usefulness of French playing cards, which are marked with the maps of various countries, and have for their kings and queens typical rulers, and for the knaves typical peasants, he considers "this ingenious device cannot be but a great furtherance to a young capacity and some comfort to the unfortunate gamester: when he hath lost in Money, he shall

72 *Basilikon Doron*, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.
have dealt him in Land or Wit.' 73

Higford admits it to be "a fitting decorum—to play" when noble company invites a gentleman to join in a game; "may, not to play is a defect." He warns that one should not "adventure more than you can well spare," that one should have respect to time, not making that "your vocation which is only intended for your recreation." Cautioning that play has been the ruin of many families, "who adventure bag after bag till all be lost," he asks that a gentleman know "the advantage of games; so shall you not altogether commit your money, which is so precious, to the temerity of fortune." 74

Recreations for one's pleasure are discussed by the Puritan Brathwait in thirty-five pages of close writing and illustration. Among those recreations which require small use or exercise of the body but exercise of the faculties of the mind are cards and dice, "a special recreation." He says they were invented to pass tedious winter nights away and not to hazard fortunes at them, "as many inconsiderate Gamesters now-a-days will not stick to doe." 75 Such practice brings the player to some desperate course. He admonishes

73 Peacham, op. cit., p. 65.
74 Higford, op. cit., pp. 15, 16, 17.
75 Brathwait, op. cit., p. 110.
the young gentleman to beware of frequenting these common
gaming houses, "where [he] must either have fortune with
advantage, or else be sure to play with like young Gamesters
to [his] own disadvantage." He concludes that the youth
owes some consideration to his ancestors who have invested
him as "Heir to their providence." If one must play, he
should seek square gamesters, and use reason in this recrea-
tion.

The question of time brings Brathwait again to cards
and gamesters. Recommending that time should be reserved
for serious affairs, "as not to give way to pleasure and
delight, and so neglect what we should principally intend,
he urges that one's time should be employed to "the good
and benefit of the employer." Like Peacham, but with greater
reason, he explains that games can benefit the understanding:

. . . the Maw requires a quick conceit or present
pregnancy; the Gleeke (because of variety) requires
a retentive memory; the Cribbage a recollected
fancy; the Pinache quick and un-enforced dexterity.
These are good exercises of the minde, and such,
as being made recreations only, and not tricks to
circumvent, may afford some help or benefit to the
Gamester's understanding.??

Insisting upon benefit, not profit, he believes that is the
only way the game can be a pleasure instead of a torture
and anguish.

76Ibid.
77Ibid., p. 126.
Traveling abroad, one is more likely to be filched by gamsters, Osborn observes. Play is destructive and fatal to estates everywhere, but abroad a stranger has less chance to defend himself, "bystanders being apt to attest to the prejudice of a Stranger." 78

The fear of a growing love for the game inspires a warning against cards and dice from Stephen Fenton. He thinks at first nothing may seem more harmless than "to cheat a tedious hour or two with the loss of a Trifle." By degrees, however, skill comes, and "Skill will beget Emulation; this will heighten waters: Frequent losses will encrease Passion." He fears pride will grow so that he will venture too much and will finally go to London, "to help maintain the Wits of the Town." 79 There he will be cheated and lose, or have to fight the loser with a sword. His plea to fathers is not to permit the son, while he is young, to become fond of gaming.

The Gentleman's Calling, written, it is supposed, by the author of The Whole Duty of Man, and recommended highly by Penton, contains no recommendation for gaming of any kind. Allestree discusses the subject under the topic "Wealth"; the expense of cards is to him the strongest objection. He says,

78 Osborn, op. cit., p. 96.
79 Penton, op. cit., p. 54.
"Gaming, like a Quicksand, swallows up a man in a moment."

Straitlaced and Puritan, Allestree is unwilling to consider the employment of gamesters as less than "in the number of serious ills." Custom calls it play, yet "the many anxious fears and uneasie Commotions" which attend it should have given it a more serious name, covetousness. He thinks men should vindicate their liberties and return gaming to its primitive use, not a trade but a recreation; and that they should see that it "may not incroach on those hours which should be destined to greater concernments."

With gaming as a "calling" for ladies, Allestree is indeed exasperated; he can not understand "whence it derives a license." A laborious calling, it seems to some, "such as they toil night and day at," without the rest which is "provided for the meanest Mechanic." He attacks gaming among women, not only for the waste of time, but for the faults of anger and avarice which are incidental to card playing among women. The high tribunal, he warns, will not excuse them.

Gaming, a Recreation whose lawfulness I question not, whilst it keeps within the bound of a Recreation; but when it sets up for a Calling, I know not whence it derives a license. And a calling sure it seems to be with some, a

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80[Allestree], op cit., p. 82.
81Ibid., p. 100.
laborious one, too, such as they toil night and day at, nay, do not allow themselves that remission which the Laws both of God and Man have provided for the meanest Mechanic. The Sabbath is to them no day of rest, but this trade goes on when all Shops are shut. I know not how they satisfy themselves in such an habitual waste of time (besides all the incidental faults of Avarice and Anger), but I much doubt that Plea, whatsoever it is, which passes with them, will scarce hold weight at his Tribunal, who has commanded us to redeem, not fling away our time. 32

Against gaming except "to divert and refresh their spirits," 53 Gailhard enumerates its sad effects: "Oaths, Curses, Blasphemies, Cheating, Quarrels, Ruine, and Destruction of Whole Families." 34 Placing the responsibility upon the governors, he considers it "worthy the care of Princes to stop gaming and keep it within bounds." 35 These Puritan admonishers of conduct emphasize the degradation to the spirit in the increasing attraction which cards and dice have for the young men of any era.

Following other Puritan writers, Waterhouse remonstrates with the great families of England for the extent to which gambling has taken hold:

Yea I dare be prophetique of generall eradiccation of vertue and good proof amongst the youth, now breeding, and hereafter to be bred, if Gaming be not inhibited, or moderated and restrained in a high degree: For it is not now the recreation of

32 Ibid., p. 102.
34 Ibid., p. 100.
Masters and Mistresses, but of Apprentices, Serving-men, and Maids; and those not only of high degree, but even Pedlars and Beggars; to whom every Ale-house and Drab-stall is a school and pit of play: nor will manners be reformed, or Religion be practised; Till men be made kind Husbands, prudent Fathers and Masters, dutiful children, obsequious Servants, by being denied those avocations...I do not hope to see that succession and increase in the Riches and Honour of Families...86

Allestree and Mackenzie mention the spreading of gaming even to the servants. The servants "are disciplined to be Ministers of their Luxuries, and not only to serve but transcribe to them," writes Allestree.87 Mackenzie wonders, "Have not Servants reason to think themselves as deserving persons as their Masters, when they find themselves able to equal, or surpass them, in what they glory in as their great accomplishments?"88

But Shadwell's picture in The Woman Captain is just the opposite condition. The old steward is faithful to a wasteful, debauched master, Sir Humphrey Scattergood, but continues, in bourgeois simplicity, his "godly meditations."89

Stew. Heav'n how he melts his Time and Land away in Luxury and Sloath, and I by force must be an Instrument in his wickedness; now must I keep the Dore, while he, his Friends and Whores are lolling in their Baths, prepar'd with cost befitting

86 Waterhouse, op. cit., pp. 273-274
87 [Allestree], op. cit., "Authority," p. 117.
88 Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 28.
89 The Woman-Captain, op. cit., p. 47.
Emperors; nay, They're perhaps revelling in the height of Sin—but I will pray and read these godly Meditations by my self—

In contrast with the old Steward here is Ralph, the servant in The Scourers,\textsuperscript{90} who accepts a commission from the glazier for securing the glazier's employment with his master. These two examples typify what Allestree and Mackenzie complain of.

We may conclude that all advisers of youth admonished against indulgence to excess in games, particularly when endangering one's inheritance. The more Puritan writers urged a complete avoidance of this evil. As a playwright, Shadwell did not ignore the effects of wasteful habits. He satirized the persistent borrower of funds, the card sharper, the over-zealous sportsman, and the stock-jobber, especially those Puritans who had yielded to the lure of wealth. The easily attained wealth after the Restoration made the subject of gambling a pertinent one in Shadwell's time.

3. Drinking and Scouring

The heavy drinking of the Restoration nobility has been recorded by historian and playwright. When nobles

\textsuperscript{90}The Scourers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 92.
like Sir Charles Sedley and Sir George Etheredge were called before Lord Justices for their escapades, it is not surprising that the habit undermined the woof and fibre of all classes, wherever a certain leisure and comfortable means permitted.


Clodpate admits that he is drunk once a week "at my Lord Lieutenant's," and drinks much ale at home. Timothy, the country gentleman in *The Miser,* would buy white wine for Theodora; from hawking young Hartfort enters drunk and singing "Roger a Coverly." He declares he "was at it helter skelter in excellent Ale, with Londoners that went a Hawking, brave Roysters, honest fellows." Theodosia advises him to sleep it off before his father discovers his condition.

There is much drinking at the dinner held in Oldwit's house, and more after visiting gentlemen join the

91 *Epsom Wells, op. cit.,* p. 112.
92 *The Miser, op. cit.,* Act I, p. 36.
93 *The Lancashire Witches, op. cit.,* Act IV, pp. 157-158.
party. Wildish and Bellamy manage separately to withdraw.

Wild: We were bad enough with our Punning Fools; but that new Detachment of Drunkards and Visitants, made 'em compleatly the most confound-ed Company I ever was condemn'd to. 94

He begs Bellamy to leave the country and the poisonous wine offered. But Bellamy insists that he chooses good company who serve "as good wine from London, as any there," and that really he does not drink excessively. It is attended with such Surfeits, Qualms, Headakes, late Hours, Quarrels and Uproars, that every Scene of Drunkenness is a very Bedlam. 96

Tope will not drink before breakfast, he tells Sir William Scattergood, who has ordered "a brimmer of clary." But Sir William will not accept advice, for he is determined to live the senses to the full. When out on the streets, looking for excitement and diversion, he, Wildfire and Tope draw a character sketch of a drunkard.

Tope: Every Puppy, now adays, presumes to set up for a Drunkard; but there are more good qualities requisite to a Drunkard than to a Minister of State, or a deep Divine. I'll pick up fellows fit for great men every hour in the street, but a Drunkard.

Sir Will: Well said, Jack Tope, thou art in the right, he must be of Mien and Person not ungraceful, of pleasing Speech, Sharp must his Wit be, and His Judgment solid.

94 Ibid., p. 335.
95 Ibid., p. 336.
96 Ibid., p. 337.
Wildf: He must be cheerful, easy, and well tempered.
Tope: He must be well bred, have seen the world; learned, knowing, and retentive of a secret; he must have Truth and Courage.
Sir Will: In short, he must be just such a fellow as thou art.97

The young men felt they could permit themselves some license. Though, with his attention to Isabella, Theodore has forsaken whoring, he assures his acquaintances that he will still drink.

Theo: ...Yet you shall find I am not wholly unfit for your company, I have not given over all sins at once, for if you'll go before and bespeak dinner at Bhatollins, you shall see how I'll sowse you in Burgundy.
Hag: Well, we'll go and hope, by the helps of Burgundy, to recover your Senses again.
Theo: Have a care of looseing your own.
Rant: That we may have no advantage over you, we'll each of us drink 2 or 3 Beer glasses, before you come.98

Three writers of courtesy take two views, — one, that sociability requires the cup of mirth; the other, that drinking cannot be controlled and therefore should be shunned. The early century accepts the habit, with reservations; the later century does not.

Since carriage "setteth a fairer stampe" upon nobility, and since temperance is the best way to preserve carriage, Peacham advises moderation in drinking. For the second

reason, health, he would not have young men drink excessively. He does concede, though, that drinking with friends is "created to make the heart merry," and adds "cheereliness" to one's countenance.99

Drunkenness predominates in northern countries, says Gailhard; hence one's own countrymen may encourage drinking.100 Like Peacham, he would discourage excessive and habitual consumption.

Most of Higford's discussion of friendships is in relation to drinking, which habit he thinks is developed in company. Not only does he contend that drinking increases with one's age, but, as a habit, it has no generosity in it. He admits that occasions will arise when a person is drawn to excess. One should by all means avoid the occasion by pretending "other business and fair excuses to come off."101

Another evil practice of gentlemen in that day was the nuisance of scouring. It was the practice, engaged in by some of the young bloods, of destroying property and fighting the watch. The heavy drinking of the Restoration nobility made such scenes possible. Shadwell represented

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99 Peacham, op. cit., pp. 229-231.
100 Gailhard, op. cit., p. 85.
101 Higford, op. cit., p. 72.

The subplot of The Miser indicates Shadwell's turning from humor to riotous scenes in taverns and stews. Timothy, a "Son of a Citizen," is plied with drink by his hectoring companions, Rant and Hazard, and led upon a roaring expedition during which they break many windows and fight with the watch. In the morning, after this night of carousing, Timothy finds himself married to Joyce.

In connection with duelling, Brathwait mentions "Roisters," whose only judgment "consists in taking offence" and whose valor is in "making a flourish." With "Roisters" he classes "Custers or Moderators" for young gallants, to whom a young man goes to settle quarrels he is afraid to fight, and "who must be fee'd for his opinion." When a young man finds his fortune fallen to a low ebb, he is

... enforced ... to erect a Sconce, whereunto the Roarers make recourse, as to their Rendezvous. And hereto also resorte the raw and unseasoned Youth, whose late fallen patrimonie makes him purchase acquaintance at what rate soever; glorying much to be esteemed one of the fraternity. And he must now keep his Quarter, maintaine his prodigall rout with what his Parcimonious father long corked for; prepare his Rare-suppers, and all this, to get him a little knowledge in the art of roaring.

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103 Brathwait, op. cit., p. 23.
104 Ibid., p. 23.
Many rowdy scenes are participated in by Sir Christopher and his friends. After greeting "Honest Wildman Cylie" and Prigg Bellamy at Sir Humphrey's home, he declares he has had "a rare night on't," has "roared and sung and ranted; kick't all Males, d--- all Females, swing'd Constables and Watches, trounced Bailiffs, broke Windows and stormed Bawdy-houses, and committed other outrages to the confusion of much people---"105

He then introduced his companions named Blunderbuss and Heildebrand, whom he declares to be of "good Families." When Sir Humphrey remarks on their negligent dress, in fact, thinks they "look dreadfully," Sir Christopher exclaims:

Sir Chr: That's all one, they are as brave as Lightning; and will kick Bailiffs like Thunder, and faith they'll scow and roar like Cannon. They are the best Company in the world, and are my Lifeguard against Bailiffs.

Sir Humph: They look dreadfully---

Sir Chr: Dreadfully! so they do; why each of 'em has kill'd his man. But as they are very brave, so they are very ingenious, and rare Company.---Here's Heildebrand has a number of the purest Bawdy Songs, and will Sing and Play a thorow-base with his fingers rubbing too and fro upon a Table thus, most incomparably; and then Blunderbuss will hoop, hollow, and hunt over a Bottle with any man in Europe, and they are the bravest Catchsingers both of 'em---

Sir Chr: Are not we mad Fellows? Faith we can be merry and we set on't; we have roar'd and

105 The Woman-Captain, op. cit., pp. 34, 35.
scowrd, and kept Covent-garden waking all 
last Night.

Sir Christopher Swash and his bullying comrades are in the 
tradition of English comedy. They are exponents of lip-
valor, and easily faced down by the woman-captain.

Such vice of the gentry, though not mentioned by 
name, is apparently described by Allestree who must have 
observed the disturbances. He says good counsel in education 
"is seconded by Example, and that it should become the 
character and distinctive note of a gentleman, to be eminent-
ly good" which would "consecrate even Ambition itself."
Furthermore, he considers nothing will be found to have 
contributed more to the conditions in England than "the 
open and scandalous viciousness of the Gentry. ---Tis they 
that have brought Vice into countenance, made it the mode 
and fashion of the times. ---A man of honor is now under-
stood only to be one that can start and maintain a 
quarrel---"106

On another night a quarrel is instigated by Sir 
Christopher and his chance acquaintances. They have destroyed 
property and attacked honest citizens in the streets; and 
when the citizen asks the constable for protection, the

106[Allestree], op. cit., "Advantage of Reputation," 
pp. 129, 132.
citizen cannot be heard above the protestations of the gentry:

Citiz: These are the Rogues that set upon me and my Wife.
Consta: Rogues! Sir Christopher Swash, and his Friends; They use to give us Money every night Neighbours.
Watchman: Ay, ay, very honest Gentlemen.
Consta: Thanks, noble Sir Christopher. Who are you Sir? I must have an account of you.
Watch: Ay, what are you?
Citiz: I am an honest Man, and pay Scot and Lot in my Parish, and these Fellows set upon my Wife and me.
Consta: Stay Fidlers, whither are you sneaking?
Sir Chaa: This fellow is a Rogue, and picks up a Whore, and call'd her his Wife.
Const: Away with him to the Gatehouse----
(They take Citizen out).107

This is probably an illustration of Allestree's "open and scandalous viciousness of the Gentry." The play amused the audience with its noise and farcical qualities.

The practice of "Scowring" is attacked by Shadwell in the play The Scourers, (1690) though that theme does not appear its main plot, as the actions are thrown in so accidentally. The scourers are presented in two groups: Sir William and his friends representing the nobility or gentry; Whackum and his satellites, imitators of the nobility among the lesser gentry.

Shadwell's satire appears in the first act when the glazier, coming to Sir William Rant on the morning after a

107The Woman-Captain, op. cit., p. 45.
night of rioting, petitions the scourer to allow him to take the position of his old glazier, who had died within the hour. "The Man indeed was an honest Man, but alack, alack! he had little to do for a long time, til your Business and your Friends, Sir, brought him into request: He has had a fine time under you; for your Worship, I understand, has to Sash-Windows an utter Aversion, Sir, when you are in Beer."108 If Sir William will let him have the place, he will "see that all the Parish, when you please to break their Windows, shall have as good Goods as any Man can furnish them with." Thus the roarers were raising their depredations to a statue of "big business."

The admiring speech of Whackum is an ironical satire on the nuisance which young men had become. Whackum and his friends, Bluster and Dingboy, are scourers but not in the exclusive class of Sir William and his company. After bragging of their own exploits for three nights before, Bluster boasts that "we were taken for Sir William Rant." But Whackum is not so bold.

Whack: Sir William? no, no; oh Sir William is the finest, compleatest Gentleman that ever wore a head.

Ding: There are others, Squire, that shall be nameless.

Whack: Oh no, never talk on't; there will never be his Fellow. Oh had you seen him scowre

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as I did, oh so delicately, so like a Gentleman!
How he clare'd the Rose-Tavern! I was there about
Law business, compounding for a Bastard, and he
and two fine Gentlemen came roaring in the handsome-
liest, and the most genteely turn'd us all out of
the Room, and swing'd us, and kick'd us about, I
vow to Gad, 'twould have done your heart good to
have seen it. 109

Bluster and Dingboy laugh at the story, as Whackum adds that
"in a minutes time [they] clear'd the whole house, and broke
the windows, beat the woman at the Bar, and swagger'd by
themselves." At that moment he sees Sir William Rant, Tope
and Wildfire coming down the street. He tells them to
observe him "with his brave friends": He is sure "There's
a fine person! there's a compleat Gentleman." 110

The last words, repeated in such a setting, may
indicate how well, about 1690, Peacham's book or Gailhard's
was known and how much read in London. Certainly the al-
lusion would imply that the concept of a complete gentleman
was one considerably studied in the era.

The habit of heavy drinking and the practice of
scouring in the late century was then met with disapproval
by both drama and courtesy book. Shadwell mentions drinking
in nearly every play; scouring he satirizes more harshly
than any other evil, even than gambling. While both groups

109Ibid., p. 100.
110Ibid.
of writings agree that wine is necessary for convivial company, they advise it in moderation. No one of them condones scouring. Shadwell does not agree with a smaller group of courtesy writers who would eschew drinking in any way.
I. Subjects Negligibly Treated

The longer one contemplates the plays of this prolific dramatist, Thomas Shadwell, the more one is impressed by the extent to which he has covered every phase of Restoration life. Upon a first cursory reading, one receives an impression that government and politics, religion, and country life are only slightly touched upon. But this conclusion is only in a measure true. No one could have lived in a period so full of political and religious enthusiasm as the period was and ignore these questions. Politics and religion affected intimately the social life of the nation. Interrelated with this was the idea of the country squire, whose estate and resources were placed in service to his state and to his church, and whose opinions were assisting in moulding the policies of his country.


In courtesy literature and in a measure in drama, may be traced the rise and fall of the doctrine of divine right of kings and the growth of a more liberal conception of government. At first all writers exalted the principle of absolutism; but when the effects of the reaction died out, and the Country Party began to raise its head against the
Court, the opposition of the factions naturally expressed itself in particular or even personal satire. The political opinions, then, have the perfunctory quality natural to confirmed partisans.

Shadwell favored the king, as all dramatists did; but not until the accession of William and Mary did he speak much of the part an Englishman or citizen should take in government. Of all the courtesy writers it is Osborn who devotes an entire section to government, while Shadwell, except for a few allusions scattered through the plays, ignores politics, as a major problem, until The Volunteers, his last play. While these two men were of opposite parties, for Osborn had been a member of the Roundheads, it is surprising how alike in opinions on government they were.

Shadwell's own retirement in the years 1681 to 1687, probably enforced owing to his political activities, must have given him years of contemplation on the value or worth in political endeavor. A record\(^1\) shows that he was in receipt of a pension from the Earl of Dorset and living at his Hall in Essex during 1682-83. One point in his attitude to government may be discerned in his will. He bequeathed to his son John the philosophical books of

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\(^1\)Wolmsey, op. cit., "Biography," xiv, fn. 1.
"Mr. Hobbs his works warning him to have a care of some ill opinions of his concerning Government but hee may make an excellent use of what is good in him." It must have been Hobbes's advocacy of expediency which Shadwell may have disliked for his son.

The allusions to politics in the plays are not very forcibly set forth. Shadwell laughs at "a new politician with his head full of reformation" in The Sullen Lovers; he has Alcibiades speak for "government being in the Body of the People" in Timon of Athens; he portrays a country squire, the Justice Clodpate, "serving his country" to his own ends; his "Prologue" to The Woman-Captain censured the fop who is "a politician grown"; who, "with Politick Shrug, and notable wise Look," censures counsels and never reads a book; who "wisely talks and politickly smokes."

The popular enthusiasm for volunteering in Flanders under the king afforded Shadwell his main theme for The Volunteers (1693). In this play Shadwell portrays a fop

3The Sullen Lovers, op. cit., Act I, sc. 1, p. 22
5Epsom Wells, op. cit., Act I, p. 112.
6"Prologue" to The Woman Captain, p. 15.
who has no interest in his country. When asked what would become of his country, if every man felt as he did—not going to war—Sir Timothy answers, "There are Magnanimous Fellows enough that love Roaring, Rattling Gun-powder, and Cannon, what a Devil need I got? I have a good Estate, and can pay those Fellows." As for soldiers he thinks there are enough "idle Rascals, and Scoundrels, mercenary Rogues to be had out of Jayls, Streets, High-ways, Dung-hills, that can lie cold, march, and pop off a Gun," that he need not go. Similarly, in an earlier play, The Royal Shepherdess, Shadwell shows the fop not going to war, because he is afraid. Here the excuse of Sir Timothy is that he will get the ague or chills and fevers.

In contrast with the playboys and idle courtiers and retiring misanthropes, Shadwell's Squire of Alsatia insists on the gentleman's having a responsibility toward his government and his country. Sir Edward has advised young Belfond against wenching, and then he goes further to suggest a positive participation in a good life.

Sir Edw. 'Tis time now to take up, and think of being something in the world. See then, my son, though thou shouldst not be over-busy to side with parties, and with factions,

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yet that thou takest a care to make some figure in the world, and to sustain that part thy fortune, nature, and thy education fit thee for.

This is the note in all books of manners of the seventeenth century - the responsibility which a noble son owes himself and his country.

In *The Volunteers* two soldiers speak of what they fought for; yet in contrast with them are the foppish gallants who would rather hire substitutes to go in their stead, or who accompanied William to Flanders with all the luxurious accoutrements of life in London, satirized in *Sir Nicholas Dainty*.

To Shadwell the real statesman was the Englishman who was the country squire, caring for his estate, hospitable to his friends, kind to his tenants and servants, and aware of needed social reforms. Sir Edward Hartfort in *The Lancashire Witches* appears to be his ideal Englishman in these respects. Young Hackwell in *The Volunteers* points that way and is the character to mention social reform. The young friend of Hackwell, Junior, describes his as "greatly favoured by the King, extream-beloved by the People, much esteemed by the Generals, adored by the Soldiers, and has won immortal honour in the Reduction of

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9 Supra, p. 378.
10 Supra, p. 288
11 *The Lancashire Witches*, pp. 136-137.
But in contrast with this ideal is the picture of politicians currying favor as Tope describes them—"crowching Spaniels hastning to some great man's Levee, whom they wish hang'd; and lean, assiduous knaves of business running from Office to Office, to get all they can under the Government they hate."13 Tope says he will continue drinking, scowering and eating, and forget all of it.

Osborn's estimate of the management of government reveals the same tone. In the history of the English gentleman "the growth of the idea of Public Duty is almost as noticeable as his transformation into the Courtier," says Gordon.14 That idea was behind Osborn's defection from his family's allegiance to their king to join the Roundheads, which caused their probable estrangement. In later years, however, his advise to his son shows an observation toward government with no pretense at idealism. His point of view is that of the individual who in a competitive world has to protect his personal safety and to advance his own interests. The moral tone is not always commendable, for expediency is his criterion. He agrees with Machiavelli, Fuller, and Hobbes that the state is more necessarily

12 The Volunteers, op. cit., p. 174
14 Peacham, op. cit., Intro., vii.
important than religion or the individual; it is easier
"to mount the saddle" with each new party in power than
to fight for a group out of power.

Therefore if those at the helme have lost
their power, and I not able to find a particular
engagement or interest strong enough to make
their good success inseparably necessary to my
present or future well being, I am not bound
to go further on with them, than suits with my
safety, and with the security my judgment
gives, that they are able to bring me off.15

He urges his son not to write down criticism of anyone
in power.

Write not the faults of persons near the
throne, in any nation you reside in; lest your
letters should be intercepted, and you sent out
of the world before your time: But reserve such
discourse for the single care of your master, into
which you must pour it with more caution, than
malice, lest it should come to be discovered, as
it adds but what it will, and then the next
endeavor is revenge:16

Osborn does not advise his son to aspire to office for the
uncertainties and perils at court are disillusioning.

He considers better a retirement to the country or to the
study. Shadwell has several of his exemplary characters
choose a like existence - Bruce, Bellamore, and Lord Bellamy.

The idea of government and participation or courtesy
politics held little interest then for Shadwell to guide
him, though later in life he did receive appointment as

15 Osborn, op. cit., p. 118.
16 Ibid., p. 126.
poet laureate with little emolument. The only courtesy
to set down his tried experience was Francis Osborn.
His bitter disillusionment had not been tempted by tardy
appointment. On the while, the subject was a very delicate
one, and dramatists as a rule entertained the audience
better without it.

Unlike Osborn, who urged the expedient course,
Shadwell does present several qualities requisite for good
citizenship and perhaps statesmanship. Belford, Junior,
is urged not to take sides with parties or factions too
strongly, but to sustain his place by fortune, nature, and
education. A hospitable country gentleman, kind to tenants
and servants, is esteemed. A gentleman should be willing
to sacrifice for his king and country by fighting for it in
war, by maintaining men at his own charge, and by going as
a private man among them.

2. Country Life

Where some writers, especially the sentimentalists,
praise the country air and simplicity of life, an occasional
few take the countryman to task for being ill-bred, and
certainly easy to be gullied. Gailhard and Shadwell point
to this ill-breeding. It is Shadwell's thesis when Belford,
Senior, is duped by the Alsatians, and when Belford, Senior, himself remonstrates with his father for the way he has been reared. It is Shadwell's point when he permits the young lady Smilla, in The Cullen Lovers, to scoff at the country clout's wooing a city heiress, and when Stanford sneers at the country wine worse than served in a Pye-corner at the eating of pigs. It is Shadwell's satire again when, in The Lancashire Witches, Lady Sacklehead confounds to Isabella that Timothy's wooing ought to be graciously received by a lady of the country.

A comperative statement from a courtesy writer is that of Gaylard. It is very denunciatory of the interests of country gentlemen and their sons, of their education and training, of their idleness in games and drinking, of their conversational abilities; in short, of all the qualities that would make his companionship desirable.

As to Country breeding, which is opposed to the Courts, to the Cities, or to Travelling; when it is merely such, it is a clownish one. Before a Gentleman comes to a settlement, Hawking, Courting, and Hunting are the dainties of it; then taking Tobacco, and going to the Alehouse and Tavern, where matches are made for Races, Cock-fighting, and the like; and if a Gentleman be not as forward as they are, then he is proud, he is an enemy to good fellowship, and is not a man fit for society;

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17 supra, p. 206.
18 Act IV, p. 86.
19 The Lancashire Witches, op. cit., Act Ii, p. 126.
thence Dicing and Carding will follow, which at last are attended with loss of Estates, and destruction of Families. I desire to know, what good employment is such a one fit for? indeed to speak the best of him, we use to say, he is an honest Country Gentleman; that is often apt to be fooled, who hath neither much wit nor experience...

Yet God forbid I should, by what I said a little before, in the least speak amiss of what we call a Country life; which to many proves so quiet, and so satisfactory; and which for a time most of the Nobility, and of the Gentry are glad to lead out of choice, or by reason of their concerns and interest; but I mean the Country life, merely such; when a Gentleman is able to talk of nothing but of a Plough, Corn, Horses, Hounds, etc., which yet doth not reach persons of the highest quality, whose Houses in the Country are like petty Courts: therefore 'tis necessary for the compleating of a Gentleman, to know more than Farmers, Faulconers, and Park-keepers:...20

Allestree is the only writer deliberately accusing the gentry, especially the women, of using the country as a means of revenue only, from which to live in affluence in town and to expedite a favorable marriage alliance.

But I presume some of the nicer Ladies have such a content of anything that they please to call Rustic, that they will not much regret the averting of those whom they so despise. They will not, perhaps, while they are in pursuit or hopes of others; but when those fail, these will be look'd on as a welcome Reserve; and therefore 'twill be no Prudence to cut themselves off from that last resort, least they (as many have done)

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20Gailhard, *cit.*., "Of the Education of Young Gentlemen Abroad," pp. 3-5. This may be compared with the remarks of Shadwell on sport-loving sons, *supra*, p. 126.
betake themselves to much worse. For as in
many instances 'tis the Country which feeds and
maintains the grandeur of the Town; so of all
commerces there, Marriage would soonest fail,
if all Rural supplies were cut off. 21

The fact is certain that country life was still, by certain
groups, under a ban of contempt, and the democratic move­
ment for equality of country man and city courtier was far
from its completion.

In contrast with this criticism of certain qualities
in the country gentleman and his ladies, Shadwell recognizes
the trend of the time in that he has two or three characters
in various plays choose the country life in preference to
the city. Stanford in The Sullen Lovers, while scoffing
at country boorishness, threatens to retire to its solitude;
Justice Clodpate, though a rascal at taking in revenue,
scorns the city London; Lord Bellamy in Bury-Fair presents
the finest expose of what he values in the country.

Bellamy! I view my stately fields and meads,
laden with corn and grass; my herds of kine and
flocks of sheep; my breed of horses; my delicate
gardens full of all sorts of fruits and herbs;
my river full of fish, with ponds, and a decoy for
water-fowl, and plenty of game of all kinds.... 22

When his friend, Wildish, argues that there are those things
in London, Bellamy answers, "But I have pleasure in reading

the Georgics, and contemplating the works of nature."

Another gentleman of sense who praises country living is Sir Edward Hartfort of The Lancashire Witches. He is proud of being a hospitable English squire of the countryside, is kind to his tenants, is interested in reading and the beauties of nature.24

In his last play, The Volunteers, Shadwell refers again to the pleasure of the country through Major General Blunt, who has to forego them to accompany his nieces to the city; he speaks of "My dear Country Life, my sweet and fragrant air; with plain, natural, and honest company."25 One niece, Eugenia, agrees with his pleasure there.

While Shadwell's country gentleman values the country for his possessions and the concession of quiet repose, the courtesy writer stresses the virtue often inherent in a rustic man that is not possessed by the gentleman nobly born.

He who is but a Countryman, and lives well as such, seems to me more commendable, than he who is a gentleman born, and doth not the actions of a Gentleman: so that esteemimg every one for what he is, and not for what he hath, I equally value those who have the greatest charges and Dignities, and those who carry burthens upon their backs; except Vertue makes a difference between

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23 Ibid., p. 337.
them. Indeed Birth, Places, and Authority, in whatsoever Subject they be found, ought to be respected; but Virtue alone makes men to be esteemed.26

Gailhard is regretful when he states that the number of merit among those of Birth and Fortune is very small and "the multitude is usually affected to evil." Since that is true, "they must change places with the lower sort of People, whom Parts and Virtue...will raise to the greatest charges and Dignities in the Land."27

Since Brathwait devotes almost as much time to his gentlewoman as to his gentleman, he is able to discourse upon her every relationship. His ideal gentlewoman keeps her residence in the country.

Her report to the Court, is for occasion, not fashion; where her demeanour ever gives augmentation to her honour. Her winning modesty becomes so powerful a Petitioner, as shee ever returns a prevailing Suieter. During her abode in the City, shee neither wearres the Street, nor wearies her selfe with her Coach: Her Chamber is her Tyring-room, where shee bethinks her how shee may play her part on the Worlds Theatre; that shee may gaine applause of her heavenly Spectators. Her constant reside is in the Country; where hospitality proclames her inbred affection to workes of piety.28

He undoubtedly prefers that the English gentlewoman be not fashionable, not vain, not over-given to social pursuits, but preferring country life.

27 Ibid.
Another courtesy writer, Waterhouse, is individual in that he expresses admirable sentiments and then contradicts them by a refuting admonition which gives the spirit expedient just then. For instance, he shows a natural, strong preference for city life and then praises simple country virtues which attitude he indicates is to be regarded as the correct one.

His [The Gentleman's Monitor] is most solicitous of the welfare of nobles and gentry whose residence is in the country and who constitute the major group of men of estate. He suggests that they "raise their Cattel, Bread, and other Viands from their own";²⁹ he thinks that they should have sufficient servants but no suckers, paying them free and complete salaries so they will not need to take "Fees from the Lord's Farms," or cut "large Thongs out of his hide";³⁰ they should provide for all moderate expenses but not necessitate "drens of their Estates by vices, or mortgages"; they should prepare their children for callings, furnish them with competent portions, and marry their daughters in good time. If the family should come to London, let it be to "furnish themselves and see Fashions"; but, after the fever has burned out at their purse-strings, they

³⁰: Ibid., p. 388.
should return soon to their country.\textsuperscript{31} He thinks, now that the nation is peopled more than before, and more courses of employment and entertainment, than before, are taken and enjoyed, the difference between city and country gentry ought to be dissolved: "The sumptuary Laws call for the mingling of gentry and plebs in Corporations."\textsuperscript{32}

Closely associated with the gentleman of the country estate is the idea of humanitarian kindness and social uplift. The ideal country squire feels a sympathy for his neighbors, his tenants, and his servants. Higford devoted one book to these three groups. Brathwait, Allestree, Mackenzie, and more especially Waterhouse speak of the kindness to servants and to the poor. Allestree thinks a gentleman should set an example of morality for his servants.\textsuperscript{33} It is all a part of the idea of goodness—the Senecan note added to the Stoic philosophy, which is suggested by Mr. Ustick.

Shadwell's concession to this movement is in the relationship between master and servant. In \textit{The Woman-Captain}, Sir Humphrey Scattergood is discharging faithful retainers

\textsuperscript{\textit{31}Ibid.}\textsuperscript{\textit{32}Ibid., p. 71.}\textsuperscript{\textit{33}[Allestree], \textit{op. cit.}, p. 118.}
to employ new, more fashionable ones; Richard, a retainer mistreated by the miser Gripe, is fed and later employed by the woman-captain herself.

His ideal picture of a country squire is that of Sir Edward Hartfort. At the preparations for the weddings tenants and country fellows came to be merry and have their Piper play and dance:

Sir Edw: You are kindly welcom, Neighbours; this is happiness, indeed, to see my Friends, and all my loving neighbours thus about me.
All: Heavens bless your good Worship.
Sir Edw: These honest men are the strength and sinews of our Country; such men as these are uncorrupted, and while they stand to us we fear no Papists, nor French invasion; this day we will be merry together.

Another note of humanitarian trend is the social reform of Welfond: "If I had that dispensing power, I wou'd mend all of the Highways in England; Repair the Old, and Erect New Bridges every where, and built churches Innumerable." He does not approve building hospitals for immortality, as some men do, who have cheated all their lifetime: "Besides I like not the charity of making half a score Knaves live Luxuriously, and the poor sho shou'd be reliev'd to live miserably under them."

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34 Act I, p. 19.
35 The Lancashire witches, op. cit. p. 135.
36 The Volunteers, op. cit., p. 174.
37 Ibid., p. 175.
This is Shadwell's certain acknowledgment of a new movement in the century, and perhaps, in keeping with his moral tone, a bit of his own philosophy. Brathwait's plea for the poor is an appeal to gentlemen to make serious survey of themselves, to see if they deserve honor:

Are you of esteem in the State? become powerful Petitioners of the poor man's sake; preferre his suits; entertain a compassionate respect of his wrongs; labour his relief; and doe this not for the eyes of men, but of God.38

It is surprising to note that Allestree, inclined to be vicious and God-fearing, should be most reasonable, even thrifty, in regard to the distribution of wealth. No "Taking all that thou hath and giving to the poor" for him. He does not believe "Rich men should be mere Conduit-pipes of Wealth"—

A cheerful enjoyment of so much of his Wealth, as may decently (I say not vainly) support him in that quality wherein he is placed: God does not make Rich men such mere Conduit-pipes of Wealth, that they must pass all, without retaining anything theirselves; but rather like the earth, which though she convey's the springs through her veins, yet is allowed to suck in so much, as may give her a competent refreshment; he that does this moderately, and with a thankful reflection on that liberal Providence, which gives him all things richly to enjoy, falsifies no part of his trust, nor abuses his stewardship, this being, as it were, the allotted fees of his Place, a Pension, allotted him by the bounty of his Lord.39

38 Brathwait, op. cit., p. 331.
39 [Allestree], op. cit., "Advantage of Wealth, p. 53."
He does have convictions about covetousness and demanding large dowries, or being miserly; for a gentleman—probably he means a godly man—should not suffer his desires "to range wildly into other men's, like Ahab's into Naboth's Vineyard." He considers, though, that the possession of wealth is a trust, and should be employed to inspire confidence to keep man from want.

The other part of contentment is that, by which the desires are terminated within the bounds of his own possessions, and not suffered to range wildly into other men's, like Ahab's into Naboth's Vineyard, using their wealth, as Anglers do their fish, to bait hooks for more, by making it an instrument of extorting from others.

Let them (rich men) look on themselves as mere receivers——. If they reflect on their riches as received, it renders them also a most unfit object of trust. When all this is considered, what is there in wealth that can invite the least confidence, since it appears so utterly unable to secure men in their most important interests, nay to do that which is most immediately and most colourably pretends to, the keeping them from want. 40

Late in the century, (1888), writes the one outspoken humanitarian about what to do with one's fortune. Fenton realizes that it will be an unpopular doctrine. The strength of the middle classes and the breaking down of the nobility as a strong unit were making humanitarian principles possible. Fenton writes:

It is an ill-natur'd sort of Doctrine to preach, and will not hold at Westminster, that

40 Ibid., pp. 55, 61, 65.
the Poor have a good Title to some of the rich
man's money: But it would be an unlucky Dis­
appointment hereafter, if in stead of asking
how many Lordships you left your Heir, How
many Daughters you married to great Fortunes,
—— God should demand, How many poor Widows
have you sav'd from starving? How many
Labourers you have set to work and paid honestly;
how many decay'd Families have you reliev'd.41

Thus the question of country life crops up during
the latter half of the century, but with nothing of the vigor
and sentimentality of the eighteenth century to come. The
subject divides itself into two questions. One is the boor­
ishness of so many country gentry and the need for refine­
ment and training among them. The drama and books of
courtesy refer to the smug crudity of young country gentle­
men; they are braggarts, self-opinionated and bold.

Country air and simplicity are always idealized and
are perfunctory here. The main point is that the country
is a refuge from the noises, evils, and bores of London.
Shadwell's men and women of wit and sense express this
desire; courtesy writers, such as Gailhard and Waterhous,
praise the country life for its retirement and the possibil­
ity for developing a good life.

The other question of paramount importance is the
humanitarian note appearing in a country squire's relation
to his neighbors, tenants and servants. Shadwell makes

some concession to the movement in the relation of master
and servant, in the hospitality requisite of an ideal man
of estate, and in the reference of social reforms, such as
bridges, roads, and hospitals for the general welfare. The
courtesy writers, Brathwait in the mid-century and Penton
in the late century, come out strongly for a life of service
to the poor and for the distribution of wealth. This move­
ment is one of the most vital in the century.

3. Religion

Though it may be conceded that religion and morality
were not Shadwell's major interests, or that from experience
he found them too controversial, he did consider their
place in the pattern of Restoration life. In two plays
divines of the church are fairly pertinent to the plot.
Criticism is most often directed toward middle class ex­
tremists, toward pretenders who use the religious cloak
for crafty business deals, or toward the Puritans who could
not resist large, profit-making enterprises.

The era of political and religious controversy on
the stage occurred about 1679-1685. The indecision of the
court in regard to the religions caused a break in two
camps, Shadwell violently condemning all but Protestant
principles. He suffered, however, from his character Smerk
in The Lancashire Witches and Tegue o'Divelly, The Irish Priest (1681). Shadwell's sense of sincerity was so keen that it was not enough to attack a foolish priest in Tegue; he must also lay himself open to censure by showing Smerk. Tegue o'Divelly is accused of being implicated in the Popish plot; he is also most immoral. That is the propaganda against the Catholics. Tegue candidly admits to Smerk, "...doth dou love promotions and dignities? den I prede now be a Catholic."42

Smerk, the representative of the Church of England, is caught teaching Sir Edward's son that the plot was Presbyterian rather than Popish.43 He presumes on his position before Sir Edward and insists on power from heaven as Sir Edward's chaplain. He dares to speak of love to the daughter of the house, Isabella, and to call her father an atheist. Shadwell's point is that, while the divine is a rascal, he uses the power of a great church to dictate and question the religious principles of upright, high principled Englishmen as Sir Edward unmistakably is.

Penton's example of an old learned divine is the direct antithesis. He had gone to the churchman to ask whether his second son should enter the church. After Penton himself had discoursed on Dissenters and Conventicles; after he had explained his attendance, with an open mind,

43Ibid., Act I, pp. 105-107, 113.
at a Dissenters meeting and his disapproval of their pro-
cedure and tenets, the churchman tells Penton that he "was
a better Church of England man than himself."\(^44\)

When Penton departs, the divine's last admonition is, "Command your Son to be true and just to the Outside
of Christian Religion, and leave the rest to God's grace
upon the Use of means."\(^45\)

In two other plays Shadwell slyly casts slurs upon
pseudo-Christians. Lump of A True Widow is a new humor,
characterized as "a Methodical Blockhead" and a Christian
by trade. He wishes his sister, Lady Cheatley, to join his
church Party and go to meetings instead of following London
wits; above all, he is interested in business. Another
pretender is Scrapeall in The Squire of Alsatia. He is
"a hypocritical, repeating, praying, psalm-singing, precise
fellow, pretending to great piety, a godly knave," who
joins with Cheatley and supplies young heirs with goods and
money.

In a later play, The Amorous Bigot (1890), Shadwell
revives the character Tegue, but the problem of Catholicism
had receded into the background after William's accession.
Shadwell's play is very licentious and revives the old theme

\(^{44}\)Penton, op. cit., pp. 32-36.
\(^{45}\)Ibid., p. 53.
of the immorality of the Catholic clergy. One more time, in *The Scourers*, Shadwell nips at church persons. These constitute his references to religion, except the satire on Puritans.

The town middle class remained in the majority faithful to the spirit of Puritanism. The theater shows us the Puritan in the most malevolent light and a few courtesy books do not spare him. With the character, Colonel Hackwell, Shadwell satirizes their covetousness and their costume in *The Volunteers, or The Stock-Jobbers*, his last play. Likewise, Osborn directs a slur at them when he observes that "wild Indians and other people by us stiled Barbarous, are yet more strangers to the unsociable sinnes of improbity, covetousness, etc., then such as pretend to advance their conversion." Since the Puritan was a general target at this period, these reflections have little weight. More reasonable is Osborn's philosophic remark, "Religions do not naturally differ so much in themselves as fiery and uncharitable men pretend."48

But there is a large group of religious writers in the century, who monopolize the subject in long, moralizing

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46 *The Scourers*, op. cit., pp. 93-95.
47 Discussed before under the heading, "Gaming."
48 Osborn, op. cit., p. 171.
treatises. The rationalism setting in among the educated had not yet conquered the middle and lower classes. While Osborn and Shadwell probably are among the rationalists, Quarles, Brathwait, Gailhard, and Allestree write for those who regarded the Plague, the Fire, and the Dutch in the Midway as manifestations of God's anger. Quarles advises: "God is Alpha and Omega in the great world; practice to make him thy last thought at the night and thy first thought in the morning." Allestree talks of "the special and particular ends of God's assignment" and the "tenderness and Indulgence of our Gracious Master." These men emphasize an ascetic morality, but their views seldom influenced those for whom Shadwell's dramas were an entertainment, though their influence was stronger than any other force among the middle and lower classes. Shadwell ignores this group of writers except in his satire of the simplicity of the reading.

It may safely be said, that in spite of the fact that Peacham's remarks exhibit an unobtrusive piety, that the author of A Gentleman's Calling shows almost morbid religiosity, and that Osborn's attitude is plainly one of indifferent cynicism, the advice of the century on the

49 Quarles, op. cit., p. 22.
50 [Allestree], op. cit., p. 152.
subject of religion falls into rather standard grooves. Furthermore, the writers do not seem to be divided into the pious, moralizing writers and the aristocratic believers in divine right. Brathwait and Clement Ellis were loyal to the kind and the Stuarts; yet were strict against frivolity and immorality.

It is a definite fact, though, that the humanism of the early half century was modified later in the century to one essentially insistent upon religion and gentlemen's Christian behavior toward his fellowmen. Virtue takes the place of superiority of birth as the great signal and symbol of gentry.
CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSION

The spirit of comedy is social; it encompasses the manners, thoughts, and feelings of the society which it portrays. Among those who attempted the comedy of manners, Thomas Shadwell may be conceded to be the most worthy representative through whose works to study society. Dryden never quite understood the comedy of manners genre; he did not catch the drawing-room spirit of wit and repartee. Etherege did understand the spirit, for he lived it; but he was too lethargic to write more than three plays. While Wycherley, another playwright, wrote excellent drama, his approach to the social life of the era was far too bitter. His judgment could not be taken as a fair appraisal of manners. He produced, besides, very few plays, though two are among the best comedies of the Restoration. The greatest dramatist of them all, Congreve, a master of wit, wrote far too late in the century, 1690-1700. He composed only four comedies furthermore, by which to judge. In comparison, Shadwell's dramas were earlier than Congreve's; they crossed the reigns of three kings; they had their inception at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the century (1667), and they encompassed many varied avenues of activity and thought in the social system of the period. The plays of
Stherege and Congreve excel Shadwell's in brightness and vivacity; but Shadwell's dramas include every variation of plot and characterization that his better gifted contemporaries employed. His plays, then, may be thought of as a composite of the social relations exhibited in all the comedy of manners of the period.

Too, Shadwell was popular in his own day, a fact which cannot be disregarded. It indicates, surely in part, that his audiences felt he was a closer student than any other dramatist; that he was giving them the most exact pictures of society — the foibles and idiosyncrasies, the realities and the contradictions among them.

As a second conclusion, it has been a purpose to prove that Shadwell was as much a student of the social life of his world as the writers of courtesy books. In a period marked by study and observance of fashions, he shows an unusual acumen in selecting fashions to satirize and as broad a range of subjects as the authors of books of manners. Each of his plays selects at least one social weakness as its center of attack, i.e., music and poetry in *The Sullen Lovers* and *A True Widow*, scientific endeavor in *The Virtuoso*, waste of estate in *The Woman-Captain*, education in *The Squire of Alsatia*, wit in *Bury-Fair*, marriage in *Epsom Wells*, and so on among the many foibles that attracted his satiric pen.
The courtesy books, under separate headings, usually treat each of these topics, though the individual writer varied his selection according to his interest.

The didactic element in Shadwell and in the books of courtesy is the most marked likeness. The didactic force in Shadwell began as a kind of "humor", which was a satirical notation of manners. With maturity, the "humor" treatment shifted to a natural observance and portrayal of life as it was — still, however, didactic. Certainly the precepts in the books of courtesy are stated more positively, in direct antithesis to Shadwell's negative treatment. Their precepts turn attention to the ideal for society rather than the actual state, as Shadwell's do.

It is well to repeat, before making a general summary, what the exact change in the concept of the "compleat English gentleman" during the seventeenth century was. Early in the century the Italian ideal of humanism and courtly grace, combining into a composite gentleman of finer clay than the rest of mankind, predominated in drama and the book of manners. Perfection was an end in itself to this gentleman.

But the diffusion of England's courtly life through so many remote country estates; the strong hold gained by Puritan ideals; new and more utilitarian views on education —
all these altered the Italian ideal. The old concept of a perfectly rounded character had disappeared. There grew up in the seventeenth century the ideal of a new gentleman. He was the result of the union of two qualities - virtue expressed by goodness of person rather than greatness of place - and a sense of responsibility to justify one's existence before God and man.

Though, in this dissertation, a full summary has been made at the end of each section, the points of agreement between Shadwell and the mentors of ideals will be briefly re-drawn here.

Shadwell and more definitely the courtesy writers are conscious of class distinctions. They speak of the advantage to the gentry of the privileges they have, and indicate that those privileges require a full development of their powers, talents, opportunities. In comparison with the privileged class, Allestree refers to the group whose lot "fastens them to the shop and the plough." A gentleman's talents, furthermore, constitute a definite responsibility for which each one is individually qualified. A privileged class imposes an obligation or an awareness of a definite calling.

The first responsibility that the young gentleman has is that of an education. All writers, Peacham early and Allestree later, state the peculiar advantages of the
right kind of education and the discipline accordant with it. Beyond an education suitable for leaders in the social group, the courtesy writers speak of the necessity of a vocation enjoined upon all; talents placed in a vocation will be of service, not harm. Shadwell agrees here, for his ideal young man is advised to begin to consider what he will make of his life.

Another writer, Fenton, considers a gentleman's wealth a reason for his responsibility. Since with wealth one can secure the choicest education, the greatest variety of books and the most learned companions, the possession of it increases the capacity for service.

These two groups of writers agree upon the necessity of travel and of companionship with men for the full development of one's powers. They are consistent in attacking the practice of duelling and foppish affectations that have become nuisances to men of wit and sense. They deplore the idleness of the age in gaming, play-going, drinking and securing — those habits of the idle rich from generation to generation. A few agree in their disillusionment in regard to religion and governmental favor. Deploiring the condition among some men of estate, both praise the real country gentry as the bulwark of the nation. Both believe that Englishmen should be vitally concerned in England's possessions, beauties of nature, institutions, and people.
Shadwell is not vitally concerned, as the books of courtesy are, over the tutors for young men, and it may be doubted that he agreed with the utilitarian ideal of an education. Though he does not demand the older humanism, he definitely favors its basic training in preference to the lack of breeding of the countryman's son, and to the foppish imitation of the French taken for education by the court and upper gentry. He does not score the humanists as Osborn does, but he believes with Fenton that the Universities and Inns of Court can be improved.

His attitude toward marriage, at least as portrayed in his plays, is distinctively that of the Restoration. Flirtation and indifference to the marriage tie, general in the period, apparently made little impression upon Shadwell. On the contrary, the courtesy writers devote many pages to the subject of fidelity, chastity, and forbearance in the marriage state. One writer, Brathwait, pens a separate treatise on the relationship between husband and wife. Another divides his book addressed to women into three sections - virgins, wives, and widows - with the advice ranging over vicissitudes of a woman's entire lifetime.

The matter of estate is another point upon which Shadwell is at variance with courtesy writers. While even the most religious of them accept the standard of the century in the arranging of marriage for dowry, Shadwell
takes issue with the custom by stressing the opposition of sons and daughters and allowing them to win out on the stage. The dramatist does not question the need of patrimony and the value that estate has; he does, however, consider that the point receives too much emphasis.

A final statement of the parallel between Shadwell's dramas and the books of courtesy must include two new tendencies which are only slightly present, but which nevertheless disclose the development in English thought. Noticeable during the last few years of Shadwell's playwriting and more generously revealed in all expression during the last two decades of the century, are the sentimental element in drama, earlier a characteristic of courtesy literature, and the humanitarian trend cropping up in both groups.

In Shadwell there are traceable a few sentimental touches which show he felt the changing spirit of the age. It appears in expressions of filial devotion; for example, young Belfond's assurance to his father that his precepts and example have been sacred to him, that he is the best of men, the best of fathers.

Belfond, Junior: I have as much honour for you, as I can have for humane Nature; and I love you ten thousand times above my life.

Bury-Fair is one of the earliest comedies in English to display genuinely sentimental tendencies. The German Lessing is said to have liked it for that reason. The daughter,
Philadelphia, disguised as a boy and absent from home, the romantic attitude of Lord Bellamy, the affection of the sisters, the re-union with the father Oldwit, are manifestations of the trend. The allusions to marriage as "a solemn vow", to the husband and wife's being "one flesh and their interests . . . one" are other illustrations in family relationships.

The faithful servant is another expression of sentiment. In *The Woman-Captain* a steward brings news that creditors have seized his master Sir Humphrey Scattergood's land. The faithful servant says he can scarcely tell it for weeping. This is in contrast with the rascally servant Ralph of *The Scourers*, who sold off his master's patronage to the highest bidder.

The reclaiming of young Belfond, who is a typical Restoration young gentleman, given to amours, drinking, and other escapades, into a model young man is an instance of Shadwell's conforming to demand in the resolution of forces in his play. The fact that Sir William and his friend, Wildfire, so easily change, for love of Eugenia and Clara, is another case in point.

In this slight acquiescence to the sentimental trend he varies from the courtesy writers, who, with the exception of the misogynist Osborn, were immersed in the emotional. Brathwait, Gellhard, and Allestree are the worst
offenders, but Clement Ellis and Nicholas Breton are close companions in religious fervor. The sentimental trend finds expression also in terms of family relationship, in godly zeal, and in a sensibility of the rights of others.

Throughout the last quarter of the seventeenth century there is abundant evidence of a new social spirit, motivating the quest for social justice. The question of the distribution of wealth was present in those times as well as in the present era. The courtesy book shows this humanitarian turn, but not Shadwell in such clear outspoken terms. He does express an inclination against the over-valuation of money; he insists that hospitality of the country gentleman is one of his greatest assets and a way of serving his country; and he believes in improving the government by social reforms. Among the courtesy writers, however, there is a most emphatic tendency to distribution of wealth and a humanitarian philosophy, from Brathwait in the mid-century and from Stephen Penton later (about the last quarter), in Shadwell's lifetime. These two qualities - sentiment or sensibility and the humanitarian trend - presage the ideal of the new century.

A further observation is that Shadwell's plays are full of digressions of a philosophic nature. The era is responsible for a philosophy, which, rather than religion,
is at the core of all comedy. The Restoration had removed many of the abuses of the Commonwealth, but it had not restored the expired spirit. It was not the natural continuance of a spontaneous way of life known in an England of the early seventeenth century. The knowledge of this falsity of feeling is reflected in the indifference of nobility, gentry, and king to convictions on any matter; it is recorded in the appearance of numberless books of guidance.

The idea of national solidarity - the desire for a stable government - was growing. It might be conceded, as Machiavelli shows, to be more important than traditional morality. This idea is the utilitarian one spreading through the century. It became a practical philosophy and often an unscrupulous one: that of worldly benefits in the state or an innocent bourgeois interest in social refinement.

Shadwell's philosophy personifies the Stoicism running through the century. His men of sense speak of being "good philosophers," of being Stoics; they pronounce that a man of sense is content because he must make the best of a bad market. A companion and intimate of men of wealth, Shadwell necessarily adopted for his own or felt at least a certain kinship with their sense of superiority, their stoic indifference, their realization of expediency as a motivating
force in the present-day chaos.

The advice books on the one hand offer certain spiritual admonitions; on the other, their purpose seems intended to keep away from men the most obvious causes of pain and discomfort. To get along the best one could in a disintegrated world was the hope of every writer of these books. There was nothing of the doctrine of living gloriously and magnanimously that was Castiglione's creed. The warfare over religion threatened the destruction of everything that had made the gentleman an amiable companion and a courteous enemy.

In neither group is there the intellectual vigor of a Bacon or a Hobbes. No one of the courtesy writers, or Shadwell for that matter, thinks very deeply into the philosophy of life except what experience and fact had shown him. His philosophy is not in recognized tradition, but in the careers of Englishmen of his own time, in ideas and incidents of the court life he has observed.

Osborn's significance is that his persistent probing of philosophical difficulties made it clear to his contemporaries that the worldly attitude might be dangerous. Though Osborn was not an atheist, his tendencies in that general direction of thought were clear enough to show what was
really behind those tendencies. A pessimistic evaluation
of mankind, such as his was, is thoroughly materialistic
in its conception, and such an evaluation would destroy
the spirit which was yet valued.

Shadwell's philosophy seems nearest to that of
Osborn and that of Hobbes, somewhat rational, yet never
quite so much so as that of the French continental wing;
Stoic, but not so pessimistic as that of Osborn. Like
Osborn, he recognizes the sentimentalist and the humanitarian
trends, but he scorns the weakness of the one and doubts the
efficacy of the other in changing mankind. On the whole,
Shadwell's philosophy, born of poverty and exile from the
stage, fed upon persecution from Dryden and tardy promises
from the King, is one of passive acceptance and opium-made
forgetfulness.

The result of dramatic portraiture and advice of
the books of manners was that, through observation and
refining of the critical sense, there came a fixing of
conventional values. Both Shadwell and the courtesy writers
were great defenders of sanity. Drama presented antitheses —
the spectacle of elegant debauchery, vulgar hypocrisy, con­
jugal misfortune in all its aspects, boorishness of country
squire, the ignorant new generation, covetousness alike of
the rich and the pious. The courtesy writers preached, ad­
monished, in some respect, threatened. The excellence of
both is, in fact, directly due to the honest fidelity with which they reflect the spirit of an intensely interesting phase of our social history.
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