MR. TURBULENT (1682): A CRITICAL EDITION

MR. TURBULENT (1682): A CRITICAL EDITION

Jorge Ramón Blanco Vacas

TESIS DOCTORAL

Directores: Dr. D. Manuel José Gómez Lara y Dra. Dª. María José Mora Sena.

Departamento de Filología Inglesa. Literatura Inglesa y Norteamericana.

Universidad de Sevilla.

Sevilla, 2015.

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my most sincere thanks to my supervisors, Dr. Manuel J. Gómez Lara and Dr. María José Mora Sena. Their teachings at the postgraduate course on Restoration drama and literary edition I attended back in 2004 literally changed my academic life for the better. Their expertise on many fields has added considerably to my research experience, and their advice, patience and understanding during our many proofreading sessions have been priceless to me. I would specially want to thank them for making the long process of preparing this dissertation as enjoyable as possible.

I cannot fail to mention Dr. Juan Antonio Prieto Pablos, to whom I am indebted not only for suggesting the topic of my M.A. dissertation, but also for the funding for a short research stay in the United Kingdom he kindly arranged as Head of the "Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas Ingleses" research group (PAIDI HUM-322) at the Universidad de Sevilla. I do also want to express my gratitude to Dr. Francisco Alonso Almeida from the Universidad de Las Palmas for his insightful seminar on the edition of Medieval and Renaissance texts. A great thank you goes as well to Dr. María Jesús Pérez Jaúregui for her excellent eye for deciphering manuscript annotations, Dr. Julia Fernández Cuesta for her invaluable help on historical English dialects, and Dr. José Miguel Jiménez Delgado, a long-time friend always happy to answer my outlandish questions on Greek etymologies or Roman verse.

Appreciation also goes out to the librarians and assistants at the British Library Rare Books Room, Cambridge University Library Rare Books Room, Oxford Bodleian Library Special Collections Room and the Biblioteca de Humanidades at the Universidad de Sevilla for their kind help and attention. I would also like to mention Ana Luisa Martín Bejarano for her help with all kinds of administrative paperwork.

A special warm and sincere thank to my parents and sister for being such great supporters and encouragers of my academic work. My grandmother, who sadly passed away a couple of weeks before my finishing the present dissertation, was likewise a great source of affection for me and I will always remember her dearly. Last but obviously not least, I would like to thank my wife for being by my side through the good times and bad in the rough road to finish this thesis. Undertaking a part-time PhD has proved to be a demanding enterprise and I would not have been able to complete it without her support and loving understanding. Our two children, in truth my greatest strength, were born while completion was still a faraway dream. This study is dedicated to them, in the hope that they will be able to appreciate it someday.

Abbreviations

anon.	anonymous
Arch.	archaic
b.	born
bap.	baptized
BBTI	*The British Book Trade Index*
BDA	Highfill's *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors*
BL	British Library
BLOU	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
Brit.	British
c.	century, centuries
ca.	*circa*, approximately
Colloq.	colloquial
CUL	Cambridge University Library
d.	deceased
DBH	Cannon's *A Dictionary of British History*
derog.	derogatively
EB	*Encylopaedia Britannica (Online Academic Edition)*
ed.	editor, edition
et al.	*et alii*, and others
f.	folio
fl.	flourished
Fr.	French
Gk.	Greek
Hist.	historical
l., ll.	line, lines
Lat.	Latin
LE	Weinreb's *The London Encyclopaedia*
LS	Van Lennep's *The London Stage*
n.	note
n.d.	no date
n.p.	no publisher
NT	New Testament
Obs.	obsolete
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
p.	page
poss.	possibly
prob.	probably
Q	quarto edition
rev.	revised
s.d.	stage direction
s.p.	speech prefix
supp.	supposedly
tr.	translated, translator
vol.	volume

1. Introduction

Scholarship on Restoration drama has enjoyed a fruitful period during the last forty years. Classical studies such as those penned by Hume (1976), Laura Brown (1981), Bevis (1988), Quinsey (1996), Canfield (1997) or the companions edited by Payne Fisk (2000) or Owen (2001a) have charted the territory of the large and diverse field of the Restoration stage. A number of critical editions of Restoration plays, especially of comedies, have also appeared. The major writers have been thus exhaustively edited: Dryden (Roper 1956-2002), Shadwell (Summers 1927; reissued in 1968), Otway (Ghosh 1968), Etherege (Cordner 1982), Crowne (McMullin 1984), Congreve (Rump 1985), Southerne (Jordan and Love 1988), Vanbrugh (Cordner 1988; B. Hammond 2004), Behn (Todd 1993-1997), Farqhuar (Myers 1995), Wycherley (Cordner 1996) and Sedley (Hanowell 2001). The New Mermaids and Regents Restoration Drama were the two editorial series that most extensively featured Restoration single plays in their collections. Other critical editions of individual plays which merit academic attention are Howard and Buckingham's *The Country Gentleman* (Hume and Scouten 1976), Polwhele's *The Frolicks* (Hume and Milhous 1977), D'Urfey's *Madam Fickle* and *A Fond Husband* (Vaughn 1976) and *The Richmond Heiress* (Biswanger 1987) and Joshua Barnes' *The Academie* (Swanson 2011). In recent years the Restoration Comedy Project at the Universidad de Sevilla has also singled out several works for edition: Shadwell's *The Virtuoso* (1997) and *Epsom Wells* (2000), Arrowsmith's *The Reformation* (2003), the anonymous *The Woman Turned Bully* (2007) and D'Urfey's *The Marriage-Hater Matched* (2014). Other publishing houses have issued thematic collections of plays such as Dent's *Female Playwrights of the Restoration* (Lyons and Morgan 1991) or *The Meridian Anthology of Restoration and*

Eighteenth-Century Plays by Women (Rogers 1994). Titles such as *Four Restoration Marriage Plays* (Cordner 1995), The Rover *and Other Plays* (Spencer 1996) and *Four Restoration Libertine Plays* (Payne Fisk 2005) can be found in Oxford World's Classics series. Norton also published a selection of fully annotated plays and essays together in McMillin's *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Comedy* (1997), including Wycherley's *The Country Wife*, Etherege's *The Man of Mode* and Congreve's *The Way of the World*.

However, some of these academic enterprises tend to focus either on plays from the 1670s, favouring the publication of sex comedies and comedies of manners, or on the sentimental comedies of the 1690s, so that comedies from the Exclusion Crisis period (1678-1683) have been somewhat neglected lately by scholars and editors alike.[1] Apart from the comedies by Behn, Dryden and Otway included in the aforementioned editions of their complete works, the University of Nebraska Press published Otway's *The Orphan* (Mackenzie 1976) and Crowne's *City Politiques* (Wilson 1967) —a play also included in *The Broadview Anthology of Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century Drama* (Canfield and Von Sneidern 2001)—in their Regents Restoration Drama Series. Garland Publishing selected four comedies from this period to be included in their catalogue of old-spelling critical editions during the late 1980s and early 1990s: Behn's *The City Heiress* (Hersey 1987), D'Urfey's *The Virtuous Wife* (Carpenter 1987) and Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* and *The Woman Captain* (Slagle 1991, 1993). Ravenscroft's *The London Cuckolds* can similarly be found in volume 2 of Jeffares' collection of Restoration comedies (1974). To sum up, there is still a sizeable number of comedies from the Exclusion Crisis period which have never been edited or lack a

[1] See Appendix A for a full list of comedies from this period.

critical edition relatively accessible to the general public.[2] One of them is *Mr. Turbulent; or, the Melancholllicks* (1681; 1682), the anonymous comedy which has been chosen to be edited in the present dissertation.

This work aims at filling part of these gaps by combining the scholarly detail and meticulousness to be expected in an academic critical edition with a study of some relevant motives raised by the play-text when confronted to its socio-historical context. The result turns out to be especially revealing, allowing the reader valuable insight into the mechanics of late Carolean drama and the way politics, society and the stage interrelated during those politically tumultuous years.

It has been often argued that the 1678-1683 crisis produced the names and even some of the ideology of what were to become the major parties dominating the political spectrum of the eighteenth century.[3] During the same years, the social situation brought about by the Exclusion Crisis affected theatrical activity up to the point that the diminishing attendance figures eventually put an end to playhouse competition with the creation of the United Company in 1682. However, the effect of the crisis on the theatres should not be overestimated. By the late 1670s, it became clear that the stage was going through a difficult period that made sex comedy and heroic drama, the burgeoning subgenres of the great period of Carolean drama (ca. 1668-1680), collapse. Most authors resorted then to topicality in order to survive the lean years, so that a

[2] As far as I know, the following comedies cannot be found save in their first editions: the three anonymous farces compiled in *The Muse of Newmarket* (1680; see n. 10 below), Maidwell's *The Loving Enemies* (1680), D'Urfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681) and *The Royalist* (1682), the anonymous *Rome's Follies* (1681) and *Mr. Turbulent* (1681; 1682), and Ravenscroft's *Dame Dobson* (1683; 1684).

[3] It must be borne in mind that at the time of the crisis these terms did not refer to political parties as such. Instead, they were the semantic result of a growing division in English society over the essential issues of legitimate authority and order. In Scott's words, we should think "of opposition and loyalist in this crisis less as parties than as polarities of belief" (628).

number of political comedies and tragedies found their way onto the stage between 1680 and 1683, especially after the defeat of the whigs at the 1681 Oxford parliament.

Probably produced in late November 1681, *Mr. Turbulent; or, the Melancholllicks*—reissued in 1685 as *The Factious Citizen; or, The Melancholy Visioner*—is one of these comedies. The play, published anonymously by Simon Neal in early 1682, certainly swam with the political tide of the tory reaction period (i.e., 1681-1683) in offering a merciless mock portrait of the opposition party while raising appealing issues about late seventeenth century culture and society which will be discussed in the present dissertation. Although it has never been the subject of a critical edition or a comprehensive study, it has nonetheless not remained completely unnoticed for some scholars, who agree to characterize the comedy as anti-whig. Nicoll briefly pictures it as a "vivid, if somewhat coarse, satire of the Whigs" (1921: 235). Whiting likewise argues that the author aligns himself with loyal dramatists characterizing the whigs as anti-monarchical nonconformists (42). Canfield places it in his own thematic analysis of plays based on "aggressive cuckolding of Cits by Town wits" (1997: 31), even though much of the space he allows to this work is devoted to present a summary of its plot (1997: 116-120). Owen mentions it several times as one of the plays of the tory reaction period that "aim to place the entire citizen class beyond the pale" (1996: 152), briefly discusses the use of the food motif in the play as a satire on citizens (1996: 183-185), and treats the dating of the play in her appendix (310), refuting the conclusions of Nicoll (1923: 205), Van Lennep (304) and Hume and Milhous (1974: 392).

My own study has been divided into three parts. Part I reviews the available data on the text and places the comedy in its socio-historic and dramatic contexts. Chapter 2

presents an overview of anonymity during the late Carolean period, to substantiate an attempt to elucidate what kind of authorial figure is present in *Mr. Turbulent* via an analysis of its textual absence together with some informed hypotheses about the person behind the text. In chapter 3 the most specifically theatrical aspects of the play are explored: its short-lived stage history and a discussion of its cast analyzing the suitability of the performers chosen for the principal roles. Finally, Chapter 4 will offer the reader a full bibliographical description of all extant copies of the work that I have been able to examine and a complete rationale of my editorial policy.

Part II can be considered the core of this work, a modern-spelling critical edition of the play-text in order to make it accessible to the contemporary reader. Significant issues raised by the play, especially when understood in its proper socio-cultural context, are then analyzed in Part III. Chapter 5 describes the situation of the stage in the 1678-1682 period through a thorough revision of plays, prologues and epilogues in order to gain a full understanding of the gradual process of politicization of the stage that took place during these years. It then reviews the political content of the city comedy boom years (1680-1683) in order to elucidate to what extent *Mr. Turbulent* can be considered a political comedy or just a harsh satire on the opposition party framed within a political background. Chapter 6 is based on a exploration of the play's setting, to elucidate how this comedy conforms a political conception on the urban spaces represented onstage. A study of London green spaces as employed on the Restoration stage is followed by a more detailed analysis of Moorfields, one of the key spaces where the action of the play develops. The other relevant stage setting, the Bethlem

Royal Hospital for the insane—Bedlam—, is explored in chapter 7 which also examines the madness motif as employed in *Mr. Turbulent*.[4]

[4] Draft versions of chapters 6 and 7 were presented as papers at the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies XXIII International Conference (Seville, 14-16 March 2012) and the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Postgraduate and Early Career Conference (Salamanca, 13-14 July 2012). The many participants at these two conferences I had the pleasure to talk to during or after the sessions provided insightful comments from which my work has greatly profited.

2. Authorship

2.1. *Anonymous drama in the late Carolean period.*

As North has observed, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, "the inclusion of an author's name on the title-page, if one was available, remained the option of the author or book producer rather than the rule" (63). However, anonymous publishing—broadly defined as putting one literary work in the market with no reference to the name of the writer on the title-page—was far from being a usual occurrence in the 1680s. Harbage (1989: 182-195) identifies 16 out of approximately 97 plays published between 1680 and 1690 as anonymous, that is, a rough 16%.[5] However, a careful analysis of these works reveals that anonymity functioned as a multifaceted signature, that is, plays were published anonymously for different reasons altogether during the 1680s.

A first group of works could be characterized as instances of closet drama, plays which were not intended for actual performance. From Straznicky's point of view, these may constitute acts of "direct political intervention" in the form of a likely vehicle for the discussion of state and social affairs: "writing a play for print alone enables an author rhetorically to take part in a banned public event without in fact leaving the security of private space" (2004: 77).[6] In these politically allusive dramatic works, the resort to anonymity offered authors a safe possibility of voicing their own interpretations of contemporary issues.[7] A second group of plays would be those which

[5] The proportion remained the same during the 1690s: Harbage catalogues 24 anonymous plays out of an approximate total of 151.

[6] Straznicky's analysis deals with Interregnum closet drama, but her reading is still valid when applied to Carolean plays, especially those published in the conflictive 1680s. Although the theatres were not closed down at this time, some plays were nonetheless still banned, often for political reasons. See Kinservik (39) for a comprehensive list of plays suppressed between 1660 and 1710.

[7] These political closet plays were all launched in 1690 by Richard Baldwin, one of the publishers behind the Exclusion Crisis whig propaganda campaign. The descriptiveness of their titles suggests that they

were customarily published without any notice of authorship, probably because the author's role was not deemed important for different reasons. In the case of adaptations of previous dramatic works, it was sometimes considered that the poet's role in having rewritten or modified the original text was no more than an ancillary one.[8] Similarly, the drolls and interludes produced either at one of the fairs comprising "old folk-tale and biblical themes, satirical pieces on contemporary events, and comic interludes with native or *commedia dell'arte* characters" (Rosenfeld 137) were often despised by contemporary writers as lesser dramatic shows where authors could never attain the excellence of writing for the patent company.[9] This may be the reason why they were usually published, if at all, anonymously.[10]

All evidence seems thus to suggest that anonymous publishing remained a marginal phenomenon in the last decades of the seventeenth century, even a particularly unusual one when the play in question had been performed by one of the patent companies. Although this decline of anonymity could just be seen as a side-effect of the

---

were inspired by the 1688 Revolution or some of the historical events closely following it (i.e., James II's defeat at the Battle of the Boyne and his subsequent flight to France): *The Abdicated Prince; or, the Adventures of Four Years, The Banished Duke; or, the Tragedy of Infortunatus, The Bloody Duke; or, the Adventures for a Crown, The Folly of Priest-Craft, The Late Revolution; or, the Happy Change, The Royal Flight; or, the Conquest of Ireland,* and *The Royal Voyage; or, the Irish Expedition*.

[8] These are the cases of *The Mistaken Beauty* (1684; 1685, adapted from Corneille's *Le Menteur* and Ruiz de Alarcón's *La verdad sospechosa*), *Valentinian* (1684, from Fletcher's eponymous play) and *The Rampant Alderman* (1685, from Marmion's *A Fine Companion*). Three drolls perfomed before the court at Newmarket in 1680 (see note 11 below; Harbage 1989: 186) may fit into this group, since they were adaptations of earlier Jacobean or Caroline plays.

[9] Especially notorious were the printed attacks on Elkanah Settle for his late connection with Bartholomew Fair due to financial difficulties. Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* alludes to this in disparaging terms: "in the latter part of his life he was *so reduced* as to attend a booth in Bartholomew Fair … *he also was obliged* to appear in *these wretched theatrical exhibitions*" (640-641; my italics). However, Frank Brown notes that other authors and comedians wrote texts for the fairs or regularly performed there for economic reasons, thus making the most of "the opportunities which the Fair offered to men of talent for making money" (36).

[10] Rosenfeld suggests that the players either employed hack writers for these pieces or even composed them themselves (149). The surviving printed plays in this category are: *The Merry Milkmaid of Islington*, *Love Lost in the Dark*, *The Politick Whore*—all three published together as *The Muse of New-Market* (1680)—and *The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth* (1680). Several more anonymous drolls are known to have been published, but are now lost: *The Irish Evidence* (1682), *The Prince's Ball* (1682), *St. George and the Dragon* (1686), *Vienna Besieged* (1686).

general regression experienced by the theatrical institution in the 1680s, it must ultimately be borne in mind that only 2 out of 55 new plays premiered at the London commercial playhouses between 1680 and 1690 came out in print without the author's name: *Mr. Turbulent* (1682) and *Romulus and Hersilia* (1682; 1683).[11]

However, the absence of the author's name on a play's title-page did not straightforwardly make a text anonymous for contemporary readers. Some plays were published anonymously in the first place but incorporated the playwright's name in a later edition.[12] Some writers chose instead to leave a trace of authorship by signing an epistle dedicatory within the printed play's prefatory material.[13] This is not, however, the case with *Mr. Turbulent*: not only were both quarto editions of the play-text published anonymously, but also without signed dedications which could cast some light on the identity of the author. Moreover, the surviving contemporary allusions to the work do not help to clarify the matter. In both Langbaine's *Momus Triumphans* and *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, the play is listed under the "unknown authors" section (1688: 30; 1691: 531).[14] Several possible reasons for *Mr. Turbulent*'s anonymous publication are considered below.

[11] Excluding adaptations, lost plays and those published outside the 1680-1690 period. Both *Fools Have Fortune* (1680) and *Love in and out of Fashion* (1689) could have also been considered here, but no edition of the play-texts has survived, only a manuscript prologue and epilogue from the former play transcribed by Hume and Milhous (1980: 313-316).

[12] This is the case of Aphra Behn's *The Rover* (1677). The first two issues of the play do not make reference to the author on their title-pages, it is only in the third issue where "written by Mrs. A. Behn" is added to the same (Russell 51). Kewes (5-6) notes that Behn's anonymous publication of two other plays—i.e., *The Debauchee* (1677) and *The Revenge* (1680)—was due to fear of copyright infringement.

[13] A good example is Elkanah Settle's *The New Athenian Comedy*, published anonymously in 1693 with an epistle dedicatory signed with the initials "E. S."

[14] See Kewes for a relevant discussion of Langbaine's assumptions about authorship.

2.2. *Anonymity in* Mr. Turbulent.

Since the play was produced in the aftermath of the Exclusion Crisis, one plausible answer to the mystery surrounding the authorship of *Mr. Turbulent*—if one accepts Hume's view that "publication definitely increased the danger of retaliation" (2005: 360)—would be to think that the author chose to publish this work anonymously in order to be able to express his political opinions without prejudice or fear.[15] Though a sensible idea, it must be however remembered that the person who wrote *Mr. Turbulent* was certainly swimming with the political tide in offering a merciless mock portrait of the whigs. When the comedy was produced and subsequently published, the whigs were no longer the popular and powerful political group that had orchestrated a full propaganda campaign from 1679 to 1681. As Harris puts it, "by late 1681, the tories were in a strong enough position to launch an attack on whig strongholds in the City and also on the nonconformists. An important prerequisite of this was regaining control of City government, with the installation of a tory mayor from 1681, and tory sheriffs from 1682" (1987: 132). The stage eventually reflected this political shift and therefore anti-whig oriented productions dominated the stage between 1681 and 1682.

A second possibility would be that *Mr. Turbulent* were an adaptation of an earlier play. As has been argued above, adapted theatrical productions were sometimes published anonymously because the name of the author-adapter was not considered relevant and claiming authorship might lay the playwright open to charges of

[15] Hume supports his idea by alluding to "the nonpublication of *The Country Gentleman* [performance cancelled in late February 1669] and *Sir Popular Wisdom* [1677] and the long delay in printing *The Princess of Cleve* [1680; 1689]" (2005: 360). Though not a dramatic work, Dryden's anonymous publishing of his own political poem *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681) is another good example.

plagiarism.[16] In this vein, Harbage hypothesized that *Mr. Turbulent* might be based on a pre-Civil War comedy by Richard Brome. From Harbage's point of view, Restoration dramatists customarily made surreptitious adaptations of earlier plays—especially those surviving in manuscripts owned by stationers, publishers and booksellers—often without mentioning the existence of the parent play. He adds a list of dramatic elements usually found in what he calls "Brome's formula" in order to discuss a number of comedies as adaptations of his works, as it is his claim that when Restoration dramatists "wrote comedy of humours, they praised Jonson but followed the manner of Brome" (1940: 304). In Harbage's own words:

> in Brome's comedy ladies pose as prostitutes. His heroines all touch pitch. The audience is treated to a display of chastity in jeopardy or under suspicion, and the language of the masquerading ladies is too-convincingly coarse. Add a usurious old guardian with designs upon his ward's inheritance; a shopkeeping husband and wife prone to adultery; an assortment of bankrupts, blades, foolish citizens and eccentrics; and a dialogue that is gruff, animated, colloquial, full of tags and of puns and similitudes upon sex—and you have the typical comedy of Richard Brome. (1940: 304-305)

It is to be conceded that the humours in *Mr. Turbulent* fit well into this classification: we have bankrupts and cheats (Furnish and Hangby), a couple of adulterous shopkeepers (Mr. and Mrs. Sly), a covetous old guardian and his niece (Mr. Turbulent and Lucia), some foolish citizens (Cringe and Priscilla) and an eccentric visionary (Suckthumb). However, Harbage does not seem entirely convinced that *Mr. Turbulent* may be a rewriting of a Brome manuscript and concludes that the play "is

[16] It was in the interest of publishers to disseminate "old plays under new names, as if newly writ, and never acted before" (Langbaine 1688: A4^{r}). In Kewes' opinion, the "production / publication of minimally altered plays forces the client … to pay a second time for goods purchased before," and, as a result, "the consumer does not obtain fair value for money and is taken advantage of not only by hack adapters, but also by the theatres that produce, and the booksellers who print, substantially derivative work" (4).

Bromean in plot materials and characters, and occasionally even in style; but if based on an older text, it has been extensively rewritten" (1940: 305 n. 3).

The author of *Mr. Turbulent* could have purposefully concealed himself behind an empty space functioning as a symbol of a missing name for fear of provoking negative reactions. This decision could be motivated by reasons concerning the social value of dramatic authorship. Mora suggests that "in a society presided by a court which idolized wit, writing inevitably became a fashionable pursuit: the public nature of the theatre, and its elitist character … made it especially attractive as a showcase for literary talent; many who aspired to enter this exclusive world were prompted to emulate the court wits" (2006). The author may well therefore have been a gentleman trying his hand at play-writing, an activity conceived to be the province of a literary elite (Dawson 240). In a similar vein, Foster argues that anonymous publication was sometimes considered a playful matter of artistic self-indulgence for persons of rank, which allowed them "to publish and to seek recognition for their work, while shielding their dignity, modesty, or privacy from trespass, and their name from being too closely associated with the product of a moment's leisure" (379).[17]

As will be argued below, all evidence seems to indicate that the comedy was not a commercial success in the playhouse. Neither was it in print, as the 1685 reissue of the same play-text under a different name—*The Factious Citizen*—suggests. If the author was a gentleman, a commercial failure like this would certainly bring public shame on him and his greatest treasures would certainly be in peril: his honour and reputation (Mora 2006). Dawson highlights the role played by the rhetoric of gentility in Restoration dramatic productions in the following terms:

[17] Tunstall similarly equates the social politics of seventeenth century anonymous publishing to those of twenty-first century anonymous charitable donations (675).

> Gentility was often at issue for those involved in the theatre as commercial enterprise, particularly for many of the writers. More accurately, we might say that social structuration was made an issue for those scripting comedy ... The projected or perceived status of a text's producer inflected its authority and, vice versa, the text could allow for the (re)appropriation of gentility. (239)

In other words, writing for the stage could be a gentleman's vehicle to social acceptance in elite circles, but it could also be potentially harmful for the author's own social image if the play did not take in production. A satirical text exposing the vices of the City, *Remarques on the Humours and Conversations of the Town* (1673), states that it was not uncommon for the commercial playwright to "support a miscarriage, not only through necessity, but also by the advantages of getting money" (108-109).[18] However, in a period when "the value, reception, and authority of any discourse ... were heavily conditioned by the represented status of its authors" (Dawson 240), gentlemen risked much more than commercial failure when writing for the stage; as the author of the *Remarques* puts it, "he that is unsuccessful in the attempt [of writing for the stage], falls down with the greater precipitancy among ordinary men; and not only loses his hopes, but his former standing, in the division of wits" (109-110). Besides, as the prologue to *Mr. Turbulent* seems to indicate, crying down plays was far from being an uncommon phenomenon:[19]

> You come not now sharp-set, pleased with each bit
> Of tragic sense and seasoned comic wit;
> But now you come with stomachs as if full,
> Taste nothing, but cry out: "the poet's dull,"
> Not much unlike to an ill-natured guest
> Who, having filled his belly, blames the feast.

[18] I am indebted to María José Mora for calling my attention to this work.
[19] This was actually a stock motif found in a great number of prologues and epilogues. See, for instance, the prologue to D'Urfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681): "When shall we see an audience in the pit, / Not sway'd by factions, that will silent sit, / And friends to th' poet, calmly judge his wit" (ll. 7-9).

When you'll scarce come to a noted poet's treat
Or, when you do, will hardly like the meat,
Our poet fears, cloyed with such various feasts,
He shan't find anything to please our guests. (ll. 22-31)

It may also have been the case that *Mr. Turbulent* had included a caricature of a public figure. Personation was a common device used in Restoration plays to make them more attractive by prompting in the audience a knowing sense of complicity. It seems that the regular playgoers enjoyed these in-jokes which made them feel like members of an informed cultural milieu. For instance, Pepys showed great delight in recognizing Sir Positive At-all and other characters in Shadwell's *The Sullen Lovers* (1668), as a parody of Sir Robert Howard and other well-known figures (IX 186). However, the use of personal lampoons onstage was not without risks since the persons satirized could in turn exercise their power or influence to take revenge on the author or players. Pepys records how Edward Kynaston was given a severe beating for acting his part in the Duke of Newcastle's *The Heiress* (1669; unpublished) "in abuse to Sir Charles Sedley" (IX 435). The première of Buckingham and Howard's *The Country Gentleman* had to be cancelled in late February 1669 for similar reasons: Sir William Coventry had taken offence for his being caricatured in the play and had challenged Buckingham to a duel (LS 157), later threatening that any actor in the King's company who dared to impersonate him would have his nose cut (IX 471-472). Actress Katharine Corey was likewise imprisoned for ridiculing Lady Elizabeth Harvey (née Montagu) in her part as Sempronia in a revival of Jonson's *Catiline* (1668; 1669). It seems that the lady used her familiar connection to the Lord Chamberlain to have the actress imprisoned and, although Harvey's rival Lady Castlemaine eventually persuaded the

king to release the actress, Lady Elizabeth hired men to hiss Mrs. Corey and throw oranges at her in subsequent performances of the play (LS clxxii).

It is feasible that *Mr. Turbulent* also included personal satire. In fact, the part of Lady Medler may be seen as a caricature of Lady Elizabeth Harvey. Married to Sir Daniel Harvey, the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire between 1669 and 1672 (Venn 322), she was actually a notorious Restoration schemer on her own who helped her brother Ralph Montagu, ambassador to France, in his support of James's exclusion (ODNB). A dispatch from French ambassador Barrillon to Louis XIV describes her as follows: "Mrs. Hervey ... is as deep as he [i.e., Ralph Montagu] in all the intrigues: she is a woman of a bold and enterprising spirit, and has interest and connections with a great number of people of the court and parliament" (Dalrymple 357). Henry Savile similarly alludes to her in a January 1678 letter to Rochester as "my Lady Hervey who always loves one civill plot more" and relates some of her intrigues to introduce a new mistress to the king that would make him forget Nell Gwyn and the Duchess of Portsmouth, who were actually opposed to Ralph Montagu in his advances to get himself appointed Secretary of State (Treglown 187). This may have been satirized in Act I in the play by Lady Medler's constant boastful allusions to "my lord my brother" and his political intrigues (see I.363-402). Furthermore, in the same act she confesses to Furnish that to keep her husband ignorant of their illicit sexual liaison she had told him that she had been at her cousin's, "the grocer's wife's labour" (I.365), an excuse that may include a jive a Lady Elizabeth's family connections: Sir Daniel Harvey, her deceased husband, had been the son of a grocer and merchant before being knighted by the king at the Restoration (Power 6-7). As she had already done in 1668, Lay Elizabeth could have been offended by the caricature and threaten the actors or even the author

him or herself with legal action, something that she could have easily achieved from Lord Chancellor Heneage Finch, who had himself been married to one of Daniel Harvey's sisters. That in itself could be sufficient reason to withhold the author's name from publication.

Finally, another reason that may explain the play's anonymous character is that it could have been published without the author's prior consent. As Foster argues, stationers were legally entitled to register and publish any single work they might come across, with or without the author's approval. This was a common publication technique legally enshrined in the 1662 Licensing Act, which in practice meant that "previously unregistered manuscript texts were often printed without the writer's knowledge, or even against the writer's wishes, though without attribution" (Foster 378). Moreover, the 1662 Licensing Act dropped the legal requirement of making reference to the author's name on any printed publication's title-page:[20]

> and be it further enacted and declared that every person and persons that shall hereafter print or cause to be printed any booke ballad chart pourtracture or any other thing or things whatsoever shall thereunto or thereon print and set his or theire owne name or names and alsoe shall declare the name of the author thereof if he be thereunto required by the licenser under whose approbation the licensing of the said booke ballad chart or pourtraiture shall be authorized. (Raithby)

The printed book's intellectual property became a cultural commodity legally belonging to the publishers, who did not have to declare the name of the author if they were not required to do so. The dominant cultural position of the printing press within the already complex system of socio-cultural negotiations in the book trade also helped publishers, printers and booksellers to control the market by allowing them to issue

[20] This requirement had previously been established by the 1637 Star Chamber Decree and was observed during the Interregnum (Griffin 887-888).

works with or without authorial attribution at will, a decision which was usually taken on the grounds of commercial interests. In these terms, the function of the author becomes a category which escapes narrow definition, so that it can be argued that authorship remained a liminal concept in the late seventeenth century. The modern conception of the author as the sole responsible generator of a text, legally ascribed to him or herself through the insertion of an authorial signature, must be, if not completely rejected, then certainly subjected to close scrutiny if an accurate picture of authorship in the late Restoration period is to be achieved. Foucault's "author-function" will be useful in this discussion.

According to the French philosopher, who addressed the question partially as a response to Roland Barthes's "The Death of the Author," it is improper to talk about the disappearance or death of the author. He would instead subsume the individual author's name, which is not just an element of speech but rather a functional concept helping to characterize the work as authorial, into a broader discursive category, the author-function. In his own words, "the author's name characterizes a particular manner of existence of discourse ... its status and its manner of reception are regulated by the culture in which it circulates" (1977: 123). The author, or rather his name, is considered "a variable that accompanies only certain texts to the exclusion of others," and its ultimate function would therefore be "to characterize the existence, circulation, and operation of certain discourses within a society" (1977: 124). Foucault subsequently summarizes his views on the author-function as follows:

> the "author function" is tied to the legal and institutional systems that circumscribe, determine, and articulate the realm of discourses; it does not operate in a uniform manner in all discourses, at all times, and in any given culture; it is not defined by the spontaneous attribution of a text to its

> creator, but through a series of precise and complex procedures; it does not refer, purely and simply, to an actual individual insofar as it simultaneously gives rise to a variety of egos and to a series of subjective positions that individuals of any class may come to occupy. (1977: 130-131)

When applied to the literary world of the Early Modern period, as North has convincingly done in her study of anonymity, the author-function is further broadened to the extent of characterizing literary works as collective cultural products:

> the agents responsible for presenting the early modern text to the reader, whether one imagines them outside the text or as a function of discourse, have never fit easily under a single originator's name, and it is advisable with this era's literature to broaden the concept of the "author-function" to include a publisher's function, a printer's function, a patron's function, and a compiler's function—even anonymity's function. As the author function does, these functions can and do serve to define sets of discourse and to establish the boundaries of "works." They provide interpretative frames that help the reader to identify and understand a text among the growing array of textual objects that surround it and to place the text artistically, politically, and culturally. (39-40)

North's study covers a long period—namely, the Tudor and early Stuart literary market-place—and her assertion, though challenging, is difficult to reconcile with the evolving kind of literary scenario present in the last decades of the seventeenth century.[21] In general terms, however, I accept her view that the author-function, or "the network of individuals involved in attribution," to use her own words (88), can ultimately be defined as a theoretical construct not restricted to the figure of the writer only. As has been mentioned above, the publisher could be sometimes considered the

[21] To what extent the patron's function could still be seen as operative in the late Restoration period remains a disputed position. Although players and patent companies legally functioned under the protection of a patron (Payne Fisk 1990: 32) and many printed plays included an epistle dedicatory to a person of rank, the publication of plays was certainly evolving towards a professionalized market dominated by publishers and booksellers.

driving force behind the dissemination of the text and his contribution was seen as an essential one.

As a result, not only writers, but also printers and publishers can be rightfully integrated into the author-function.[22] Publishing was not seen just as a mechanical trade but "as an imaginative activity, an activity with purpose and which expressed intent ... publishers made decisions about what should be disseminated publicly" (Wessel 6).[23] Printers should also be taken into consideration as yet another facet within the author-function; it was customary to make reference to their trade in title-pages, though their names were not always overtly alluded to.[24] Sometimes the printer was clearly identified by including his name or initials, and on other occasions—as in both quartos of *Mr. Turbulent*—the play was generally described as having been "printed for" the publisher or bookseller, the person ultimately responsible for selling the play.[25] Besides, the printer's work was conceived as a process not necessarily supervised by the author; for instance, Dryden comments in the epistle dedicatory to his *The Kind Keeper* (1678; 1680) that the play "was printed in my absence from the Town, this summer, much against my expectation, otherwise I had over-look'd the press, and been yet more careful ... but if it live to a second impression, I will faithfully perform what has been wanting in this" ($A4^r$).

All in all, it could be stated with Griffin that there was no "cause-and-effect relation between the ownership of literary property, or the lack of it, and the presence or

[22] Different considerations applied to commercial performances. Any new work legally belonged to the patent company which secured its licensing, and was subsequently incorporated to its repertoire.
[23] In this light, I cannot accept North's view that book producers were "nonauthorial agents" (14).
[24] The importance of printers as a self-defined group with distinct and unique functions within the book trade should not be underestimated. As early as 1661, eleven of the leading London printers presented a petition to the king for the excision of the printers from the Company of Stationers, in order to improve printing as an art with measures like "the registration of presses, the right of search, and the enforcement of sureties" (Plomer 1915: 167-169).
[25] For instance, Behn's *The False Count* (1681; 1682) was "printed by M. Flesher, for Jacob Tonson."

absence of the name of the author" (889). In fact, Simon Neal, the publisher of *Mr. Turbulent*, seems to have been particularly fond of publishing anonymous or quasi-anonymous plays. He reissued *The Amorous Old Woman* (1674), written "by a person of honour," ten years later as *The Fond Lady* (1684); he also launched *The Mistaken Beauty* (1684; 1685) and sold printed copies of *The Dutchess of Malfey* (1678) without further reference to their authors and even did the same in his publication of a travesty of Settle's tragedy *The Empress of Morocco* (1673) under the same title (1673; 1674).[26] In these terms, Simon Neal's anonymous publishing of *Mr. Turbulent*, a comedy which conveniently suited the politically tory atmosphere of the time, may be taken as part of his marketing strategy.

2.3. *Towards the possibility of authorial attribution*.

As I have shown above, anonymously published drama remained a marginal phenomenon in the late Carolean period. Although the very dynamics of the bourgeoning book trade scenario, dominated by publishers, still fostered and even legally sanctioned the possibility of anonymous publishing, it seems that the stage stood aside from this practice to a certain extent.[27] This does not mean, of course, that one can carelessly reject the powerful functionality of anonymity as one of the paratextual elements to be taken into account when reading a Restoration play. North has

[26] Langbaine attributes *The Amorous Old Woman* to Duffett (1691: 526). Plomer notes that Simon Neal "published several plays and romances as well as some historical works. He also dealt in cheap manuals of devotion and Church politics; but his output is of a secular character to an extent very unusual for the time" (1922: 214).

[27] Anonymity and attribution in Restoration poetry have already been treated by critics (see, for instance, Vieth or P. Hammond 2006: 49-72). Regarding drama, some scholars have addressed the topic, but either their studies tend to finish in 1642 (Howard Traister) or treat anonymity only in a tangential way (Hughes 1987). To the best of my knowledge, no comprehensive critical study of anonymity in Restoration drama has yet been published. The evidence gathered during the preparation of the present dissertation shows that the first years of the period were rife with anonymously published plays and the practice declined towards the end of the century.

demonstrated that a missing author's name was not necessarily seen by contemporary readers as a flaw in the text, as a 21st century reader—living in a world where anonymity has been almost been fully replaced by "authoriality"—may be tempted to think.[28] Hume, on his part, has noted that knowing the name of the playwright did not constitute a matter of vital interest for many occasional or even regular playgoers, for whom going to a play was just a careless diversion (1976: 29).[29]

Modern assumptions about the role of the author must thus be disputed when applied to a Restoration dramatic work. The published texts of plays produced in this period were always defined *a posteriori*, since they were "a record of what happened in past performances, not a suggestion of what might happen in the future" (Holland 99). The presence or absence of what we call "author" may not mean the same for us (who can only have a historically mediated experience of the text), for the performers (who had a limited access to the play-text, restricted most of the time to their parts only, always in manuscript form); for the spectators (who could only apprehend the texts by means of aural reception), and for contemporary readers of published plays (who could have a different perception, maybe connected to a recreation and reappraisal of the spirit of a very particular performance).

It is therefore far from my intention to offer a modern-oriented reading of *Mr. Turbulent* where the name of an autonomous author would be a necessary element to gain a full appreciation of the work. In doing that, I could be accused of favouring the ideas that "attribution is an improvement on early anonymity and that authorship still does determine the canon of literature worth reading, teaching, and performing," that

[28] My use of "authoriality" as a theoretical construct is an attempt at highlighting the unmarked, dominant position of the author in the (post)modern literary world.
[29] See also Straznicky (1997: 707-709) for a discussion on the (in)visibility of authors in the production of plays.

the author is "the gauge of the text's inherent quality," or that "anonymity is a corruption of the author's intended signature" (North 9-10). I would rather consider the comedy's anonymous character as one of the elements, not necessarily the central one, present in its extended text or paratextual zone as defined by Genette:

> more than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a threshold … a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that ... is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it. (Genette 1)[30]

Although the authorship of *Mr. Turbulent* remains a partially unresolved question, several circumstantial references and allusions found in the text can help to pinpoint some relevant assumptions about the person who penned the comedy. As Foster notes,

> in an unattributed publication, the "I" of the text is concealed from view, allowing language to circulate (in Foucault's account) freely, unobstructed by the illusion that published writing constitutes an act of communication from the author to the reader. But it is not that simple, for the writer's invisibility creates a vacuum that is inevitably filled, however imperfectly, by the reader's (re)construction of the voice-in the-text. (379-380)

In this light, several passing references observed in the play-text might suggest that the writer was originally from Yorkshire or had some personal connection with the place. Linguistic evidence points in this direction. The word "rapture" is often employed in the play-text to convey "a state of passion; a paroxysm, fit," a usage that the OED (n. 1.d) identifies as a Yorkshire regionalism, as the use of "elf" with the meaning of "fairy": "*aelf*" was in Old English "the general all-purpose term for a fairy;

[30] I agree with Bruster that Genette's now classical theory is "too wedded to a novelistic model of literary production to account for the complexities of collaboration" (38) involved in a theatrical performance.

after the Conquest, however, the French 'fairy' partially replaced it, though Chaucer and Shakespeare still used them interchangeably, and 'elf' seems to have faded out of rural usage in most of England (though not in Yorkshire)" (Simpson and Roud *elves*).[31] Furthermore, in I.509-510, Cringe is accused by Fairlove of stealing his lines from a "Yorkshire play called *The Enamouring Girdle*"; this play, licensed for printing on 30 May 1677, was written by a certain "John Smith of Snenton in York-Shire, Gent.," as its title-page indicates.[32] In his *Visitation of Yorkshire*, Dugdale presents Mr. Smith as an ageing man—"*aetatis* 53 *ann.* 29 Aug. 1665"—married to a "Catherine, daugh. of Christoph' Greene, citizen of London" (198).[33] The play's preface, dedicated "to the northern gentry," informs the reader that the comedy was not liked by the players and therefore never premiered:

> it hath not been presented publickly upon the stage …. one of the best comical poets in London (whose judgment is without exception) did approve of it, and seriously presented it to the players as worthy to be acted; but they were unwilling, because (as they said) it was not writ in so plain familiar words as the taking comedies of the time, which did hit the present humors of the City better than mine …. But the main objection (as I am told) was, that scene being laid at the City of York, I make some persons in the play speak higher language than may rationally be expected from Northern men and women. ($A3^{r-v}$)

Although John Smith from Sneaton is not likely to have been the writer behind *Mr. Turbulent*, the fact that an obscure Yorkshire play was certainly not unknown to him hints at the possibility of a personal connection with that English county.

---

[31] See I.175, III.34, IV.441-443, IV.475-479, IV.513 for "rapture" and IV.290 for "elf."

[32] This must be a printing mistake for Sneaton, North Yorkshire. Snenton or Sneinton was a locality in Nottinghamshire.

[33] Cibber mistakenly identifies the author as "born in York, bred at the University of Oxford, and was several years under Master of Magdalen School in Oxford" (1756: 243-244). Except for the birthplace, this description best matches the John Smith who wrote *Win Her and Take Her* (1690?; 1691): born in Gloucestershire, he was 17 years old in 1679 (Wood 601).

Cytherea; or, the Enamouring Girdle is not in fact the only unacted play mentioned in *Mr. Turbulent*: Cringe is once again accused of plagiarism, this time by Furnish, who identifies the play from which the fop poet has surreptitiously stolen his lines as *Love's Triumph*. This tragedy by "Edward Cooke, Esq." was printed in 1678 but remained unacted if the epistle dedicatory's depiction of the work as "an absolute stranger to the world, being never yet seen upon the publick theatre" is to be given credit ($A2^{v}$). The allusion to these two obscure plays seems to indicate that the unknown playwright who wrote *Mr. Turbulent* had a competent knowledge not only of the London stage, but also of the literary gossip surrounding it. A dialogue between two mad critics who pretend they are Aristotle and Scaliger in the play can further illustrate this point:

> MADMAN 4
> I say, Mr. Aristotle, that the poets of our age have nothing of wit in them and all their pieces are false drafts. Oh, the wise Sophocles, the wise Euripides, the oracles of their age!
>
> MADMAN 5
> I say the Bayes and the Ninnies of this age are far beyond them, and they know more than they did, and write better sense.
>
> MADMAN 4
> I say, Aristotle, thou liest. The ancient Aristophanes and the witty Menander were the only persons that understood comedy among the Greeks. Terence had some wit, but Shakespeare and Ben Jonson were mere oafs. (V.88-94)

The reference to "Bayes and Ninnies" was obviously inserted by someone familiar with contemporary drama: Poet Bayes is the conceited playwright who appeared in Buckingham's *The Rehearsal* (1671; 1672) as a caricature of Dryden, the Poet Laureate; in Shadwell's *The Sullen Lovers* (1668), a character called Ninny is likewise described as "a conceited poet, alwayes troubling men with impertinent

discourses of poetry, and the repetition of his own verses" (A4[r]). The mention of Shakespeare and Jonson further reinforces this literary allusion, since they were the authors belittled by Dryden in his "Defence of the Epilogue; or, an Essay on the Dramatique Poetry of the Last Age," a work which triggered a notorious literary controversy that resulted in the publication of several pamphlets and letters where the literati of the period positioned themselves for or against Dryden's assertions.[34] Furthermore, when Quibus talks about "dese Greek wits about dis town" (V.130), the allusion was probably to one of the pamphlets published in the middle of this controversy under the title of *A Description of the Academy of the Athenian Virtuosi* (1673). Whether the author's knowledge of London's theatrical world comes from his reading of printed plays, regular attendance at the playhouses as a member of the audience, or his having a more relevant part in the production and staging of plays is still open to debate. In any case, from the myriad of references to London places, institutions and customs found in the text, it is to be therefore assumed that if the author was not a Londoner himself, he was certainly fully familiar with the city.[35]

This discussion of *Mr. Turbulent*'s author—or its textual absence—has therefore raised a number of critical questions. In displaying some relevant assumptions about the person who wrote the play, I have followed North in viewing anonymity as "a woefully broad term that tells us more about what the modern reader misses and seeks than what a text actually lacks" (14). Since to do that is to grasp only one side of the multilayered

[34] In this essay, appended to the 1672 edition of the second part of *The Conquest of Granada*, Dryden defended the poets of his own age as superior to Jonson and Shakespeare, the national literary icons of the past.

[35] See for instance, allusions to Moorfields (*passim*), Bedlam (*passim*), the Chamber of London (I.118), Hyde Park (I.46), the Mall (I.46), Finsbury Fields (I.50), St. James's Park (I.58), Lombard Street (I.145), Wapping (I.300), Tyburn (III.228), Ludgate (III.253), the compters (IV.132), Sundial Alley (IV.144), or the Tower of London menagerie and the tombs at Westminster Abbey (V.4-5), among many others.

notion anonymity is, I have also tried to demonstrate that several other agents took part in the creation of the text as it was presented to the reader. To what extent Simon Neal, the play's publisher, was a crucial part in the aforementioned author-function has also been argued above. I think it is reasonable to talk about a composite author. The existence of an actual person who did write the play is to be expected, but whether this person had the publication of the play-text in mind is hard to determine. It seems that publishing the comedy was more a marketing manoeuvre on the part of the publisher than an authorial self-assertive statement on the part of the playwright, and the role of the printer in the publication process should not be underestimated altogether. If the comedy had remained unpublished, if it had not been given the sanction of the printing press and been thus incorporated into a burgeoning literary market, our conception of the same would probably be very different. The paradox here is that the play became authorial by means of publication, even though this was achieved without an author's name on its cover page. The element that sheds light on the author's real or reconstructed persona is an absence, an empty space that functions as a text. In North's words, "if the conventional space for an authorial name is left blank in a publication, that empty space assumes a kind of meaningful textuality" (23). That empty space, rather than becoming a blind spot, constitutes the textual element in *Mr. Turbulent* that allows the reader to reckon what kind of collaborative author was responsible for the play as it has come to us.

3. The stage history of *Mr. Turbulent.*

3.1. *Performances.*

Although the date of *Mr. Turbulent*'s première is not known, on the basis of a manuscript annotation found in Q1c (see chapter 4.1 below) and the play's advertising in *The True Protestant Mercury* (4-8 February 1682), both Nicoll (1923: 205) and Van Lennep (304) place it in early January 1682. Hume and Milhous consider this a very unlikely date, arguing that the manuscript annotation in Q1c is "presumably an acquisition date," and that "in type, the play belongs with such political productions as *Sir Barnaby Whigg* [1681] and *The Roundheads* [1681; 1682]"; they therefore point to an October 1681 première as "a reasonable guess" instead (1974: 392). Owen (1996: 310), who agrees that the play belongs to the tory reaction period, tentatively places it in late November 1681 on the basis of a possible reference to Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681) in the play-text (III.397).[36] In my opinion, a possible allusion to *Sir Barnaby Whigg* in V.139 would also help to pinpoint late November 1681 as a likely date.

The London Stage includes *The Factious Citizen*, the 1685 reissue of the same play under a new title, in a list of plays which "by virtue of composition, publication, or performance not more precisely dated" may pertain to the 1684-1685 season, although at the same time it is clearly stated that the "new edition bears no indication of a new revival" (332).[37] Hunter notes that "if a book sold badly, it might be reissued, with the pages as originally printed given a new title-page" (29). This may explain the 1685

[36] Owen also argues that "this would mean swift publication, a further illustration of the fast publication of Tory pieces" (1996: 310).
[37] Nicoll (1921: 234 n.) mentions that the play's 1685 reissue "has so far been overlooked. The second play alone is chronicled in [Baker's] *Biographia Dramatica*."

reissue (Q2), although as it will be shown in chapter 4.1, the textual differences are not restricted to the title-page only. Yet another reason for the 1685 reissue could be a marketing stratagem on the part of the publisher, who probably tried to make profit of the political situation.[38]

3.2. *The cast.*

Mr. Turbulent was a topical comedy tailored to exploit the anti-whig political momentum and starred by comic actors of great appeal. It must be borne in mind that Restoration players specialized in certain roles and the audience quickly associated a performer with the kind of characters he or she played.[39] The very existence of a theatrical persona connected to the figure of a performer was a convention well exploited by authors. In Holland's words, through their acquaintance with the actor's persona, the audience "anticipates, from the presence of an actor, certain structures of a dramatic event that can, at the dramatist's will, be fulfilled or frustrated" (77).

In this sense, *Mr. Turbulent* was given an especially strong cast. A quick look at the *dramatis personae* reveals that nearly all the great comedians in the Duke's company as well as the more popular actresses were employed in the production. This becomes evident from the prologue, the very beginning of the play. Restoration prologues and epilogues—pieces which "had come to be seen, by the players, as possessing enviable status, and were thus highly desirable parts to speak" (Bruster and

[38] It could be tentatively advanced that *The Factious Citizen* could have been published after James's accession to the throne.

[39] Restoration characters were not constructed around the idea of individual psychology, as modern ones are; on the contrary, a character "made a selection from the accidents of life to present the moral essence of a person" (J. Powell 32), so that they would be rather considered stock characters by modern day standards. Roach argues that "as their images and reputations began to circulate freely in the absence of their persons, actors and actresses became the first modern celebrities" (20).

Weimann19)—were customarily performed by comic actors or young actresses who appealed to the audience with youthful charm.[40] In *Mr. Turbulent* they were assigned to Mary Lee, a popular speaker of prologues and epilogues, and Cave Underhill, an actor who specialized in comic roles, especially in the eccentric and clumsy characters of low comedy (BDA).

The choice of Cave Underhill for the title role seems as appropriate. According to Cibber, he was a "natural comedian, his particular excellence was in characters, that may be called still-life ... the stiff, the heavy, and the stupid; to these he gave the exactest, and most expressive colours" (1740: 92). Furthermore, his physiognomy made him decidedly suitable for this kind of comic roles (see p. 41 below):

> a countenance of wood could not be more fixt than his, when the blockhead of a character required it: his face was full and long; from his crown to the end of his nose, was the shorter half of it, so that the disproportion of his lower features, when soberly compos'd, with an unwandering eye hanging over them, threw him into the most lumpish, moping mortal, that ever made beholders merry. (Cibber 1740: 92)

James Nokes was also given one of the comic roles in the play: Finical Cringe, a citizen poet who is fond of stealing others' verses and ends up betrothed to Mr. Turbulent's quaker daughter. Nokes had so much devoted himself to low comedy, acting fops and fools of all kinds (BDA), that the very word "nokes" came to mean a fool, simpleton or dullard (OED). Cibber describes him as "of the middle size, his voice clear, and audible; his natural countenance grave, and sober; but the moment he spoke,

[40] Danchin suggests that the development of the prologue/epilogue as a distinct genre is linked to the physical shape of the Restoration theatres: they could have been devised to "compensate for the more difficult communication existing on a stage further removed from the public than it used to be in Elizabethan and Jacobean days" (Danchin 1981: xxxvii). Bruster and Weimann similarly argue that that "the status of the prologue manifests certain parallels to the rise of the commercial playhouses themselves" (19).

the settled seriousness of his features was utterly discharged, and a dry, drolling, or laughing levity took such full possession of him, that I can only refer the idea of him to your imagination" (1740: 87). On his popularity as a comedian, Cibber notes that "he scarce ever made his first entrance in a play, but he was received with an involuntary applause, not of hands only ... but by a general laughter, which the very sight of him provok'd, and nature could not resist; the louder the laugh, the graver was his look upon it" (1740: 86).

Nokes regularly played opposite Anthony Leigh, another of the great comic actors in the Duke's Company (see p. 42 below). Actually, Cibber comments that many plays "liv'd only by the extraordinary performance of Nokes and Leigh …
when Nokes acted with [Leigh] in the same play, they return'd the ball so dexterously upon one another that every scene between them, seem'd but one continu'd rest of excellence" (Cibber 1740: 86-87). Although Leigh was best known for his comic types as pimps, lustful prelates and foolish old men (ODNB), his range as a comic actor seems to have been particularly wide. Cibber says of him that "he had great variety, in his manner, and was famous in very different characters" (1740: 87) and that "Leigh had many masterly variations ... particularly in the dotage, and follies of extreme old age" (1740: 89). In this light, he probably played the role of the melancholy visioner in *Mr. Turbulent* with confidence and "farcical vivacity" (Cibber 1740: 92).

With regard to the female characters in the play, Mary Lee and Elizabeth Currer, two actresses at the height of their popularity, were accordingly given roles that matched their theatrical personae. The role of Lucia, the young girl who has to overcome his fanatical uncle's opposition to marry Town gallant Fairlove, was naturally given to Mary Lee, who mainly specialized in young girls from 1670 until her

retirement from the stage in 1685 (Howe 186). Likewise, Elizabeth Currer, who "excelled as scheming, manipulative women" (Hughes 2004: 36) played a matchmaker with a very illustrative name: Lady Medler.

The rest of the cast was completed with hirelings from the Duke's Company. In any case, the listing of such popular comic figures like Underhill, Nokes and Leigh seems to suggest that the play could have been, if not successful, at least extremely funny. To this day it remains a mystery why such a comedy failed to have a longer run and was published anonymously not once, but twice.[41]

[41] Ravenscroft's *The London Cuckolds* (1681; 1682), a farcical comedy with a very similar cast, seems to have been performed at least four times between 1681 and 1682 (LS). Actually, the play enjoyed such a great popularity that it "became the stock comedy performed on lord mayor's day annually until 1752. There were twenty-five performances between 1685 and 1714, and eighty from 1714 to 1747" (ODNB *Ravenscroft, Edward*).

Fig. 1: Cave Underhill as Obadiah in *The Committee* (National Portrait Gallery)

Fig. 2: Anthony Leigh as Father Dominic in *The Spanish Fryar* (National Portrait Gallery)

4. The text.

4.1. *Bibliographical description.*

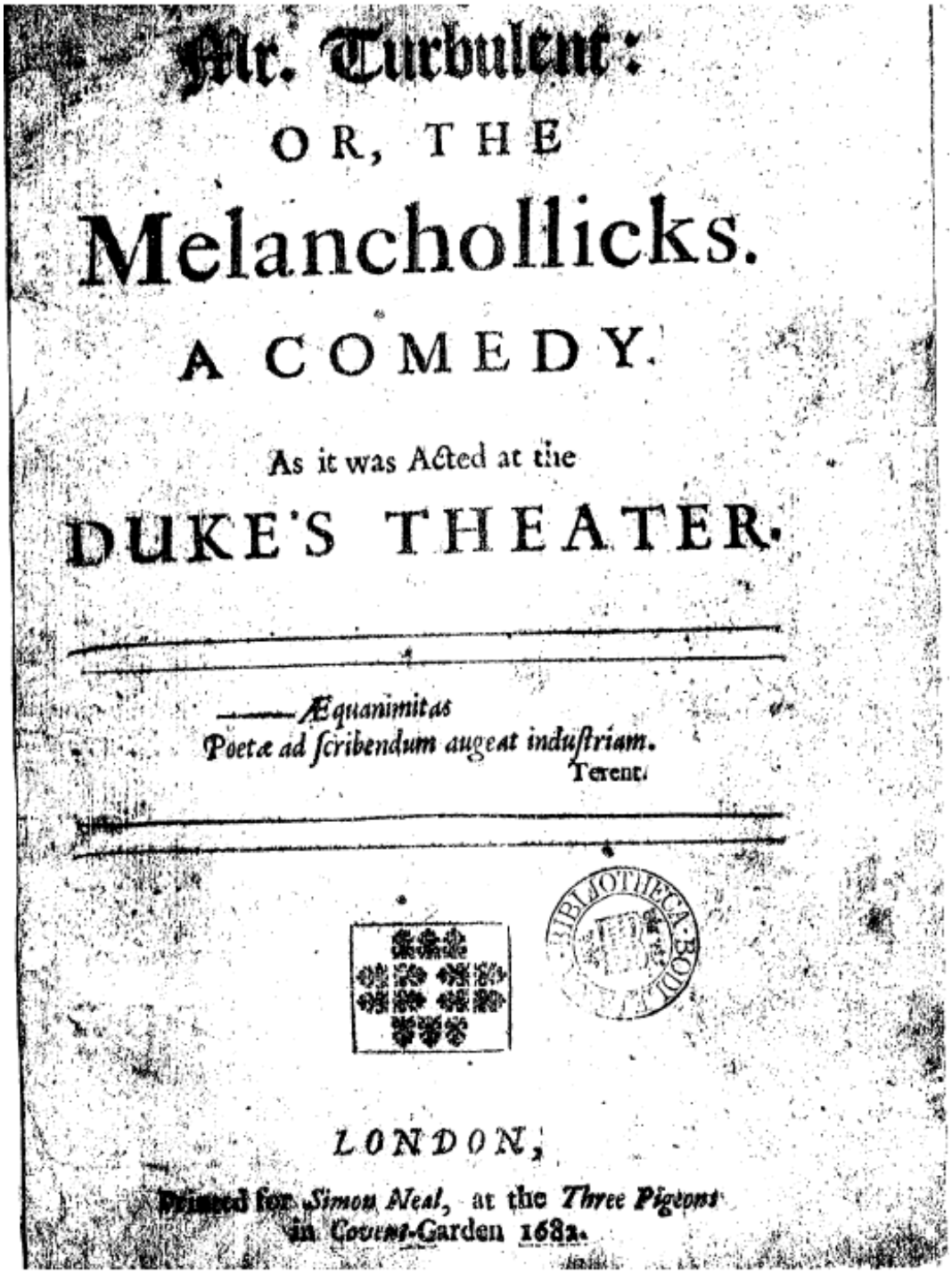
The English Short Title Catalogue at the British Library provides a list with the location of 22 extant copies for Q1 and Q2, both in the British Isles and overseas. This critical edition is based on a collation of the 9 original copies held in the University of Oxford's Bodleian Library, the British Library and the Cambridge University Library; Q1a and Q2a have been used as copy-texts. No modern editions of the play have ever been issued, although a semi-diplomatic edition of both prologue and epilogue can be found in Danchin's *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration* (1984: 318-321).

The play-text in the present edition offers a collated version of the two extant sources available: the 1682 quarto-sized volume originally published under the title of *Mr. Turbulent; or, the Melancholllicks* (Q1) and a 1685 reissue with a minimally altered title-leaf gathering and insignificant textual differences, *The Factious Citizen; or, the Melancholy Visioner* (Q2). In fact, not only the text of the play, but also other elements such as catchwords, pagination, etc are virtually identical in both editions. The only differences between them are found in quire A, especially in the ordering of its leaves: while Q1 places the *dramatis personae* before the prologue and the epilogue, Q2 reverses this order and prints both the prologue and the epilogue before the *dramatis personae*. Besides, some textual variants between both quarto editions can be found in the prologue and *dramatis personae*.

This chapter provides the reader with a full bibliographical description of all copies examined for this edition, including details about location, reference number, title-page, collation, signatures, pagination, contents, catchwords and manuscript annotations. The extremely irregular pagination of both quartos stands out as their most

striking bibliographical feature. Economic pressures on the part of the editor or printer to speed up the printing process may have been the reason. According to Hunter, skilled compositors could "'cast off' a manuscript text and estimate how many printed pages it would require; this could then be subdivided so that a certain number of entire sheets could be printed separately from others, not necessarily in the order in which they were to appear in the book, and not necessarily even in the same printing house." If this went wrong, it could result in "an error in the book's pagination, or in type being set abnormally tightly or abnormally loose to fit into the requisite number of pages" (27-28). One of the copies consulted, Q1b, seems to have been textually revised by someone in detail, since it has got a high number of manuscript annotations abounding in errata corrections.[42] The reference number assigned to the title by the library (see Q1b below) indicates that this task was probably carried out by Herbert Francis Brett-Smith, the Oxford don who owned the title and included it in the collection of Restoration plays he initiated for the Cambridge University Library in the 1920s.

[42] I was somewhat surprised that most of the corrections found in manuscript form coincided with my own editorial decisions, even though I examined this particular copy *after* the text for my edition had already been fixed.



Mr. Turbulent:

OR, THE

Melancholllicks.

A COMEDY.

As it was Acted at the

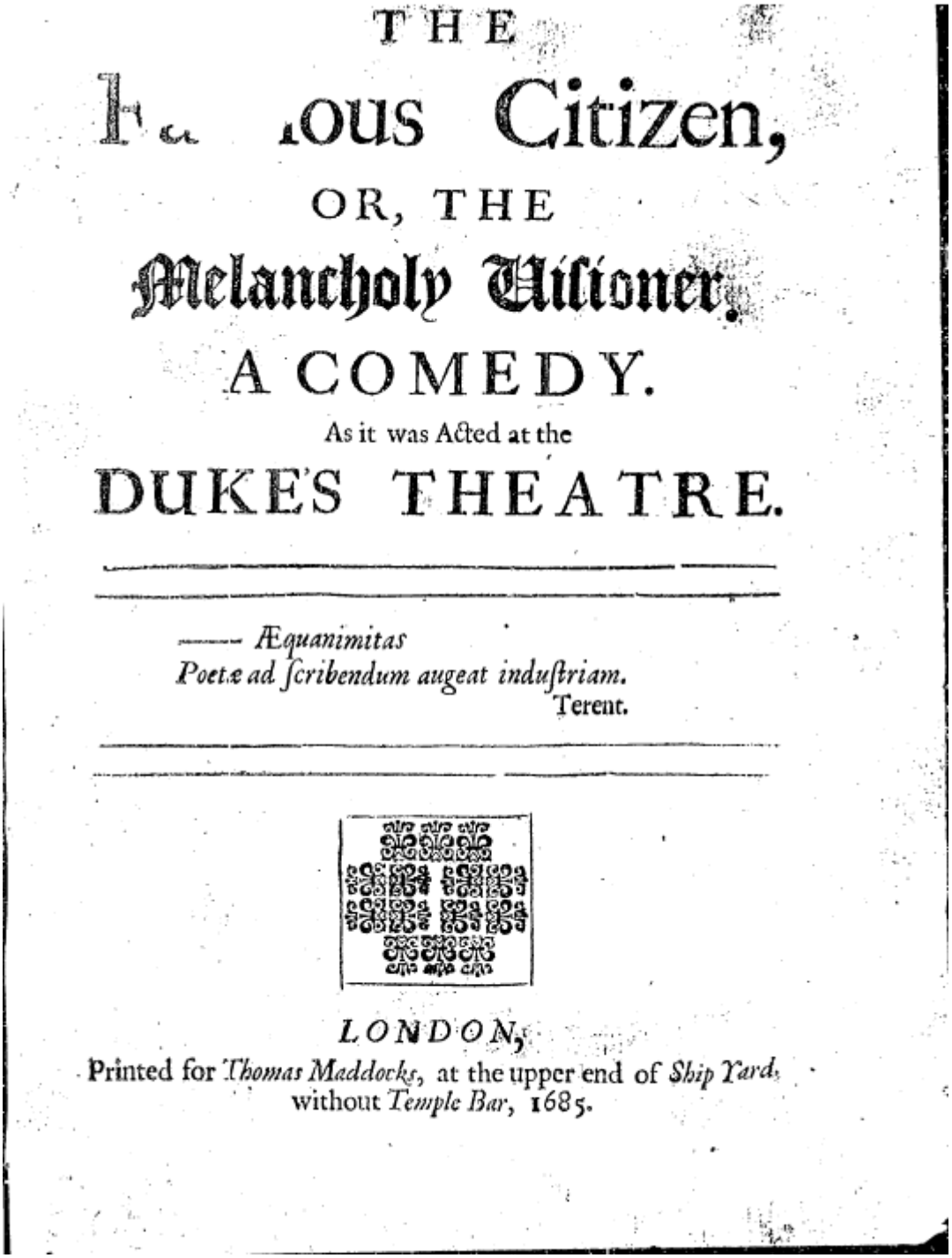
DUKE'S THEATER.

——Æquanimitas
Poetæ ad ſcribendum augeat induſtriam.
Terent.

LONDON,

Printed for Simon Neal, at the Three Pigeons in Covent-Garden 1682.

Fig. 3: Q1a title-page



THE

Famous Citizen,

OR, THE

Melancholy Viſtioner.

A COMEDY.

As it was Acted at the

DUKE'S THEATRE.

—— *Æquanimitas*
Poetæ ad ſcribendum augeat induſtriam.
Terent.

LONDON,
Printed for *Thomas Maddocks*, at the upper end of *Ship Yard*, without *Temple Bar*, 1685.

Fig. 4: Q2a title-page

1682 (Q1)

Q1a

Location: BLOU.

Catalogue number: Mal.116 (3).

Title-page: see figure 3 above (p. 45).

Collation: 4to: A-K^{4} L^{2} [B1 torn].

Signatures: $2(+AD3) signed. C1 misprinted as DC. Roman caps with Arabic numerals.

Pagination: 42 leaves, pp. irreg. [*8*] 1-83 [=75] [*1*]. Arabic numbers within square brackets centered at head of the page. P. 25 misnumbered as 17, 26 as 24, 27 as 21, 28 as 20, 29 as 21, 30 as 20, 31 as 17, 32 as 24, 33-41 as 41-49, 42-43 as 49-50, 44-45 as 52-53, 46-47 as 53-54, 48-62 as 56-70, 63 as 60, 64-75 as 72-83.

Contents: Title-page (A1; A1^{v} blank). Dramatis Personae (A2). The Prologue (A3). The Epilogue (A4). Text (B-L; L2^{v} blank).

Catchwords: A4^{v} THE [SCENE.] B4^{v} *Hang.* C1^{r} *Furn.* [*Farn.*] D3^{r} eat- [ing] F4^{v} Mrs. G4^{v} in H2^{v} *Luc.* I4^{v} *Kep.* [*Keep*.] K4^{v} day L1^{v} *A* [*Fair*.] [No catchword on E4^{v}].

Manuscript annotations: none.[43]

Q1b

Location: CUL.

Catalogue number: Brett-Smith.626.

Title-page: see Q1a.

Collation: see Q1a.

[43] I will omit annotations made by librarians or keepers, provided they only add information that can be found elsewhere (i.e., reference numbers, book rebindings, collations, etc).

Signatures: see Q1a.

Pagination: see Q1a.

Contents: see Q1a.

Catchwords: see Q1a.

Manuscript annotations: A1^{r} "8" (second line, after "THE"). B3^{v} "upon" crossed out; "from" supplied above (i.e., Fairlove's last speech in the page). B4^{v} <re> in "there" crossed out; "other" supplied above. C1^{r} "*Fur.*" speech prefix crossed out (i.e., "I tell thee Jack..."); <at> in "that" crossed out, <e> supplied above (i.e., "from the Lord to that clown..."). C1^{v} missing "*Fur.*", speech prefix supplied. C2^{v} <s> in "weighs" crossed out. E2^{r} <erce> in "fierce" crossed out, <re> supplied above. E3^{v} <a> substituting <r> in "rll." E4^{r} "*Pris.*" speech prefix crossed out (i.e., "I have soon made..."); first "where" in "where just where I began" crossed out; "*Crin.*" speech prefix crossed out (i.e., "But, Mrs. Priscilla…"). F2^{r} "*Hang.*" speech heading crossed out, "Sne." supplied. G3^{r} <T> substituting <*F*> in "*Fur.*" speech prefix (i.e., "I am amazed..."). G3^{v} crossed out <s> in "betters"; "*Furn.*" speech prefix crossed out (i.e., "This 50 *l.* was..."). I2^{v} <Mrs.> in "*Mrs. Tur.*" speech prefix crossed out.

Q1c

Location: BL

Catalogue number: 161.d.20.

Title-page: see Q1a.

Collation: see Q1a.

Signatures: $2(+AD3) signed. Roman caps with Arabic numerals.

Pagination: see Q1a.

Contents: see Q1a.

Catchwords: see Q1a.

Manuscript annotations: A1^{r} “anonym” (i.e., under “DUKE’S THEATER”); “/1 27. Jan:” (i.e., next to “1682”).

Q1d

Location: BL.

Catalogue number: 643.d.62.

Title-page: see Q1a.

Collation: 4to: A-K^{4} L2 [B1 torn; B2-B3 missing].

Signatures: see Q1c.

Pagination: see Q1a.

Contents: see Q1a.

Catchwords: see Q1a.

Manuscript annotations: F1^{r} drawing of a sitting crowned lion (right margin). I1^{v} “Robert Chair Rousing.” (left margin). I4^{v} “I'll pull down honour from the pale fac'd moon / And break ye wheels of ye all circling sun” (left margin).

1685 (Q2)

Q2a

Location: BL.

Catalogue number: 643.d.12.

Title-page: see figure 4 above (p. 46).

Collation: 4to: A-K^{4} L^{2} [A1, B2, L2 torn].

Signatures: $2(+D3) signed. Roman caps with Arabic numerals.

Pagination: see Q1.

Contents: Title-page (A1; A1^{v} blank). The Prologue (A2). The Epilogue (A3). Dramatis Personae (A4). Text (B-L; L2^{v} blank).

Catchwords: A4^{v} SCENE [SCENE.] B4^{v} *Hang.* C1^{r} *Furn.* [*Farn*] D3^{r} eat- [ing] F4^{v} Mrs. G4^{v} in H2. *Luc.* I4^{v} *Kep.* [*Keep*.] K4^{v} day L1v *A* [No catchword on E4^{v}].

Manuscript annotations: none.

Q2b

Location: BL.

Catalogue number: 161.c.12.

Title-page: see Q2a.

Collation: 4to: A-K^{4} L^{2} [L2 torn].

Signatures: $2(+D3) signed. C1 misprinted as DC. Roman caps with Arabic numerals.

Pagination: see Q1.

Contents: see Q2a.

Catchwords: see Q2a.

Manuscript annotations: A1^{r} "16th Century" (under "Terent.").

Q2c

Location: CUL.

Catalogue number: Brett-Smith.627.

Title-page: see Q2a.

Collation: 4to: A-K^4 L^2 [L2 torn].

Signatures: see Q2b.

Pagination: see Q1.

Contents: see Q2a.

Catchwords: see Q2a.

Manuscript annotations: A1^r “Henrietta Jermyn” (on both sides of “OR, THE”); “anonymous” (under "DUKE’S THEATRE); “Salsb:” (bottom left); “4” (bottom center); “A” (bottom right).[44]

Q2d

Location: BLOU.

Catalogue number: Mal. 121 (1).

Title-page: see Q2a.

Collation: 4to: A-K^4 L^2 [D2-D3 torn].

Signatures: $2(-D2) signed. Roman caps with Arabic numerals.

Pagination: see Q1.

Contents: see Q2a.

Catchwords: A4^v SCENE [SCENE.] B4^v *Hang.* C1^r *Furn.* [*Farn*] F4^v Mrs. G4^v in H2v. *Luc.* I4^v *Kep.* [*Keep*.] K4^v day [D3 torn; no catchword on E4^v; L1^v a hole where the catchword should be].

Manuscript annotations: A1^r “Anonym.” (over sigillum). B4^r “And” (flourished letters, right margin). G4^v “gaming women and wine / when they Laught they make men

[44] This copy may have belonged to Henrietta Jermyn (b. 1632), daughter of Thomas Jermyn (d. 1659) and sister to Henry Jermyn, the jacobite earl of Dover (b. 1636 – d. 1708).

pine";[45] "Winsers beans Sandwich beans / Whight Sugars Shall I sight and Complain" (left margin). H1[r] "three persons being Consern' in a / Reckoning of twenty Shillings one / proposed to pay one halfe the oth[er?] / one third and the other the Rema[in]" (right margin).[46]

Q2e

Location: BLOU.

Catalogue number: Holk.d.13 (4).

Title-page: see Q2a.

Collation: see Q2a.

Signatures: see Q2a.

Pagination: see Q1.

Contents: see Q2a.

Catchwords: see Q2a.

Manuscript annotations: none.

[45] See Tilley (G27).
[46] "Winsers beans": Windsor beans, the common broad bean (OED *Windsor* 1.a); "consern'": concerned; "remain": remainder. *Obs*. (OED n^1 1.c).

4.2. *Editorial procedure.*

The present critical edition aims at providing the 21st century reader with an up-to-date text in terms of readability while trying to adhere to the original piece as closely as possible. As a result, this edition is eminently a non-diplomatic one, and so all accidental elements that from a modern point of view may be considered stylistically inadequate have been modernised. In order to remain true to this editorial criterion which dictates all other interventions on the text, the grammar and vocabulary of the original have been preserved in all cases.[47]

Spelling has been modernised to present-day British usage according to the OED (e.g. "frollicks" has been replaced by "frolics"), although the original spelling option has always been retained when such modifications would imply a change of pronunciation or meaning. Editorial interventions not observing this rule have been conveniently recorded in footnotes: for instance, "Moorfield poet" has been replaced by "Moorfields poet" (I.226); similarly, "commonwealth-men" have been replaced by "commonwealth's-men" (I.244) for the sake of consistency. Contracted past participle endings (e.g. "call'd") have been accordingly regularised, but other contracted forms (e.g. "'twas," "'em," "e'er") have been left intact. When in doubt, the original reading has been allowed to stand. All figures and quantities expressed in Arabic numerals have been replaced by their corresponding number words and abbreviated monetary units accordingly expanded (i.e. "*l.*" has been replaced by "pound(s)").

[47] I rely on Greg's seminal distinction between accidentals and substantives: "we need to draw a distinction between the significant, or as I shall call them 'substantive,' readings of the text, those namely that affect the author's meaning or the essence of his expression, and others, such in general as spelling, punctuation, word-division, and the like, affecting mainly its formal presentation, which may be regarded as the accidents, or as I shall call them 'accidentals,' of the text" (21).

The case of Dr. Quibus' speech calls for special consideration. Since the character is required to speak with a faux French accent, the spelling of most words in his speeches is tailored to resemble a continental-like pronunciation. Sometimes this is achieved by adding an extra final <e> to a single word ("fore," i.e. four). In the same vein, vowels can also be given a significantly rounded value ("color," i.e. choler; "vards," i.e. words) or even be lengthened ("visioneer," i.e. visioner), or shortened ("se," i.e. see; "de," i.e. thee) at will. Moving to the phonemic realization of consonants, the spellings suggest that voiced labiodental fricatives were to be realized as bilabials ("debil," i.e. devil; "bery," i.e. very) and labial approximants, though spelled with <v>, were probably given a bilabial plosive value ("vil," i.e. will; "vine," i.e. wine). The spellings assigned to dental fricatives suggest that they were rendered as alveolar plosives ("de," i.e. the; "dere," i.e. there; "noting," i.e. nothing; "tird," i.e. third).

However, no clear spelling pattern emerges after a careful analysis of Dr. Quibus' speeches, so that it can be argued that the characterization of his accent as French-like is far from being a consistent or uniform one. There is a noteworthy degree of coexistence of alternative spellings for the same single word. To name just a few examples, "with" may appear as "vith," "vid" and "vit"; "world" can be found as "varld" or "vorld", "devil" as "debil" or "dible." At the same time, it is possible to find instances of a perfectly spelt English word which reappears later under a mock-French spelling, sometimes even within the same sentence or speech. Thus we can find a frequent concurrence of "the" and "de," "which" and "vich," to name just the most easily recurrent.

My editorial procedure in this particular case can be summarized as follows. The incoherencies found in the French doctor's speeches may be owing to different reasons:

compositional mistakes, an imperfect command of the French language on the part of the author or composer—or both—or even an unknowing attempt to mark the character's idiolect as an interlanguage in terms of acquisition—i.e., Quibus' mistakes could resemble those of the average second language learner, who tends to create a system of his own where certain rules and elements may have not yet been fully acquired. Therefore, I have not tried to offer an over-corrected, ultra-Frenchified version of his speeches, with the result that all variants and cases of alternative spellings described above have been allowed to stand. Nevertheless, this rule has not been applied when it has been possible to unify all variants into a single spelling that would not imply a significant change in pronunciation. For instance, the word "melancholy" has in all cases been rendered as "melancoly"—the closest option in pronunciation and spelling to the original French word, "*mélancolie*"—, even though in the text it may indistinctly appear as "melancoly," "melancolly," "melancholy," or "melancholy."

Punctuation has been significantly modernised. The original text included colons and semicolons used in ways which nowadays would be considered anomalous and a profusion of commas that may sometimes hamper comprehensibility for the modern reader. They have been rationalised and accommodated to modern usage by means of relocation, replacement, addition or elision. The following principles have also been silently applied:

- Interrogative question marks found in exclamative clauses have been replaced by exclamatory marks. Likewise, interrogative questions marks found in indirect interrogative clauses have been elided.
- Exclamatory and, occasionally, interrogative marks have been supplied when appropriate. When in doubt, original punctuation has been left to stand.

- Colons or dashes serving as periods or full stops have been replaced by the appropriate mark.
- Dashes indicating the interruption of a speech or a change of addressee are retained. In these cases, if the dash is preceded or followed by a mark of punctuation other than <?> or <!>, the mark in question has been omitted. Dashes suggesting a pause to be observed by the performer have been eliminated.

With regard to formal accidentals such as capitalisation, word-division, italicisation and other typographical features, I have tried in all cases to adhere to modern usage. Restoration conventions on capitalisation prescribed that almost all nouns could be capitalised, but the rule has long remained unobserved and thus only proper nouns have retained their capitalised status in the present text. Early modern typographical printing practices such as the <s> / <ſ> distinction have been silently normalised. All compositional slips or errata of any other kind have been corrected and recorded in footnotes.

The division of the original text into five acts, with no additional scene subdivisions, has been respected. The use of italics has been standardised to present-day theatrical conventions and is thus employed only in foreign words, work titles and stage directions, which have been expanded if contracted. A distinction has nonetheless been made between entries and exits, which are centred, and the rest of stage directions, which appear within round brackets and have been normally placed at the beginning of or incorporated into a suitable place within the character's speech if convenient. No attempt has been made to account for every movement on stage, but a number of stage directions have been nonetheless supplied within square brackets, usually involving

asides and some unnoted entrances and exits. Speech prefixes are capitalised and regularised in an unabbreviated form corresponding with the one supplied by the *dramatis personae* list, but variations (e.g. “Lucy” instead of “Lucia Wellbred”) have been allowed to stand within the text proper or in non-editorial stage directions. The only exception to this has been the indistinct use of “Drawer” or “Boy” in the stage directions of Act III to refer to the same character: since preserving it may have led the reader assume that they allude to different characters, the form “Drawer” has been adopted in all cases. Speaking characters not included in the *dramatis personae* list have been conveniently added to the same.

4.3. *Apparatus.*

All notes in the critical apparatus have been placed at the bottom of the page. Although it is common practice to place non-textual notes at the end of the book and textual ones as footnotes, I have put the reader’s convenience foremost and preferred to give all relevant information on the same page. Apart from textual notes, which record substantive variants found in both quarto editions, the commentary includes lexical and linguistic notes that provide explanations for archaisms, misprints, colloquialisms and non-standard expressions or phrasing. Cultural, historical and intertextual notes also supply the necessary information for a better understanding of the text as a cultural artefact from the Restoration period. I have made an attempt to identify all individuals mentioned, together with historical and literary allusions. Whenever possible, illustrative quotations from contemporary sources are offered, especially from dramatic works of the same period. For the sake of consistency I have tried to use first editions. The format chosen for the datation of plays refers to première and publication when

they did not take place in the same year, e.g. *The Roundheads* (1681; 1682); both *The London Stage* and Hume and Milhous (1974) have been conveniently checked for this purpose. Line numbers have been provided when quoting from prologues and epilogues, but references are generally made by act, scene and page (e.g. *Love for Love* II.i, p. 26). Quotations from the Bible are taken from the 1611 King James Authorised Version.

Most glosses, especially those not requiring a specialised source, have been taken from the OED. In any case, only words marked as archaic or obsolete by the OED have been included. In general, a word is glossed on its first appearance only, although subsequent references may appear for some recurrent matters and motifs. As for the contemporary primary sources used for quotations, original punctuation and spelling have been respected in all cases, while capitalisation has been modernised. For the reader's convenience, quotations from *Mr Turbulent* have been taken from the present edition.

Mr. Turbulent

A critical edition.

Mr. Turbulent; or, the Melancholics.
A comedy.
As it was acted at the Duke's Theatre.

—*Aequanimitas*
Poetae ad scribendum augeat industriam.

Terence.

London. Printed for Simon Neal, at the Three Pigeons in Covent Garden, 1682.

Mr. Turbulent ... **Melancholics** Q1; Q2: The Factious Citizen; or, The Melancholy Visioner.

Aequanimitas … **Terence** Q1-Q2: Terent. "See that your sense of fair play increases our playwright's dedication to the pen." *Adelphi (The Brothers)*, prologue, l. 24-25 (Terence 61).

Simon Neal … the Three Pigeons Simon Neal(e) (fl. 1664 – 1694), the London bookseller, publisher and member of the Stationers' Company who plied his trade in the bookshop known as "The Three Pigeons," in Bedford Street, just off Covent Garden (BBTI).

Covent Garden the area covered by present day Covent Garden was once the garden and burial ground attached to the convent of St. Peter at Westminster. Between 1629 and 1635, the architect Inigo Jones (1573 – 1652) designed a new public square surrounded by St. Paul's Church and three sides of tall terraced houses built above arcaded walks looking inwards onto an open courtyard. The square became one of the most fashionable residential addresses in London for a time, but the creation of a fruit, flower and vegetable market in 1656 accelerated the decline of its status among the upper classes (LE, ODNB *Inigo Jones*).

London … **1682** Q1; Q2: London, printed for Thomas Maddocks, at the upper end of Ship Yard, without Temple Bar, 1685.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

[MEN]

TIMOTHY TURBULENT, one that hates all sorts of government and governors and is always railing against the times; guardian to his niece Mrs. Wellbred.	*Represented by Mr.* [*Cave*] *Underhill.*
FURNISH, nephew to Mr. Turbulent; a swaggering, debauched person who has nothing, lives by his wits, yet furnishes others with money and goods.	*Mr.* [*Thomas*] *Jevon.*
HANGBY, a creature of Furnish's and a cheat.	*Mr.* [*Thomas*] *Gillow.*
GRIN SNEAK, a great projector and a fop.	*Mr.* [*Henry*] *Norris.*
FINICAL CRINGE, a balderdash poet and an apish citizen; makes love to Mrs. Wellbred.	*Mr.* [*James*] *Nokes.*
RABSHEKA SLY, a creature of Mr. Turbulent's and one of his private cabal; a private sinner and railer against the times.	*Mr.* [*John*] *Boman.*
ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB, another creature of Turbulent's; a melancholy visioner.	*Mr. Anthony Leigh.*

Dramatis Personae Q1; Q2 includes both the prologue and the epilogue before the cast of characters.
[Cave] Underhill actor (1634 – 1713) in the Duke's and United companies who specialized in comic roles, especially in the eccentric and clumsy characters of low comedy (BDA). See chapter 3.2.
[Thomas] Jevon actor (1652 – 1688) in the Duke's and United companies. He specialized in low comedy roles, especially in those involving singing or dancing (BDA).
Hangby a contemptuous term for a dependant or hanger-on (OED 1).
[Thomas] Gillow actor (d. 1687) in the Duke's and United companies (BDA).
[Henry] Norris actor (fl. *ca.* 1661 – 1687) of tertiary parts and lesser characters in the Duke's and United companies (BDA).
Finical Q1; Q2: Fiincal.
[James] Nokes actor and shareholder (*ca.* 1642 – 1696) in the Duke's Company for nearly thirty years, devoted himself to low comedy, acting fops and fools of all kinds (BDA). The word "nokes" during this time came to mean a fool, simpleton or dullard (OED n.). See chapter 3.2.
Rabsheka Rabshakeh was an officer sent by the Assyrian king Sennacherib (705 – 681 BC) to Ezekiah of Judah (727 – 698 BC) to demand tribute and tell the Jews that resistance was in vain (2 Kings 18:17).
[John] Boman singer and actor (*ca.* 1651? – 1739) in the Duke's company who developed a line in fops and roles of kindly friend (BDA).
Abednego the Babylonian name for Azariah, one of the Jewish exiles in Nebuchadnezzar's reign (605 – 562 BC) who were cast into the fiery furnace for refusing to worship a golden idol (Dan. 3). In Thomas Duffett's burlesque *The Mock-Tempest* (1674; 1675), Quakero is described as a "canting hypocritical Abednego" (I.i, p. 4). It seems that the name could be derisively used to identify characters that made constant use of biblical references in their speech.
a melancholy visioner Q1; not in Q2.
Anthony Leigh actor (d. 1692) in the Duke's and United companies, best known for his comic types and a popular speaker of prologues and epilogues, where he was also often alluded to (BDA). See chapter 3.2.

MR. FAIRLOVE, a gentleman of sense and understanding; in love with Mrs. Lucy.	*Mr.* [*Joseph*] *Williams.*
FRIENDLY, of his acquaintance; averse to marriage.	*Mr.* [*John*] *Wiltsher.*
DR. QUIBUS, a French doctor that gives physic to Turbulent.	*Mr.* [*Thomas*] *Percival.*
POLLUX, Turbulent's man.	*Mr. Richards.*
MADMEN	
DRAWER	
CONSTABLES	
FIDDLERS	
[KEEPER]	
[MAN OF THE HOUSE]	
[SERGEANTS]	
[MEN]	

WOMEN

MRS. TURBULENT.	*Mrs.* [*Henry?*] *Norris.*
LADY MEDLER, a very busy matchmaking lady, and pretender to get patents for Sneak.	*Mrs.* [*Elizabeth*] *Currer.*
LUCIA WELLBRED, niece to Mr. Turbulent; in love with Fairlove.	*Lady* [*Mary*] *Slingsby.*

[Joseph] Williams one of the leading actors (b. *ca*. 1663 – d. *ca*. 1707) in the Duke's Company by the early 1680s; he later became a sharer in the United Company (BDA).

[John] Wiltsher actor (d. *ca*. 1685) in the King's, Duke's and United companies; he was active during the 1670s and early 1680s (BDA).

[Thomas] Percival minor actor-manager (d. 1693) in the Duke's and United Company (BDA).

Pollux the twin brother of Castor and one of the Dioscuri, from Lat. *Pollux*, ultimately from Gk. *Πολυδεύκης* (Grimal).

Richards actor and housekeeper (*ca*. 1629 – *ca*. 1688) in the Duke's and United companies, active in London between *ca*. 1676 – 1684 (BDA).

fiddlers Restoration stage bands typically included four or more musicians. Although stage directions do normally only allude to fiddles, other instruments such as viols, lutes, theorboes and guitars were often used to accompany the final dances in comedies (C. Price 315-316).

Mrs. [Henry?] Norris actress (fl. 1660 – 1684) in the Duke's and United companies; she was one of the original eight actresses employed by William Davenant in 1660 (BDA).

and Q1; Q2: a.

[Elizabeth] Currer actress (fl. 1673 – 1743?) in the Duke's and United companies; she became a popular speaker of prologues and epilogues and a specialist in playing breeches parts and bawds (BDA). See chapter 3.2.

[Mary] Slingsby Mary Lee [*née* Aldridge] (d. 1694), actress in the Duke's and United Company. She specialized in romantic and tragic roles and breeches parts, and was a popular speaker of prologues and epilogues. She began performing under the name of "Lady Slingsby" after her marriage in 1680 to the baronet Sir Charles Slingsby (BDA). See chapter 3.2.

PRISCILLA, Turbulent's daughter; a quaker, yet desirous to be thought learned.	*Mrs.* [*Emily?*] *Price.*
MRS. SLY, wife to Rabsheka.	*Mrs.* [*Margaret*] *Osborn.*

MADWOMAN

[MAD MAID]

The scene: Moorfields.

---

quaker a member of the Religious Society of Friends, a religious movement founded by christian preacher George Fox (1624 – 1691) in 1648 – 1650, and distinguished by its emphasis on the direct relationship of the individual with the divine, and its rejection of sacraments, ordained ministry and set forms of worship (OED). The founder himself maintained that the name "quakers" was first applied to them by a local justice in Derby in 1650: "This was Justice Bennet of Darby, who was the first that called us Quakers because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord" (Fox 37-38). In fact, the name was already used derogatively to denote members of a sect who trembled or quaked with religious fervour (OED).
[Emily?] Price secondary actress (fl. 1676 – 1682) in the Duke's company (BDA).
[Margaret] Osborn secondary actress (d. 1694?) in the Duke's and United companies (BDA).
Moorfields a green space just off the City walls. See chapter 6.2.

THE PROLOGUE

Spoke by the Lady Slingsby.

How cruelly do poets rack their brains
For small applause and little or no gains,
Courting your sick and squeamish appetite
Still with fresh pleasure and a new delight.
They strive to please you, with no little pain,
And try to humour you in every strain:
From the high rant of thundering, rhyming verse,
To mimic bawdy droll and humble farce.
Lovers from every place, of every age,
Their tragic muse have brought upon the stage,
Whilst comic satire strove to represent
All sorts of fools to give you all content.
Poets have robbed the earth, heaven, air and seas
Of objects, trying every way to please:
With songs, with dances and with painted scenes,
With drums, with trumpets and with fine machines.
They've shown you angels, spirits, devils too,
Hoping to find some way to pleasure you
With something that was very rare and new.
All this for you have drudging poets done,
Losing the dear-bought fame they once had won.
You come not now sharp-set, pleased with each bit
Of tragic sense and seasoned comic wit;
But now you come with stomachs as if full,
Taste nothing, but cry out: "the poet's dull,"
Not much unlike to an ill-natured guest
Who, having filled his belly, blames the feast.

---

7. **high rant … rhyming verse** an allusion to the heroic drama which had been in vogue during the 1660s and 1670s. Written in rhymed couplets, it typically displayed bombastic language, spectacular action, exotic settings and a lavish use of scenery. Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada* (1670; 1672) and *Aureng-Zebe* (1675; 1676) are often cited as the leading exponents of the genre.

8. **droll** short for "drollery," a comic play or entertainment (OED 2.a). Drolls originated in London during the Interregnum when the actors adapted farces or comic scenes from existing plays and produced them at taverns or fairs.

15. **painted scenes** although the use of movable and changeable scenery can be found in private performances as early as 1574, William Davenant (1606 – 1668) was the first theatre manager to apply it to the public stage in his new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields (LS xxxv, lxxxiv).

15-16. **with songs … fine machines** plays which relied on spectacular technical resources to gain the audience's favour were often despised in Restoration prologues and epilogues. See the epilogue to Crowne's first part of *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (1677): "But he at shew and great machines might aim, / Fine chairs to carry poetry when lame, / On ropes instead of raptures to relye, / When the sense creeps, to make the actors flye. / These tricks upon our stage will never hit" (ll. 25-29).

19. **rare and new** Q1; Q2: rare or new.

24-27. **But now … the feast** overeating is used as a metaphor to accuse the audience of lacking critical understanding (Owen 1996: 184). A similar case can be found in Dryden's prologue to Tate's *The Loyal General* (1679; 1680), ll. 21-29.

When you'll scarce come to a noted poet's treat
Or, when you do, will hardly like the meat,
Our poet fears, cloyed with such various feasts,
He shan't find anything to please our guests;
That nothing with palled appetites will down,
Unless he brings some fruit you have not known.
Poets have been so lavish and so kind
New characters are very hard to find,
And all the fools court, city, country yield
Already have been mustered in this field.
But he at last did on some madmen light,
With whom he'll entertain you here tonight,
Hoping that his fanatic melancholics
Will make you laugh at their unusual frolics.
Whate'er the title in the bill may say,
He thinks 'twill prove no melancholic play.

28. **scarce** scarcely ever, rarely. *Obs*. (OED adv. 3).
28-29. **when you'll … the meat** these lines may allude to a September 1681 performance of Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches*, which an "inconsiderable party of hissers" in the audience tried to ruin (LS 301).
30. **poet** Q1; Q2: poets.
36. **yield** produce, give birth to. *Arch*. (OED v. 8.a).
37. **mustered** displayed, exhibited. *Obs*. (OED v.[1] 1.a).
42. **the title in the bill** posted bills displayed in the outside of the playhouses or other strategic points throughout London were used in the Restoration period to advertise plays. They customarily made reference to the date of performance, the theatre, the title and whether it was a new play or a revival (LS lxxv-lxxvii). Hume notes that "apparently no play was advertised by author until the very end of the century (1976: 29). In a letter to Mrs. Steward from early 1699, Dryden himself remarks: "this day was playd a revivtt comedy of Mr. Congreve's calld the Double Dealer, which was never very takeing; in the play bill was printed,—written by Mr. Congreve; with severall expressions omitted ... but the printing an authours name, in a play bill, is a new manner of proceeding, at least in England" (Ward 112-113).

ACT I

The scene: Moorfields.

Enter Pollux alone, telling some brass farthings out of one hand into the other.

POLLUX
One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight. With these eight farthings must I purchase six several sorts of commodities? Very good, what a pretty office I have! 'Tis the chief of my work to trot about these errands all day long for a covetous, stingy, griping old devil: my master, who feeds me with leek porridge and cow-heels whilst he fills his own guts with crammed chickens, turkey eggs and white broths, till he lays it up again. Od's nigs, I have lost one of my brass guineas (*kneels as to look his farthing*).

Enter Mr. Fairlove.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Why, how now, Pol? What art thou poking for i'the dirt?

POLLUX
Oh, Mr. Fairlove, I am undone. I have lost the eighth part of my purchase money I was going to lay out for my mistress.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Come, give it o'er, here. I'll make it up for thee. What hast lost?

POLLUX
Nay, not much, but a farthing. It is but eating our cow-heel without mustard today.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Here, Pol, here's a shilling for thee.

POLLUX
Thank you, sir. If I could but lose money thus every day and gain by the loss, I should grow rich, like those who lose a hundred pound by a fire, procure a charitable brief with one more, and get six hundred pounds by it.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Well, Pol, I see you know the world, but prithee let Mrs. Lucy know that I am in this walk

---

s.d. **brass farthings** prob. the copper farthings issued in 1672 by royal proclamation (EB *coin*). See Appendix D.
2. **the chief** the best part. *Arch*. (OED n. 9).
5. **white broths** broths of a white or light colour. *Obs*. (OED *white* adj. S1. e). **lays it up** vomits. *Obs*. (OED *to lay up* 1 in *lay* v.[1]). **Od's nigs** a mild expletive, "od" being a euphemistic alteration of "God." *Obs*. (OED *od* int. C3).
6. **brass guineas** Pollux humorously alludes to his modest farthings as "guineas." See Appendix D.
7. **how now** elliptical for "How is it now." *Arch*. (OED *how* adv. 4.b).
12. **shilling** see Appendix D.
14. **charitable brief** a warrant issued by the sovereign as head of the church, licensing a collection in the churches for a specified object of charity (OED *brief* n.[1] 3). An advertisement published in *The London Gazette*'s issue of 30 November 1682 by the justices of the peace of Middlesex gives instructions to "all persons that have a charity in their hands, either private or publick, intended for the sufferers by the late fire at Wapping" so that they could legally collect their money; the text here seems to make clear that defrauding practices were not uncommon.
16. **prithee** I pray thee. *Arch*. (OED). **Mrs. Lucy** in Early Modern English the title "Mrs." could be applied to any adult woman who merited the social distinction, with no marital connotation; while "miss" was reserved for

and would willingly kiss her hand. You know, Pollux, I dare not be seen in Mr. Turbulent's house, and Mrs. Lucy has desired me to forbear coming thither herself.

POLLUX
I know it, sir, very well. I shall give her notice of your being here instantly, but she is so busy I believe she cannot steal forth at this time.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Why, Pol? What's the matter?

POLLUX
Oh, sir, my master has taken physic today. A kind of grumbling came over his maw, which I doubt was a surfeit got by eating of rashers of bacon and poached eggs th'other day with his nephew Furnish. But Dr. Quibus—the gibberish, sputtering French doctor—tells him it is melancholy and that he must purge it away.

MR. FAIRLOVE
And what is all this to Mrs. Lucy? Methinks now he is tied to his close-stool, she may the better leave the house.

POLLUX
I tell you, sir, the whole family is employed, and all too little, to wait on him. He is turbulent to purpose, for a little yellowish powder the doctor gave him, which he called "enemetic," has so clawed him off that there is the devil and all to do with him. I shall be hanged for staying.

MR. FAIRLOVE
But, however, I don't see but that Mrs. Lucy may get forth for all this.

POLLUX
Nay, you won't hear me. My mistress holds his head whilst he discharges, my young mistress Priscilla holds the basin to catch the stream forsooth, and your fair Mistress Lucy warms the napkins to rub the sweat off from his countenance.

MR. FAIRLOVE
A good employment. Well, Pol, however, do you but whisper her that I am here, and leave the rest to her tender discretion.

POLLUX
Sir, your servant. I will not fail to tread on her toe and lay my lips to her ear immediately.

Exit.
Enter Friendly.

---

young girls (OED 1.b)
18. **thither** to or towards that place (OED adv. 1.a).
22-23. **I doubt** I am afraid. *Arch.* (OED v. 5.b).
26. **methinks** it seems to me. *Arch.* (OED a). **close-stool** a portable toilet in the form of a box or a chest whose hinged lid covered an oval hole in a padded or wooden seat above a chamber pot (Boyce).
29. **enemetic** an emetic.
30. **has so clawed him off** has left him in a such a shattered state (see OED *claw* v. 8). **the devil and all to do** much ado, a world of trouble or turmoil (OED *devil* n. 22.g).
34. **forsooth** in truth, truly. *Obs.* (OED 1.a).
36. **however** in any case. *Obs.* (OED 2).

FRIENDLY
Frank Fairlove! What the devil do you do here? Is it to snuff the air of Bunfields? Or have you a City intrigue, to meet some shopkeeper's wife?

MR. FAIRLOVE
I may as well ask you what you do here. You belong to the other end of the Town as well as I.

FRIENDLY
Why, it lay in my way and I was passing the fields as a man does a ford in a river. As suddenly as I can I long to be out of them, they stink of City doghouse. But you, I see, are taking your serious turns here, as if it were for recreation or meditation, or that you took more delight in Moorfields than in the train-swept Mall or glorious Hyde Park.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Why, Will Friendly, do you speak against a place that you know not? You are much mistaken in supposing here is no recreation.

FRIENDLY
Yes, here are recreations indeed: to see the wenches dry their clothes and the boys play at grass-cat, the archers in Finsbury to shoot at rovers, and ninepin alleys, and bawdy-houses in every quarter. What other recreations canst find?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Yes, all the varieties thou canst imagine. Oh, the several sorts of people that walk in these fields: the saint, the sot, the cheat, the cully, the grave, the frolic, the wise, the fool, the melancholy, the religious, the fanatic, the usurers, the philosophers, the alchemists, the

---

39. **Bunfields** Bunhill Fields, a burial ground in the manor of Finsbury adjoining Mooorfields, much used by nonconformists who were there able to bury their dead without the use of the Book of Common Prayer (LE). See I.50 n.

44. **suddenly** soon. *Obs*. (OED 4.b).

46. **Mall** Q1-Q2: Malt. The Mall was a walk bordered by trees in St. James's Park; although originally created in about 1660 as an alley to play pall-mall, it soon became a fashionable promenade for the upper classes (LE). **Hyde Park** the largest of London's Royal Parks; once a manor belonging to the monks of Canterbury, it was appropriated by Henry VIII as a hunting ground after the dissolution of the monasteries. At the Restoration, Charles II surrounded it for the first time with a brick wall, and a large enclosure inside it known as the Ring or the Tour began to be in fashion as the place of sport and leisure for the king and the upper classes (LE).

49. **dry their clothes** see chapter 6.2.

50. **grass-cat** poss. a variation of tip-cat played on grass, a game where a small piece of wood called cat is hit with a stick, made to spring from the ground and then driven away with a side stroke (OED *cat* n.[1] 10). **the archers … at rovers** from 1642 Finsbury Fields became the headquarters and training ground of the Honourable Artillery Company (LE), so it seems plausible that archers could practice there shooting at rovers, arbitrarily selected marks used to provide practice in range-finding and long-distance shooting (OED *rover* n.[2] 1.a). **ninepin alleys** alleys where to play ninepins, a game in which nine skittles are set up to be knocked down by a ball or bowl (OED *ninepins* 1). Bowling alleys are described in *The Compleat Gamester* (1674) as places "where three things are thrown away besides the bowls, viz. time, money and curses" (Cotton 49). **bawdy-houses** Moorfields was one of the main red-light districts in Restoration London (Ashton 13-14) and many of its brothels were besieged and demolished during the 1668 Bawdy-House Riots (Harris 1986: 538), especially on 24 March, when Pepys recorded a "tumult at the other end of the town, about Moore-fields, among the prentices, taking the liberty of these holydays to pull down bawdy-houses" (Pepys IX 129).

53. **saint** members of puritanical sects or people who made an outward profession of piety were, sometimes ironically, referred to as "saints" (OED n. 3.a, 4.a). **sot** a foolish or stupid person. *Obs*. (OED n.[1] 1). **cully** one who is cheated or imposed upon by a sharper or a strumpet. *Rare* (OED n. 1).

54. **melancholy** see chapter 7. **fanatic** in the latter part of the 17th c. the term was applied to nonconformists as

quacks, the shopkeeper—from the mercer to the cobbler and stocking-mender—with all their wives, daughters, nieces and maidens.

FRIENDLY
Fairly reckoned. You forgot the madmen too, in Bethlem they make part of the rarities. But methinks St. James's Park and the fair bevy that is there to be seen every night should have more attraction. The bright, fair, buxom, witty, fine, willing and airy girls at that end of the Town should give more delight than green aprons and grogram gowns or petticoats that stink of soap and tallow, or the cypress chests and lavender.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Every man as he likes. I know your aim is at some fine, witty, frolic, buxom miss which some unmannerly puppies call wenches and others most abominably asperse by the term of whore. Why, faith, Will, this place is not without those creatures, and plenty of them too of all sorts and sizes, though perhaps not so well prinkum-prankumed or so modishly rigged. These are a sort of demure whores with little rings upon their foreheads, a strait hood and a narrow diminutive colbertine pinner, that makes them look so saint-like that you would swear 'em the daughters of innocence itself.

FRIENDLY
This is something to the purpose, I like the place the better for that. But prithee be plain with thy friend and do not conceal thy intrigue. Who is it you are in quest of, that has so strong a cart-rope as to draw thee from all the fine things in the Mall to these stinking tents of bottle-ale and rusty bacon? Sure 'tmust be some rare piece. Or art thou cloyed with

---

a hostile epithet (OED n. 2.a). **philosophers** prob. an allusion to scholars. *Obs*. (OED 1.a).

55. **quacks** those who dishonestly claim to have medical or surgical skill, or who advertise false or fake remedies; medical impostors. *Colloq*. (OED n.[2] 1.a). **mercer** from medieval times the mercers had traditionally lived and worked in the nearby Cheapside area, where Mercers' Hall was also located (LE *Mercers' Hall*).

56. **maidens** maidservants. *Obs*. (OED n. 3).

57. **Bethlem** see chapter 7.

58. **St. James's Park** the oldest of London's Royal Parks, originally a marshy field attached to the hospital for leper women from which it takes its name. Henry VIII had the field drained and subsequently made it a hunting ground. Much neglected during the Commonwealth, at the Restoration it was opened to the public and became the haunt of the new sovereign and the royal family. Charles II was responsible for redesigning it, including fruit trees, deer, an avenue where to play pall-mall (see I.46 n.) and a long strip of water known as the Canal, which became one of his favourite spots (LE).

60. **green aprons** in depreciative use, lay preachers. *Obs*. (OED *green* adj. S4.a). **grogram** a coarse fabric of silk, of mohair and wool, or of these mixed with silk; often stiffened with gum (OED 1).

62. **Every man as he likes** see Burton: "*quisque suum placitum quo capiatur habet*; every man as he likes; so many men, so many minds" (II 223).

63. **puppies** foolish, conceited or impertinent young men. *Colloq*. (OED n. 2.a). **wenches** wanton women or mistresses. *Arch*. (OED n. 2).

65. **prinkum-prankumed** dressed in fine attire. *Obs*. (OED 3).

66. **strait** tight-fitting, narrow. *Obs.* (OED adj. 1.a).

67. **colbertine** a kind of open lace with a square ground worn in the 17th and 18th c. *Obs*. (OED). **pinner** a close-fitting cap worn by women (especially of high social status) in the 17th and 18th c., having a long flap or lappet on either side, sometimes worn fastened on the breast or pinned up on the head (OED n.[3] 1).

72. **bottle-ale** bottled beer was a common drink in England in the 16th and 17th c. Shakespeare, for instance, mentions it in *2 Henry IV* II.iv and *Twelfth Night* II.iii; and Pepys recorded his drinking "several bottles of Hull ale" on 4 November 1660 (I 283). The references seem to indicate that it was seen as a drink of inferior quality which not everybody liked. Thomas Tryon mentions in his *A New Art of Brewing Beer* (1690) that "it is a great custom and general fashion nowadays to bottle ale; but … [it] is not so good or wholesome as that drawn out of a barrel or hogshead" (Hornsey 399). **rusty** rancid (OED adj.[2]).

partridge and pheasant, and longst after hung beef, musty swine's flesh, or rashers on the dirty coals?

MR. FAIRLOVE
You are still besides the mark, Will. 'Tis no ordinary game that I hunt in these fields.

FRIENDLY
Why so sly, Frank? I never had a miss or intrigue yet, but I discovered it to thee. This is unkindly; the very air of this place spoils your good nature.

MR. FAIRLOVE
I will tell you then. I am damnably, desperately, deeply in love; and so have been several months too, and with an honest, witty, beautiful, well-bred, discreet young lady, and one that has money, boy, to boot.

FRIENDLY
To have been in love for several months is no such strange thing with a witty, beautiful, well-bred, discreet, young lady. But if she be honest, and you cannot hope to make her otherways, what do you do with her?

MR. FAIRLOVE
I see you follow your old game, Will. But I assure thee, mine is an honourable and lawful, and mere matrimonial design.

FRIENDLY
Heavens forbid! Matrimonial love, say you? Thou art not so intoxicated yet? What, marry? When all the world forsake their wives and fall to keeping? When 'tis grown as much out of fashion as trunk-breeches? Thou hast conversed fairly with Moorfields.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Away, away, let's have no tilting against marriage, the theme is grown threadbare. There is scarce a comedy without it, the poets and the stage have laughed at it so long that they begin to be laughed at themselves for it. I tell thee, Will Friendly, mine is a fair, honest, downright, matrimonial love with a very honest fair, young, witty gentlewoman. And now, in truth, you have my whole intrigue.

FRIENDLY
If it be so, I think thou art turned an honest, downright, plain-dealing sot. Dost not thou know that there is not a more unbecoming thing in nature than to see a gentleman handing and waiting on his wife?

MR. FAIRLOVE
'Tis no matter for that, I have therefore withdrawn myself to this end of the Town, even to Moorfields, where 'tis no shame to do so. Men and their wives ordinarily walk here together very lovingly.

70-74. **Who is … dirty coals** according to Owen, "satirizing Whig citizens' greed and predilection for plain food" was a tory theme (1996: 183).

88. **trunk-breeches** full bag-like breeches covering the hips and upper thighs, and sometimes stuffed with wool or the like, worn in the 16th and early 17th c. (OED *trunk-hose*). By the early 1680s they had been replaced by knee-length breeches tied with a ribbon sash at the knee (EB *dress*). **thou hast conversed** you have been so familiar with (OED *converse* v. 2.a).

FRIENDLY
Aye, citizens and shopkeepers, who are wedded to their old fashions.

MR. FAIRLOVE
I believe it will grow in fashion again at the other end of the Town shortly. Misses are so very chargeable, humoursome, proud, impertinent and tyrannical, that no wife in the world can be more. But I am resolved, and am not now to be shaken. Therefore, forbear.

FRIENDLY
But, may I not see this fine, powerful charm of yours?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Yes, you may in time. I am not shy. And I think I need not be jealous of thee, for thou canst love nothing that's honest.

FRIENDLY
That's because I could never meet with that chimera. But you, it seems, have found this rare jewel.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Did you know her, you would say so in earnest. She is a jewel outshown in the dark, which makes her, carbuncle-like, to shine the brighter.

FRIENDLY
If it ben't i'the dark, 'tis such a hole I should ne'er have sought for a jewel in.

MR. FAIRLOVE
That's nothing to the family she lives in, and to the people she is forced to converse with.

FRIENDLY
Well, who is she? Her name and so forth.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Why, I'll tell thee, her name is Lucia Wellbred; a gentleman's daughter, who dying left her under the guardianship of one Mr. Timothy Turbulent, whose wife was sister to her father. Now he, with his hypocritical sanctity, got so far into the esteem of his brother-in-law that he left his daughter to his care, with full power to see her bestowed in marriage; but her portion he committed to the safekeeping of the Chamber of London, which is five thousand pounds.

FRIENDLY
He was wise in that.

MR. FAIRLOVE
This Mr. Turbulent is one that is still railing against the times, the court, the king, the

---

101. **misses** mistresses or kept women. *Obs.* (OED n.^{2} 1.a).
102. **chargeable** costly, expensive. *Obs.* (OED 4).
110. **carbuncle-like** the carbuncle was a mythical gem said to give out light in the dark (OED 1.a).
111. **ben't** be not (OED v.).
118. **portion** dowry (OED n. 1.d). **Chamber of London** the 17th c. chamber, or treasury, of London was a lending institution whose primary function was the care of the orphans' funds; at the same time it also served the usual function of a city treasury in receiving taxes, fees, fines and rents and in paying salaries and maintenance costs (Wren 191).
121. **still** always. *Obs.* (OED adv. 3.a).

church, the government and almost everything that stands in his way, loves to speak treason privately and has a great delight and faculty that way.

FRIENDLY
A good guardian.

MR. FAIRLOVE
His wife is one that has walked through all religions and at last is come into the Society of the Sweet Singers. His daughter is an impertinent and unmannerly quaker, yet pretends to knowledge, learning and logic.

FRIENDLY
'Fore George! Your jewel's well set.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Besides, the gang that follows this Mr. Turbulent and visits his house, of anabaptists, visioners, quakers, hypocrites, cheats and fools of all sorts; which are the only people my mistress is suffered to converse with.

FRIENDLY
But in what predicament stand you with your mistress?

MR. FAIRLOVE
The business of wooing is past, we are come to a conclusion. But Mr. Turbulent, knowing me one of the unsanctified end of the Town (as he calls it), has absolutely forbid me all entrance into his mansion, so that I cannot see Lucy but by stealth.

FRIENDLY
Thou deservst this gentlewoman, whoe'er she be, for venturing into such a place and people for her sake. 'Tis far beyond the voyage of Orpheus for Eurydice, or Jason for the Golden Fleece. The furies and the dragons and wild bulls were not so dangerous as these sort of people thou hast named.

125-126. **Society of the Sweet Singers** a sect founded by John Gibb (d. 1720?) within the Scottish covenanter movement in the early months of 1681. Based on anabaptist doctrines acquired through Gibb's contact with Dutch religious radicals, this sect's idiosyncratic theology included an utter rejection of private property and all worldly authority, championing the validity of personal revelation (ODNB *John Gibb*).

126-127. **His daughter … and logic** although the 1662 Act of Uniformity required all schools and teachers to conform to the Church of England, several nonconformist sects opened schools outside the City limits. The quakers especially "believed in the intellectual as well as the spiritual abilities of women," with the result that by 1671 "there were fifteen Quaker boarding schools, of which two were for girls and two were coeducational" (Picard 187-189).

128. **'Fore George** a mild oath, perhaps a euphemism for "by God" (OED *George* n. P1).

129. **anabaptists** the original sect arose in Münster, Germany around 1531, holding that baptism should be postponed until people were capable of understanding the promises made (DBH). Here it may be used as a term of abuse, since it was customary to refer to baptists and other protestant dissenters in this way (OED 3).

130. **visioners** Q1-Q2: vitioneers.

137. **the voyage ... for Eurydice** in Greek mythology Orpheus, poet and musician, descended into the underworld to fetch his wife, Eurydice, who had been bitten by a snake. Hades allowed Eurydice to walk behind Orpheus back to the light of day provided he did not look back at her before they left the underworld; an instruction which he finally disregarded and thus lost her forever (Grimal *Orpheus*).

137-138. **Jason for … Golden Fleece** Jason, Greek hero and leader of the Argonauts, sailed aboard the *Argo* on a quest for the Golden Fleece consecrated to Ares and guarded by a dragon. He succeeded in stealing it with the help of the sorceress Medea, whom he eventually married (Grimal *Jason*).

138. **furies** Roman demons of the Underworld (Grimal).

MR. FAIRLOVE
You may see by this the power of love, that I can walk with pleasure under these trees, the contemplation of pay day melancholy.

Enter Cringe singing, dressed most exactly with ribbons.

FINICAL CRINGE
Fa la fal fal la la fa la fa.

FRIENDLY
Whom have we here? A kind of morris dancer by his trip and trim.

MR. FAIRLOVE
O sir, 'tis my rival, one that Mr. Turbulent designs for Lucy's husband. He is a mercer of Lombard Street, his name is Finical Cringe.

FINICAL CRINGE
Fa la la fal la la.

FRIENDLY
A pretty spruce airy what-d'ye-lack-sir.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Yes, he learns to sing, dance, fence and to play of the violin; scorns to be like the citizens but scurvily imitates the courtiers. Nay, he is a pretender to poetry, makes sonnets and acrostics on his mistress' name. He goes duly to Pinners' Hall with Mr. Turbulent, where he writes the sermons, and when he comes home privately reads plays and romances. To this ape has Mr. Turbulent promised Mrs. Lucy, for which he is to have five hundred pounds of her portion for his daughter Priscilla.

FRIENDLY
Why dost not beat him, but suffer him to court thy mistress?

MR. FAIRLOVE
What, beat an ass? There is no danger of him, he is Lucy's only diversion and serves to make her sport as much as a monkey. Oh, he sees us—

---

s.d. **ribbons** Q1-Q2: *Ribbons and*—.

143. **morris dancer** a performer of the most widely known ceremonial dance form in England. Although the name includes a range of types and styles, the common features are that the dancers were almost invariably male and that they wore a special costume, usually with bells and ribbons. Morris dancing was hardly a rare occurrence in the 16th and 17th c., when the performers danced for display on particular occasions (Simpson and Roud).

145. **Lombard Street** usually identified as London's banking centre since the Lombard merchants settled there in the 12th c. (LE), it also housed many mercer's shops. See I.55 n.

147. **spruce** brisk, smart, lively. *Obs*. (OED adj. 1). **what-d'ye-lack-sir** a typical saleman's cry. *Obs*. (OED *lack* v.[1] 3); here pejoratively used to allude to a citizen.

149. **scurvily** sorrily, unsatisfactorily. *Obs*. (OED 1.a).

150. **Pinners' Hall** a meeting place for dissenters built by the Company of Pinmakers or Pinners (incorporated in 1636, before this date they were associated with the Girdlers' Company) on the site of a well-known glass-house in Old Broad Street where Venetian stained-glass was made. This hall was let to various groups of dissenters during the reigns of Charles I and II (LE *Old Broad Street*; McGeachy).

155-156. **he is … a monkey** poss. with sexual innuendo; monkeys were common figures of lechery, usually portrayed as sexual counterparts to women (G. Williams).

FINICAL CRINGE
(*Salutes them with many fine bows and cringes*) Mr. Fairlove, honoured Mr. Fairlove, I kiss your hand, humbly kiss your hand, heh, heh! This is your friend, heh. I humbly kiss yours, heh.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Your servant, sir. Whither are you going, Mr. Cringe? What, to see Mrs. Lucy, I warrant.

FINICAL CRINGE
I am going to make her my daily visit, heh, and to illuminate myself by her lustre, heh.

MR. FAIRLOVE
You are a happy man, Mr. Cringe. You are going to offer some copy of verses now to her fair hands?

FINICAL CRINGE
Who, I? Fa la fa la la. I can a little at poetry. But you have so many better poets at your end of the Town, heh, heh, that you dislike us City wits, heh.

[*Friendly and Mr. Fairlove speak apart*].

FRIENDLY
Pox on him for a baboon! What do you discourse with him so long for?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Prithee be quiet, he will show his verses now, either stolen out of some playbook or of his own making.

FRIENDLY
What does the coxcomb "heh" so at us?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Oh! 'Tis his word of expectation, the fop thinks it a grace and has used himself so long to't he cannot speak ten words without it, and it makes up a great part of his oratory. See, he's a-pulling out his papers.

Cringe reads to himself and smiles.

FRIENDLY
This is Moorfields.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Come, come, Mr. Cringe, let us see your raptures you are reading there. My friend here is a very good judge of verses.

FINICAL CRINGE
'Tis a pretty conceit, heh, a very pretty conceit, heh.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Come, what is't? Let's see it.

---

161. **Whither** to what place. *Arch*. (OED adv. 1.a).
167. **Pox on him** an exclamation of irritation and impatience. *Arch*. (OED n. I.2.a).
170. **coxcomb** a fool, simpleton. *Obs.* (OED 3.a).
175. **raptures** written compositions expressing ecstatic feelings, rhapsodies. *Obs*. (OED n. 1.b).

FINICAL CRINGE
Why, 'tis a copy of verses of a pin that fell from Mrs. Lucy's sleeve and I put it upon mine, heh, carried it home, heh, and this morning I made these verses, heh, which I am going to present her with her pin again, heh. Is it not a pretty conceit, heh?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Yes, and shows much wit. The great Virgil did not disdain to write on a gnat, and a fly, and a flea, yea, a louse has been the theme of the witty poets, among which we will place your pin.

FINICAL CRINGE
The conceit is new, I assure you, heh. Here, Mr. Fairlove, you shall read 'em, heh!

MR. FAIRLOVE
No, by no means, you will grace 'em best yourself. Your poets always love to read their own verses, they know where to give the emphasis and how to accent them with the true rise and fall of the voice.

FINICAL CRINGE
Well, then— [*Reads*] "Upon a Pin Dropped from Mrs. Lucy's Fair Sleeve."

MR. FAIRLOVE
Had it not been better "Upon Fair Mrs. Lucy's Sleeve"?

FINICAL CRINGE
No, that is not so new. Mark the conceit, heh. (*Reads*)

Return, sweet pin, unto my sour sweet foe,
Tell how her secret charms do play their part,
How like the dart of Cupid thou dost show,
Which from her eyes shot through my loving heart.
A wondrous thing! Thy touch was harmless to me
And, where thou touched me not, thou didst undo me.

How do you like it, heh?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Excellent.

FINICAL CRINGE
(*Reads*)

Yet tell, dear pin, that thy enchanted touch
Did sweeten so the sleeve where it was cast
That there was nothing grieved me so much
As the remembrance of my freedom past.
For who may be her captive and be free?
A galley slave lives happier than he.

182-183. **The great … witty poets** a classical motif in romantic and erotic verse. Modern scholars tend to consider Virgil's "*Culex*" ("The Gnat") and other early works included in the *Appendix Vergiliana* spurious (Slavitt xiii). Other noted works on the matter are the pseudo-Ovidian "*Carmen de Pulice*" ("Song on the Flea") and John Donne's "The Flea" (Jeffrey *Flea*).
190. **Upon** crossed out in Q1b. A manuscript annotation above reads "from." See chapter 4.1.

What say you, hey?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Very good.

FINICAL CRINGE
(*Reads*)

So be thou gone, and yet go not, I pray;
Go not, sweet pin, O go not back at all,
But prick my heart so hard that night and day,
In death and life it be her beauty's thrall.
And yet even go, for duty so commands,
Go, gentle pin again to her fair hands.

Mark that, heh! And then I present the pin, heh. A merry conceit, heh, a morning meditation, heh. Fa la la la fal fa lay. But your friend does not tell me how he likes it, heh.

FRIENDLY
Very scurvily, heh. [*Aside to Mr. Fairlove*] Why, this fool is madder than any in Bedlam. Prithee let me kick him going.

MR. FAIRLOVE
By no means— Did you make these verses, Mr. Cringe?

FINICAL CRINGE
Yes, sir, and offhand, this morning. I did not study much for 'em.

FRIENDLY
[*Aside*] I dare swear he did not.

MR. FAIRLOVE
But I doubt you stole 'em, Mr. Cringe, for I remember I saw the very same verses, with little alteration, on a scarf, printed among a collection of rare poems.

FINICAL CRINGE
(*Aside*) Who'd think he should have seen that book, I thought it had been out of print— I do but as the greatest wits do, steal one from another, but I had as good have made 'em, for it lost as much labour and oil, as the poets say, to turn a scarf into a pin, heh.

FRIENDLY.
[*Aside*] I am sure you have turned yourself into a woodcock. Here's a Moorfields poet and City wit, with all my heart. 'Slid, Fairlove, art bewitched to hold any longer converse with this fool and finical hehing coxcomb?

FINICAL CRINGE
Mr. Fairlove, your servant, heh. I see your friend is vapoury and huffy, heh. Your servant, fa

---

216. **Why, this … in Bedlam** Madness is associated here with literary ignorance (Owen 1996: 136).
225. **it lost … as oil** it was a hard and laborious task (see OED *oil* n.[1] 4).
226. **woodcock** in allusive use (from the ease with which the woodcock is taken in a snare or net), a fool or simpleton. *Obs*. (OED 2). **Moorfields** Q1-Q2: Moorfield.
227. **'Slid** an abbreviation of "God's lid," a form of oath common in the 17th c. *Obs*. (OED). **converse** intercourse, conversation. *Obs*. (OED n.[1] 1.a).
229. **vapoury** inclined to depression or low spirits (OED 3). **huffy** arrogant, choleric. *Obs*. (OED 4.a).

la la fa la la.

Exit.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Why are you so angry, Will? Would you have converse with none but philosophers? Or would you have the man have more wit than God has given him?

FRIENDLY
No, natural folly does not offend me: a Jack Adams, a clown, a jobbernowl. But these fools that take pains and are industrious and laborious to show their follies ever make me angry, I can't laugh at 'em.

MR. FAIRLOVE
But I can. Prithee let's withdraw. I see more company that will be worse offensive to me; for I hate knaves, and there are a couple of sufficient ones.

Enter Furnish and Hangby.

FRIENDLY
Prithee, who are they?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Come this way, I'll tell thee. (*Going off*) That is one Furnish, a sister's son of Mr. Turbulent. A very cheat, has nothing, yet furnishes all the needy lords of the Town with money, keeps his coach, his house well furnished, spends high, keeps his whores, his footmen, Frenchman, etc. And all by his wits.

FRIENDLY
I like such a man very well. Knaves are no offence to me; they are very necessary commonwealth's-men and are as good as a cat in a house to prey upon the vermin fools. Would there were more of them— But, who's there?

MR. FAIRLOVE
'Tis one Hangby, a creature of his and a conspirator in his cheats. They come this way, let's sheer off into the next walk.

Exeunt.

FURNISH
A pox of ill luck, my uncle Turbulent has taken physic today and I cannot have the opportunity of getting him forth. I can do no good with him whilst the old hag my aunt is with him. Nothing will open his heart but good sack and sugar or sweet metheglin, or else a brace of steaming capons with all the accoutrements.

---

233. **Jack Adams** a fool (OED *Jack* n.[1] 34.a). **jobbernowl** a stupid or foolish person, an idiot. *Colloq*. (OED 1).
241. **Frenchman** prob. a French valet-de-chambre.
244. **commonwealth's-men** Q1-Q2: commonwealth-men. Citizens as useful members of the community. *Obs*. (OED 1).
245. **who's there** the last two letters are crossed out in Q1b. A manuscript annotation above reads "other." See chapter 4.1.
250. **sack and sugar** sack, the amber-coloured wine made in southern Spain, was first imported into England during the reign of Henry VIII. Originally dry, it was common in England to add sugar to it before it was sold (Ayto). **metheglin** a variety of mead that has been invigorated with additional spices for medicinal purposes.

HANGBY
Nay, he is a devil at eating. He lays in like Wood-a-Kent when he eats on free cost.

FURNISH
He had better eat at a ten-shilling ordinary. Every time he eats with me I have the right way to coax him; I know his humour, Jack. But I'm at a devilish plunge for this fifty pounds to stop the execution that is coming out against my goods. My coach and horses are in jeopardy.

HANGBY
Is it possible you can want money already? It is not many days since I saw thee as rich as a banker and rolling in guineas.

FURNISH
Faith they're all gone, flown, boy. They never stay long with me. Dost not see what shoals I have following me, that I am fain to forsake my lodging, or get out on't by five in the morning to avoid them; yet wonder that these sums should be so soon gone.

HANGBY
You say true.

FURNISH
Besides, there is Sir William Needy, Mr. Littlewit, Mr. Pennyless, Mr. Marland and forty more that I have furnished, and must furnish as fast as I can. But puppies— Puppies, Jack, begin to grow thin. If I could but meet with them as often as I could desire, I should do well enough.

HANGBY
But well, as to this fifty pounds, 'tis a small sum. I never knew thee so gravelled before for such a little modicum. What, no trust in the City? What, has the lace-man smelt thee? Never a claret merchant? Will the saddler trust no more saddles to furnish the troops going to Flanders? Ne'er a draper? Where are your setters and ferreters for security? Are there no tradesmen now ready to break, whose credit is good enough to be bound for a one hundred pounds or so, and go snips? Where is your honest rogue scrivener to draw in, ha? (*Furnish is all this while musing*). What, man? À la mort?

Originally a drink of the Celtic fringe, it seems to have achieved wider popularity in the 16th and 17th c. (Ayto).
252. **Wood-a-Kent** a reference to Thomas Bancroft's short poem "On Wood of Kent, that Prodigious Gormund," included in his *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitaphs* (1639: 215).
253. **a ten-shilling ordinary** an inn, public house, tavern, etc., where meals were provided at a fixed price. *Arch*. (OED n. 12.c). Since prices were never so high, a "ten-shilling ordinary" must be understood as an ironical image of gluttony. See Congreve's *Love for Love* (1695): "Why at this rate a fellow that has but a groat in his pocket, may have a stomach capable of a ten shilling ordinary" (II.i, p. 26).
254. **plunge** a critical situation, a strait (OED n. 5).
254. **execution** a writ of execution, the warrant which entitles an officer to seize the goods or person of a debtor in default of payment (OED 7.a). Coke defines it as "the obtaining of actual possession of anything acquired by judgement of law" (1628: 154 a).
263. **Mr. Littlewit** Q1-Q2: Mr. Litttlewit.
269-270. **the troops going to Flanders** Flanders, a historical principality in the Low Countries, was under Spanish rule during the 17th c. The reference may be to the ceaseless movements of troops in mainland Europe in the period prior to the Nine Years' War (1689 – 1697).
272. **go snips** go shares, participate in the profits. *Obs*. (OED *snip* n. 4.b).
273. **À la mort** utterly dejected, in sorrow. *Arch*. (OED adj.).

FURNISH
This uncle of mine vexes me. He begins to hearken to the old beldame his wife, who has lost all her teeth with scolding and her lips are worn so thin that they will not keep her nose and her chin from meeting. I tell thee, Jack, I have not sufficiently squeezed this uncle of mine. He milks hard now, and I take the more pleasure in it. Oh, the delight I take of putting the dice upon a wary fop! If he be covetous, let me alone to deal with him. 'Twas no less than thirty in the hundred advantage, with good security, that made this precise ass my uncle part with his five hundred pounds; for so much I have had, which he is never like to see again, and this fifty pounds to boot.

HANGBY
But how?

FURNISH
Let me alone. Go you away, presently disrobe yourself; off with your clothes, your sword, wig and hat. Put yourself nimbly into a black suit of grogram below the knees, a broad-skirted doublet and girdle about the middle, and a short black cloak skirted down before with black taffety, a broad-brimmed hat with a great twisted hatband with a rose at the end of it. Your hair is slink enough, and of the precise cut without your periwig. Good Jack, be nimble and meet me at the Pope's Head tavern, near to my uncle's, about three o'clock in the afternoon. I will prepare him for you.

HANGBY
I have a broker in Long Lane that soon will attire me in any garb. I have served you, I'm sure, in all habits, from the lord to that clown, nay to the skip-kennel. But what must I do?

FURNISH
Prithee be not impertinent, I think thou art grown dull. Observe your cue. You are to be a suitor to my cousin Priscilla.

277-278. **putting the dice upon** tyrannizing over. *Obs*. (OED *die* n.[1] P2). **wary** careful with expenditure, thrifty. *Obs*. (OED adj. 4)
279. **advantage** profit, gain, interest on money lent. *Obs*. (OED n. 3.b). **precise** strict or scrupulous in religious observance; chiefly used of puritans in the 16th and 17th c. *Obs*. (OED adj. 3.b).
274-281. **this uncle … to boot** this long speech by Hangby is treated in Q1-Q2 as two independent speeches, the first one going from "this uncle" to "from meeting," and the second one from "I tell thee" to "to boot." The Q1 copy at CUL has the second speech prefix crossed out.
284-285. **broad-skirted doublet** the doublet was a close-fitting masculine body-garment which underwent many changes of fashion between the 14th and the 18th c. (OED 1.a). Since by the early 1680s it had become an elegant hip-length jacket fitted to the waist, the "broad skirted" one proposed here would be seen as rather old-fashioned, probably alluding to the kind of bulky tunics worn by men to conceal the figure at the time of the Reformation (EB *dress*).
285. **skirted** Q1-Q2: squirted.
287. **slink** lank, lean (OED adj.1). **periwig** a peruke or highly stylized wig worn by men, fashionable since about 1670. It was made of long hair, often with curls on the sides, and drawn back on the nape of the neck. At the Restoration the peruke was no longer worn as an adornment or to correct nature's defects but rather as a distinctive feature of costume (OED n. 1)
288. **Pope's Head tavern** prob. alluding to the tavern situated in Pope's Head Alley between Cornhill and Lombard Street (Wheatley 104-106), although there was a second tavern operating under the same name in Chancery Lane.
290. **broker** a dealer in second-hand apparel. *Obs*. (OED n. 2). **Long Lane** this lane in Southwark was known for its second-hand clothes sellers (LE). **that** the last two letters are crossed out in Q1b; a manuscript annotation above reads "e." See chapter 4.1.
291. **skip-kennel** footman. *Obs*. (OED).

HANGBY
Enough, enough! I have you i' my noddle. Fear me not, I'll be with you without fail.

Exit.

FURNISH
And I must in the meantime try my skill to get my uncle to the tavern now he has taken physic from that female devil my aunt, whom I dread more than the sight of a basilisk.

Enter Sneak.

How now, Mr. Sneak? Prithee, what's become of the captain your great companion that was to go on the expedition to conquer the Island of Formosa?

GRIN SNEAK
He had not patience till my Lady Medler could get the commission, and so he is gone to sell ale at Wapping.

FURNISH
Gad, the better employment by half, and more to be got by it.

GRIN SNEAK
You are always an infidel, Mr. Furnish, but I am come to ask seriously your advice whether I should accept an employ that is now offered me or no.

FURNISH
Accept. What the devil else should you do but accept? Thou hast not had six pence in thy pocket this six months, to my knowledge, but what I have furnished thee with to go to the coffee-houses to meet your damned cheating roguish projectors. If thou gets no more by pimping than thou dost by projecting, we shall see through this slender body of thine shortly. But what in the name of wonder is this place or employ that is offered you?

GRIN SNEAK
I am offered two places: to go governor of Poetan, or consul of Marseilles. Which shall I

---

294. **noddle** head. *Obs*. (OED n.[1] 1.b).
s.p. **FURNISH** Q1-Q2: *Farn*.
296. **the sight of a basilisk** the basilisk, or cockatrice, was a mythological creature hatched by a serpent from a cock's egg. It was reputed to be capable of destroying all life by its mere look (EB *cockatrice*).
297. **what's** Q1-Q2: wha'ts.
298. **the Island of Formosa** the name given by the Portuguese to Taiwan on visiting it for the first time in 1590. In 1682 the island was under the rule of the Kingdom of Tungning, a pro-Ming dynasty state (EB *Taiwan*).
300. **Wapping** originally a hamlet in the parish of Whitechapel close to the embankment of the Thames, with a narrow and serpentine shape following the line of the river (LE). Many seamen of Charles II's navy lived there and Pepys often described the disturbances they made at taverns (see VII 415-416, VIII 266-272).
301. **Gad** substituted for God, used as a mild expletive in asseverative or exclamative sentences. *Arch*. (OED n.[5] 1.a).
303. **employ** employment; official position in the public service. *Obs*. (OED n. 1, 3.c).
307. **slender body of thine** it may be assumed from this allusion that Henry Norris, the actor playing Sneak, was a slim man.
309. **Poetan** prob. Powhatan, a confederacy of Algonquian-speaking North American Indian tribes that occupied most of what is now tidewater Virginia. The confederacy had been formed by and named for a powerful chief, Powhatan, shortly before the colonial settlement of Jamestown in 1607. Hostilities developed between the Powhatan confederacy and the English settlers and resulted in intermittent fighting until 1676 (EB). **Marseilles** Q1-Q2: Marsielles. An important seaport on the Gulf of Lyon (EB).

take?

FURNISH
Poetan? Where is that?

GRIN SNEAK
It is a great kingdom in the West Indies, for which I am to raise ten thousand pounds and I to go governor.

[FURNISH]
'Tis a great way off, Mr. Sneak. I should rather be consul of Marseilles.

GRIN SNEAK
I am of your mind, my Lady Medler has as good as got me the patent. Faith I'll send thee good store of muscat.

FURNISH
Consul of Marseilles, ha, ha, ha! A goodly consul! But hark you, Mr. Consul Sneak, what will then become of all your projects if you go? Will you leave all your concerns in your black box that is worth so many thousand pounds?

GRIN SNEAK
Why, these considerations I confess made me make a scruple of it. And now I think better of it, I will not go.

FURNISH
Why, where is the widow, Mr. Consul, that you were in quest of that was worth a hundred thousand pound?

GRIN SNEAK
Fie, fie, don't mention her; when I enquired into the business I found she had but twenty thousand pound. She took tobacco, and drunk brandy, and was no gentlewoman, and therefore I refused her.

---

312. **West Indies** the American continent.
s.p. **FURNISH** speech prefix "*Furn.*" present in a manuscript annotation in Q1b. See chapter 4.1.
316. **muscat** wine made from muscat or similar grapes, especially sweet white wine that is sometimes fortified (OED 1).
319. **black box** a safe where important documents and valuable items were kept. See Congreve's *The Way of the World* (1700): "I'll go for a black box, which contains the writings of my whole estate, and deliver that into your hands" (IV.i., p. 70).
322. **in** Q1-Q2: in in.
325. **tobacco** the practice of smoking was probably brought to Europe by sailors returning from the Americas in the late 15th and early 16th c. Northern Europeans adopted the practice of pipe smoking, which was prevalent along the north Atlantic seaboard (EB). **brandy** a spirit distilled from the fermented juice of the grape or other fruit. Since the wine is heated, or 'burnt,' to separate out the alcohol, the Dutch called it *brandewijn*, literally "burnt wine." English borrowed the word as *brandewine* or *brandwine*, but by the middle of the 17th c. this was already being altered to *brandy wine*, and the first recorded use of *brandy* on its own dates from as early as 1657 (Ayto).
325-326. **She took … refused her** tippling and smoking were seen as instances of improper female behaviour in late 17th c. England, where any woman who openly flouted conventional values was condemned by respectable society. See, for instance, a December 1678 Old Bailey record which alludes to "those women, that have the impudence to smoke tobacco, and guzzle in ale houses" (*Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, December 1678; s16781211e-1).

FURNISH
Thou art a damnable lying rogue! I know thou wouldst take up with an apple-woman that had but fifty pounds. Hang it, Mr. Sneak, you have bragged so long of your land in Cornwall that nobody will believe thee. And hast been fooled so much by every projecting cod's-head that the whole world laugh at thee, and say thou art only fit for a chamber among the fellows of that great college yonder (*pointing to Bedlam*).

GRIN SNEAK
You may say your pleasure, Mr. Furnish. I'll leave you. But I question not yet to ride in my coach and six horses.

FURNISH
Stay, stay! Don't go away! Here, take sixpence to spend at the coffee-house, for I'm sure thou hast no money.

GRIN SNEAK
(*Takes it*) Well, well, I will pay you again with interest.

FURNISH
Be ruled by me, Mr. Grin, leave your projecting trade and keep close to your pimping trade, 'twill bring you in more money by half. Thou art a most excellent pimp, the ladies are taken with thy address.

GRIN SNEAK
Well, well, Mr. Furnish, you are full of your jeers. But I am stayed for.

FURNISH
Be not out of the way in the afternoon, if need be to be bound with me to my uncle, Mr. O-yes good-security.

GRIN SNEAK
No, no, I'm sure I'm bound for some hundreds already for him. But if one of my projects hits, I shall pay all.

Exit.

FURNISH
Go thy way for a melancholy projecting dreamer, with thy estate in the clouds. Now is he gone sneaking to my uncle Turbulent's? I wonder what he does there. But who comes sailing here? Oh, my Lady Medler. Now for a dun and a rally.

Enter Lady Medler.

LADY MEDLER
Out upon these paltry fields! A person of quality cannot come to the doors with a coach, but must alight and foot it. I would not be seen thus afoot and alone for anything. Uds so, here is Furnish.

328. **Cornwall** a peninsula in southwestern England and the oldest of English duchies (DBH).
334. **sixpence** see Appendix D.
348. **out upon** curses upon, damnation to. *Obs*. (OED *out* int. 2).
349. **Uds so** a form of the name of God common in expletive oaths in the 17th c. *Obs*. (OED).

FURNISH
Madam, your servant. What, going to my uncle Turbulent's?

LADY MEDLER
O you are a fine man never to come at me, are not you? I have been at least ten times at the door in my coach, but you're never within. When your turn's served, you care not.

FURNISH
(*Aside*) And I think I served her turn too, if I am not mistaken— O madam, I'm sorry for your mishap t'other night, going home from my house.

LADY MEDLER
Your men had made my coachman drunk—

FURNISH
[*Aside*] And I think I made her more drunk.

LADY MEDLER
That he could not guide his coach right, but overthrew it and broke all my glasses. I'm sure it cost me ten pounds to put my coach to rights again. You're a fine man to keep me till three o'clock i' th' morning, wasn't you?

FURNISH
[*Aside*] Pox on her, I could not be rid on her as long as I had one bottle of frontignac left— I did not think it so late, madam, but what said Sir Edward? Was he not angry?

LADY MEDLER
Angry? Would I could see that! An he should be angry with me, I'd make my lord my brother angry with him. Angry, kether? No, I called him "sweet-face" a thousand times and told him I had been at my cousin's, the grocer's wife's labour.

FURNISH
And he believed you?

LADY MEDLER
Why, you don't take him to be so unnatural a beast as not to believe his own wife? But where's my necklace of pearl I lent you to take up some money on? Did not you promise I should have it within two days?

FURNISH
[*Aside*] A pox on her memory, I was afraid of this dun— Madam, I am about to receive six hundred pounds this evening, and then I intend to return it back to your ladyship with a pair of silk stockings for the use of it.

LADY MEDLER
Aye, you are the best man at promises in the world, and the worst at performances. Indeed,

---

358. **glasses** coaches with glass windows, a symbol of social distinction, were not common in late 17th c. London (EB *coach*).
361. **frontignac** a muscat wine made at Frontignan, France (OED 1).
363. **Would** I wish. *Arch*. (OED *will* v.[1] 36). **An he … with me** If he should be angry with me (see OED *an* conj. 2).
364. **kether** he said; used with contemptuous, ironic, or sarcastic force after repeating words said by someone else (OED *quotha*).

Mr. Furnish, I must have it. Sweet-face has asked me several times why I don't wear it. I'll stay this month for the fifty pounds I lent you.

FURNISH

[*Aside*] And so you're like this twelve months for me. If she has not the conscience to pay for what I do for her, I will have the conscience this way to pay myself— Indeed, madam, I will repay you all shortly and furnish your ladyship with what moneys you shall want. [*Aside*] I must put her besides this discourse— Madam, I wonder you can spare so much time as to come to this end of the Town, considering the many affairs you have in hand of benefit and weight. My lord your brother helps you to many a pound.

LADY MEDLER

Though I say it, I have more to do than my Lord Chancellor, and my lord my brother has many grand intrigues in hand, I assure you. But 'tis a great secret, he is now making an union between the Muscovite and the Turk, and by his means there will be shortly a league, offensive and defensive, between the Grand Signior and the Sophy of Persia; and you will see by next summer, for all the Peace at Nijmegen, all the states in Christendom confederated against the French king. My Lord Politic knows how to play his cards.

FURNISH

You are happy, madam, in being like him; for though you don't make matches between kingdoms and states, yet you make many other very considerable.

LADY MEDLER

I have made some in my time. And to tell you the truth, I was now going to Mr. Turbulent to propose a match between a kinsman of my lord's and his daughter Pris.

FURNISH

[*Aside*] Damn her! She'll spoil all my design— By no means, madam; don't do it.

LADY MEDLER

Why so, Mr. Furnish? I think it is no disparagement to be related to my lord my brother. I tell you, Mr. Furnish, there is not a woman in all the kingdom but would be glad and proud

---

381. **weight** Q1-Q2: weighs; <s> crossed out in the Q1 copy at the CUL.

382. **Lord Chancellor** created by Edward the Confessor, this post has always remained one of the leading offices of state. The chancellor was keeper of the great seal and acted as chief secretary to the king, drawing up charters and writs (DBH). The post was held by Heneage Finch, first Earl of Nottingham (1621 – 1682), between 1675 and 1682 (ODNB).

384. **the Muscovite and the Turk** Russia and the Ottoman Empire had recently been at war (1676 – 1681) as a result of the former's attempts to establish a warm-water port on the Black Sea, which lay in Turkish hands (EB *Russo-Turkish wars*).

385. **Grand Signior** a common name for the sultan of Turkey (OED 1). From 1648 the Ottoman Sultanate had been directed by Mehmed IV (1642 – 1693) (EB). **Sophy of Persia** a former title of the supreme ruler of Persia, the shah (OED n.1 1). Suleiman I was the Safavid shah of Persia between 1666 and 1694 (EB).

386. **the Peace at Nijmigen** the 1678-1679 treaties signed in the Dutch city of Nijmigen put an end to the Franco-Dutch War (1672 – 1678) in which France had opposed Spain and the Dutch Republic (EB *Dutch war*). Though England was not directly involved in the negotiations, since the third Anglo-Dutch War (1672 – 1674) had been wound up by the treaty of Westminster, her interests were at stake (DBH *Nijmegen, treaties of*).

387 **the French king** Louis XIV (1638 – 1715), the Great or the Sun King, who has become the symbol of absolute monarchy. His aggressive expansionist policy was viewed with suspicion by the rest of continental powers (EB).

393. **disparagement** marriage to one of inferior rank; the disgrace or dishonour involved in such a misalliance. *Obs*. (OED 1).

of the honour.

FURNISH
No question, madam. But I have already proposed a match for my cousin Priscilla, and you will spoil all.

LADY MEDLER
Nay if it be so, I'm glad I spoke of it. I shall forbear for your sake.

FURNISH
But, madam, there is one match that I know of, which if you could bring about would advantage you at least ten thousand pounds.

LADY MEDLER
Bring it about? I'll warrant you. Ne'er fear, man, as long as I have my lord my brother to back me. Prithee, who are the persons?

FURNISH
'Tis a difficult business, and I'm loath to tell you.

LADY MEDLER
I will know! You shall have a share, Furnish. Making of matches is a good trade, if it be well handled to get money on both sides, but I must know who these persons be.

FURNISH
Why, it is between Antichrist and the Whore of Babylon. 'Twould do well if you could bring them together.

LADY MEDLER
Well, well, you jeer me, do you? Farewell, but be sure you remember my necklace.

FURNISH
I shan't forget it, madam, but not a word of my cousin Priscilla's match. I'll not leave you, madam, I'll see you at my uncle Turbulent's.

Exeunt.
Enter Mr. Fairlove and Lucia Wellbred.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Your friend yonder is a man of sense; I like him, but I converse with so wretched a generation that I am like one coming out of a dark place, dazzled with the light of sense and reason.

MR. FAIRLOVE
He is a plain, downright gentleman that loves to speak his mind, and I'm afraid he'll beat that fop Cringe if we leave them too long together. Therefore, my dear Lucy, answer me to the question I asked you.

LUCIA WELLBRED
You may be sure, Frank, that I would be glad to be out of this hell I live in, and dare venture myself with you and put my neck in the yoke of matrimony. But I tell you I will also bring

406. **Antichrist** during the 16th and 17th c., many radical protestants identified the Antichrist with the pope or papal power (OED 2.b). **the Whore of Babylon** an epithet (Rev. 17: 1-5) usually applied by protestants to portray the Church of Rome as the epitome of luxury, tyranny and vice.

you the little fortune my father has left me, and not give the advantage to my uncle Turbulent to cheat me of it; he has a fanatical conscience.

MR. FAIRLOVE
I thought I had taken off that objection by telling you the good fortune that has befallen me of five hundred pounds a year by the death of my uncle in Norfolk, so that now you cannot object—as you use to do—the want of means to live.

LUCIA WELLBRED
You have indeed, Frank, been very honest in not urging me to marry before you knew how to keep me like a gentlewoman and, as many do to satisfy their pleasure, run themselves headlong into misery. But yet I assure you I will have my portion before I marry; though you are so willing to part with it, I am not.

MR. FAIRLOVE
But you know how averse he is to me, and that he designs you for that fop Cringe, and what power your father left with him, so that you cannot have your portion unless you marry as he would have you. Will you therefore ever live in the purgatory you are in and permit me still to languish for want of your company? Or else to continue my walks here among usurers, bawds and punks to get now and then a sight of you?

LUCIA WELLBRED
No, no, fear it not. I have studied the point, the clause of the will is this: that if my said uncle Turbulent be alive, and *compos mentis*, that he should have the sole dispose of me; and that if I married without his consent, the Chamber of London should not part with my portion, but it should be at my said uncle's dispose. Now, if my said uncle be either dead or not *compos mentis*, that clause is null and the portion, as I take it, is at my own dispose.

MR. FAIRLOVE
You are a cunning lawyer! But your uncle is alive. As for the other, *compos mentis*, that I think he is not. But 'tis not what we think, but what the law will think in that case.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Well, let me alone. I will give you leave to get a licence against tomorrow morning, for I have brought my affairs to such a pass that by that time the law shall free me and he shall be either not alive, or not *compos mentis*.

MR. FAIRLOVE
I confess I am gravelled, but I will not question your ingenuity.

LUCIA WELLBRED
But what shall I do with poor Cringe?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Hang him! Fop!

LUCIA WELLBRED
I must provide him a wife. My cousin Priscilla, as precise as she is, is taken with that fool

422. **Norfolk** a county on the east coast of England.
432. **punks** prostitutes (OED n.[1] 1).
434. ***compos mentis*** Lat. "of sound mind, sane." A valid contract must be made by someone who is *compos mentis* (Law and Martin).
440. **against** in time for. *Obs*. (OED prep. 10).

and extremely loves him. I must try to get him to marry her, he is so easy a fool that I think I shall persuade him to it for all his pretensions to me.

MR. FAIRLOVE
That would do well. See [*pointing to Finical Cringe as he enters*], he is run away from Friendly! I knew he could not endure him long.

Enter Cringe.

FINICAL CRINGE
Your most humble servant, hey, your servant, Mr. Fairlove. Fore gad, your friend yonder is the roughest man I e'er talked with, hey! I never saw such a surly man in my life, hey. He does not love talking, he says, hey. And then I would have read him some verses, hey, and he then grew worse mad, hey, and would have tore 'em, hey. Then I sung fa la la la fal la la la and, gad, he was ready to kick me, hey. He is fit to converse with nobody but himself, hey, and so I left him, hey.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Aye, Mr. Cringe, he has his fits. You must not take it ill.

FINICAL CRINGE
I ain't such an ass, hey, but I'll ne'er be alone with him again, hey. Come, Madam Lucy, will you go home, hey?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Nay, I shall be angry too if you persuade the lady to leave my company so soon.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Come, Mr. Cringe, let's see those verses you would have shown Mr. Friendly. I know they are some I han't seen yet, and I thank you for those of my pin.

FINICAL CRINGE
They are not finished. Yet, hey, I have only begun a few, hey, which I intend to present you when they are finished, hey.

LUCIA WELLBRED
No, no, I'll see 'em now while I'm in the humour, or not at all.

MR. FAIRLOVE
You must never deny a lady anything.

FINICAL CRINGE
Look, here they are; but, fore gad, they are not yet finished (*about to read*).

Enter Friendly

Godslid, here's the gentleman does not love verses. (*Going to put up the paper*) I dare not read 'em.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Come, come, you shall read 'em.

---

451. **Fore** before; used in adjurations and expletives. *Obs*. (OED prep. 1.b).
468. **Godslid** see I.227 n.

FRIENDLY
[*To Fairlove*] I wonder you can fool thus with this City maggot. Prithee, Frank, if thou hast anything to say to the lady I'll stay and beat him going; if not, let's go.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Prithee, Friendly, be not so hasty. Mrs. Lucy has a mind to see his verses.

FRIENDLY
[*Aside*] That any one should take such content in the diversion of fools!

FINICAL CRINGE
Well, I'll read if Mr. Friendly will be but friendly, hey. I think I was witty there, hey. You must know, madam, these verses are not finished.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Why, you told us so already, Mr. Cringe. Let's hear 'em, however.

FINICAL CRINGE
Hem, hem! They are to be directed to you, madam: "For the Fair Hands of the More Fair Madam Lucia."

LUCIA WELLBRED
I could never tell before which were the fairest, my hands or my face. Proceed.

FINICAL CRINGE
Hem, hem! (*Reads*).

For mighty joy's expression in more state,
My thoughts orations did premeditate;
But formal speeches, whistling like the wind,
Ostentate wit, not loyalty of mind.
Sincerity makes little noise, and flies
From hollow-hearted, gay formalities.

How do you like it, hey? For gad 'tis excellent, no ordinary strains, hey.

FRIENDLY
You are no ordinary puppy, I am sure of it.

FINICAL CRINGE
Your servant, sir, hey. Hem, hem! Ready:

But your aversion now I plainly find
Through the transparent windows of the mind,
So a pellucent lady's ivory skin,
For all her tiffanies, is seen within.

Do you mark that, hey? 'Tis good, hey. Hem, hem! (*Reads*).

---

471. **maggot** a whimsical or capricious person. *Obs*. (OED n.[1] 3).
475. **friendly** Q1-Q2: freindly.
485. **ostentate** show, display. *Obs*. (OED 2).
493. **pellucent** traslucent, transparent (OED).
494. **tiffanies** garments made of thin transparent silk (OED n.[1] 2.a).

Your honey speech was sweet as woodbine flower,
Of sugar lips too soon was shut the door.
Soft as the wool of beaver was your style,
Which makes my ravished sense of hearing smile.
Your stroking fingers with May morning dew
My wearied body's vigour did renew.
But with delight my sense of seeing spies
More amiable marvels in your eyes.

FRIENDLY
(*Snatches the paper and tears it*) I can hold no longer, he has wore out my patience! Why, there's more sense in the chattering of a monkey!

FINICAL CRINGE
He has tore the best copy of verses that ever was wrote, hey! And that's a bold word, hey!

LUCIA WELLBRED
And so it was, Mr. Cringe. But is this all pure City wit, London wit, or Moorfields meditation?

MR. FAIRLOVE
No, in good faith 'tis pure Yorkshire wit, for he has took all this out of the Yorkshire play called *The Enamouring Girdle*.

FINICAL CRINGE
[*Aside*] Godsookers! I think the devil is in 'em for finding me out. I must outface it.

FRIENDLY
Let him take it from whence he will, 'tis like himself, all nonsense.

FINICAL CRINGE
'Tis all my own writing, I protest! One thing may be like another, hey!

LUCIA WELLBRED
Well, well, Cringe, as long as I like it, all is well. I know nobody but yourself could write such high strains.

FINICAL CRINGE
O madam, I am your most humble servant and admirer, hey! But the gentleman is a very angry man, hey.

---

496. **woodbine flower** the common honeysuckle, a climbing shrub with pale yellow fragrant flowers (OED 2).
500. **May morning dew** dew gathered on May Day morning was thought to be particularly good for the complexion and certain complaints (Simpson and Roud *May dew*).
509. **Yorkshire** the largest county in England. Yorkshire people were thought to be rude, rustic and clumsy (OED 2).
510. ***The Enamouring Girdle*** a play called *Cytherea; or, the Enamouring Girdle* (1677) by a "John Smith from Snenton, Yorkshire" was licensed for printing on 30 May 1677. Although LS suggests a possible performance in the 1676-1677 season (248), the preface of the play makes clear that "it hath not been presented publickly upon the Stage." Cringe's lines can be found, with minor alterations, in Act III, p. 28 and Act V, p. 61-62. See chapter 2.3.
511. **Godsookers** Q1-Q2: Godsuckers; an expletive (OED). **outface** maintain (something false or shameful) with boldness or effrontery. *Obs*. (OED v. 3.a).

Enter Mr. Suckthumb habited oddly, with his hat over his eyes, and walks over the stage, and goes out.

FRIENDLY
What kind of dumb-sad is that? He walks as if he trod on eggs.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Oh, he is one of the gang: resorts much to my uncle Turbulent's, speaks hardly six words in six hours, and then he gapes like friar Bacon's brazen head. He dreams all day and sees visions at night, and then relates them for the comfort of the brethren in tribulation. All he speaks they take for oracles. He's one of their private conventicle or cabal, where they may speak their minds freely.

FRIENDLY
A melancholy visioner.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Whose head travels the moon and has lodged in all the inns of the zodiac and the seven stars. He has been beyond the eighth sphere, and brings embassies from thence. His name is Mr. Abednego Suckthumb.

FINICAL CRINGE
Mr. Turbulent will think I'm run away with you, Madam Lucy, hey. Shall we repair to your habitation, hey?

LUCIA WELLBRED
Well, gentlemen, your servant. (*Whispers*) Mr. Fairlove, let me see you again anon.

---

s.d. **Enter Mr. … his eyes** see chapter 7.2.

520. **friar Bacon's brazen head** the history of English philosopher Roger Bacon (*ca*. 1212 – 1292?) had been early popularized by Greene's play *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1589; 1594), and an anonymous prose work on the same matter was also published in 1679, *The Famous History of Friar Bacon*. Both of them contain the famous episode of Bacon's speaking brazen head which broke into pieces after delivering the words "Time is, time was, time is past."

521. **the brethren** in the New Testament the members of early christian churches are called "the Brethren"; the name was sometimes adopted by (or, as here, applied ironically to) members of various christian associations, claiming to adhere to New Testament principles (OED *brother* n. 3.b). **in tribulation** suffering from great affliction, oppression, or misery. *Arch*. (OED 1.a).

522. **conventicle** a meeting of nonconformists or dissenters from the Church of England for religious worship, during the period when such meetings were prohibited by law (OED n. 4.b). Two Conventicle Acts had previously been passed: one in 1593, imposing penalties on those who declined to attend Church of England's services and attended conventicles instead (Brewer); and a later one in 1664 (renewed in 1670), forbidding attendance at any meeting of more than five persons for religious purposes other than Church of England ceremonies (Livingstone).

525. **inns of the zodiac** the zodiac is a belt of the celestial sphere extending about 8 or 9 degrees on each side of the ecliptic, within which the apparent motions of the sun, moon and principal planets take place; it is divided into twelve equal parts named after the constellations, commonly called "signs" or "houses," here ironically alluded to as "inns" (OED 1.a, 1.b).

525-526. **the seven stars** either the Pleiades–an open cluster in the constellation Taurus–or the planets (OED).

526. **the eighth sphere** Q1-Q2: eight sphere. The ancient astronomers originally thought that eight concentric, transparent, hollow globes revolved round the earth and respectively carried with them the several heavenly bodies (moon, sun, planets, and fixed stars). An outermost sphere was added in the medieval version of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy: the *primum mobile*, carrying with it the inner spheres (OED *sphere* n. 2.a, *primum mobile* 1).

FINICAL CRINGE
(*With many ridiculous cringes and bows*) Your servant, gent— Your servant, your humble servant, Mr. Fairlove.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Your servant, Mr. Cringe.

Exeunt Cringe and Lucia

FRIENDLY
Your servant, coxcomb— I admire how so well-bred and witty a gentlewoman can endure to converse with those kind of animals that are about her. I like your choice, Frank, but I don't like your matrimony. Is there no other way? Can't you save her from drowning without sinking yourself?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Leave off, I am resolved. I will deliver her tomorrow. Tomorrow, Will, thou shalt be at our wedding.

FRIENDLY
Thou art a kind servant. Thou'lt deliver her out of hell and put thyself into purgatory.

Exeunt.

The end of the first act.

531. **gent** gentleman (OED n. a).

ACT II

The scene: Mr. Turbulent's house.

Enter Mr. Turbulent, Mrs. Turbulent, Priscilla with a pipkin of gruel. Mr. Turbulent in a nightgown, cap on his head, a great night-rail flung over his shoulders, etc.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Well, here's some air in this room. Oh, oh, oh! It was a thundering emetic! Lord, how it worked! I am wondrous empty.

PRISCILLA
Here is a whole pipkin of plum gruel for thee. Shall I give thee some of it?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
No, I bid you get me some egg-caudle. I will have that first, and then the gruel. Egg-caudle is comfortable. Oh, oh! I am very sick! Kate, I am very sick, it gripes me yet. It has clawed me off, it has made me very empty.

MRS. TURBULENT
'Tis no matter, Mr. Turbulent, and it had been worse. You must be taking physic of such lewd French doctors. This was one of your nephew Furnish's helping to, that sink of sin and son of perdition who never did you any good, nor never will. Could not Dr. Plush-Coat here at the next door have served your turn, or Dr. Dodipal, one of the brethren?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Hold your peace! Speak not against the doctor, the physic has wrought well, yea, very well, both upwards and downwards. Why, where's this caudle?

MRS. TURBULENT
Why, Paul, Paul! Why, Paul!

Enter Pollux with a mess of caudle.

POLLUX
Here, I'm coming as fast as I can; I cannot be here and there and everywhere. I'm sure I serve for all employs: your footboy to run on errands, your butler to draw your beer, your cook to dress your meat; and yet I can't please you. (*Gives Mr. Turbulent the caudle, who falls to eating)* Sir, shall I get ready the turkey eggs?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Aye, get them ready against I have eat the gruel, for I am wondrous empty.

POLLUX
Will you have all six?

---

s.d. **cap** Q1-Q2: caps. **night-rail** a loose wrap, jacket, or dressing gown, worn after undressing or before dressing. *Arch*. (OED).
2. **wondrous** wondrously. *Arch*. (OED adv.).
5. **comfortable** strengthening or refreshing to the bodily faculties or organs; sustaining. *Obs*. (OED adj.).
7. **physic** a medicinal substance, specially a cathartic or purgative (OED 1).
8. **lewd** ignorant. *Obs*. (OED 4).
13. **Paul** Both Timothy Turbulent and Mrs. Turbulent call Pollux "Paul." See II.163-166.
s.d. **a mess** a serving of food (OED n.[1] 1.a).
18. **against** before (OED conj.).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
All six, sirrah? Are six so much that your rascality asks so vain a question? Quickly, all six! I am very empty! Kate, let a chicken, otherwise called a large pullet, be got ready for my supper. And some more caudle, I find caudle is good.

POLLUX
[*Aside*] He is become ravenous. This physic has but only whetted his craving stomach. Oh, these choleric, turbulent men are always great eaters.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Sirrah, are not you gone yet about the eggs?

POLLUX
I'm going. [*Aside*] He'll devour me if I stay.

Exit.
Enter Doctor Quibus.

DR. QUIBUS
Vat is dat you eate dere?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Nothing but egg caudle, doctor.

DR. QUIBUS
Morbleu! Egg caudle, said you? You be de strange man in de hole varld! The debil give you de physic for me! I give de physic to purge de color and de melancoly and you eate de caudle to make more color and melancoly. For vat is dat, do you know?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Don't be angry, doctor; I am empty. The caudle is comfortable.

DR. QUIBUS
De caudle is poison and breeds de color and de me-lan-co-ly, and it vil come to de fourth degree, and den you vil be mad. Dat you vil get by de caudle.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
You shan't persuade me out of my caudle for all that. 'Tis comfortable, yea, I find it very comfortable.

DR. QUIBUS
Me been two, tree, fore day studying and turning over all de autors to find cure for your distemper. Me read Galen, Hippocrates, Sennertus, Fuchsius and twenty more, and break

---

20. **sirrah** a term of address used to men or boys, expressing contempt, reprimand, or assumption of authority on the part of the speaker. *Arch*. (OED 1.a).
23-24. **He is … great eaters** see I.70-74 n.
29. ***Morbleu*** an altered form of Fr. *mort Dieu* ("God's death"), used to express annoyance or surprise. *Obs*. (OED int.).
30. **color** choler.
38. **Galen** Greek physician and philosopher (129 – *ca*. 216) who exercised a dominant influence on medical theory and practice in Europe from the Middle Ages until the mid-17th c. (EB). **Hippocrates** Greek physician (*ca*. 460 – 375 BC), traditionally regarded as the father of classical medicine (EB). **Sennertus** Daniel Sennert (1572 – 1637), German physician and influential representative of 17th c. atomism (Michael 272). **Fuchsius** Leonhard Fuchs (1501 – 1566), German botanist and physician whose botanical work *Historia Stirpium* (1542)

me brane vit de study, and now you spoil all vit de caudle. Cram, cram, cram.

MRS. TURBULENT
Pray, what is his distemper?

DR. QUIBUS
His distemper is de coloric melancoly.

PRISCILLA
How dost thou prove that?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
You must be prating too! What's that to you how he proves it? Does Mr. Goosequill prove all he says?

PRISCILLA
Yes, he says nothing but what he proves, and so ought he. He ought to make it plain to the hearers. We do not understand what he means by choleric melancholy.

DR. QUIBUS
Maistress Priscilla, you be de very learned voman, but you be troubled also very much vid de melancoly, I can prove dat; and all de house is troubled vid de melancoly, and all de varld is troubled vid de melancoly.

PRISCILLA
Thou shouldst tell us how. Thou sayst so, but that is not enough.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Kate, get me some gruel while the doctor disputes. I say get me some gruel!

DR. QUIBUS
If Maister Turbulent vil give me de leave I will tel de how all de varld is troubled vit de melancoly.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Aye, doctor, with all my heart! [*Aside*] I may then eat my gruel in quiet, I can eat and hearken to the doctor— Kate, the gruel! (*She gives him a mess*).

DR. QUIBUS
Mark ye me. De melancoly is de general disease of de hole varld, all de varld is troubled vit de melancoly more or less. Democritus did study de anatomy of de melancoly, and one Burton your countryman did write de great vollome of de melancoly. But I vil tell you all de hole book in fower vards. Dere is de melancoly fa-la, de melancoly pick-straw, de melancoly dumb-sad, and de melancholy stark-mad. And dere be all de melancolics, begar.

---

is considered a landmark in the development of natural history (EB).
39. **me brane** my brain.
40. **what is** Q1-Q2: what it.
41. **coloric** choleric.
52. **I will tell de** I will tell thee.
57-58. **Democritus … melancoly** according to Robert Burton (1577 – 1640), who published his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) under the pseudonym "Democritus Junior" (ODNB), the Greek philosopher Democritus of Abdera (*ca*. 460 – *ca*. 370 BC) had empirically tried to find the seat of melancholy by anatomizing dead animals (Burton I 20).
60. **begar** an altered form of "by God" (OED).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Very well, doctor, proceed.

DR. QUIBUS
Mark ye me. Dere be de fower sorts of de humors wich cause de fower sorts of de melancolies: dat is de sanguine or de blood, de phlegm, de co-lor, and de pure melancoly or adust blood. Mark ye me, dere be also one, two, tree, fower degrees of de melancoly. De first is called de melancoly only, but if it be not purged away, it vil rise to de second degree, and den it is called folly; so to the tird degree, vich is extreme folly, and lastly to de fowert degree, vich is madness.

MRS. TURBULENT
Methinks the doctor speaks very learnedly.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Go on, doctor, go on.

DR. QUIBUS
Vil you never don de eating?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I eat leasurely. I hearken, doctor, I hear you.

DR. QUIBUS
Vel den, me vil tel ye how de melancoly disturbs al men in de varld and is de general distemper of de hole varld. Mark ye me, de seat of de melancholy is de spleen vich draws to it de ticker and de grosser part of de blood, and ven dat intral is full of de adust melancoly blood and does no vel and rightly discharge itself, it mixes itself vit de other humors in de body and so diffuseth itself torow de hole body. Mark ye me.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
(*Eating still*) I do, doctor, I do.

DR. QUIBUS
Den if de melancoly mixes itself vit de sanguine humor or de blood, it causes de melancholy fa-la. It makes de laugh, de singing, de capering, de prancing, de love, de briskness, de poetry, de verses, de love letters, de folly, de mimic gestures, de apishness, de buffoon and apish asses; for de spleen is de seat of de laugh as well as of de sad and melancoly, but being mixed vit de blood it tickles de spleen and causes de laugh, ha, ha, ha. De Frenches, my countrymen, are very subject to dis sort of de melancoly, who are alvais laughing and meery, airy, light and full of de love. Now, as dis melancoly rises in degrees, it expresses itself more or less, an example of vich melancoly you have daily in Mr. Cringe, who comes daily to your house. He is, me assure you, much troubled vith dis sort of melancholy in de tird degree, and if he do not take my pill for de melancoly he vil come to de fowert degree and den he must

64. **adust blood** Q1-Q2: addust. Abnormally concentrated and dark in colour, associated with a pathological state of hotness and dryness of the body. Of the four humours, choler appears to have been the one most often described as adust. Adust humours, especially adust melancholy, were believed to be the source of mental and emotional symptoms as well as physical illness (OED adj.[1] 1.a).
76. **torow** through.
79. **prancing** Q1-Q2: pance-ing.
82-84. **De Frenches … de love** on this national cliché, see Burton: "Turks deride us, we them; Italians Frenchmen, accounting them light-headed fellows" (69-70).

go to de great hospital, and have a chamber dere to be cured.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Very well, doctor. Let us hear the other three, doctor. [*Aside*] By that time I shall eat up my gruel.

DR. QUIBUS
Vel den, if de melancoly mixes vit de phlegm it causes de melancoly pick-straw. All de people of de London are very much troubled vit dis dull and heavy melancoly. Dey sit in their shops and tink, tink, tink all day long, from morning to de night, of noting; all not worth one straw of de little sheat of dere shop, or of de news, buzz, buzz, buzz. Dey noting but pick straws all deir lifetime. Dis causes de grave and de full folly: de starved ass, the politician, the counsellor, de projector, de windmills in de head, de formal busybody about noting; it makes the false hopes and de dull fools. An example of dis melancholy you have in the projecting called Mr. Sneak, who comes often to your house: he is troubled vith dis melancoly pick-straw in de tird degree, and very near de forth.

MRS. TURBULENT
This doctor, I say, is very learned. I begin to be of his opinion.

PRISCILLA
Aye, mother, if he could prove it; but I have not yet heard one syllogism.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Peace! Doctor, proceed, as I do (*eats*).

DR. QUIBUS
Vel den, de tird sort of melancoly is ven de melancoly mixes vith de serum of the bloud and makes it stick like puddle water. Dis is de pure melancoly, de true *atra bilis*, black bile, and dis causes de dumb-sad. He sits all day vith his hat dus and his arms across dus. He no speak vards, he tinks altogether. He imagines strange dings, he sees strange sights. He tinks of de dible, of his cloven foot and de horns on his head. He tinks of de moon and of de religion. He sees visions of de angels and de strange beasts, and de monsters; dis causeth de prophesie, de fanatic, de sects, and de schisms, and de heretics, de divisions, de dark mists in de fancy and in de imagination, and de strange chimeras and all de strange delusions in de varld. An example of dis is the visioneer, who often comes hither, one Mr. Abednego Sucktum; he is troubled with dis in the fort degree, and is fit for de Bethlem.

MRS. TURBULENT
I like not that he should accuse brother Sucktum.

---

88. **de great hospital** Bedlam. See chapter 7.1.
96. **de windmills in de head** windmills were traditionally connected to madness and folly. See, for instance, the moral emblem ascribed to Folly in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*: "A person at mans estate, in a long, black garment; laughing; riding upon a hobby-horse; holding, in one hand, a whirligig of past-board; and plays the fool with children, who make it twirl it by the wind" (fig. 238).
97. **and** Q1-Q2: aud (<n> printed upside-down).
101. **syllogism** Q1-Q2: sylogism.
104. ***atra bilis*** in Galenic physiology, black bile or melancholy, one of the four main bodily fluids or humours thought to determine a person's temperament and features (EB *Galen*, *humour*).
107. **cloven foot** traditionally associated with the devil in christian tradition.
112. **fort** fourth.
113. **brother Sucktum** Mrs. Turbulent seems to be mocking Quibus' French accent.

DR. QUIBUS
Maistress Priscilla is troubled vith dis melancoly in de tird degree, mixed vith de phlegm melancoly, but she may yet be cured. But I tink Mr. Sucktum is past cure, and all de ellebore in d' Anticyra vil not give him de perfect cure.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Well, doctor, let us here the fourth.

DR. QUIBUS
De fort and de last melancoly is ven it mixes vith de color and dis causes de melancoly stark-mad. Dis is de *flava bilis*, de yellow bile or de coloric melancoly dat causes all de quarrels in de vorld and makes de fiting, de riots, de routs, de peevishness, de angriness, de beating one another, de disputing, de railings, de revilings, de treasons and de treasonable speeches, de turbulences, de rebellions and opposition of de governours and de government, of de kings and his laws, and of all unquietness in de vorld. Dis is de melancoly, Mr. Turbulent, which disturbs you and which you have in de tird degree and entring upon the fort, and for which you took my emetic to purge it out and to cure you. And now you goe spoil all vith eating caudle. Me no give you any more physic, begar; you shall go to de Bethlem for me.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
(*Setting down his gruel and rising up in great rage*) What? Do you say I am mad, varlet, as thou art? (*Mrs. Turbulent and Priscilla run and hold him)* Hold me not, I will beat the rogue's eyes out! Mad? Mad? Do you give me physic to cure madness? Ha! Am I mad? Mad?

MRS. TURBULENT
Be patient, Tim, be patient! I think the caudle has made you choleric.

DR. QUIBUS
So now you vil se de effects off de caudle and off de yellow bile, de color. I say, Maistre Turbulent, you are mad and vil be mad, and must go to de Betlem for de cure. And so fare de vel.

Exit.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Rogue, dog, rascal, knave! Does he come here to abuse me?

PRISCILLA
Thou wilt do thyself hurt to strain thyself after thy physic. Thou shouldst not be angry.

115-116. **de ellebore in d' Anticyra** the port of Anticyra in the Corinthian gulf was known for the hellebore that grew nearby (Hornblower and Spawforth 2012). Preparations from the root of this plant were commonly prescribed as a treatment for mental illness. See Burton: "Can all the hellebore in the Anticyrae cure these men?" (I 69); "black hellebore, that most renowned plant and famous purger of melancholy, which all antiquity so much used and admired" (II 230).

117. **here** in present-day RP both "here" and "hear" are pronounced with the centring diphthong /ɪə/, which has evolved from Early Modern English /i:ər/ and ultimately from a late Middle English insertion of /ə/ between the stressed vowel /e:/ and /r/ (Barber 1976: 308-310; Lass 108-111). It may be assumed that Turbulent is pronouncing "hear" to make it sound more continental or old-fashioned (similar to the Middle English rendering of the same verb: "here" /he:r/), thus mocking Quibus' faulty accent.

119. ***flava bilis*** in Galenic physiology, yellow bile or choler (EB *Galen*, *humour*). See II.104 n.

120. **fiting** fighting.

132. **you vil se** you will see. **color** Q1-Q2: colore.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Good Mrs. Sauciness! What, must you be prating too with your "thees" and "thous"? (*Offers to strike her* [*and*] *is held by Mrs. Turbulent*) Let me alone!

PRISCILLA
I begin to be of the doctor's mind without a syllogism. I think this is demonstration.

MRS. TURBULENT
Good Tim, be not so angry and turbulent.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I will be angry! I will be turbulent! And I'll make ye all know yourselves and that I have the spirit of government. I will be angry, you shall see!

MRS. TURBULENT
I think he's quite mad!

Mrs. Turbulent and Priscilla run out. Mr. Turbulent runs after them.
Enter Pollux and Furnish.

POLLUX
I think your uncle is mad within, his wife and his daughter can hardly hold him. Will you go in and see to pacify him? Your Dr. Quibus has made him mad in telling him he would be mad. They are all together by the ears, go in and part 'em.

FURNISH
Not I! The devil part 'em for me! I intend to make 'em madder, Pollux, before night, for I intend to make him drunk.

POLLUX
Not now he has taken physic!

FURNISH
Yes, to choose. I hope the doctor has purged away some of his choler. Good Pollux, when you see the coast clear give my uncle this note from me. Be sure you do not let my aunt see it, nor anybody else. Be very private, good Pollux. There's something for thee (*gives money*).

POLLUX
He shall be sure to have it. But I can't imagine how you'll get forth. There is to be a private meeting by and by.

FURNISH
'Tis no matter for that, I know I have a charm in the note. Profit, advantage and wine of free cost, that will bring him to me for all his physic and his private meeting, though he

---

137. **your "thees" and "thous"** by the Restoration period the use of the second person singular pronoun "thee / thou" had been replaced by the second person plural "you," which was clearly becoming the unmarked form. "Thee / thou" remained only as a form of address to one's social inferiors or to express intimacy, affection, anger or contempt (Barber 1993: 186). Quakers, however, adhered to the linguistic policy of using "thee / thou" in all situations (B. Birch 40-42).
s.d. **run out** Q1-Q2: run rut.
146. **together by the ears** fighting. *Obs*. (OED *ear* n.[1] 1.d).
150. **to choose** as a thing to choose, in preference. *Obs*. (OED v. 12).

were in the midst of his railing, which he loves next to his guts and money. But be sure, Pollux, to have a care that my aunt see you not give him the note.

POLLUX
I warrant you. You know I am trusty.

[TIMOTHY TURBULENT]
(*Calling within*) Why, Paul! Paul! Paul!

POLLUX
You had best sew me to your waistband, here's a deal of calling and bawling upon Paul.

FURNISH
Why do they call thee Paul?

POLLUX
Oh! They have only turned my heathen and profane name, as they call it, of Pollux to Paul; after they had taken me I was like to have been discharged when they heard my name was Pollux. Hark, they call again. I must see what's the matter.

Exit.
Enter Mrs. Sly.

MRS. SLY
Oh, Mr. Furnish, am I so happy as to meet you here! What have I done to you that you come not near my shop? Is not Holborn in your way never?

FURNISH
'Tis a dangerous hill, Mrs. Sly. I don't love to go that way.

MRS. SLY
You used to call often upon me when you went to your tailor's Mr. Snipwell in Fuller's Rents. They say, Mr. Furnish, you are very kind to his wife. I protest I cannot but wonder you are so kind to an oldish woman as she is.

FURNISH
I am kind to all, Mrs. Sly, old and young, fair and foul; all's one to me when I'm in the humour. I have too much business to stand picking and choosing of faces when I should need 'em.

MRS. SLY
When shall you receive money, Mr. Furnish? My chicken bid me to call upon you for the forty shillings for oil and anchovies and olives and capers. It has been now above a twelvemonth on the book.

FURNISH
[*Aside*] Pox on her, I thought I had paid her sufficiently for that score and that she would not have the impudence to have asked me for this poor sum. What will this world grow to at

---

167-168. **Holborn … a dangerous hill** the road to Tyburn, where criminals were taken to the gallows, led from Newgate prison along Holborn (Partridge), the area to the north of the Strand which takes its name from the Holebourne, a tributary of the Fleet (LE).
169-170. **Fuller's Rents** a building north of King's Bench Walk in the Inner Temple precincts, where tenements could be rented; also notorious for being a sanctuary for debtors in civil cases (Harben).
178. **score** a debt due to a tradesman for goods obtained on credit. *Obs.* (OED n. 11.a).

last?— Faith, Mrs. Sly, I had quite forgot. I will call upon you one day or other. [*Aside*] I'll be even with this jade for offering to ask me for money.

MRS. SLY
Do, Mr. Furnish, you shall be heartily welcome.

FURNISH
But hark you, Mrs. Sly, I have been often told of your husband's railing against the times and government. Openly in his shop, as if behind the counter were a privilege place, speaks and talks at a strange rate of railing. I tell you on't for your good, Mrs. Sly; I hear it talked of, I fear you'll be informed against and tried upon the statute of *scandalum magnatum*.

MRS. SLY
Cannot men speak in their own houses, but they must be troubled for it? Is it not a very wicked age, a dangerous time?

FURNISH
But why cannot you let the times alone, Mrs. Sly, and follow your vocations and your meetings, and let the king and his councillors alone? What is that to your oil and the olives, or to the mustard and salt? I tell you out of kindness, does it bring any profit?

MRS. SLY
Yes, by it we are known to the godly and it is as good as a sign at the door. My shop is never empty. My husband is an honest man.

FURNISH
Nay, this is something to the purpose, if you gain by railing. But for your husband's honesty, pray Mrs. Sly brag not of that, for the people say he is a great wencher.

MRS. SLY
Out upon them! He a wencher! I don't find he is so able, they belie him fearfully.

FURNISH
'Tis true enough, Mrs. Sly. He spends abroad to my knowledge, which makes him so weak at home. You don't know what a sly man he is.

MRS. SLY
Do not scandalize my chicken, he would not do such a thing for the whole world.

FURNISH
[*Aside*] Nor you, neither.

---

184. **as if … privilege place** as if it were a sanctuary or any other place with right of asylum (see OED *privilege* n. 5)

186. **statute of *scandalum magnatum*** in English common law (2 Ric. II, 1378), the defamation of a state official, aristocrat, or other person of high office, rank, or social standing (Fellmeth and Horwitz). The Earl of Shaftesbury, the leader of the whigs, had one Mr. Cradock, a mercer in Pater Noster Row, arrested in an action of *scandalum magnatum* for five thousand pounds early in 1682 (Luttrell 183), a legal case that triggered the publication of a satirical poem attributed to Thomas D'Urfey called *Scandalum Magnatum; or, Potapski's Case*. In this context, it may be tentatively assumed that the underlying allusion was perfectly understood by the audience.

199. **scandalize** bring shame or discredit upon. *Obs*. (OED v.[1] 4).

MRS. SLY
He never goes out but to meetings, I assure you. He haunts no ill places, not he, as I know on.

FURNISH
As you know on! Why, do you think he'll let you know on't? When you think he is hearing Mr. Thumper and Mr. Longlungs, he is in disguise picking up wenches in Moorfields.

MRS. SLY
Well, Mr. Furnish, you may talk, but he is no such manner of man.

FURNISH
Nay, if you won't believe me, will you believe your own eyes? Leave but the shop tonight and dress yourself up very modishly. Put some patches on those pimples and a vizard-mask o'er the face, and do you walk in the dark of the evening this night in the lower walk, near the old Bedlam, and you shall see this precise husband of yours, whom you think so devotedly hearing Mr. Longlungs, pick you up and carry you to a bawdy house.

MRS. SLY
I'll give you a good dish of anchovies if it be so. I protest I'll try, but I can't believe it.

FURNISH
Try, Mrs. Sly, and call me a thousand rogues if it be not so. But be sure you go into the Pope's Head tavern, and I'll be there to assist you.

MRS. SLY
And so I will. [*Aside*] I'll see if he speaks truth.

Enter Mr. Sly.

How now, chicken, with whom have you left the shop? Had not you patience to stay till I came home?

RABSHEKA SLY
I left the shop to be looked to by brother Suckthumb, he's very honest; and I promised to send thee to him, chicken, that he may come to Mr. Turbulent.

MRS. SLY
Out upon't! Leave Mr. Abednego Suckthumb in the shop! He's got into another world by this! Out upon't! He's looking in the moon, not to the shop. [*Aside*] But I'll watch your water, I'll warrant you.

Exit.

---

204. **picking up wenches** engaging the sexual services of prostitutes (OED *pick up* 3.c in *pick* v.[1]).
207. **put … pimples** through the 17th and 18th c. fashionable women wore patches on their face for adornment; they usually consisted of a small piece of black silk cut into decorative shapes such as half moons or stars (OED *patch* n.[1] 1.c). **vizard-mask** originally a mask worn to disguise or conceal one's face (OED 1.a); its use became widespread among prostitutes during the 1670s.
209. **old Bedlam** see chapter 7.1.
211. **I protest** I declare. *Obs*. (OED v. 3.a).
215-216. **How now … came home?** Q1-Q2 erroneously assign this speech to "Mr. Sly."
220-221. **I'll watch your water** I will keep a close eye on you. *Obs*. (OED *water* n. 18.c).

RABSHEKA SLY
Oh! It is the best and most diligent wife as ever man had, Mr. Furnish. She's so careful of her shop she's worth gold. But, Mr. Furnish, I think you have forgot the little debt you owe me for commodities.

FURNISH
[*Aside*] Pox on him! He's dunning me too, but I'll stop his mouth— I will pay it shortly, Mr. Sly, I had forgot it indeed. But, Mr. Sly, I hear a very ill report of your wife, that she is continually railing against the court ladies, and calls Westminster Sodom and Babel, preaches lectures behind the counter against patches and painting, and against the pride and the vanity of the ladies of the other end of the Town, and calls her betters Jezebels and strumpets. Mr. Sly, I am afraid she will be informed against.

RABSHEKA SLY
Alas, poor chicken! She thinks no hurt, she does it out of pure zeal. Oh, the iniquity of the times! They are very enormous times truly, Mr. Furnish.

FURNISH
Aye, indeed, Mr. Sly, so they are; for people to pretend to religion and have none, to go to meetings and cheat at home, to speak against swearing and lie all day long, to rail against whoredom openly and kiss a sister in private. Very enormous times, Mr. Sly.

RABSHEKA SLY
Nay, they are the wicked that do so.

FURNISH
Nay, they are the pretended sanctified brethren that do so.

RABSHEKA SLY
Why do you accuse the good people so falsely? Do you think they are like you?

FURNISH
No, Mr. Sly, I do that openly which you do privately, your conscience knows that. But it is an abomination, yea, a very great abomination and vileness in me, but in you 'tis but a backsliding, a slip and frailty of nature.

RABSHEKA SLY
Your uncle will not own you in these accusations. I shall let him know you are of a vile spirit.

FURNISH
In the mean time I will let you know that your dear chicken knows how to be even with you, Mr. Sly.

---

227. **Westminster** the old palace of Westminster as the administrative centre of the kingdom was derogatively seen by many as a place of entertainment and gossip (OED 1.a). **Sodom** an extremely wicked or corrupt place (OED 1), after the city near the Dead Sea which was destroyed by fire from heaven because of its wickedness (Gen. 19:24). **Babel** a scene of noisy confusion or a disparate, discordant collection of people or things (OED 2), after the biblical story of the construction of the Tower of Babel and the resulting confusion of languages (Gen. 11:1-9).
229. **Jezebels** derog., wicked women or those who paint their face (OED), after the Phoenician princess married to King Ahab of Israel (1 and 2 Kings).
232. **enormous** monstruous, shocking. *Obs*. (OED 1.a).
235. **whoredom** illicit sexual indulgence, fornication. *Arch*. (OED 1.a).

RABSHEKA SLY
Even with me! For what?

FURNISH
Oh, oh, you know for what! She knows when to take her times. When you are hearing Mr. Windy and Mr. Littlesense, she knows how to take a turn in Moorfields or so.

RABSHEKA SLY
Oh, this is intolerable! Don't scandalize my chicken so, you had not best.

FURNISH
Why this 'tis to be incredulous! Believe your own eyes, you are to go to the meeting tonight. When she thinks you fast and you suppose her in the shop, you may find her here walking in the lower walk by the Pope's Head tavern, and will take a collation or so.

RABSHEKA SLY
Can this be true, Mr. Furnish? [*Aside*] And why mayn't she transgress as well as I?— I have a good mind to be satisfied.

FURNISH
'Tis true as I tell you. I know those who have met her dressed up in her Sunday clothes, perfumed with rose cakes, a flaunting tower on her head, and all those shining pimples in her face hidden under black patches, a yellow hood and a vizard to keep herself unknown. And in this very dress, if you please, you may meet her this night about twilight.

RABSHEKA SLY
I would willingly satisfy myself. Sure chicken does not serve me so.

FURNISH
Come to me at the Pope's Head tavern and I'll furnish you with a wig, hat and campaign coat turned up with blue so that she may not know you, and you shall pick her up yourself and bring her to the tavern and be convinced that I tell you no lie.

RABSHEKA SLY
And I will, 'tis a business of much concern. If it be so, I find her nature is frail and she is not yet so perfect as I took her to be. Well, Mr. Furnish, I'll meet you at the time, but I can't believe that chicken is false to me. I'll go in to Mr. Turbulent.

Exit.

FURNISH
So he's gone to exercise his lungs with my uncle Turbulent, to rail against the government and the abominable profanation of the times, and to speak treason in their little private conventicle. He's a sweet saint, but I hope to be even with him.

Enter Cringe.

---

256. **rose cakes** cakes of compressed rose petals used as perfume (OED 1). **tower** a very high head-dress worn by women in the late 17th c., built up in the form of a tower of muslin, lace and ribbons (OED 6.b).
257. **yellow hood** Pepys records how on 14 May 1665 his wife went out to church "very fine in a new yellow birds-eye hood, as the fashion is now" (VI 102).
260-261. **campaign coat** a military uniform.
261. **turned up** decorated. *Arch*. (OED *turn up* 5 in *turn* v.).

I see this is a dangerous place for me to enter into, here's dun after dun. I can't shun him.

FINICAL CRINGE
Mr. Furnish, hey, your most humble servant. Mr. Furnish, 'tis a rare thing to see you, hey.

FURNISH
Why so, Mr. Cringe? I'm not such a monster.

FINICAL CRINGE
No, but you are never at home. I have been at your house forty times, hey, and can never meet with you, hey. I thought you had been a man of your word, hey. Did not you promise me the one hundred pound you owe me, hey, without fail at Christmas last, hey? And now it is July, hey.

FURNISH
[*Aside*] I must put him besides this discourse— If you call on me tomorrow or next day, Mr. Cringe, I will give you a bill upon a banker in Lombard Street. But pray, Mr. Cringe, how goes squares between my cousin Lucia and you? When are you to be married man?

FINICAL CRINGE
Why, Mr. Furnish, 'tis a secret. But I'll tell you, it is sooner that she thinks for, hey.

FURNISH
That's pretty! Marry and she not know it! What, you have got another miss?

FINICAL CRINGE
No, I have got a licence ready, and Mr. Turbulent has promised I shall be married to her tomorrow, hey. He'll make her consent, hey.

FURNISH
But do you think she loves you, Mr. Cringe?

FINICAL CRINGE
Oh yes, she loves me hugely, hey.

FURNISH
Then you have the art of courtship; she's witty.

FINICAL CRINGE
The art of courtship, hey! I court her the best and newest way of courtship, hey.

FURNISH
How's that?

FINICAL CRINGE
Why, in brave heroic verse, hey; just as the great heroes do in the playhouse, hey.

277-278. **how goes squares** how are things going? *Obs*. (OED *square* n. 6.b).
281. **a licence** from the early 16th c. onwards, a marriage licence was an authorized document that allowed a couple to marry without the customary reading or calling of banns in church. They were usually issued to avoid delays or unwanted publicity (Beal *marriage licence*).
288. **in brave … the playhouse** heroic verse had not been in vogue since the middle 1670s. See also II.293 n. and Prologue 7 n.

FURNISH
Then I see, Mr. Cringe, you steal privately to plays in the afternoon, after you have been at a meeting in the morning.

FINICAL CRINGE
I go only to see civil, heroic plays, hey.

FURNISH
Indeed that is a most excellent, fashionable way of making love. I'll tell you there is a gentleman that I know, who is about to put all *Coke upon Littleton* into heroics, not blank verse but rhymes, and would have engaged me to have spoken to my Lady Medler to get an order that the lawyers should plead in verse. Why, I think they might as well go to law in rhyme, as make love in rhyme, 'twould make the lawyers the more satirical.

FINICAL CRINGE
That would be excellent. Coke, hey! I'll have that Coke when it comes out, hey.

FURNISH
But, Mr. Cringe, shan't I see some of your poetry?

FINICAL CRINGE
I have a copy of verses here, but they are not finished, hey; and though I say it, they are the best heroics that ever were wrote, hey, and that's a bold word, hey (*pulls papers out*).

FURNISH
I hope they are not long. I do not love long stories in verse.

FINICAL CRINGE
No, they are but a few, hey. But you may judge by them, 'tis a dialogue between Mrs. Lucia and myself, hey.

FURNISH
A dialogue! Oh, I love discoursing in verse, 'tis excellent! Come, read it.

FINICAL CRINGE
You must know, hey, that Mrs. Lucia in a cross fit, hey, would have had me not to love her, hey; and you shall see how I have answered her, hey. I protest in as high strains as ever were writ, hey.

FURNISH
Pox on your preambles! Read 'em.

FINICAL CRINGE
Nay, I must make you understand, hey. Look ye, hey, *Lu. Well.* stands for Lucia Wellbred, and *Fin. Crin.* for Finical Cringe. Now, mark ye, *Fin. Crin.* begins. Hem! (*Reads*)

Love's fire within me does so fiercely glow,
My heart flames out in sacrifice to you.

---

293. ***Coke upon Littleton*** Q1-Q2: Cook upon Littleton. The colloquial name given to the first volume of the *Institutes of the Lawes of England* (1628) by the English jurist Edward Coke (1552 – 1634), an encyclopaedic work on real property consisting of legal commentaries upon Thomas Littleton's (d. 1481) medieval work on tenures (ODNB *Coke, Sir Edward*; *Littleton, Sir Thomas*). **heroics** the iambic pentameters associated with epic poetry in English (D. Birch); prob. also alluding to the rhyming couplets typical of the heroic drama of the 1660s and 1670s.

Your pity, which can never do you harm,
Will keep you from consuming like a charm.

Mark that, hey!

FURNISH
Very good. A high strain.

FINICAL CRINGE
Now *Lu. Well.* replies. Hem! [*Reads*]

If common pity will your pain relieve,
That is an alms I'll not refuse to give.
But could I, sir, resemble your desires
In answering them with the like scorching fires?
We our own executioner should prove
And burn up one another with our love.

Mark that, hey. Is it not excellent, hey?

FURNISH
By my faith, as Ben Jonson says, a very high vapour. 'Tis a strain beyond ela, man.

CRINGE
Hem, hem! Now *Fin. Crin.* replies. [*Reads*]

The flame of love no water can assuage,
It makes it blaze and roar with fierce and rage.

Now *Lu. Well.* again. Mark!

FURNISH
I do. [*Aside*] That you are a ninny.

FINICAL CRINGE
[*Reads*]

'Tis 'cause you don't—
Fling in fresh buckets at a faster rate,
A close supply its fury will abate—

FURNISH
She gives you good counsel, Mr. Cringe. But, what's that half verse? For with a long scratch was your muse jaded.

FINICAL CRINGE
Oh, 'tis the fashion to write so, in imitation of Virgil.

---

325. **as Ben … high vapour** the word "vapour" may have incorporated a new meaning after Ben Jonson's *Bartholmew Fayre* (1614; 1640), where it is extensively used to denote a fancy or fantastic idea, or a foolish brag or boast (OED n. 4). **ela** E5, the highest musical note in the medieval hexachordal system as established by the Italian music theorist Guido d'Arezzo (*ca*. 991 – *ca*. 1033). Although this system was no longer in use at the end of the 17th c., hexachordal names for notes were still common (Latham *Gamut, Guido of Arezzo, Solmization*). The name is also figuratively used as a type of something 'high-flown.' *Obs*. (OED).
328. **fierce** <erce> crossed out in Q1b; a manuscript annotation above reads [re].. See chapter 4.1.
336. **Virgil** Roman poet (70 – 19 BC) whose fame as ancient Rome's greatest poet rests chiefly upon the

FURNISH
Whether there be any reason for it or no.

FINICAL CRINGE
Prithee let me go on, you'll forget the sense, hey. Mark how I answer, hey. Now *Fin. Crin.* again. [*Reads*]

I'm quite tired out, just like an o'ertired beast
That's sinking, being with too much weight oppressed.

FURNISH
[*Aside*] Alas, poor weary ass!— An excellent simile.

FINICAL CRINGE
Nay, mark what *Lu. Well.* says. [*Reads*]

Then you should out aloud for succour cry
To ease you in this sad necessity.

Then *Fin. Crin.* replies with a smart repartee, hey. [*Reads*]

Oh! 'Tis you only that can succour give,
And reaching out to death can make me live.

FURNISH
That's beyond my comprehension.

FINICAL CRINGE
Mark again. *Lu. Well.* [*Reads*]

Speak then—

FURNISH
Why, what have you been doing all this while that she bids you speak now? Have you been talking all this while incognito?

FINICAL CRINGE
Pray mark. You are so critical, hey. [*Reads*]

Speak then, and you shall see that I will prove
So kind to give you anything—but love.

Do ye mark that long pause, hey? 'Tis fine that, and modish, as she had granted me all things and then to dash it all with a "but" again: "But love"— Hey, is not that fine? But then mark how I answer. *Fin. Crin.* [*Reads*]

But love—

Mark that long pause again, hey. [*Reads*]

But love— And that's the only thing I crave,
Without it I were better in my grave.

Is not that an excellent conclusion, hey?

Aeneid.
349. **comprehension** Q1-Q2: comprehensiou (<n> printed upside-down).

FURNISH
Why, I thought you said you had not concluded them.

FINICAL CRINGE
I do intend to make it longer, hey, but for the present, hey—

FURNISH
But for the present, they are long enough of conscience. But I must tell you, Mr. Cringe, that you are a very plagiary and have stole this most excellent dialogue out of a play called *Love's Triumph*. I see you deal in plays as well as sermons, Mr. Cringe.

FINICAL CRINGE
I protest I am the most unfortunate man alive, Mr. Furnish. 'Tis a very thievish age, for that author stole 'em from me, hey, or else our fancies jumped together, hey.

FURNISH
It may be so, Mr. Cringe. Well, I must take my leave of you.

FINICAL CRINGE
Pray don't speak of these verses to Mrs. Lucia, hey, I will surprise her with 'em, hey. (*With many foolish and antic bows*) Your servant, Mr. Furnish, your very humble servant.

Exit.

FURNISH
Go thy ways for a silly, finical, conventicling, versifying ninnyhammer.

Enter Lucia Wellbred.

Cousin Lucia, how is't? God give you joy, coz, I hear you are to be married tomorrow.

LUCIA WELLBRED
[*Aside*] How the devil came he to know that?— Yes, so I am today and will be till I am married. Who told you so?

FURNISH
Your own dear love.

LUCIA WELLBRED
[*Aside*] Sure he was not so impudent.—My love? Who's that?

FURNISH
Why, he that's to marry you tomorrow, Mr. Cringe.

LUCIA WELLBRED
[*Aside*] Oh, is it there! I had like to have committed a mistake—That's suddenly indeed and I know nothing of it.

---

367. **of conscience** by all that is right and reasonable (OED P3).
369. ***Love's Triumph*** a play called *Love's Triumph; or, the Royal Union* by Edward Cooke was printed in 1678. Although *The London Stage* suggests a possible performance in the 1677-1678 season (263), the epistle dedicatory describes the work as "an absolute stranger to the World, being never yet seen upon the publick Theatre." Cringe's lines can be found with minor alterations in I.viii (p. 10-11).
375. **ninnyhammer** a fool or braggart. *Colloq*. (OED).

FURNISH
'Tis a secret, coz, but you see I make none of it to you. The fop has got a licence ready and my uncle has promised him tomorrow, but I think you have more wit than to have such a ninny.

LUCIA WELLBRED
I thank you, cousin Furnish, for this discovery. I see he drives hard, but I will prevent it. I must take another course with this coxcomb and play the fool with him no longer.

FURNISH
Did not you tell me, coz, that you would let me see my uncle's armour of brown paper? But you are a wag and put it upon him.

LUCIA WELLBRED
In truth, cousin Furnish, I told you no lie, for he spoiled me three silver thimbles in making it and spent me sixpence in needles. He worked harder than a tailor before Easter at it, for six weeks locked up close in the garret. It is his own handy work every stitch on't, I'll assure you.

FURNISH
But what is it for?

LUCIA WELLBRED
You know he is terribly afraid of being laid up or sent to prison for his treasonable speeches. His guilty conscience tells him he deserves it and, though there's no danger at all, he and his visioner has framed such dreadful fancies in their heads that he is afraid of his own shadow and every noise of the carmen in the street makes him fear a massacre or a pursuivant, and I know not what melancholy chimeras.

FURNISH
But could he not have bought him arms?

LUCIA WELLBRED
Oh, no! His covetousness would not let him do that. Besides, he was afraid he should have been suspected for a plotter if arms had been found in his house.

FURNISH
But brown paper would be but small defence to either sword or bullet.

LUCIA WELLBRED
I assure you he has made it pistol-proof very near, and as to a sword 'tis impenetrable.

FURNISH
'Fore gad, I long to see these famous arms!

LUCIA WELLBRED
And that you shall at night, and him in 'em, if you will but disguise yourself like a pursuivant

391. **three** Q1-Q2: thtee.
392. **sixpence** see Appendix D.
396. **laid up** placed in confinement. *Obs.* (OED *lay up* 4 in *lay* v.[1]).
399. **pursuivant** a royal or state messenger, especially one with the power to execute warrants (OED n. 2.a).
406. **arms** armour (OED n.[2] 1).

or an officer of the guards and get two or three red coats and muskets and bandoleers, with which we'll furnish Hangby, Pol and one or two more like soldiers. And let me alone to fright him into his posture.

FURNISH
Faith, I have a design upon him before night, but this pleases me so well that I won't miss it. In the meantime, coz, farewell. You shall see me at night.

Exit.
Enter Pollux.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Well, Pol, what says Dr. Quibus?

POLLUX
He says he will be with you instantly, and swears *morbleu* the whole house is mad besides yourself.

LUCIA WELLBRED
That's well. 'Tis to prove 'em mad I send for him. Didst get the certificate drawn fair that I scribbled o'er?

POLLUX
Yes, there 'tis (*gives paper* [*and*] *reads*): "This is to certify all whom it may concern, that Mr. Timothy Turbulent, now dwelling in the lower square in Moorfields, is not *compos mentis*, but is distraught of his senses and fit for to be placed in the charitable Hospital of Bethlem for cure."

LUCIA WELLBRED
I think 'tis well enough, this I'm sure Dr. Quibus will sign to; and for a guinea I know I can have Dr. Plush's hand.

POLLUX
[*Aside*] Aye, and that you and all the house are mad too for another guinea.

Enter Suckthumb walking on the stage with his hat over his eyes and arms across.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Peace be unto yee.

Exit.

LUCIA WELLBRED
And to you also— There goes the seer. Do they meet today, Pol?

---

408. **guards** infantrymen belonging to any of the household troops in the English army, whose special duty is to attend and defend the sovereign (OED n. 8, Brewer *household troops*). **red coats** the traditional uniform of English soldiers (OED 1.a). **muskets** infantry guns with a long barrel, firing a large calibre muzzle-loaded ball and usually aimed from the shoulder or mounted on a forked stand (OED n.[2]). **bandoleers** broad belts worn over the shoulder and across the breast by soldiers; originally it helped to support the musket and had attached twelve little cases with charges for it. *Obs*. (OED 2).

424. **you and … another guinea** poss. with sexual innuendo; a guinea was the sum customarily asked by the prostitutes who plied their trade in the playhouses. See D'Urfey's *The Richmond Heiress* (1693): "The fools think the wenches heavenly company, and they tell them they are extream fine gentlemen; 'till at last few words are best; the bargain's made, the pox is cheaply purchas'd at the price of a guinea, and no repentance on neither side" (II.i, p. 14).

POLLUX
Aye, aye, they are going to exercise, Mr. Rabsheka is there already. But I shall shorten their meeting by and by, I'll spoil it.

LUCIA WELLBRED
How?

POLLUX
Oh, I have a note from Mr. Furnish to fetch him to the Pope's Head tavern. His good, dear nephew knows how to charm him. But my old missus must not know on't.

Exit.
Enter Cringe singing "fal la la la."

LUCIA WELLBRED
But I'll tell her on't and send her like an harpy among 'em when they are in the midst of their sport. Oh, here's my finical fa-la! I'll make him change his note instantly. I must leave fooling with this fool.

FINICAL CRINGE
(*With many antic ducks and cringes*) Your servant, Madam Lucia, I kiss your hands, hey. Mr. Turbulent is going to be busy, hey, and so I left him, hey.

LUCIA WELLBRED
And so am I, therefore pray leave me too.

FINICAL CRINGE
I am not so ill-bred, Madam Lucia, hey. What, to leave a fair lady, hey, and my mistress, hey?

LUCIA WELLBRED
Mr. Cringe, take notice that I leave you now for altogether and that the farce between us is ended. I am quite tired with your puppet play and I will have no more on't.

FINICAL CRINGE
I don't understand you, Madam Lucia, hey.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Then I'll make you understand me, hey. Mark me, if from this instant you ever come to offer me any of the paltry heroics, or to make love to me, or to speak, say, or pretend that I am your mistress, or offer so much as by dumb show, or with your grimaces to make any court to me, if I can not beat thee myself, I will have thee soundly lambasted and well-favouredly kicked by somebody else. Do you understand me now?

FINICAL CRINGE
This is very plain, hey. You are but in jest sure, hey.

---

432. **harpy** in classical mythology, a winged demon with woman's head who carried off children and souls (Grimal).
440. **for altogether** for good. *Obs*. (OED P).
443. **you** Q1-Q2: yon (<u> printed upside-down).
444-445. **am your** Q1-Q2: amyour.
445. **or offer** Q1-Q2: oroffer.

LUCIA WELLBRED
You had not best put it to the trial, you'll find I am in earnest and that I tell you this in true, keen and downright iambics, which is better than all your silly heroics.

FINICAL CRINGE
Um, this is tart, hey. Quite forsake me, hey.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Yes, for all you have got a licence, hey.

FINICAL CRINGE
[*Aside*] Oh, this wicked Mr. Furnish has told her of the licence and spoiled all.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Come, I'll advise you for old acquaintance sake, since you have been at the charge of taking out a licence. 'Tis but scraping out my name "Lucia Wellbred" and putting in my cousin, "Priscilla Turbulent," and all will be well again. She loves you, and there is five hundred pounds in Mr. Furnish's hand put out for her to my knowledge. Go, I say, court her and get her, the business is half done already. For I swear to you, Mr. Cringe, I would sooner lose all my portion and let my uncle Turbulent take it than be married to such a simple, nonsensical, finical ass as you are.

Enter Priscilla.

FINICAL CRINGE
This is very plain, Mrs. Wellbred, hey.

LUCIA WELLBRED
'Tis very true, Mr. Cringe. [*Aside*] Oh, here she comes! If I could make these extremes meet 'twould be excellent, and out of their disagreement frame an harmonious sound, I should be a she-Orpheus.

FINICAL CRINGE
[*Aside*] I have a good mind to court Mrs. Priscilla in very spite. That may make her come about, hey.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Cousin Priscilla, I have been speaking a good word for you to Mr. Cringe here. He says he loves you very much and I know you love him, he has many good parts. Why should you not know one another better? Long courtship's out of fashion. Come, Mr. Cringe, speak to her.

FINICAL CRINGE
And so I will, hey. (*To Lucia Wellbred aside*) I don't care a pin for you, Mrs. Lucia, (*sings*) fa la la la fal la la ly. Do you think I doted on you, hey? You are mistaken, hey, and I will have Mrs. Priscilla, and she shall have your portion, hey. How do you like that, hey?

---

450. **iambics** the most common kind of metrical verse in English, made up of metrical units consisting of one unstressed syllable followed by one stressed syllable each.
452. **all** Q1-Q2: rll.
464. **she-Orpheus** in Greek mythology, Orpheus could move and persuade animals and men by his music (Grimal). See also I.137 n.
471. **Mrs. Lucia** Q1-Q2: Mr. Lucia.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Aye, aye, if you can get it.

Exit.

PRISCILLA
(*Aside*) I have a great fancy and desire for this man. I like his fine, airy humour, it will do well to mix with my heavy temper. I had best provide for myself whilst I may.

FINICAL CRINGE
Do you love me, Mrs. Priscilla, hey?

PRISCILLA
Thou sayst so.

FINICAL CRINGE
But I would have you say so, hey.

PRISCILLA
Plainly if it would do thee any good to know it. Verily I have a kindness for thee.

FINICAL CRINGE
That is well, hey, and I will also be kind to you from this time forth, hey. [*Aside*] I have soon made an end of the business, hey, this is to the purpose, hey. I can round, round like a horse in a mill with Mrs. Lucia, hey, and am now just where I began, hey. A fig for Mrs. Lucia! I'll get Mrs. Priscilla in earnest if she will but love heroics— But, Mrs. Priscilla, shall I show you some verses? Won't you love verses?

PRISCILLA
They are very vain and abominable, and used only among the profane. They stink in the nostrils of the righteous.

FINICAL CRINGE
Mrs. Priscilla, we shall never agree if you will not let me write heroics. I shall never marry you.

PRISCILLA
[*Aside*] I had best yield to him till I am married and then I may convert him from that pagan trick of versifying.

FINICAL CRINGE
I will write hymns and lamentations.

PRISCILLA
Thou sayst well, plainly that will be very agreeable to my dispensation—ha—mayst write hymns of lamentation whilst the good people are under persecution.

---

480. **Verily** as a matter of truth or fact. *Arch*. (OED adv. a).
481. **I have** Q1-Q2: I (I have.
483. **just where I began** Q1-Q2: where just where I began. First "where" crossed out in Q1b. See chapter 4.1.
481-484. **I have … love heroics** Q1-Q2 erroneously assign this speech to Priscilla. The speech prefix is crossed out in Q1b. See chapter 4.1.
486. **abominable** Q1-Q2: abomianble.

[MRS. TURBULENT]
(*Calling within*) Pris, Pris, why, Pris!

PRISCILLA
My mother calleth, Finical Cringe. I shall be passing, but I am thine in the love.

Exit.

FINICAL CRINGE
So, I have made a short-hand of it, hey. I shall get Mr. Turbulent's daughter and Mrs. Lucia's portion, for she'll marry Mr. Fairlove, hey, and then her uncle won't give her a groat, hey; and so I shall have all, for he has nobody else to give it to, hey. A fig for Mrs. Lucia, hey! Fal la la fa la la fa la!

Exit singing.
Enter Mr. Turbulent, Rabshekah Sly, Suckthumb and Pollux.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Where is your mistress, Paul?

POLLUX
In her chamber, sir.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
What is she doing?

POLLUX
Cutting her corns.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Then she intends to go abroad tonight. Where is my daughter?

POLLUX
In her chamber, reading a piece of Aristotle's *Logic*, called *Problems, or, Hard Questions*.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Where is my niece?

POLLUX
She is in her chamber, at work.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
They are all well employed. Go, sirrah, see that the doors be locked fast and bolted, let the outer windows be shut up that the sound of the voice may not go forth. And be sure to stand at the door that nobody interrupt us and give us notice if any come near. Be you on your watch, sirrah. 'Tis dangerous times, friends, and 'tis wisdom to be cautious.

498-499. **a groat** Q1-Q2: groar. A very small sum. *Obs*. (OED 2.c). See Appendix D.

506. **Aristotle** Greek philosopher (384-322 BC), one of the greatest figures in Western thought. He was the author of a philosophical and scientific system that became the framework and vehicle for christian scholasticism and has since remained embedded in Western thinking (EB). ***Problems*** a work usually attributed to Aristotle, was probably the result of an accumulation of material over time and the product of more than one hand between the 3rd c. BC and the 6th c. AD. Traditionally considered by Aristotelian scholars a work on physics rather than on logics, it is mainly composed by a succession of questions about Aristotle's and other Peripatetic philosophers' works (Mayhew xiii-xxiv). The subtitle *Hard Questions* is not present in the English translations of the 16th and 17th c.

Exit Pollux.

They set. Suckthumb pulls his hat over his eyes and puts his thumb in his mouth, leaning his elbow upon his other arm.

Brother Suckthumb, set down, come, set down. This is the most private room in the house, we may speak free. Are not these sad times, brother Rabsheka, that we must skulk thus in holes and corners? Oh, the good times of Nerva, when everyone might think what he pleased and speak what he thought, and never be questioned for't! Oh, that was a gracious heathen emperor!

RABSHEKA SLY

Or the good times of the Rump, when anyone might rail against kingly government and the idols of monarchy without check or control. I tell you, brother Turbulent, it is a great tribulation to have one's zeal quenched.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT

Aye, brother, so that we are fain to whisper in the closet when we should cry on the housetops.

RABSHEKA SLY

Whilst the Nimrods, the Nebuchadnezzars, the Belshazzars and the oppressing pharaohs ride in their chariots and on their horses.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT

Whilst the Jezebels and the Athaliahs run about like wild colts snuffing up the wind.

RABSHEKA SLY

And yet we must be silent and our mouths must be muzzled that we may not bray against those sad abominations! But I will speak, and I must speak, and I cannot but speak against monarchy, which is the very tail of the beast that arises up with seven heads out of the bottomless pit.

---

515. **Nerva** Marcus Cocceius Nerva (*ca.* 30 – 98), Roman emperor (96 – 98) whose coinage slogan "*libertas publica*" (public freedom) is usually considered a wish to exercise a liberal and constitutional rule in direct opposition to that of his autocratic predecessor, Domitian (Hornblower and Spawforth 2003).

518. **the Rump** the remnant of the parliament that was left after Pride's Purge in December 1648, hence prepared to serve the army's purposes: it assumed full legislative authority, sentenced Charles I to death, abolished monarchy and the House of Lords, and declared England a commonwealth (DBH).

519. **monarchy** Q1-Q2: monarcy.

521-522. **whisper in … the housetops** see Luke 12:3, "therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed upon the housetops."

523. **Nimrods** the name of the legendary biblical figure described in Gen. 10:8-9 as "a mighty one in the earth" and "a mighty hunter before the Lord" (EB), often applied to tyrannical rulers and tyrants. *Obs*. (OED n. 1). **Nebuchadnezzars** after Nebuchadnezzar II (*ca*. 630 – *ca*. 561 BC), king of Babylon (*ca*. 605 – *ca*. 561 BC), known for capturing Jerusalem, destroying its temple and deporting many Israelites from Palestine to Babylon (EB). **Belshazzars** Q1-Q2: Balshazers. After Belshazzar or Balthasar (d. *ca*. 539 BC), coregent of Babylon who perished at the Persian capture of the city (539 BC) as had been foretold by the prophet Daniel in Dan. 5:7-8 (EB). **oppressing pharaohs** the kings of ancient Egypt, especially those under whom the oppression and exodus of the Israelites took place (OED *pharaoh* 1.a) as narrated in Exod. 1-19; most scholars date these events in the 13th c. BC, under the reign of Ramses II (Metzger and Coogan, *exodus*).

525. **Athaliahs** after Athalia, queen of Judah (843 – 837 BC) who usurped the throne and massacred all the members of the royal house (2 Kings 11:1-3).

526. **bray** cry out. *Obs*. (OED v.[1] 1.a).

528-529. **the beast … bottomless pit** see Rev. 17:7-8, "Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
'Tis the idol of the world and ought to be pulled down and laid in the dust. It must be overturned, overturned, overturned!

RABSHEKA SLY
For it permits the wicked and abominable men to do what is good in their own eyes, and suppresses the fiery zeal and the zealous fury of those who stand up for reformation.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
And suffers the gathering together of minstrels, and the noise of the flutes, and the tinkling cymbals in the streets.

RABSHEKA SLY
And the morris dancers and the rope-dancers! The puppet plays, the bull-baiting, the bear-baiting, the horse races and the cards and the dice! Oh, abominable!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
And the players of interludes, and the men and the women singers.

RABSHEKA SLY
But Babylon must fall, must tumble, must be pulled down.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
And it shall fall, and it shall tumble, and it shall be pulled down. (*Suckthumb groans once or twice*) Peace, brother Suckthumb has seen a vision, he is about to speak! Brother Abednego, what hast thou seen?

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
(*He lifts up his hat gravely*) I was carried out of this carnal body into the world in the moon and there I beheld a great tree whose branches overspread the face of the earth. On the top of this tree sat an eagle and a crown upon his head. And there came a mighty dragon out of

---

mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns. The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition."

534. **minstrels** professional entertainers, usually non-literate secular musicians who played music from memory (EB, Latham *minstrel*).

536. **rope-dancers** a popular form of dancing which combined dancing with rope skipping and rope twirling, frequently seen at the court and fairs (LS cviii). **puppet plays** puppet shows were popular at the fairs, court and in booths in Charing Cross through the period from 1660 to 1700 (LS cxxxvii-cxxxviii, Speaight 73-85). Among several others Pepys mentions a visit to Moorfields to see Polichenelle on 22 August 1666 (VII 257). See V.111 n.

536-537. **the bull-baiting, the bear-baiting** a bear garden in Bankside for these blood sports had been extremely popular in the 16th c.—both Henry VIII and Elizabeth I had attended it—and remained thus at the Restoration until its suspension in 1665 due to the Great Plague. These disciplines, also typically seen at fairs and other popular festivals, consisted of a pack of dogs set on either a bear or a bull tied to a stake (Collins *et al.*, LE *bear gardens*).

537. **the horse races** horse-racing became popular in England during the 16th c., when Henry VIII imported horses from Italy and Spain and established studs at several locations. In the early 17th c. it received support from both James I and Charles I, who sponsored meetings in England. Although some legislation passed during the Interregnum intended to ban the sport, at the Restoration it became fashionable again when noblemen founded stables themselves and became interested in breeding racehorses (DBH, EB *horse-racing*).

538. **players of interludes** drolls and interludes were usually performed at the fairs. LS notes that records of dramatic works increased at Bartholomew Fair between 1680 and 1700, when the authorities forbade booths for stage plays (xlv). These dramatic pieces usually offered heroical motifs or crudely acted low comic scenes (Rosenfeld 11).

a river running at the foot of this tree, and fire came out at his mouth, and he devoured the tree and the eagle thereon.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Oh, wonderful! Hast thou the interpretation of this vision given to thee?

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Not yet. It may be revealed.

Enter Pollux [*and*] *gives Mr. Turbulent a note. He goes aside and reads.*

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
'Tis from my nephew Furnish, I hope he has got some money for me. [*Reads*] "Dear uncle, I must needs speak with you about a very great concern and advantage to you. I am at the Pope's Head tavern near your house, where I have got ready a pottle of buttered sack because I heard you had taken physic. Make haste and let not my aunt know of it. Your loving nephew, Furnish"— Friends, I have a very great concern that calls me away at this time, but we will meet again.

RABSHEKA SLY
And I have also at this time some extraordinary business to go to Mr. Furnish.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Peace be with you. I shall retire into the silence and wait.

Exeunt.

The end of the second act.

547. **thereon** upon it. *Arch*. (OED 1.a).
552. **a pottle** a pot, tankard or similar container, usually one with the capacity of a pottle (half a gallon or 2.3 litres approximately). *Arch*. (OED n.[1] 1.a).
552-553. **a pottle … taken physic** sick people were usually given hot sweetened wine or ale mixed with different nourishing or invigorating substances. See I.250 n.

ACT III

The scene: a tavern.

Enter Furnish and Hangby dressed with a broad-brimmed hat, cropped hair, little band, broad-skirted doublet, close-kneed breeches, a little black cloak faced down, etc.

FURNISH
Why, thou art dressed in cuerpo and so metamorphosed that nobody can know thee.

HANGBY
The right cut of an Amsterdam brother.

FURNISH
But you must alter your voice.

HANGBY
I have the right twang of the nose. Let me alone for both whine and goggle.

FURNISH
Thou art a pure rogue! What shall your name be?

HANGBY
Oh! Peregrine Pricket.

FURNISH
It sounds well! This uncle of mine is at his exercise, he'll hardly be here yet this hour. Oh, here's Grin Sneak, he won't know you in this dress. Let's sport with the fool a while.

Enter Sneak.

GRIN SNEAK
Are you busy, Mr. Furnish?

FURNISH
No, Grin. (*Aside to Sneak*) Oh, sirrah, I have met with one of the rarest fellows in the world for projects, but he is a stranger and you may make yourself by him. He wants somebody to promote his business.

GRIN SNEAK
Say you so? Let me alone for that. You know my Lady Medler is my true friend.

FURNISH
Mr. Peregrine Pricket, pray know this gentleman, sir, he is of my acquaintance. You'll find him a very ingenious man, and one who is a great virtuoso and lover of rarities, one that has

---

s.d. **Hangby dressed … down, etc** Hangby is dressed as a typical 17th c. puritan. See also I.88 n., I.284-285 n..

1. **in cuerpo** without the cloak or upper garment, so as to show the shape of the body. *Obs*. (OED).

2. **an Amsterdam brother** numerous English churches, puritan in theology and practice, were founded in the Netherlands in the 16th and 17th c., due to the religious policy adopted by the United Provinces after they gained their independence from Spain. Two English churches were active in Amsterdam in the early 1680s, the Amsterdam English Reformed Church and the Amsterdam Brownist Church (Sprunger 4, 399-402).

4. **I have … and goggle** a nasal intonation and goggle eyes were physical features typically attributed to puritans in the 17th c. (OED *goggle* n. 2.a, *twang* n.[1] 2.a); in Aphra Behn's *The Roundheads* (1681; 1682) they are humorously depicted as having "the gadly sneere, the drawing of the face to a prodigious length, the formal language, with a certain twang through the nose, and the pious gogle" (II.i, p. 14).

spent his whole life in finding out rare inventions.

HANGBY
You give him a friendly character— Sir, your humble servant. I am blunt, sir, and a traveller (*embraces*).

GRIN SNEAK
Your servant, sir. I shall be happy in the acquaintance of such an ingenious man as I understand you are. I have made it my business, sir, to find out many things for the good of the commonwealth. But of all, I am pleased with one thing that I am now undertaking, that will make England happy and will cause the Act of Burying in Woollen to be repealed.

FURNISH
That would do well and be a great ease to the heart of many an old woman who weeps and laments o'er her lace cut-work smock, that has been laid up in lavender for fifty years to be buried in, and now must be wrapped in woollen.

HANGBY
Indeed that is a beneficial project, but I have one that will be much more beneficial to myself and to all the land of England, Scotland and Ireland. I can take a partner in with me and yet upon the dividend reserve twenty thousand pounds to myself.

GRIN SNEAK
[*Aside*] Oh, God, this is a rare fellow; I will get in with him— Mr. Pricket, I think Mr. Furnish calls you, pray let us confer notes together over a glass of wine (*knocks*).

Enter Drawer.

Sirrah, fetch a bottle of the best claret.

DRAWER
I shall, sir.

Exit Drawer.

FURNISH
(*Aside*) This rogue has not money to pay for this bottle of wine, and yet the joy of meeting this projector has put him into a rapture and given him some confidence. Who else is the sneakingest puppy in the world?— Well, gentlemen, sit down and be plain with one another like friends.

GRIN SNEAK
I shall not be thy servant— Look you here, sir (*pulls out a lock of fine flax wrapped up in a*

---

15. **virtuoso** a man of wealth and leisure interested in the newly developing natural science dependent on empirical methods, experimentation and inductive reasoning (Prieto-Pablos *et al*. xxxiii). In a depreciatory sense, the term could also be mockingly applied to those who carried on such investigations in a dilettante manner (OED 2).
22. **Act of Burying in Woollen** intended to encourage the national woollen manufactures, three acts of parliament (1666, 1678 and 1680) required the dead to be buried in pure English woollen shrouds or else pay a £5 fine for non-observance (Raithby 598, 885-886, 940).
24. **lace cut-work smock** a woman's undergarment made of a kind of openwork embroidery (OED *cut-work* 2.b, *smock* n. 1.a).
30. **confer notes** exchange views or impressions. *Obs*. (OED *confer* 4.b).
31. **claret** a generic name given to red wines in England (Ayto).

sheet of paper). Do you see this lock of curious fine flax of which they make sisters thread? And yet this flax is made of the coarsest hemp in England.

HANGBY

Indeed, sir, 'tis very fine. But when I was in Flanders I met with a certain Dutchman that made just such out of nettle stalks and was crying an hundred pound weight of nettle seed to sow all the fields about Bruges, of which he intended to make the finest sort of cambrics.

GRIN SNEAK

That was extraordinary! Of this, sir, I intend to make fine Holland, and by which I shall get *de claro* sixty pound a week, and so improve the manufacture of linen in England that it shall be so plentiful within a few years that they shall be glad to bury it again underground.

Drawer brings wine.
Exit.

FURNISH

Mr. Peregrine, I think now he will outdo you.

HANGBY

Pray, sir, I confess he goes beyond me in manufactures, but I assure you I can go beyond him or any man else at the handicraft trade. I have made a wimble to bore hairs, which I can do so exactly by the help of a microscope that it caused the great admiration of several virtuosos.

GRIN SNEAK

But of what use can that be? I love things that are beneficial to a commonwealth.

HANGBY

Oh, sir, they are to make treble flageolets for ladies, that they may not spoil their mouths with the great ones.

GRIN SNEAK

But this is but of little benefit to yourself. Mine will bring me in sixty pounds a week.

---

38. **sisters thread** bleached thread (OED).
39. **coarsest** Q1-Q2: coursest.
42. **Bruges** a Belgian city in the Flanders region. **cambrics** fine white linen, originally made at Cambray in Flanders (OED a).
43. **Holland** a linen fabric, originally called, from the province of Holland in the Netherlands, Holland cloth (OED n^1 2.a).
44. ***de claro*** Lat. "net, clear."
s.d. ***brings*** Q1-Q2: *bring*.
48. **a wimble** a gimlet (OED 1.a) or boring tool.
49. **microscope** the microscope was probably invented in the Netherlands about 1590 (EB) and introduced to England by Robert Hooke (1635 – 1703), who compiled all his experiments on the matter together with a new theory of light in his *Micrographia* (1665), the work that initiated the field of microscopy (ODNB *Robert Hooke*).
52. **flageolets** small flutes with two thumbholes and four fingerholes, which originated in France in about 1600 (Latham).
52-53. **they are … great ones** poss. with sexual innuendo; flutes and other similarly shaped instruments were often used in slang to allude to the penis (G. Williams *flute*).

HANGBY

That, I confess, was by the by. But my great project that will make us both rich and which I have been this seventeen years about, is an admirable flea-trap, a benefit the commonwealth never yet received from all the virtuosos.

GRIN SNEAK

But the profit as to us still?

HANGBY

I'll make it plain to you. There are so many thousand houses in England. Now, every house shall have one of these traps for one shilling a year, which I will be bound to furnish them with. Now, what family in England would not be glad to have such a trap to catch all their fleas? They would think it the best shilling that ever was given in their lives, and pay it willinglier than hearth money.

GRIN SNEAK

'Fore Gad, 'tis a rare invention and exceeding beneficial! But have you made trial of it?

HANGBY

Yes, yes. I have a compost of a strange faculty which will draw all the fleas in the house into the trap. I made trial of it the other day for a wager and enticed a flea out of a lady's warm bosom which a gentleman had made a copy of verses on.

GRIN SNEAK

That was admirable. I will speak to my Lady Medler to get a patent, that none shall make of these traps for seven years but yourself.

HANGBY

Why, that's it I would have, and judge you if there be but five hundred thousand houses in England—as there are the Lord knows how many more—and that we have twelvepence a house yearly, to what a brave estate it will amount. And this also may be got for Scotland and Ireland, perhaps at two shillings a trap, because they want them more. You shall go halves with me.

GRIN SNEAK

And I'll get it done for you, I'll warrant you. I have great interest at court and I'll make it

---

55. **by the by** of secondary importance, incidental. *Obs*. (OED n.^{2} 2.a).
59. **there are … in England** the population of England was around five million in the mid-1680s (Wrigley and Schofield 528).
63. **hearth money** from 1662 to 1688, a yearly tax of two shillings on every fire-place in all houses liable to church and poor rates, or above a minimum value of twenty shillings per year (Brewer *chimney money*).
64. **exceeding** exceedingly. *Arch*. (OED adv.).
65. **faculty** a power or capacity; an active quality, efficient property or virtue. *Obs*. (OED 2.a).
66-67. **a flea … verses on** see I.182-183 n.
68. **a patent** a licence conferring the sole right to manufacture, sell, or deal in a product or commodity (OED n. 3). The 1624 Statute of Monopolies (21 Jac. I) provided a fully statutory basis for the patent system and limited the term of protection for future patents to fourteen years (Deazley).
71. **twelvepence** see Appendix D.
72. **brave** a general epithet of admiration or praise: worthy, excellent, good. *Arch*. (OED adj. 3). **estate** capital, fortune. *Arch*. (OED n. 12.a).
75-77. **And I'll … ever undertook** Q1-Q2 erroneously assign this speech to Hangby. The prefix is crossed out and a new one reading "*Sne*." supplied by hand in Q1b. See chapter 4.1.

my business. (*Aside*) This was a happy encounter and the most feasible and rationable I ever undertook.

Enter Drawer.

DRAWER
Sir, Mr. Turbulent is below, shall I send him up?

FURNISH
Aye, aye, send him up, sirrah. Is the pottle of buttered sack ready I spoke for?

DRAWER
Yes, sir.

FURNISH
Bring it up, and some manchets to sop in it. Show these gentlemen another room, you rogue— Go, gentlemen, and discourse your affairs in the next room, till I have occasion for you.

Exeunt Sneak and Hangby [*with Drawer*].

I must first mollify the heart of my dear uncle before I can attempt my business, and he will not drink with strangers. Oh, here comes the sick man.

Enter Mr. Turbulent.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
(*Coughs*) Ugh, ugh, ugh! Nephew, you are a strange man! To send for me out of doors when I have taken physic! Ugh, ugh! I fear I have gotten cold already, that I have.

FURNISH
Come, uncle, I have got some good buttered sherry, 'tis the best thing in the world after an emetic.

Drawer brings wine and manchets.
Exit.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Your Dr. Quibus thinks I'm mad and gives me pills of hellebore to cure me. Let me tell you he's a very ignorant abusive fellow, that he is.

FURNISH
A mere quack. But he has rare medicines; come, let him go. Uncle, here's a good draught to you, 'twill breed good blood (*drinks*).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
'Tis pure good and comfortable, 'tis very hot (*drinks and pauses*). But, nephew, what is the earnest business you sent for me about?

---

76. **rationable** reasonable. *Rare* (OED adj.[1] 1).
79. **buttered sack** See II.552-553 n.
81. **manchets** flat, circular cakes. *Obs*. (OED 2.b).
s.d. ***Drawer brings*** Q1-Q2: Boy, bring. Both quartos include this stage direction as part of Furnish's speech.
94. **pure** absolutely (OED adv. 1).

FURNISH
I'll tell you anon. Drink off your cup first, 'tis good to keep out the cold.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Well, nephew, I'll drink to you (*drinks*). 'Tis very extraordinary good.

FURNISH
I'm glad you like it, uncle.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
But, nephew, when shall I have the five hundred pounds you have promised me? If none thrive better by merchandizing than I did, there will be few aldermen.

FURNISH
Well, uncle, I shall pay you all very shortly with thirty per cent interest. You will see me in a very fair way to be Lord Mayor of London.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Would I could, boy! I always had a kindness for thee. (*Drinks*; *Furnish fills his cup*) 'Tis so hot it makes me sweat.

FURNISH
[*Aside*] It begins to make him glow already. How he sucks it down!— 'Tis very good, uncle. You don't drink? Come, a health to my aunt!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Pish, an old woman without teeth! I'll drink no healths. But if you'll begin a remembrance to my Lady Medler, I'll pledge you. Oh, that's a very loving lady, and the best of a court lady I ever met with.

FURNISH
Come away, then, here's to her.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I'll think of her (*drinks all*).

FURNISH
[*Aside*] He begins to be warm— (*Fills again*) Come, uncle, t'other dish and I'll tell you my business.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Come then. Under the rose, to your mistress! [*Drinks*].

FURNISH
Well remembered! Bravely done! I'll pledge you a brimmer (*fills cups again*).

---

96. **anon** straightway, at once. *Obs*. (OED adv. 4.a).
97. **extraordinary** extraordinarily. *Obs*. (OED adv.).
100. **aldermen** the chief officers of wards in the City of London (OED 3).
102. **Lord Mayor of London** the office of Mayor of the City of London can be dated back to 1189 (Noorthouck 889), although it was not until 1215 that King John granted the City the right to elect their mayor (ODNB *John, king of England*).
108. **pledge** to drink to a health that has been proposed. *Obs*. (OED v. 4.b).
112. **dish** cup (OED 1.b).
114. **under the rose** privately, in secret (OED *rose* n.[1] P1).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Truly methinks it has done me good, hem, hem. 'Tis a very excellent creature, it cheers the heart. You can't think how light I am. But, your business?

FURNISH
I am always studying your good, uncle. A cat does not watch so diligently for a mouse as I do for opportunities of serving you. Nay, if you won't drink I won't tell you any more.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I do, nephew (*drinks*). Come, what is it?

FURNISH
I have met with a gentleman of Cumberland, one Mr. Peregrine Pricket, who has been in Holland these seven years. His father was a great oliverian, and he is of the right stamp, a Commonwealth's man. His father died this last Christmas and has left him four hundred pounds a year, which he is now going to take possession of.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
And what's all this to me? (*Drinks*).

FURNISH
Nay, if you han't patience to hear! Why, he's a bachelor and wants a wife. I, having great intimacy with him, have recommended my cousin Priscilla to him and let him know I had five hundred pounds of hers in my hand, put out for her portion. And he promised me to meet me here by and by; for which end I sent for you, that you might see him and discourse about it.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Four hundred pound a year, say you.

FURNISH
Aye, four hundred pound a year, and one also to your heart's wish. He has been bred up so long in Amsterdam that he says the very smell of monarchical air makes him sick and is ranker in his nostrils than lamp oil or stinking butter.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
That's a man cut out for me! But will he rail bravely against the times? Hah! May a man speak freely to him without fear?

FURNISH
Oh, 'tis his whole delight! 'Tis the true liberty of a butter-box. He'll speak against governors and magistrates as if they were scavengers or chimney-sweepers, and as reverently of princes and lords as if they were tapsters and hostlers.

---

115. **brimmer** a brimming cup or goblet (OED n. 2).
116. **creature** alcoholic drink (OED 1.d).
121. **Cumberland** a historic county in northern England which consisted of the western part of the Lake District, a district to the east towards Alston, and lands north of Hadrian's Wall towards the Scottish border (DBH).
122. **oliverian** a supporter or follower of Oliver Cromwell.
134. **ranker** more rotten or festering. *Rare* (OED adj. 12).
137. **butter-box** derog., a Dutchman. *Obs*. (OED 2).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
A rare fellow! I love him already. But you know Priscilla is a quaker, how will he like that?

FURNISH
'Twill please him the better, he is a muggletonian. And as for manners, has as little as any quaker of them all; and as for "thee" and "thou," he says it was the language of Adam and Eve.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
A rare fellow indeed! Better and better! (*Drinks*) Well, dear, dear loving nephew, I can't but hug thee for this news. This welcome tidings and the good wine has cheered my heart. Come, nephew, have you forgot all your old songs?

FURNISH
No, uncle, I will sing any that you like.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Oh, sing the hymn of the highwayman.

FURNISH
What? "I keep my horse, I keep my whore"?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Aye— That, that—

FURNISH
[*Aside*] So now it begins to work. What pains am I fain to take to open the close-locked heart of this covetous uncle of mine!— Well, I'll sing it, uncle (*sings an old song; Turbulent sets himself in an antic posture, staring with his eyes and holding his hands like a changeling, singing after him all the while, nodding his head up and down*).

I keep my horse, I keep my whore,
I take no rents, yet am not poor.
I travel all the land about
And yet was born to never a foot.
With partridge plump and woodcock fine
I do at midnight often dine.
And if my whore be not in case,
My hostess' daughter takes her place.
The maids sit up and watch their turns,
If I stay long the tapster mourns.
The cook-maid has no mind to sin,

---

141. **muggletonian** a member of the sect founded by Lodowick Muggleton (1609 – 1698) and John Reeve (1608 – 1658) in 1652; they denied the doctrine of the Trinity and held that reason was the creation of the devil (OED n.; Livingstone).
142-143. **Adam and Eve** the first humans, male and female, created by God in his likeness, as told in the book of Genesis.
145. **tidings** reports, news. *Obs*. (OED 2.a).
151. **fain** willing. *Obs*. (OED adj. 3.a).
s.d. **changeling** a half-witted person, an idiot. *Arch*. (OED 4).
159. **in case** in good physical condition. *Obs*. (OED n.[1] 5.b).

Though tempted by the chamberlain.
But when I knock, oh, how they bustle!
The hostler yawns, the geldings justle.
If maid but sleep, oh, how they curse her!
And all this comes of "Deliver your purse, sir"!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Oh, that once again, dear nephew (*sings "but when I knock," etc*).

FURNISH
(*Furnish knocks and whispers the Drawer*) Bid the gentlemen in the next room come in. [*Aside*] I have wrought him up to the right cue. Now I can mould him like wax— Oh, uncle, here's the gentleman I spoke to you of.

Enter Hangby and Sneak.

Mr. Peregrine Pricket, your servant, sir. This is my uncle, sir, I spoke to you of.

HANGBY
(*Gravely saluting and embracing*) Sir, I shall be happy to be made known to you.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I have heard of your worth, sir, by my good nephew here. Will you sit, sir, and do as we do? I was not very well and my good nephew has provided for me some buttered sack. Sir, here's to you (*drinks*).

HANGBY
Mr. Furnish has promised to furnish me with a commodity that I want: a wife, sir; and has told me of a daughter of yours, Mrs. Priscilla I think he called her, a very religious and godly virgin. 'Tis my desire, sir, to marry into a religious family. I am newly come to my estate and will settle two hundred pounds a year jointure. As for her portion, I know it already, I dare take Mr. Furnish's word for it.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I see, sir, we shan't be long a-making up this match. I like you and I like your estate, and you like me and the portion. Now, if you and my daughter like one another, the business is done.

Whilst they are talking, Furnish and Sneak go out.

HANGBY
No question but I shall like her, I have heard so much of her many excellencies and good

---

164. **chamberlain** a person in charge of the bedrooms at an inn. *Obs*. (OED 3).
153-168. **I keep … purse, sir** this song appeared first in Thomas Middleton's *The Widdow* (III.i, p. 27). A score, attributed to William Lawes, can be found in the British Library (Add. MS 29396, ff. 77^{v}-78), although Sabol and Taylor argue that it must have been written for a revival, because no known theatre music pieces by Lawes are known before 1634 (152). On the other hand, in Playford's *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (1686), the song is recorded as being from *Henry IV*, so it may be tentatively assumed that it could have been used at any of the performances of this play given by the King's company between 1660 and 1668 (see LS 12, 19, 23, 28, 122, 127, 146).
171. **wrought** worked. *Arch*. (OED v.).
179. **godly** religious or pious in conduct and speech. *Arch*. (OED adj, 2.a).
181. **jointure** a competent livelihood of freehold for the wife of lands and tenements, to take effect presently in possession or profit after the decease of the husband for the life of the wife at the least (Coke 1628: 37 a).

qualities. The worst I know of her is her skill in logic, I do not love to have my wife have more logic than I. She'll say or do anything and prove it by logic.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Indeed you say true. I have told her often of it, and that she should not love reason so well. Indeed I must confess logic is her worst fault. But when she is married you'll find other business for her than poring in logic books.

HANGBY
I was a while at school at Leiden, and if I can remember any of my old lessons, I'll court her that way.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
That will win her heart. But 'tis no matter, Mr. Pricket, I have the spirit of government and steer the helm of the commonwealth in my own family. She shall have you, like or like not, and it shall be as I please. I am the speaker in my family.

HANGBY
But that will be too tyrannical to compel her. But if there be the major voices of the family, I think she may then be lawfully compelled.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
You say very well, and it shall go by your voices. I see you are a true Commonwealth's man. But we live in sad times.

HANGBY
Aye, times of Egyptian darkness.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Whilst men eat and drink, and rise up to play—

HANGBY
Till their eyes cannot look out with fatness.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
They wallow in the puddle of filthiness.

HANGBY
And roll themselves in the sink of sin. Oh, the riotousness and wickedness of this age!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
The villainies, the whoredoms, the fornications, the adulteries, the pride, folly and vainglory of this age!

---

192. **Leiden** a city in the western Netherlands, whose university became a centre of Dutch reformed theology in the 17th c. (EB).
201. **Egyptian darkness** see Exod. 10:21-22, "And the Lord said unto Moses, stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt. And Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days."
203. **till their … with fatness** see Ps. 73:7-8, "Their eyes stand out with fatness: they have more than heart could wish. They are corrupt, and speak wickedly concerning oppression: they speak loftily."
204-205. **they wallow … of sin** a common iconography widely used in homilies and sermons of the time. A sermon against adultery published in *Elizabethan Homilies* reads "we should find the sin of whoredom to be the most filthy lake, foul puddle, and stinking sink, whereunto all kinds of sins and evils flow" (Church of England 1810: 104).

HANGBY
This wanton, luxurious, exorbitant, abominable, scurrilous, cheating, bribing, cozening and treacherous age!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
This libidinous, licentious, lascivious, lying, lazy, latitudinarian age!

HANGBY
(*Aside*) He has almost run me out of breath, he is too well practiced at this sport— Well, sir, in the meantime here's to you! I'll ha' your daughter and jointure her bravely—

Enter Drawer hastily.

DRAWER
Oh, sir! Mr. Furnish is taken below with an execution and the sergeants are having him away to prison!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
What ill chance is this? Just as I am about the preferment of my daughter—

Enter Furnish, Sneak, Sergeants.

FURNISH
Uncle, if you don't help me at this pinch I am undone! I had got money to have paid this, but only my promise to meet Mr. Pricket and you here made me neglect it. (*Whispers Turbulent*) 'Tis but for fifty pounds, don't spoil your daughter's fortune and play the fool to deny it. He shall be bound with me to you for it.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
You are a strange man, that you are! I protested and vowed I'd ne'er lend you any more, and yet you have such fetches. I think I'm bewitched with you.

FURNISH
Speak softly! Don't spoil your daughter's fortune for fifty pounds. He has four hundred pounds a year; I know he'll be bound, but has no money at present.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
If he'll be bound with you and Mr. Sneak, I'll do it for this once.

FURNISH
Thank you, uncle!— Well, sergeants, if you'll go into the next room and call for a bottle of wine, I'll give you a note to receive the money and pay you for your civility.

SERGEANTS
We will, sir.

---

208. **luxurious** lecherous, unchaste. *Obs*. (OED 1). **exorbitant** forsaking the right path, transgressing. *Obs*. (OED adj. 3). **bribing** dishonest, thievish. *Obs*. (OED adj. 1).
210. **lascivious** Q1-Q2: lacivious. **latitudinarian** tolerating free thought or laxity of belief on religious questions (OED adj.), a typical attitude of the so called latitudinarians, the 17th c. anglican clerics who depended upon reason to establish the moral certainty of christian doctrines rather than argument from tradition. Limiting that doctrine to what had to be accepted, they allowed for latitude on other teachings (EB).
211. **almost** Q1-Q2: a most.
212. **ha'** have.
215. **preferment** the advancement of a son or a daughter by marriage or financial settlement. *Obs*. (OED 4).

Exeunt Sergeants.

FURNISH
(*Aside to Hangby*) If I had not made him drunk he would have let me a'gone to Tyburn, before he would have parted with fifty pounds and spoiled his daughter Pris's fortune to boot.

HANGBY
But where hadst thou these counterfeit sergeants so readily?

FURNISH
Oh, I had them ready at hand, I had laid my design. Now, second me— Well, uncle, I have persuaded Mr. Pricket and Mr. Sneak to be bound with me to you in a hundred pounds bond for the payment of fifty. I have a blank bond ready, I'll fill it up. (*Draws out bond and pen and ink*) And do you in the meantime draw a note upon Mr. Scribble, your scrivener. That will serve.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Well, nephew, you are the strangest man; I know not how to deny you anything. But, what time? Nephew, set your day and be punctual (*strokes him on the head*).

FURNISH
I'll desire it but for a month, and you shall have twenty shillings and a collation when I pay it, for your kindness.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Well, fill up the bond.

Enter Mrs. Turbulent.

MRS. TURBULENT
Oh, Mr. Turbulent, Mr. Turbulent! I am sorry at heart and grieved in spirit to see you within the walls of a vile and abominable tavern! I am afraid it is as Dr. Quibus says, you are not in your right senses to set your foot within this unsanctified and anti-christian house, this image of Babel. Does not Antichrist hang out at the door for a sign, the very image of the Beast, with his triple crown and the bush of the Babylonish whore hanging before him? Oh, Mr. Turbulent, it is abominable, and you are become defiled!

FURNISH
(*Aside*) What a mischief is this? The devil has outwitted me and sent this fury before the bond was sealed! (*Mrs. Turbulent runs to the table and snatches up the bond).*

---

228. **a'gone** have gone. **Tyburn** one of the principal places of public execution in London from 1388 to 1783, where condemned prisoners were customarily hanged from a triangular gallows (LE *Tyburn*). See II.167-168 n.
229. **Pris's** Q1-Q2: Priscis.
233. **bond** a deed by which one person ("the obligor") assigns to pay a certain sum of money to another ("the obligee") (OED n.[1] 9.a).
245-246. **does not … before him** taverns customarily placed a sign—also called a bush, after the ancient practice of hanging up a branch or bunch of ivy as a vintner's sign (OED *bush* n.[1] 5.a)—outside their premises which identified the place as a public house and offered a visual depiction of their name, as the allusion to the pope's head here shows. See I.288 n.
246. **triple crown** Q1-Q2: trible; the papal tiara was bee-hive shaped and ornated with three diadems (OED *triple crown* in *triple* adj.; EB *tiara*).

MRS. TURBULENT
What is this you are doing? Are you entering indeed into more bonds? Oh, that wicked, cursed, abominable nephew of yours that will utterly undo you at last and leave you not worth one groat! He has already drawn you into so many bonds and obligations that you'll have nothing ere long, but must be fain to beg thorough the grate at Ludgate!

FURNISH
Good aunt, be pacified!

MRS. TURBULENT
I won't be pacified! And he shall not be bound in bonds! (*Pulls out her spectacles*) And I will see what it is and I will look on it myself!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
You're an ass and fool! Meddle with your own matters and go about your business! Who sent for you hither?

MRS. TURBULENT
This is my business and these my matters, and I will see what 'tis! (*Puts on her spectacles*; *Mr. Turbulent standing in the middle and Mr. Furnish and Sneak on each side with hats off; Hangby at a distance as if amazed*).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
You're a fool! 'Tis Latin and you can't understand it.

MRS. TURBULENT
(*Puts off her spectacles when she speaks, then puts them on again every time*) You're a coxcomb! I understand it as well as yourself, but I'll tell you, 'tis the language of the Beast and one of the confusions of Babel. (*Reads*) "*Noverint university—"*

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Away, you old doting dunce! Read the condition, let the bond alone!

MRS. TURBULENT
I will not read the condition! I will have no conditions and there shall be no bonds! And if I can't read it I'll carry it to my brother Mopus of Gray's Inn and he shall read it. (*Reads*) "*Noverint university,*" I thought what 'twas.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
'Tis not "university."

MRS. TURBULENT
'Tis "university"! And the wicked, abominable universities, where the youth are trained up in

---

253. **thorough** through. *Arch*. (OED prep. 1.a). **Ludgate** a prison for petty offenders above Lud Gate, the westernmost entrance to the City of London, located opposite present-day St. Martin's church at Ludgate Hill (LE, Harben *Ludgate Gaol*).
259. **these** Q1-Q2: this.
263-264. ***Noverint university* … bond alone** Mrs. Turbulent misreads the standard Latin formula for the obligation put at the beginning of bonds: "*Noverint universi per presentes*" (Lat. "be it known to all men by these presents"). Bonds also included a condition, usually written in English, which would cancel the whole document if performed, setting out what the bonded person had agreed to commit himself to (Beal *bond*).
266. **Mopus** a simpleton. *Obs*. (OED n.[1]). **Gray's Inn** one of the four Inns of Court, situated in Holborn (Brewer).

all the vile languages of Babel! (*Falls into a fit of coughing; her spectacles fall down*).

FURNISH
[*Aside*] So her eyes are gone, I hope they are broke. Would she were choked!— Good aunt, drink a glass of wine, 'twill stop your coughing. You speak too fast.

MRS. TURBULENT
I'll drink none of your unsanctified liquor of the devil's brewing that causes drunkenness, fornication, whoredom, adultery, fightings, brawlings, cheatings, trepannings, cozenings and all the villainy and abomination that is committed in these lewd houses of sin, iniquity and pollution! (*Coughs again; knock*).

Enter Drawer.

Oh, get me a little water. Hast thou any water in the house?

DRAWER
Yes, very good, from Annisacleer; the best as e'er you drank.

MRS. TURBULENT
Fetch me some, quickly!

FURNISH
[*Aside to Drawer*] You, rogue, bring up a bottle of white wine and a beer glass! Quickly, sirrah, no water!

Exit Drawer.

HANGBY
Mr. Turbulent, I fear you cannot well steer the helm of government in your own family. Mrs. Turbulent is very rough, she seems not to be satisfied.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I will let her alone here, but when she comes home I will reprove her in the heat of my zeal, and she shall be satisfied.

Enter Drawer and wine, fills, gives to Mrs. Turbulent. She is coughing still.

FURNISH
Here, aunt, here is a glass of water. But I should think you had better drink wine.

MRS. TURBULENT
Not in this unhallowed place. I think this water is not very clear.

FURNISH
'Tis very good. Drink it up (s*he drinks it off*).

MRS. TURBULENT
'Tis very good water and relishes well. Where do you get this water?

---

271. **eyes** spectacles (OED n.[1] 26.b).
274. **trepannings** swindlings. *Obs*. (OED v.[2] c).
278. **Annisacleer** Aniseed Clear, the popular name given to a famous well in Old Street—north of the City of London—denominated St. Agnes la Clair, whose waters were thought to be medicinal (Hughson 417).
280. **beer glass** a glass holding half a pint (OED n.[1] C2).
286. **had better** Q1-Q2: hadbetter.

DRAWER
We have it come into the cellar in pipes.

MRS. TURBULENT
My pipe-water is not half so good as this. Mr. Turbulent, I will have one of the same water as this is, 'tis very pleasant-tasted water. (*Mr. Turbulent begins to heave as if he would vomit*) Oh, Mr. Turbulent, thou art overcome with the creature, thou hast committed vileness in the sight of the people and drunk beyond thy measure (*coughs again*).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
(*Whispers this*) Hold your prating, you will spoil your daughter's preferment. Hark, I tell you the business.

FURNISH
Here, aunt, stop the coughing. [*Aside*] I hope 'twill mollify the irascible quality.

MRS. TURBULENT
Oh, this filthy cough! It interrupts me— Give me the water! (*Drinks it up*).

FURNISH
[*Aside*] Would it would choke thee too for me!— Is it not good water?

MRS. TURBULENT
Oh, 'tis very excellent water! Is it as Mr. Turbulent tells me?

FURNISH
Yes, yes! He has four hundred pounds a year and offers to jointure my cousin in two hundred pounds, and you had like to spoil all.

MRS. TURBULENT
Nay, if it be so, I shall rest satisfied (*coughs again*).

FURNISH
[*Aside*] God-a-mercy wine! She would not hear before, I find it is of a mollifying nature— Give another glass of water to my aunt, Dr. Quibus says it is very good against the cough.

MRS. TURBULENT
And he is a very learned doctor, I assure you.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Boy! Drawer! Show me another room where there is a bed, I must lie down a little.

DRAWER
I will, sir.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Lead me, boy.

Exit with the Drawer.

289-290. **Where do … in pipes** a piped water supply system gave service to London since 1614, when the New River Company constructed a channel to London from Hertfordshire. Householders who were connected to the water main paid a water rate (Hey *water supply*).
295-296. **Hold your … the business** Q1-Q2 erroneously assign this speech to Furnish.
304. **God-a-mercy** an exclamation of applause or thanks. *Obs*. (OED 1.a).

FURNISH
[*Aside*] Bless me, my uncle is stole out to take a nap! If he grows sober, he'll ne'er sign the note I have drawn for the fifty pounds— Come, Hangby, let's follow him and get it done while he's in the humour.

HANGBY
I do intend to make Mrs. Priscilla my wedded wife.

MRS. TURBULENT
Indeed, sir, I understand as much. I was too passionate and did not understand your worth and that you were not one of the wicked of the earth, but selected from this generation of vipers.

HANGBY
It was the cause of matrimony that drew me into this place and engaged me into the temples of the ungodly.

MRS. TURBULENT
I am extremely satisfied in your behaviour and company. Where's Mr. Turbulent?

FURNISH
He's gone to lie down a little on the bed in the next room. (*Whispers to Mrs. Turbulent*) Let us get him to sign the bond to my uncle presently.

MRS. TURBULENT
Mr. Pricket, let us go in to Mr. Turbulent. I will send for my daughter Priscilla for once into this place. Thou hast made the house of uncleanness pure by thy presence. Show us the way, nephew Furnish.

Exeunt omnes.
Enter Sly and Drawer.

RABSHEKA SLY
Will you tell Mr. Furnish I am here and desire to speak with him?

DRAWER
Presently, sir.

Exit Drawer.

RABSHEKA SLY
I shall now see whether he accuses my chicken falsely. I am something hard of belief, yet I may judge of her by my own frailty. All flesh is subject to backsliding.

Enter Furnish and Drawer.

You see I am come, Mr. Furnish. I walked round the walk and could not see my chicken. I believe you scandalize her.

315-316. **generation of vipers** see Matt. 23:33, "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?"
329. **I am** Q1-Q2: Iam.

FURNISH
That you shall know presently— Boy, fetch me the periwig, hat and coat I gave you to lay up.

DRAWER
I shall, sir.

Exit Drawer.

[FURNISH]
You will find your error, Mr. Sly, that you should not believe yourself a cuckold. Do you think your blue-aproned shopkeepers' wives to be more chaste than the court ladies? I'll convince you.

Enter Drawer.

(*They dress Sly with wig, coat, hat*) Nay, you shall have a sword too, else perhaps she'll refuse you. You shall have mine (*puts on his sword*).

RABSHEKA SLY
I think she can't know me.

FURNISH
No, not if you alter a little the squeaking of your voice. You must speak little, you'll find her willing without much courting. Come hither, Mr. Sly, look yonder. What think you of that gentlewoman?

RABSHEKA SLY
(*Looks out at the door*) I protest and vow 'tis my chicken! I know her by her amble, 'tis the right motion of her buttocks! I'll be with her presently!

Exit Sly.
Enter Hangby.

HANGBY
So, you have the note for the fifty pounds?

FURNISH
Safe enough, boy, and will have the money tomorrow morning. But where's my aunt?

HANGBY
She is within and grown the kindest loving soul as ever you knew, I was fain to steal out to get a little breath. She has sent for her daughter Pris too.

Enter Mrs. Sly dressed à la mode.

FURNISH
[*To Hangby*] Go in again, I have a little business with this gentlewoman. I'll come to you instantly.

Exit Hangby.

---

335. **blue-aproned shopkeepers'** blue aprons were traditionally worn by tradesmen. Obs. (OED *blue* adj. S4). See I.60 n.
s.d. **Enter Mrs. … la mode** see II.206-210.

MRS. SLY
Well, Mr. Furnish, I have walked twice round and can't meet my chicken. There's never such a man as you described him to be.

FURNISH
No? Come hither, Mrs. Sly, look yonder. What think you of that gallant with a long tail trailing after him?

MRS. SLY
(*Looks out at the door*) Od's heartlikins! 'Tis my chicken, I know him by his dogtrot and spindle-shanked legs! 'Tis he, I'll to him! Have I caught you indeed!

Exit.
Enter Mr. Turbulent, Mrs. Turbulent, Hangby.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Come, nephew, why do you leave us? We can't be without your good company.

FURNISH
I was just a-coming, having dispatched an affair of consequence. Where's Mr. Sneak?

MRS. TURBULENT
I have sent him for my daughter Pris. Mr. Pricket shall see her, that he shall. Oh, here she comes!

Enter Sneak leading in Priscilla.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Daughter, I have brought a gentleman to be acquainted with you.

PRISCILLA
Nay, thou hast sent for me to be acquainted with him. Thou makst not a true proposition.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Gossip, you had best tell me I lie.

PRISCILLA
I say it not, thou mayst say it. But what seeketh this man?

HANGBY
Mrs. Priscilla, I seek thee for my wedded wife, that is the end of my seeking. What sayst thou, dost thou like me?

PRISCILLA
Thy proposition is not hypothetical.

HANGBY
But it is hypothetical, and may be either conditional, copulative or disjunctive.

---

353. **gallant** a fine gentleman. *Arch*. (OED n. 1.a).
355. **Od's heartlikins** God's little heart; a minced oath. *Obs*. (OED *heartikin*).
362. **a true proposition** in Aristotelian logic, a proposition is a statement which is capable of truth or falsity (OED n. 4.b.(a)).
363. **gossip** a colloquial form of address for a relative or a familiar acquaintance (OED n. 2.a).
367-368. **thy proposition … or disjunctive** in Aristotelian logic, a hypothetical or conditional proposition is a compound proposition formed by connecting two propositions with the formula "if A, then B," so that the "then"

PRISCILLA
[*Aside*] He speaks rationally— Thou sayst well. What is thy name?

HANGBY
I am called Peregrine Pricket.

PRISCILLA
I like not thy name.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Are you chopping logic indeed? I'll make you like both his name and him too.

HANGBY
Pray, sir, be not in the postpredicament of opposition, she mistakes the *genus* of my name. But, Mrs. Priscilla, *nomen* is *quasi notamen*, a certain image by which the thing is known, and is the *vocabulum proprium* whereby we name a thing, or *vocabulum quodlibet*, by which something is understood. I am called Peregrine Pricket, that is, a travelling buck.

PRISCILLA
Thou hast spoken demonstratively and I am reconciled to thy sense. But in what relation dost thou stand?

HANGBY
[*Aside*] This is a rare wench, she'll do in logic— I shall tell you my business in categorical proposition.

PRISCILLA
Let it then consist as it ought: of one subject, one predicate and one copula.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Shitten come shites! Leave your moods and the figures of your copula's y'had best and go to the business! Do you like Mr. Pricket for a husband?

PRISCILLA
Thy question may be determined universally, singularly or particularly.

---

clause is asserted to be true on the condition that the "if" clause is true (e.g., "if she wore her coat, then she would not be cold"). A disjunctive or copulative proposition is a compound proposition formed by connecting two propositions by the word "or," so that one only of them may hold (e.g., "either he is an angel or a devil") (Parry 25-27).

373. **postpredicament of opposition** one of the five relations considered by Aristotle at the end of *Categories*, his work on the ten categories or predicaments of thought (OED). ***genus*** Lat. "lineage" or "family."

374. **thing** Q1-Q2: king.

374-376. ***nomen* is … is understood** Hangby's speech is almost a literal translation from Gouldman's *A Copious Dictionary in Three Parts* (1664), where the entry "nomen" runs as follows: "*nomen, quod notitiam facit: imago quaedam qua quid noscitur; vel quasi notamen … Nomen, vocabulum proprium quo rem appellamus. Vocabulum quodlibet, quo aliquid intelligible vel intellectum efferimus.*"

379-381. **categorical proposition … one copula** in Aristotelian logic, a categorical proposition is considered one that affirms or denies a predicate of a subject, incorporating also a quantifier and a copula (e.g., "All women are females") (Parry and Hacker 24).

382. **shitten come shites** poss. after a line in the popular song "I prethee sweet heart grant me my desire" (*Wit and Drollery* 123): "shitten come shites the beginning of love is"; mentioned by Pepys on 17 April 1661 (II 77-78).

384. **thy question … or particularly** in Aristotelian logic, a categorical proposition can be either universal, particular or singular. Universal propositions affirm or deny the predicate of everything named by the subject (e.g.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
You're an universal, singular and particular crack-brained baggage! I'll make you know me and leave disputing! (*Offers to strike, is hindered*).

PRISCILLA
I fear thou art disguised and hast taken too much of the creature, and drank of the polluted springs which flow in these cellars of the wicked.

Enter Mr. Sly and Mrs. Sly.

RABSHEKA SLY
Have I caught you indeed? Oh, you harlot!

MRS. SLY
Have I found out your haunts? You wicked whoremaster rogue!

RABSHEKA SLY
Oh, you cunning gipsy! This shan't serve your turn!

MRS. SLY
Oh, you beastly hypocrite! What make you in this disguise, with these Babylonish garments and the sword of perdition by thy side, hunting after the harlots in the twilight?

RABSHEKA SLY
Oh, you painted Jezebel, with the devil's patches on thy face and the frizzled hair on thy forehead, that standst here at the corners of the walls to draw young men to lewdness! Oh, thou Midianitish woman!

MRS. SLY
Oh, thou lustful Zimri! Thou abominable Philistine!

RABSHEKA SLY
I thought thou hadst been looking to thy shop!

MRS. SLY
I thought thou hadst been hearing Mr. Windy!

RABSHEKA SLY
Yes, you thought me safe enough, you strumpet!

MRS. SLY
Aye, you thought me fast enough, you villain!

"all Athenians are mortals"). Particular propositions affirm or deny the predicate of at least one thing named by the subject (e.g. "some politicians are honest"). Singular propositions affirm or deny the predicate of only one thing (e.g. "Great Britain is an island") (Parry 147-148).

385. **baggage** a worthless good-for-nothing woman (OED n. 6).

390. **whoremaster** one who has dealings with whores, a fornicator. *Arch*. (OED 1).

391. **cunning** Q1-Q2: cuuning (<n> printed upside-down).

394-397. **Oh, thou … lustful Zimri** an allusion to Num. 25, where Zimri, one of the Israelite leaders, brought a woman of Midianite–Ishmaelite origin to his tent, an act that was seen as a profanation. In addition, "Zimri" was the name given by Dryden in *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681) to George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham (Brewer).

397. **Philistine** the Philistines were a non-Semitic people who came into conflict with the Israelites during the 12th and 11th c. B.C. (OED n. 1.a).

RABSHEKA SLY
Did I take pity of you for this when you ran about to all the meetings in Town to get a husband, and left off your vain attire and put yourself into the precise cut and form? But I see you were a rank hypocrite. Oh, you lustful woman! Am I one to make a cuckold of?

MRS. SLY
Away, you pretended zealot! Let me tear out his eyes! (*Falls on him and pulls off his wig; they hold her*).

FURNISH
I am amazed. Oh, Mr. Rabsheka Sly, I am amused to see thee transformed into the shape of the unrighteous! It will be a scandal to all the good people; the weekly pamphlets will revile thee. Oh, brother, thou art fallen!

RABSHEKA SLY
Why d'ye accuse me, that art worse thyself? I see thou art drunken and wallowst in thy iniquity!— Was it for this, Mr. Turbulent, you were in such haste to break up the meeting, to come into this lewd place?

[*Furnish and Hangby speak apart*]

FURNISH
Hah, hah, hah, hay! How these hypocrites begin to lay open themselves! How often have they licked one another, as bears do their cubs, into a shape of sanctity? Or as horses, nabbing one another with the delight of railing at the wicked? And now—

HANGBY
They turn their insides outward and appear in their true shapes: a formal saint without, a very beast within.

MRS. TURBULENT
Mr. Pricket, pray be not scandalized at these things. I perceive 'tis the frailty of the flesh and they are both fallen from their first station.

HANGBY
Aye, so they are. They have found one another faulty. It is best to make up the breach.

---

407. **weekly pamphlets** after the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1679, England was without a statute for controlling the press until 1685. At the same time, the popular excitement over the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis triggered the publication of many libels, newspapers and pamphlets. For a comprehensive list and a study of periodical publications during the 1678-1685 period, see Sommerville 86-97.

406-408. **I am … art fallen** a manuscript annotation in Q1b substitutes <F> for <T> in the speech prefix. This speech must have been intended for Mr. Turbulent.

412-413. **how often … of sanctity** according to ancient popular beliefs, popularized by medieval bestiaries, bear cubs were born shapeless and had to be made into animal form by their mother's licking. See, for instance, the 12th c. *Aberdeen Bestiary*: "the bear is said to get its name because the female shapes her new-born cub with her mouth, *ore*, giving it, so to speak, its beginning, *orsus*. For it is said that they produce a shapeless fetus and that a piece of flesh is born. The mother forms the parts of the body by licking it" (f. 15r, "*De Urso*" ["Of the Bear"]). See also Burton: "enforced, as a bear doth her whelps, to bring forth this confused lump; I had not time to lick it into form, as she doth her young ones" (I 31).

418. **fallen from their first station** see Isa. 22:19, "and I will drive thee from thy station, and from thy state shall he pull thee down."

PRISCILLA
Philippa Sly, thou art in the same predicament with thy husband. You are both disguised, therefore thou oughtst not to exclaim, but let the matter be sifted by division and subdivision, that so the truth may be found out.

MRS. SLY
Prittle-prattle! Let me alone! Leave me, don't hold me! Let me come at the whoremaster rogue! I will give him a mark! I will strip him of his wicked habiliments! (*Pulls off his coat, sword, etc*).

Enter Constables with Man of the house.

MAN OF THE HOUSE
Come, take 'em to Justice Right-or-Wrong! Away with them! Do they come here to make a disturbance and to bring a scandal upon my house? Away with 'em both, Mr. Constable! The justice will find out the matter.

FURNISH
Hah, hah, ha! I think I am even with 'em!

[*The Constables*] *seize Sly and Mrs. Sly* [*and*] *carry them forth*.
[*Exit Man of the house*].

MRS. TURBULENT
This is the place of confusion, I will retire. Mr. Pricket, I hope you will come to my house, we shall there discourse matters better.

HANGBY
I shall not fail to visit you.

MRS. TURBULENT
Come, Mr. Turbulent, let us depart in peace. I am sorry for the falling away of brother Sly, his gifts were many.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I will go with you.

FURNISH
Mr. Sneak, pray do the kind office for me as to wait on my aunt home. I have a little business with Mr. Pricket.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Nephew, good night. Mr. Pricket, I shall be glad to see you at my house.

HANGBY
I shall wait on you tomorrow.

Exeunt all but Furnish and Hangby.

420. **Philippa Sly** Q1-Q2: Phillipasly.
430. **better** Q1-Q2: betters; <s> crossed out in Q1b. See chapter 4.1.

FURNISH
Aye, that you shall tonight, you rogue! This fifty pound was easily got, I was damnably
afraid of it when I saw the dragoness my aunt come in! Come in, I have another shape to put
thee in tonight. Come away—

Fools are a prey to knaves, small knaves to great,
Cullies to gamesters. The whole world's a cheat.

Exeunt.

The end of the third act.

439. **Aye, that … you rogue** Q1-Q2 repeat the speech prefix "Fur." after "rogue"; crossed out in Q1b. See chapter 4.1.

ACT IV

The scene: Mr. Turbulent's house.

Enter Fairlove and Friendly.

FRIENDLY
Well, Frank, since 'tis so decreed and that the law of thy own will has passed upon thee, I will be so much a friend as not to leave thee till I see the execution of matrimony executed.

MR. FAIRLOVE
And my body fairly bestowed in the arms of Lucia.

FRIENDLY
Let it be so then. I'll see thee fairly noosed and then buried, and so I'll leave thee. The report you have given me of this house makes me afraid of hobgoblins.

MR. FAIRLOVE
They are all abroad, and my angel Lucia left its guardian only at this time.

FRIENDLY
I dread that finical fellow Cringe.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Prithee learn to laugh at the follies of the world as I do, for methinks nothing can be more ridiculous than to see a man angry with apes and monkeys for acting their natures. I tell thee they are made on purpose to make wise men laugh.

FRIENDLY
I know not what temper my spleen is made on, but they rather turn my stomach than make me smile.

Enter Lucia.

MR. FAIRLOVE
You see, dear Lucy, I am diligent to obey your commands.

LUCIA WELLBRED
You do but set me a pattern of what I must do all my lifetime after tomorrow.

FRIENDLY
But what necessity is there, madam, that both of you must be so heavily yoked? Can't you keep together in a fair pasture without a clog about your heels or a yoke about your necks? 'Faith, madam, if you'd follow my advice, you should take one another's words.

LUCIA WELLBRED
I doubt, Mr. Friendly, you would hardly put out one thousand pounds without some other security than the bare word of your trustee; and though I dare trust all my dearest concerns into the hands of Mr. Fairlove upon the security of his word yet, since it is customable for

3. **bestowed** placed. *Arch*. (OED v. 1.a).
4. **noosed** married (OED v. 1.b), with a punning allusion to "put to death by hanging" (OED v. 2.b).
11. **spleen** the spleen, a soft vascular organ placed to the left of the stomach, was believed to be the seat of either melancholy and ill humour or laughter and mirth (OED n. 1.a, b, c; Brewer).

form sake, we will interchangeably enter into the bonds of matrimony.

FRIENDLY
I see you are resolved and that no reasons nor persuasions can change you. This custom is a plaguey thing, there's no remedy for time out of mind. Because our fathers and mothers, and great-great-grandfathers and grandmothers, wore those bonds of marriage, we must.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Prithee, Friendly, leave off. Did you not promise me you would say no more?

FRIENDLY
'Tis hard to see you on a precipice and not warn you of it. I'll say no more, here's my hand on it. But I'll go with you as one friend does with another, that is, going to the gallows with a great deal of grief and compassion, to see you fairly haltered.

Enter Pollux.

POLLUX
Madam Lucia, your uncle and aunt are returned from the tavern, but so chirping and merry —their eyes twinkle, their tongues run and their faces shine—that you would scarce think them the same turbulent, noisome creatures they use to be.

LUCIA WELLBRED
This Furnish has spoiled my design. But 'tis my admiration by what charm he could unite them so lovingly.

POLLUX
Oh, you know not the charms of wine! As they can make the greatest friends fall out, so they can reconcile the stubbornest foes, man and wife.

LUCIA WELLBRED
I must set them again at odds or I shan't work my intention. I know how to do it.

FRIENDLY
Prithee let us be gone, I would not see these hobgoblins.

LUCIA WELLBRED
No, Mr. Friendly, you shall bear Mr. Fairlove company a while. Pollux, light them into that parlour a while, it shall not be long ere I wait on you again.

Exeunt Pollux lighting in Fairlove and Friendly.
Enter Mr. Sneak.

GRIN SNEAK
Madam Lucia, your humble servant.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Oh, Mr. Grin Sneak, your servant. What, afoot still and in old clothes? Do none of your projects hit yet? Where stick they, Mr. Sneak?

---

21. **interchangeably** mutually, reciprocally; formerly frequent in the wording of legal documents (OED 1).
29. **and** Q1-Q2: aud (<n> printed upside-down).
30. **scarce** scarcely. *Arch*. (OED adv. 2.a).
35. **stubbornest** most implacable, fiercest. *Arch*. (OED adj. 1.a).

GRIN SNEAK
Well, madam, we shall be happy at last. I'm in a fair way—

LUCIA WELLBRED
(*Aside*) To beggary— But, Mr. Sneak, I have met with a man that has been this forty-eight years studying a rare project, and indeed one that will be beneficial to all curious persons, and especially to travellers. And he tells me that now at last he has attained it, and that he shall have perfected his design by the time the patent can be got for it.

GRIN SNEAK
Pray, madam, what is this rare invention you speak of?

LUCIA WELLBRED
Why, the invention is extraordinary. It is a pair of wings to fly into the moon.

GRIN SNEAK
Why, that is not possible!

LUCIA WELLBRED
How unreasonable you are now! Not to believe another and yet impose as impossible things on the faith of others! And to tell you very freely, Mr. Sneak, my thoughts are 'twill be sooner effected than most of those things you dream of. For you cannot but know that Daedalus and Icarus could fly half-way to the moon, and of several others that could fly from high towers, like kites or eagles.

GRIN SNEAK
Indeed, it would be an admirable way of travelling. I'll speak to my Lady Medler about the patent.

LUCIA WELLBRED
'Tis good to speak in time, it will be of extraordinary benefit to you and, I hope, worth the virtuoso's while, labour and pains. He has studied all the Mathematics and run thorough the Philosophy of atoms, of weight and gravity; weighed all sorts of air and lain whole days on his back to observe the motions of kites, swallows, doves, bats and butterflies, making comments and observations on their several motions. And now, Mr. Sneak, this flying man, having brought his wings to perfection, intends to visit the moon shortly.

GRIN SNEAK
Let me advise him to get a patent before he goes and to communicate his art to one, lest he should miscarry. For I look upon the voyage far more dangerous than that of Columbus when he went in pursuit of the other world.

---

49. **a pair … the moon** the chance to use artificial wings to fly was a subject of interest in the late 17th c., as is shown in Shadwell's *The Virtuoso* (1676) by Sir Nicholas: "'twill be as common to buy a pair of wings to fly to the world in the moon, as to buy a pair of wax boots to ride into Sussex with" (II.ii, p. 29).
54. **Daedalus and … the moon** in Greek mythology, the father and son who made wings and fixed them to their shoulders with wax in order to escape from Minos' labyrinth. Daedalus advised Icarus not to fly too high in the sky but Icarus did not listen to his father's advice and he flew so near to the sun that the wax melted and he fell into the sea (Grimal).
59-62. **He has … several motions** Lucia makes fun of the kind of experiments and investigations carried out by virtuosos. See III.15 n.
65. **miscarry** meet with death. *Obs*. (OED 1.a). **I look … more dangerous** I consider the voyage to be more dangerous. *Obs*. (OED *look upon* 3 in *look* v.).
65-66. **Columbus when … other world** Cristopher Columbus (1451-1506), Genoese navigator and Spanish

LUCIA WELLBRED
As to the last, I may perhaps get him to communicate it to you; for he is almost afraid to own it after all, lest he should be knocked on the head by the coachmen, watermen and seamen, for 'twill spoil their trade. Besides, some have persuaded the husbandmen that there will—if this project goes forward—be such clouds of flying people in the air that 'twill hinder the sun from ripening their corn. So that he is afraid he shall be killed by them for the invention and he must be upon the wing out of reach of shot or in the moon to secure himself.

Enter Lady Medler.

Oh, here's your friend my Lady Medler! I'll leave you to discourse your affairs (*Sneak turns about and, pulling his handkerchief out of his pocket, drops a paper which Lucia takes up).*

Exit [*Lucia Wellbred*].

LADY MEDLER
I have run all over the Town to look you out. I wonder what you do here, when you have so many grand concerns on foot. I assure you, Mr. Sneak, if you will not be more quick and brisk in the business, I shall leave you and all your patents together, and then see what you will make of 'em.

GRIN SNEAK
O pray, madam, be not angry! I was engaged in a very grand design, one of the best projects I ever yet met with, very feasible and extremely beneficial, which I will communicate to your ladyship.

LADY MEDLER
But, Mr. Sneak, I have met with a project this day, so extraordinary and so exceeding beneficial, both to us and to the whole kingdom, that I hug myself to have been so happy as to hear the first proposition of it from the virtuoso himself. I will take you in for a share, Mr. Sneak, we will make one another happy.

GRIN SNEAK
Madam, you honour your servant! Pray, what is it?

LADY MEDLER
Why, there is a person come to Town, that was with me this day, that proposes to build a fleet of ships all of Portland stone to save the woods which begin to grow thin and timber scarce; and he will undertake to build them so thick that no bullet shall pierce them. Then we shall have castles indeed floating on the seas, as a modern poet says.

---

admiral, whose attempt to open a westward route to the Far East would eventually make him discover the American continent (1492) after a transatlantic voyage sponsored by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.
66. **pursuit** Q1-Q2: ursuit.
69. **husbandmen** those who till and cultivate the soil, farmers. *Obs.* (OED *husband* n. 3.a).
72. **upon the wing** flying (OED n. 14.a).
83. **I hug myself** I congratulate myself (OED *hug* v. 2.b).
88. **ships** Q1-Q2: sheeps. **Portland stone** a light-coloured limestone quarried in the Isle of Portland (OED *Portland* 1.a), largely used by Christopher Wren (1632 – 1723) and other architects in the rebuilding of London after the 1666 fire (Watson 180).

GRIN SNEAK
Sure that is not feasible! Which way can he do it? He must sheath them all with cork, sure?

LADY MEDLER
Nay. Which way he does it is a secret, but he has brought it to demonstration already by a little one; the very yards and masts are all of stone too.

GRIN SNEAK
But the tackle and sails are not made of stone too, I hope.

LADY MEDLER
No, but they are not of hemp nor canvas.

GRIN SNEAK
What, then?

LADY MEDLER
Because we may not be beholden to foreign nations and to promote the growth of our own nation, all the sails are made of tin; and the shrouds, tackle and cables of twisted wires. What need we then care for Denmark or Norway?

GRIN SNEAK
'Tis admirable, and if he can but convince me by demonstration, I shall look upon it as the most happy thing I ever light on. I beseech you, madam, promote it for the good of the nation.

LADY MEDLER
I intend it, I assure you; I am this night to give the gentleman a meeting about it. You shall go with me in my coach and, as we go, you shall communicate to me the happy project you have met with this day. Come in with me, I will but speak two words to Mr. Turbulent and we'll go.

Exeunt.
Enter Lucia reading a paper.

LUCIA WELLBRED
What have I got here? Something that dropped from Mr. Sneak. I must see what 'tis.

89-90. **Then we … poet says** poss. a reference to Dryden's *The Indian Emperour* (1665; 1667), where the arrival of Spaniards to the new world is described as follows: "Old prophecies foretel our fall at hand, / When bearded men in floating castles land" (I.ii., p. 6).
93. **yards** long and slender spars attached to a sailing ship's mast and serving to support and extend square sails (OED n.^{2} 5).
97-98. **Because we … of tin** a self-sustaining British tin and copper industry was growing from the mid-seventeenth century, revitalized by tinplate manufacture and brass production. This British industry could advantage its foreign competitors due to a positive climate for enterprise resulting from "the comparative isolation of Britain from the political upheavals that constantly ravaged the continent and by a commitment to private ownership" (Burt 23-24).
98. **shrouds** ropes, usually in pairs, leading from the head of a mast and serving to relieve the latter of lateral strain (OED n.^{2} 1.a).
99. **Denmark or Norway** materials needed to build and fit for sea the merchant and royal navies, as well as the hemp and flax needed for cables, cordage and sails were usually imported from these two countries (J. Price 274).
97-99. **Because we … or Norway** Owen sees here a satirizing allusion to the trade competition with France, a topical whiggish concern during the 1670s (1996: 123). The English parliament had imposed a three-year ban on French imports in 1678 (J. R. Jones 194).

(*Reads*) "An account of my state *in posse*." Very good! I shall see how rich this gentleman is *in posse*, when I'm sure he has not anything *in esse*. [*Reads*]

Imprimis, my share in the flax business, at twenty pounds per week: one thousand pounds a year.

Item, my concerns in my black box; being several bonds, mortgages, defeasances and statute staples, worth twenty thousand pounds.

Item, for procuring the patent for the consulship of Marseilles: two hundred pounds.

Item, when the match is made between my Lord Muchland's son and Justice Gripewell's grandchild: one thousand pounds.

Enter Mr. Sneak.

'Tis too long to read— Oh, here he is come to look his paper! I'll see the *summa totalis*: two hundred thousand pounds, a very fair estate! This man is fit for Bedlam. I must do him the kindness to send him thither with my uncle, that he may be cured.

GRIN SNEAK
Oh, madam, I think that's the paper I was looking for. I would not have lost it for anything.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Why, Mr. Sneak, it does but let us know how rich you are.

GRIN SNEAK
No, madam, how rich I am like to be. And if fortune does not oppose too much, I am like to be competently happy.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Here, sir (*gives him his paper*). I think you are happy already, that can content yourself with an estate *in posse*, whilst there is nothing but air in your pockets. I doubt your old bills and lands, and all your new projects will come to little.

GRIN SNEAK
I cannot stay now, madam, to convince you; my Lady Medler stays for me. Or else I'd let you understand that I do not take false measures. Madam, your humble servant.

Exit.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Thou are the confidentest projecting fool that ever I met with, whom neither being baffled,

---

108. ***in posse*** Lat. "in potentiality."
109. ***in esse*** Lat. "in actual existence."
110. ***imprimis*** an assimilated form of Lat. *in primis*, "in the first place."
112. ***item*** Lat. "likewise, also." **mortgages** in the early modern period obtaining a loan upon the mortgage of property was a common form of credit (Hey).
113. **defeasances** deeds setting out a condition, the performance of which will render null and void some other deed (Beal). **statute staples** bonds of record, acknowledged before the mayor of the staple, by which a creditor has the power of seizing a debtor's lands in case of default. *Obs*. (OED).
115. **Marseilles** Q1-Q2: Marselles.
119. ***summa totalis*** Lat. "sum total."

laughed at, gulled and cheated can convince; whom the Compter, King's Bench, want nor misery can convert or make feasible. There is but one refuge left for thee, and that is Bedlam.

Enter Pollux.

POLLUX
Mr. Furnish is come fitted to all purposes.

LUCIA WELLBRED
That's well. Where's my uncle?

POLLUX
Lain down to take a nap. He has been asleep a good while.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Go you to my cousin Furnish, tell him I'll be with him presently. I'll speak but two words to Mr. Fairlove and I'll follow you.

Exeunt severally.
Enter Mr. Turbulent with his cap on.

[TIMOTHY TURBULENT]
So, I have settled my head with this nap. My stomach begins to crave victuals. I am grieved that Mr. Sly and his wife should give such occasion of scandal to the wicked.

Enter Pollux.

POLLUX
Did you call, sir?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Yes, sirrah. Where's the mistress?

POLLUX
Gone to her singing meeting in Sundial Alley.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Where is Priscilla?

POLLUX
Gone to visit one of her brothers hard by. She said she would not stay.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Set me the candle and the box of books. I will read till they return (*candle and black box set by him, and table)*. So, Paul, get me ready half a dozen turkey eggs for my supper.

POLLUX
I shall, sir. [*Aside*] I doubt you won't stay to eat 'em.

---

132. **Compter** Q1-Q2: Counter. Two sheriffs' prisons for debtors, named compters, coexisted in 17th c. London: the Poultry Compter east of Grocers' Hall Court and the Wood Street Compter in the street of the same name (LE). **King's Bench** a prison for debtors on the east side of Borough High Street in Southwark, which takes its name from the gaols attached to the court of King's Bench (LE).
144. **Sundial Alley** a secondary alley in St. Leonard's parish, Shoreditch (Merry).
146. **hard by** close by, very near. *Arch*. (OED adv.).

Exit.
Enter Lucia running.

LUCIA WELLBRED
O, uncle, uncle, we are undone forever! For God's sake, hide yourself straight or you'll be taken!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
(*Starts up and looks frighted*) What's the matter, Lucia? Why do you fright me thus?

LUCIA WELLBRED
Fright you? Why, the parlour below is full of soldiers, they are come to have you away to prison!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Oh, sad times! What times do we live in that a man cannot be quiet in his house, which is his castle? What have I done?

LUCIA WELLBRED
Come, no expostulating now. You have been letting your tongue run at London and talked treason. They say too one Mr. Pricket is a mere informer and will witness against you.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
O, wicked and abominable age! O base impostor, vile varlet, hypocrite, wretch! Lucy, what shall I do? I shall be undone if I'm taken!

Enter Pollux.

POLLUX
Oh, sir, hide, hide yourself! Here are I know not how many soldiers, redcoats and an officer to search for you! They are just coming upstairs.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Now is your time to make use of your armour. Come, come away, put yourself into the posture and avoid being taken.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Come, good Lucy, help me! I tremble, I know not what to do! Paul, go down and divert them a little! Say I am abroad, anything—

POLLUX
I shall do my endeavour.

Exit.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Come, let us in quickly! I hear 'em coming. This comes of talking against the times with those you know not—

155-156. **a man … his castle** see Coke 1644: "for a mans house is his castle, & *domus sua cuique est tutissimum refugium*; for where shall a man be safe, if it be not in his house?" (162).
157. **expostulating** complaining. *Obs*. (OED 3.a).
166. **I am** Q1-Q2: I an.
167. **I shall do my endeavour** I will do all I can. *Arch*. (OED *endeavour* n. 1.b).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Oh, I hear them coming! Oh, what shall I do?

Exeunt in a fright.
Enter Furnish, Hangby and others with red coats, like soldiers.

FURNISH
Where is this traitor? Where is this Mr. Turbulent that is troubling everybody and still railing against the times?

HANGBY
As good drinking, whoring, cheating times as any ever were since the creation!

Enter Pollux.

POLLUX
So, he is gone to hide. You have put him into a monstrous fright. I find he would be no good martyr for the cause.

HANGBY
These troublesome talking men are usually great cowards.

FURNISH
What have I got here, a box of writings? (*Takes up the black box*) I hope I have light on the judgment I confessed to him for five hundred pounds. If it be, I am very lucky. (*Opens the box*) Pshaw! Nothing but a company of paltry books!

POLLUX
They are my master's choicest library, I'll assure you, and things of great value and esteem with him.

FURNISH
Hang 'em pamphlets! (*Flings them by*).

HANGBY
Let's see them, a man may as well be known by the books he converses with as by the company he keeps (*looks them over and reads)*: Lilly's prophecies— *Merlin's Prophecies*— Mother Shipton's prophecies— Dabritius, his prophecies— Arise Evans' and the Maid of

---

177. **light** lighted; an archaic form of participle (OED v.[1] 10.d).
177-178. **the judgment I confessed** "judgement, in consequence of some suit or action in a court of justice, is frequently the means of vesting the right and property of chattle interests in the prevailing party" (Blackstone 2:436). By confessing the judgment Furnish admitted liability in a past lawsuit and accepted to pay five hundred pounds to Mr. Turbulent, thus preventing further legal proceedings.
179. **a company** a collection. *Obs*. (OED n. 3.b).
184. **Lilly's prophecies** the astrologer William Lilly (1602 – 1681) published many almanacs and books of prophecies with great success (ODNB). The one here alluded to may be *A Collection of Ancient and Moderne Prophesies Concerning These Present Times, with Modest Observations thereon* (1645). ***Merlin's Prophecies*** prob. *Merlins Prophesies and Predictions Interpreted* (1651) by playwright Thomas Heywood (*ca*. 1573 – 1641) (ODNB), one of the many books and pamphlets on the matter published in the 17th c.
185. **Mother Shipton's prophecies** *The Prophesie of Mother Shipton in the Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (1641), the pamphlet which relates the foretelling of Cardinal Wolsey's death by the York witch and prophetess Mother Shipton (supp. fl. 1530) (ODNB). **Dabritius, his prophecies** St. Dyfrig or Dubricius (supp. fl. *ca*. 475 – 525), holy man and supposed bishop (ODNB), later represented in Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* as the archbishop who crowned King Arthur and addressed the Britons before the battle of Mount Badon (Baring-Gould and Fisher 376). The reference to his prophecies may result from a confusion with Monmouth's own

Kent's prophecies— Anna Trapnel's *Visions*— Theaura John and *Motive Motions*— *Visions*— Sir John Wroth's visions— Prynne against plays, cards and dice— The holy lives of Knipperdolling and John of Leiden—

FURNISH
Excellent books! A rare collection—

HANGBY
Here be more. The second part to the same tune [*reads*]: Muggleton's aphorisms— *The Leveller's Principles*— The quaker's doctrines— The anabaptist's tenents— The Family of Love's notions— *The Ranter's Religion*— and John Taylor's holy ballad—

FURNISH
Most choice things. No wonder that he is mad when he studies these.

Prophetie Merlini. **Arise Evans** prob. *An Eccho to the Voice from Heaven; or, a Narration of the Life and Manner of the Special Calling and Visions of Arise Evans* (1652), the prophet's autobiography (b. *ca*. 1607 – d. *ca*. 1660), where he relates how he anticipated the civil war and Charles I's doom as early as 1633 (ODNB).
185-186. **the Maid of Kent** Elizabeth Barton (*ca*. 1506 – 1534), benedictine nun and visionary who prophesied against Henry VIII's divorce (ODNB).
186. **Anna Trapnel's *Visions*** Q1-Q2: Hannah. Prob. *The Cry of a Stone; or, a Relation of Something Spoken in Whitehall, by Anna Trapnel, Being in the Visions of God* (1654), a pamphlet containing prophecies and visions by the self-styled prophet (fl. 1642 – 1660) from the Interregnum (ODNB). **Theaura John** Thomas Totney (bap. 1608-d. 1659?), the prophet and visionary known as Theaurau John Tany (ODNB). ***Motive Motions*** prob. *The Forerunners Work Set Forth by Motive Motion*, an anonymous religious pamphlet published in 1652.
187. **Sir John Wroth** prob. one of the baronets of Blenden Hall in Bexlet, either Sir John Wroth, first baronet (d. 1664), or Sir John Wroth, second baronet (d. 1674) (ODNB *Sir Thomas Wroth*). If they ever wrote any kind of visionary work, it has not survived. **Prynne against … and dice** prob. *Histriomastix* (1633), a pamphlet against stage plays and other amusements by the puritan pamphleteer and lawyer William Prynne or Prin (1600 – 1669) (ODNB).
187-188. **The holy … of Leiden** Berndt Knipperdolling (*ca*. 1490 – 1536) and John of Leiden (1509 – 1536), the most prominent leaders of the anabaptist kingdom established in Münster (1534 – 1536) (Hillebrand). There are no extant works on their lives published in England in the 16th or 17th c.
190. **Muggleton's aphorisms** poss. *A Divine Looking-Glass* (1661), a book providing guiding principles for muggletonians in a scriptural style, written by John Reeve and revised by Lodowicke Muggleton. See III.141 n.
190-191. ***The Leveller's Principles*** prob. *The Leveller; or, the Principles and Maxims Concerning Government and Religion, Which Are Asserted by Those that Are Commonly Called Levellers* (1659), the work which set forth the aims of this radical sect which emerged in 1647, i.e. that all men and women are born equal, and are rightfully subject to no authority except by agreement and consent (DBH).
191. **The quaker's doctrines** poss. *A True Testimony from the People of God (Who by the World Are Called Quakers) of the Doctrines of the Prophets, Christ, and the Apostles* (1660) by Margaret Askew Fell Fox (1614 – 1702), George Fox's wife (ODNB). See n. to Priscilla in Dramatis Personae. **tenents** tenets. *Obs*. (OED n.). See I.129 n.
191-192. **The Family of Love's Notions** poss. a misreading of *Euangelium Regni. A Ioyfull Message of the Kingdom, Published by the Holie Spirit of the Loue of Iesu Christ, and Sent-Fourth vnto all Nations of People, which Loue the Trueth in Iesu Christ* (1575); the work which established the basic principles of the religious sect known as "The Family of Love," followers of the spiritualist prophet and visionary Hendrik Niclaes (1502 – 1580) (Hillebrand).
192. ***The Ranter's Religion*** the ranters were an anarchic quasi-religious movement which emerged in 1648 and horrified orthodox puritans with unbridled dancing, drinking, smoking, swearing, and sharing of sexual partners (DBH). The work alluded to here must be *The Ranters Religion; or, a Faithfull and Infallible Narrative of their Damnable and Diabolical Opinions, with their Detestable Lives & Actions* (1650). **John Taylor's holy ballad** poss. *The Armies Letanie* (1647) by John Taylor, called the Water Poet (1578 – 1653), a ballad in the form of a mock litany satirizing the army and parliament (ODNB).

HANGBY
And rail against the times, meddle with government—

FURNISH
Perverting the foolish, provoking the froward and spitting forth his gall and venom, which he sucks from these weeds—

HANGBY
Which feeds the foolish hopes and idle fancies of such lunatic brains—

FURNISH
Who call every vain dream a prophecy, and every idle chemical fancy a vision— Good Pollux, fling these books into the fire, 'twill be a very great inducement towards my uncle's cure.

Enter Lucia.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Well, my uncle is hid, but you may find him in the press, in a little room within his chamber. He is sufficiently frighted, he says Mr. Pricket is a wicked man. You know the way, cousin Furnish. Fright him as much as you will, but do not touch him—

FURNISH
No, no, we won't hurt him.

Exeunt [Furnish and Hangby].

LUCIA WELLBRED
Pollux, go you to Mr. Fairlove and Mr. Friendly and bring them to us. Fairlove shall see my uncle Turbulent in disguise.

Exeunt severally.
A press discovered. Enter Furnish, Hangby, soldiers, after them Lucia.

FURNISH
Where is this traitor? He must be about the house! I'll leave no corner unsearched!

LUCIA WELLBRED
You see he is not here! Won't you be satisfied?

HANGBY
Come, let's see what's in this press! Open it! Where's the key?

LUCIA WELLBRED
There's nothing there, I'll assure you, but a statue.

FURNISH
Open it or we'll break it open! I must and will see what's in it!

---

195. **froward** bad, naughty. *Obs*. (OED adj. 1,3).
199. **'twill be** Q1-Q2: 'twell be. **inducement** any ground or reason which leads or inclines one to a belief or course of action. *Obs*. (OED 2.b).
201. **press** an oak cupboard to store clothing or linen (Boyce).
207. **I'll leave** Q1-Q2: I'llleave.

HANGBY
There may be arms hid there for aught we know! (*Lucia opens the press. Mr. Turbulent discovered in it, standing bolt upright, armed* cap-à-pie *all of brown paper, with a truncheon in his hand. He stands without any motion, imitating a statue*).

LUCIA WELLBRED
Look you there to satisfy you. Here is nothing but a mere statue of my uncle's that was sent him for a present.

FURNISH
What have we here, a Jack-in-a-box?

HANGBY
Bevis of Southampton.

FURNISH
'Tis John of Gaunt.

LUCIA WELLBRED
No, sir, 'tis John of Leiden as he marched before his anabaptistical army.

Enter Pollux, Mr. Fairlove and Friendly. [*They speak apart*].

POLLUX
Look you, sir, there stands my master Mr. Turbulent in his posture, in a suit of arms of his own making. Does not he look much like a general?

MR. FAIRLOVE
Prithee tell me, Friendly, canst forbear laughing now?

FRIENDLY
I confess this is extraordinary and I will as soon give twopence to see this, as e'er a monster or strange sight in Bartholomew Fair. Is it possible this fellow should have so little sense in him?

MR. FAIRLOVE
How still he stands! He is fast frozen with fear.

FURNISH
This is a mere teraphim and this Mr. Turbulent a mere heathen idolater, and here he keeps his great idol in secret. I shall inform of this and have him burnt for a pagan!

---

s.d. **cap-à-pie** Fr. "from head to foot." **truncheon** a club or cudgel. *Obs*. (OED n. 2).
215. **Jack-in-a-box** a street pedlar stationed in a portable stall or box. *Obs*. (OED 4).
216. **Bevis of Southampton** the legendary hero of a popular 14th c. English romance of the same name, slightly connected with the medieval Charlemagne cycle (Brewer).
217. **John of Gaunt** John, duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster (1340 – 1399), the fourth son of Edward III (ODNB).
218. **John of … anabaptistical army** see I.129 n., IV.187-188 n.
222. **twopence** see Appendix D.
223. **Bartholomew Fair** founded in 1133, it was originally a cattle and cloth fair to be held annually for three days at Smithfield. In the 17th c. it became a centre of general entertainment and there were numerous booths with strolling players, wrestlers, dwarves, wild animals, fire-eaters, puppets and tight-rope walkers (LE). See II.534-538 n.

HANGBY
No, no, you are mistaken, 'tis the direct image of Oliver. He cannot be content to adore him in his heart, but he sets up his image in his press and in his chamber.

POLLUX
Indeed, sir, you are mistaken. He never loved Oliver in his life, nor any governor nor government. You do him a great deal of wrong. He was then the same Mr. Turbulent that he is now.

FURNISH
I know he is a very turbulent, troublesome fellow; but I did not think that he, who was still railing against images and idolatry, should have them thus privately locked up in presses like those in Westminster Abbey. But let it be whose image it will, I'll shoot it (*presents a pistol; the image shakes and lets fall the truncheon*).

LUCIA WELLBRED
What do you mean, sir? Oh, forbear, sir! 'Tis a mere image, a very harmless statue, sir! What, shoot a statue? Oh, good sir, by no means!

FURNISH
Look, look, the statue shakes and has let fall his truncheon! 'Tis a piece of withcraft!

LUCIA WELLBRED
'Tis nothing but the shaking of the press that does not stand fast. (*Aside to Mr. Turbulent*) You had like to have spoiled all! Stand still! (*She shuts the press*)— You see, gentlemen, Mr. Turbulent is not in the house. Pray, gentlemen, now you are satisfied leave us to ourselves.

FURNISH
We shall meet him some time or other and he shall pay dearly for all his treasonable speeches and for his idol of John of Leyden too.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Come, you have frighted him sufficiently. I am afraid he'll spoil his armour behind.

FURNISH
This has done me as much good as the fifty pounds I have got of him today. Come, Hangby.

Exeunt Furnish, Hangby and soldiers.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Mr. Fairlove, if you will walk down, I will wait on you instantly. Pollux and I must uncase my uncle first and deliver him out of the fright we have put him in.

---

226. **teraphim** an idol or image, especially applied to household gods (OED).
228. **Oliver** Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), lord protector of England, Scotland and Ireland during the Interregnum (ODNB).
234-235. **Westminster Abbey** the church which has been the setting for the coronation of English monarchs since 1066. The present abbey was begun by Henry III in 1245 and was much influenced by contemporary French styles. At the reformation, its royal associations saved it from destruction (DBH; LE). A 19th c. guide for visitors mentions several wax effigies, Queen Elizabeth among them, placed in wainscot in a chantry over Islip Chapel (*An Historical Description of Westminster Abbey* 60-61).
241. **you** not in Q1-Q2.

MR. FAIRLOVE
He owes you much for his deliverance.

FRIENDLY
She has made him Mr. Peaceable instead of Mr. Turbulent.

POLLUX
Oh, he never talks in armour!

Exeunt Fairlove, Friendly.
Lucia opens the press and Mr. Turbulent, putting up the visor of his helmet, comes forth upon the stage.

LUCIA WELLBRED
I protest, your fear had like t'have spoiled all!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
(*Shaking*) Are they gone? Are you sure they are gone?

POLLUX
Yes, sir, they are gone and I have shut the doors after them.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Oh, these are abominable times! Oh, wicked and accursed age! Oh, that I should live in such times that a man must be afraid to speak! Wicked varlets, they'll go and inform I am an heathen idolater! What if they should come again? How should I escape? O, the sight of the pistol has put me into such a fright! See, niece, is not my armour spoiled behind? I have been something leaky.

LUCIA WELLBRED
No, no, all's well. 'Tis proof enough against such shot.

POLLUX
Shall I get your supper ready, sir?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Oh, these rogues have frighted away my stomach! The sight of the devil is not so terrible to me as those red clothes with the infernal weapons of muskets and pistols! But, niece, what shall I do if they should come again? I am afraid they will be here again tomorrow. Oh, I dread a prison and to be confined within walls!

LUCIA WELLBRED
There is no better way for you than to feign yourself mad. Pollux and I will keep your counsel and then you may say anything which will be an ease to your spirit, and you may do what you will. They will then only pity you and take all to be an effect of your madness, and that which you said likewise to Mr. Pricket. Madness, you know, excuses many things.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Mad, say you? I need not counterfeit that, I am almost mad already to see the wickedness and profaneness of the age, the vileness and lewdness of the times, the filthiness and debauchery of this city, and the ungodliness and irreligion of the whole nation! I say I can be very easily mad and I will be so to save myself and to avoid being taken in the snare of the

267. **counsel** secret. *Obs*. (OED *counsel* n. 5.d).

wicked red coats.

POLLUX

You had best make trial, sir, how you can deceive my old mistress and my young mistress. If you can deceive them handsomely, then you may be confident you may deceive anybody else.

Enter Doctor Quibus.

LUCIA WELLBRED

Oh, sir, here is Dr. Quibus, practice first upon him! Now try what you can do— Pollux, I'll leave you here to keep them asunder. I must go to Mr. Fairlove.

Exit Lucia.

DR. QUIBUS

Vat de debil is dis? Mr. Turbulent in armour? I come to see my patient, is dis he in dis case? *Morbleu*! Vat art dow? Speak!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT

I am Mars, the god of war! I am Mars, I tell thee, and I will slay thee, pygmy! (*Lays hold on his sword*).

POLLUX

I am afraid, sir, my master is a little besides himself. He does not use to talk thus.

DR. QUIBUS

Aye, de color is got into de brain and has turned de brain vith de hot fumes. He take de physic in the morn, he take de caudle at de noon, he go to de meeting in de afternoon and to de tabern at de night. All dis is enough to make de vel man stark mad. He must have de ellebore, de strong purge of de ellebore, and de spare diet, and be kept dark, dat he may be cured.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT

Thou art an ass doctor and understandst not anything! Mars never eat hellebore! You are no son of Apollo; you are not Aesculapius, I know him by his beard. Thou art an elf born in fairyland, and hast sailed hither in an egg-shell to poison the nation with ratsbane and dog's turds. But I tell thee, I am Mars and I will slay thee! (*Lays hold on his sword; Pollux stops him*).

DR. QUIBUS

De debil go vit dee! I will stay no longer, de vine is in his brain. Go, go to de sleep and settle de brain; or else to de Bedlam, dat is de fittest place for dee!

Exit.

---

282. **Mars** the Roman god of war, identified with the Greek Ares (Grimal).

286. **man** Q1-Q2: man man.

289-290. **no son … his beard** in Greek mythology, Apollo was the Olympian god associated with music, poetry and the healing art. His son, traditionally represented with a beard, was Aesculapius, the Latin name of Asclepius, the Greek god of medicine (Grimal).

290-291. **an elf born in fairyland** elves, distinguished from fairies as being more malignant and mischievous (OED n.[1] 1.b), were supposed to live in a beautiful and luxurious world which lies close alongside the human one (Simpson and Roud).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
So, did I not do well?

POLLUX
Yes, sir, admirably, admirably well. ‘Tis natural to you.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Come, help me off with my arms. Let us go in, and go and get my eggs ready. I am almost faint with fasting.

POLLUX
But you must remember to be mad again when you see my mistress.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I’ll warrant you. Let me alone.

Exeunt.
Enter Fairlove, Friendly and Lucia.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Will Friendly—like the philosopher that never laughed till he saw an ass eating thistles, nabbing and pricking his lips—could not choose but smile a little when he saw your uncle in his posture.

LUCIA WELLBRED
You would hardly have believed this had not your eyes been witnesses. I assure you this suit of armour was an invention of his own brain as well as the work of his own hands.

FRIENDLY
I confess ‘twas something surprising and might prove diversion enough for those that love to make themselves sport with the folly of others, but I pity him.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Ne’er pity him, ‘tis his nature; and you may as well pity a swine for grunting or a dog for barking. You were no sooner gone and that we had released him from his fear, but he returned to his old wont of railing against the times.

MR. FAIRLOVE
‘Tis impossible to convert him from that.

LUCIA WELLBRED
I have but one way to do it and I’ll make a trial of it. Well, I’ll dismiss you till tomorrow, and then—

MR. FAIRLOVE
I will release you from your slavery.

FRIENDLY
And with a *habeas corpus* remove her from one prison to another.

---

301. **an ass eating thistles** prob. a reference to Aesop’s fable of the donkey eating spiny leaves (Aesop 254).
310. **wont** custom, habit. *Arch*. (OED n. a).
315. ***habeas corpus*** an ancient prerogative writ requiring the body of a person restrained of liberty to be brought before the judge or into court (OED a), formally defined by the 1679 *Habeas Corpus* Act, which established the freedom of the subject from wrongful imprisonment (Brewer).

LUCIA WELLBRED
That is as it may happen.

Enter Cringe singing "fa la la la."

FRIENDLY
[*Aside to Mr. Fairlove*] Away, Fairlove! Here is the foolish City poet! I had rather meet a ghost than this troublesome fop. You shall have enough of your mistress tomorrow.

Exit, pulling Fairlove with him.

FINICAL CRINGE
Mrs. Lucia, are you still in the same mind you were in last time I saw you, hey?

LUCIA WELLBRED
Yes, indeed am I, sir; and therefore let me not hear one word more either of love or verses, for I hate them both, especially from you.

FINICAL CRINGE
Now, did you think I would go hang or drown myself, hey? Fa la la la fa la la la! Now are you deceived I won't so much as write an elegy on our parting, hey!

LUCIA WELLBRED
I care not what you do with yourself, so you trouble not me.

FINICAL CRINGE
You shall see, I know what belongs to the fashionable love of our times, hey. Fa la la la! I'll love you no longer than you love me. Fa la la la. Pshaw, 'twas only my diversion!

LUCIA WELLBRED
I'm glad, Mr. Cringe, you and I so well agree at parting. But, are you provided of another love? That's fashionable too, you ought to have another miss or two. What says my cousin Priscilla?

FINICAL CRINGE
She is not such a fool as you are, she knows when she is well proffered. (*Pulling out parchment*) And look you, hey, to vex you, hey, see, I have scratched your name out of the licence and put in Mrs. Priscilla's. Do you see that, hey? Fal la la fal la la la!

Exit.

LUCIA WELLBRED
This is a pleasant lover. Oh, my aunt!

Enter Mrs. Turbulent.

Oh, aunt, here has befell us a most sad disaster since you went.

MRS. TURBULENT
Why, what's the matter?

---

325. **fashionable** Q1-Q2: fathomable. Lucia's retort "that's fashionable too" (IV.328) indicates that the Q reading must be an error
326. **you love me** Q1-Q2: you love mr.
334. **since you went** Q1-Q2: since your went.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Here have been soldiers to search for my uncle, which made him fly into his brown paper arms, his last refuge. But what with the fear they put him in, the wine he has drunk at the tavern and his choleric melancholy distemper, as Dr. Quibus calls it, he is quite besides himself and out of his wits. The house can hardly hold him.

MRS. TURBULENT
O, the sad and deplorable times that we live in! There have not been such lewd, wicked times since Adam! They talk of the Iron Age? I tell you this is a flinty age or a mere stony, rocky, adamantive age, that they cannot let a poor man be in quiet in his own house. O, sad, sad, sad times! Oh, niece, these are abominable times and we are governed by the Nebuchadnezzars and Belshazzars of the earth.

LUCIA WELLBRED
[*Aside*] Now I have put her into a fit of railing— But aunt, Dr. Quibus has been to see him, and he is so raging mad that he had like to have beat the doctor. He says he's absolutely distracted as any in Bedlam and advises you, by all means, to put him in there to be cured.

MRS. TURBULENT
I can't believe it. 'Tis but a fit, he'll be well again. Oh, these times!

LUCIA WELLBRED
What, again? Good aunt, let the times alone and consider what you have to do! Look—

Enter Priscilla.

Here is my cousin Priscilla, take her advice.

PRISCILLA
What is the subject of your discourse? Is it proper or common?

MRS. TURBULENT
The subject is very proper: your father is mad, they say. And the question is: what shall we do with him? He is raging and he will be too hot for the house, and too troublesome to us all.

PRISCILLA
Canst thou prove it?

LUCIA WELLBRED
Yes, without a syllogism. If you go to him, he will demonstrate it.

PRISCILLA
He is then in an evil predicament. For if he hath lost his reason, plainly he is a brute.

LUCIA WELLBRED
And therefore I would have your mother provide for him a little chamber in the hospital over the way till his reason and his knowledge return to him, and where proper physic and fit diet may be administered to him.

---

336. **souldiers** Q1-Q2: solders.
341. **Iron Age** in classical mythology, the last and worst of the four ages of the world; hence allusively, an age or period of wickedness, cruelty and oppression (OED 1).
344. **Belshazzars** Q1-Q2: Balshazzars.
359-360. **where proper … to him** according to Burton, three kinds of physic should be employed to cure

PRISCILLA
'Tis true, his reason may be actually lost for a time; but it may be still *in potentia*, and may be recovered.

Enter Mr. Cringe.

FINICAL CRINGE
Why, what's the matter with Mr. Turbulent, hey? He is mad, sure, hey? I went to him about some earnest business and he flew at me like a dragon. If it had not been for honest Paul, he would have murdered me, hey. What ails he, hey? How came he so, hey?

LUCIA WELLBRED
He's troubled with melancholy, Mr. Cringe. He is in a choleric melancholy fit.

FINICAL CRINGE
A choleric fit indeed, hey. I don't love to see such choleric fits, hey.

LUCIA WELLBRED
You are troubled with melancholy too, Mr. Cringe.

FINICAL CRINGE
Who, I? Hah, hah, hey! Who, I? Fa la la la la!

LUCIA WELLBRED
Yes, you, Mr. Cringe, for all your fa la la la. You are troubled with the laughing melancholy, the rhyming, versifying melancholy, the singing, light, airy fa la melancholy. Indeed you are far gone and have need of cure, Mr. Cringe. I advise for the best.

FINICAL CRINGE
Mistress Priscilla, she says this out of mere spite because I have left her. Look here, I have put you into the licence and I'll marry you tomorrow, hey. What say you, hey? Here's my hand, hey.

PRISCILLA
I say that this proposition may be in the mode *purpurea*, that is the possible mode; or it may be *edentuli*, the necessary mode.

FINICAL CRINGE
And I'll go study an epithalamium against tomorrow, hey. Fa la la la la la!

Exit.

---

melancholy: "diet, or living, apothecary, chirurgery." Bad diet had thus to be rectified: moist meats, broths, pottages, herbs, pure water and fishes from sandy waters were generally commended. (I 216-233; II 21-29).
361. ***in potentia*** Lat. "in potentiality."
365. **ails** troubles, afflicts. *Obs*. (OED v. 1).
376. **purpurea** Q1-Q2: *Puerpera*.
376-377. **I say … necessary mode** according to Aristotelian Logic, complex propositions can be found in four modes: possible, contingent, impossible or necessary. Since each of these modes can be affirmed or denied (i.e., "it is necessary" or "it is not possible") of a single affirmative or negative proposition, the total number of possible complex propositions is sixteen, exemplified by the following words: *Purpurea, Iliace, Amabimus, Edentuli* (Arnauld and Nicole 95-96).
378. **epithalamium** a nuptial song or poem in praise of the bride and bridegroom (OED).

LUCIA WELLBRED
I advise you, cousin, to lay by your modes and your figures and take Mr. Cringe while he is in the mood; you'll never get such a husband. Come, I'll see it done tomorrow myself.

MRS. TURBULENT
If Mr. Turbulent be mad, he is under tribulation. He is chastised for going to the profane house called a tavern.

LUCIA WELLBRED
You must now place yourself, aunt, at the helm of government in your family and compel my uncle, for his own good, to enter into Bedlam and to be under confinement and subject to government, which he always abhorred—

Enter Suckthumb.

[*Aside*] O, here is another of the melancholics and the fittest person in the world to bear my uncle company. 'Tis pity they should be parted. This is the eye and my uncle the tongue of sedition.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Where is brother Turbulent? I am returned from brother Sly and sister Sly, who are put under tribulation and are entered into the prison called the roundhouse, sent thither by the earthly Justice Right-or-Wrong. I come to condole with brother Turbulent about his matter.

MRS. TURBULENT
Alas, brother Abednego, Mr. Turbulent has lost his reason!

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Then he is purified. He ought not to have anything to do with reason. It is the idol of the world and the very Babel of the sons of the earth.

PRISCILLA
Dost thou speak against reason and logic? I doubt thou art ignorant and canst not distinguish.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Logic is the very language of Babel, and used by the carnal and the profane men of the earth.

LUCIA WELLBRED
[*Aside*] So, this is good. They are going together by the ears about logic and reason, which they neither understand anymore than a goose or a seagull.

PRISCILLA
Thou speakst evilly of the best thing in the world. It is reason only that distinguishes us from beasts.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
I say reason is the filth and scum of the carnal brain. It is the soot and fume of hell. It ought to be banished and not made use of. It is the froth of a corrupted mind, it is the carnal weapon of the wicked learned men. And I say again, we ought to live above reason, beyond reason, and to act against reason, and contrary to reason, and to pull down reason, and to

390. **roundhouse** a round or circular prison, especially a small, round, local lock-up (OED n. 1).

overthrow, overthrow, overthrow the idol reason!

PRISCILLA
Wilt thou give me leave to reply?

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Thou canst not, shalt not reply nor take the part of reason. ‘Tis that which causes the rulers of the earth to impose laws on us. ‘Tis that which causes the outward worship and the congregating in stone churches. ‘Tis that which causes the orders and the ceremonies, the institutions, and the schools, and the universities, and the study, and the books and subtle questions and answers among the men of the world. ‘Tis the vey root of all evil and it must be confounded. And if brother Turbulent has lost his reason, he is become perfect.

PRISCILLA
I must tell thee, friend, thou liest. Reason ought not to be lost, nor to be cast down, nor confounded.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
I say it is lost, and shall be cast down, and shall be confounded.

PRISCILLA
I say it shall not, and thou art a beast without thy reason.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
I say it shall, and thou art a very beast with thy reason.

LUCIA WELLBRED
[*Aside*] This is pleasant: two irrational animals to fall out about what neither of them have! But here comes one will end their dispute.

Enter Mr. Turbulent in his nightgown and cap, staring like a madman, his hands bound behind him, and led in by Pollux.

POLLUX
[*To Timothy Turbulent*] Here they are, Mr. Suckthumb with ‘em. Now see if you can deceive ‘em and the visioner too; you may then deceive anybody. Now, master, act your part bravely.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
[*To Pollux*] I’ll warrant you, let me alone to counterfeit.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Brother Turbulent, I have now the interpretation of the vision I had at our meeting. The eagle on the top of the tree was brother Sly, the tree was the roundhouse where he is put, and the dragon was that dragon-like Justice Right-or-Wrong, who hath devoured him.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
What sayst thou? Didst thou name the dragon? Hah, art thou Bel? Hah!

---

426. **the vision … our meeeting** see II.543-549.
429. **Didst thou … thou Bel** Q1-Q2: Bell. In the story of Bel and the dragon, the prophet Daniel convinced the king that Bel was not a living deity but only an image and slew a dragon worshipped by the Babylonians. This was originally included in the King James Bible as part of the book of Daniel, although now it is usually considered apocryphal (Brewer *Bel*).

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Dost thou see a vision?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Yes, I see thee, the giant Gogmagog that devoureth the people. But I will encounter thee and cast thee to the earth.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Peace, he prophesieth!

MRS. TURBULENT
Tim, I am sorry to see thee distracted. Dost thou know me, thy own wife?— I am afraid to go near him, he stares so—

POLLUX
You need not fear him. See, I have bound his hands; he can't hurt you.

MRS. TURBULENT
Why dost not speak to me, Tim? They were vile varlets to afright thee out of thy senses!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Avaunt, thou art a succubus, a she-devil, and from thy womb proceeds the spawn of Antichrist! Thou art the Whore of Babylon and I will overthrow thee! (*Runs towards her; Pollux holds him*).

MRS. TURBULENT
Oh, vile and abominable man! Aye, aye, I see he is mad now to abuse his own dear wife.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Peace, peace, he speaketh wonderful things and high mysteries. He is in a rapture, sister Turbulent. He meaneth not thy carnal womb, he meaneth spiritually. Hearken, I pray, with attention. These are mysteries and raptures.

PRISCILLA
May I put thee a plain proposition?

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Thou art a she-crocodile and feedst upon croaking frogs! Nothing but dark fumes passeth from thy throat and thy words are as the sounding of empty tubs! I will tear up thy idols and cast them into the fire, and burn thy Moloch logic books as a sacrifice!

---

431. **Gogmagog** a legendary giant or pair of giants—Gog and Magog—of biblical provenance (Rev. 20:8-10) mentioned in Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1136). In Tudor times, the tale evolved so that Brutus, the legendary founder of Britain, captured the giants alive and chained them to the gate of his palace as porters. Effigies of the giants were used on royal occasions and regularly appeared in the Lord Mayor's pageants and Midsummer Shows (Brewer; Simpson and Roud).
437. **afright** frighten. *Arch*. (OED v. 1). **thee** Q1-Q2: the.
438. **avaunt** be off! away! (OED int.). **succubus** a female demon supposed to have sexual intercourse with sleeping men (Brewer).
445-447. **Thou art … a sacrifice** although Q1-Q2 assign this speech to Mrs. Turbulent, the choice of vocabulary, together with Priscilla's reply, makes Timothy Turbulent a more suitable option. A manuscript annotation in Q1b confirms this; see chapter 4.1.
447. **Moloch** any influence which demands from us the sacrifice of what we hold most dear (Brewer), after the Canaanite god to whom children were burnt alive (2 Kings 23:10).

PRISCILLA
Nay, plainly I see he is now distracted, he hath quite lost his reason.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
I say he speaketh great things and they ought to be written in brass with a pen of steel. They are high prophecies and the interpretation may be given. Call not thy father mad, he is become perfect and has laid aside his reason, the ensign of his carnality.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Oh, the roaring of the lions and the howling of the wolves, the neighing of horses and the beating of drums! Hark the noise of the cannons and the dashing of rocks together! Hark again the bellowing of bulls and the braying of asses! There is a battle between the beasts of the earth and the fowls of the air.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
These are wonderful things! Oh, he seeth strange sights!

MRS. TURBULENT
Tim, Tim, thou art mad! I will seek a cure for thee.

PRISCILLA
Thou shalt have some physic that you mayst regain thy reason, which thou mayst yet have *in potentia*.

LUCIA WELLBRED
[*Aside*] He counterfeits bravely.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Ha, ha, ha! Come, you are all my friends. I did but counterfeit, to see if I could deceive you. I must do this when the soldiers come, that they may think I'm mad. Did not I do it bravely?

LUCIA WELLBRED
Have a care, aunt, this is but a light interval, as most mad people have. Come not near him, he is spiteful.

MRS. TURBULENT
No, Tim, you do not use to counterfeit. I'm sure you would not abuse your own wife if you had not been mad.

PRISCILLA
Dost thou own thyself a counterfeit and a deceiver? Nay, then we ought to shun thee. If thou art mad, we ought to run from thee, that thou mayst not hurt us. If thou are not mad, thou art then a counterfeit and a deceiver, and we ought not to keep thee company. There is a dilemma for thee, thou hast brought thyself plainly into this dilemma.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Here, wife, untie my hands that I may beat that baggage, I'll teach her better manners. You quaking, impudent, gill-flirt!

---

449. **written in … of steel** so that they could be remembered for posterity. See Jer. 17:1, "The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond: it is graven upon the table of their heart, and upon the horns of your altars."
451. **ensign** a token, characteristic mark. *Arch*. (OED n. 2.a).
472. **gill-flirt** a young woman or girl of a wanton or giddy character. *Arch*. (OED).

MRS. TURBULENT
I see, Tim, you are falling again into a fit. I see by the roll of your eyes.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
O, you vile woman, won't you believe me? (*Offers to run at her; withheld by Pollux*).

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Thou art returning into thy rapture.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Rapture? You fool, you idiot, I tell thee I did but counterfeit! Unloose me! These wicked women will take the helm of government out of my hand else!

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Brother, I am sorry thou shouldst say thou didst counterfeit; that is the greatest sign I have yet seen of thy madness. Be reconciled to thyself and own thy raptures.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
[*Aside*] I have made a fair hand on't and counterfeited so well they won't believe me— I say, brother, unloose these bands!

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
I dare not. If they were imposed on thee by the legal authority of thy wife or her lawful ministers, let them be loosed by the same authority. I shall not meddle with them, but I can suffer with thee and will not leave thee in thy affliction.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
A company of rogues, whores, varlets! I'll teach you all to abuse me thus! (*Offers in great rage to fall on them; is held by Pollux and Lucy*).

LUCIA WELLBRED
Away, aunt! He's in another raging fit! Quickly, quickly, away, come away!

MRS. TURBULENT
Nay, I see he is mad indeed now.

PRISCILLA
He hath lost his reason.

Mrs. Turbulent and Priscilla run out.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Come, niece, undo my hands. I have counterfeited so long they won't believe me now.

LUCIA WELLBRED
'Tis true indeed, uncle. You do it very naturally, now you counterfeit yourself sober. But you are mad still. (*Whispers*) Uncle, shall I have my portion and marry Mr. Fairlove?

---

481. **bands** anything with which one's body or limbs are bound, in restraint of personal liberty. *Arch*. (OED n.[1] 1.a).
483. **ministers** people acting under the authority of another. *Obs*. (OED n. 1.a).
490. **sober** sane. *Obs*. (OED adj. 11.a).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
O, I could tear you to pieces, you vile wretch, you abominable baggage! I'll eat thee up, that I will! Do you mock me and sport yourself with me?

LUCIA WELLBRED
[*Aside*] I thought that would put him into a rage again— So, uncle, you are fallen into another fit.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
I will not leave him, I will stay with him till his zeal is abated.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Sirrah Pollux, undo my hands that I may beat them all into their right senses!

LUCIA WELLBRED
Well, uncle, I'll leave you and consult with my aunt about your cure. (*Whispers to Pollux*) Be sure to keep him fast, Pol.

POLLUX
Ne'er fear.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Uncle, you had best go sleep and settle your brain, 'tis late.

Exit Lucia.

POLLUX
Come, sir, she advises well. Will you see if you can rest? The choleric fumes trouble your brain.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Sirrah, leave prating! I'll jest no longer. Untie my hands, I say! I'll make 'em know me. Do they rebel against their head?

POLLUX
Indeed, sir, I dare not. Do you think I am wiser than my old mistress and my young mistress and Mrs. Lucy? I should be madder than you if I should untie your hands! They have ordered to the contrary.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
They, they, they? They order? This is fine! Oh, I will be revenged on them for this!

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Possess yourself with patience. I will assist thee and we will speak to sister Kate once more.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Speak? Patience, say you? I'll after them and tear them to pieces with my teeth! Vile, abominable, wretched, wicked, stinking, filthy women!

Runs out.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
He is again fallen into a rapture. I will follow and see the end of these things.

Exit.

POLLUX
So, there will be something to do among them.

These sort of men, your holy melancholics,
Thus cheat each other with religious frolics.

[*Exit*]

The end of the fourth act.

ACT V

The Scene: Bethlem.

Enter Sneak and Lady Medler.

LADY MEDLER
Indeed this is a fine place, the fairest hospital I ever saw.

GRIN SNEAK
Better than that of the Incurable of Venice. 'Tis much for the honour of the city, madam. But, did you never see it before, madam?

LADY MEDLER
No. Nor had not now, had it not been to see my friend Mr. Turbulent. The sight of Bethlem, the tombs and the lions are no recreation for ladies of quality.

GRIN SNEAK
'Tis strange Mr. Turbulent should so soon become mad.

LADY MEDLER
Indeed I had some jealousy of it the last time I saw him, for he told me I looked oldish. I thought indeed he was a little cracked to tell me I looked old. Out upon him!

GRIN SNEAK
Why, madam, is that such a fault? Age is honourable and everybody desirous to live till they are old. Why then should old age be so despicable?

LADY MEDLER
Age is honourable! Marry come up! I say age is not honourable, nor you for saying so, it is an old musty adage. And I say age is good for nothing but to spoil good faces, brisk wits and active bodies; to bring wrinkles, grey hairs, moist eyes, slavering lips, aches in the joints and gouts in the limbs. Age, I say, is a most wicked and an abominable thing. And to tax me with it!

GRIN SNEAK
Nay, madam, that indeed was a crime.

LADY MEDLER
Had he called me whore, or bawd, or cheat or so, it had not vexed me half so much. But, poor man, he was out of his senses.

Enter Dr. Quibus.

---

2. **that of … of Venice** the *Ospedale degli Incurabili* in Venice, founded in 1522, was dedicated to incurable diseases such as syphilis (Nordio 39).
4-5. **the sight … the lions** the text alludes to several attractions frequently visited by tourists in 17th c. London, such as the lions in the Tower of London menagerie or the tombs in Westminster Abbey. See Dilke's *The Lover's Luck* (1695; 1696): "And han't I laid by all business, to saunter along with you? Show'd you the lions at the Tower, New Bedlam, and the tombs at Westminster?" (III, p. 17). See also IV.234-235 n.
7. **jealousy** suspicion, mistrust (OED n. 5).
11. **Marry come up** a phrase to indicate indignant or amused surprise or contempt. *Arch.* (OED *marry* int. 2.c). "Marry" was used in asseverations and oaths to allude to the Virgin Mary.
12. **an old musty adage** see Payne's *The Fatal Jealousie* (1672; 1673): "and though we say / That Age is Honourable" (V, p. 64).
13. **moist eyes** rheumy eyes as a sign of old age. *Obs.* (OED *moist* adj. 1.e).

DR. QUIBUS
Monsieur Sneak, you be velcom to de Betlem. Here is Monsieur Turbulent and Monsieur Sucktum come here to be cured of de melancholic. And you be come also in de very good time, you do very much vant de ellebore.

GRIN SNEAK
I am well enough, doctor, I am not melancholy.

DR. QUIBUS
You be de very melancoly man in de world. It is de melancoly dat troubles your brain, dat makes you run here, run dere all day long, all de week, all de year, after de project and get noting, not one straw. You'll be de true melancoly pickstraw.

GRIN SNEAK
Madam, this doctor is like most of the world: they will not believe till they see me in my coach and six horses— Well, doctor, I shall convince you shortly: I will build a hospital shall far exceed this.

DR. QUIBUS
Aye, dat is in de brain. Dere is one of de windmills dat goes vur, vur, vur. Dat is ven de project comes to perfection. I tell you, Monsieur Sneak, vat you shall do vith your money: you shall build tree such hospitals, one on each side of dis square, and den dere will be four, one for each sort of de melancoly. Dis vil hardly hold half de melancoly pickstraws in dis Town.

GRIN SNEAK
You are a jeering doctor.

Enter Keeper.

LADY MEDLER
Is there not one Mr. Turbulent here?

KEEPER
Yes. He is above, in the upper gallery.

GRIN SNEAK
Now you are here, madam, by all means see the mad folks. The keeper will let you see them.

KEEPER
Yes, you may see them if you please.

The scene is drawn open and discovers several sorts of mad people.

26-27. **till they … six horses** coaches drawn by six horses were a symbol of wealth and respectability. See Higden's *The Wary Widdow* (1693): "He tells me he will marry you to a young rich knight and barronet, and that you shall be ladyfied and keep your coach and six, and live in the country in a stately house as big as a pallace" (III, p. 22).

36. **in the upper gallery** see César de Saussure's early 18th c. description of the hospital: "after passing through a court and up a small flight of steps you reach the door of the building, and find yourself in a long and wide gallery, on either side of which are a large number of little cells where lunatics of every description are shut up, and you can get a sight of these poor creatures, little windows being let into the doors. Many inoffensive madmen walk in the big gallery. On the second floor is a corridor and cells like those on the first floor, and this is the part reserved for dangerous maniacs, most of them being chained and terrible to behold" (92-93).

LADY MEDLER
Do you let them walk about loose?

KEEPER
Such as are harmless and that are not raving are permitted to walk here in this gallery.

Enter on the stage a young maid anticly dressed, staring and singing.

MAD MAID

Tell me, prithee, faithless swain,
Tell me, prithee, faithless swain,
Why you did such passion feign
On purpose to deceive me.
I no sooner loved again.
But you began to leave me—

Hey ho! Are you Strephon? No, no, you are not he; he had garlands on his head. (*Singing*)

Oh, my love's dead and laid on his watery grave—

Pray, tell me, did you see Strephon? (*Singing*)

Tell me, gentle Strephon, why
You from my embraces fly.

Oh, there he is, there he is! Stay, stay, stay! Strephon, stay!

Exit running.

LADY MEDLER
Alas, poor maid!

KEEPER
She is one that fell mad with love.

DR. QUIBUS
Dis is one of the melancholy fa la's, and Monsieur Finical Cringe vould do very well to keep her company. He is de madder of de two.

Walk over the stage one in a gown and cap, reading in a book and not looking off. Exit.

KEEPER
This is a scholar that has cracked his brain in reading Aristotle. He is always poring on a book, but won't speak in a week together.

---

40. **and** Q1-Q2: aud (<n> printed upside-down).
41-46. **tell me … leave me** the first six lines of a poem from *The New Academy of Complements* (1669), where it is identified as "Song 136" (163-164).
47. **Strephon** a stock name for a rustic lover, after the shepherd whose laments open Sidney's *Arcadia* (Brewer).
50-51. **tell me … embraces fly** the first two lines of a poem ascribed to George Etherege published, like the previous one, in *The New Academy of Complements* (1669), where it is listed as "Song 10" (91).
s.d. **walk over … looking off** an entry with a book was commonly used on the stage as a sign of melancholy. Hamlet (II.ii) is probably the most famous example.

DR. QUIBUS
Dat is one of the melancoly dumbsads. He no talk, he noting but tink, tink of de philosophy and de strange tings, till he has turned de brain. He is de brother to Monsieur Sucktum.

Enter Madman passing o'er the stage.

MADMAN 1
I'll pull down honour from the pale-faced moon,
And break the wheels of the all-circling sun—

Exit.

KEEPER
This is a mad poet, he ran mad with making of verses. He speaks them *ex tempore* half a day together, and makes love to all that comes near him in rhyme.

DR. QUIBUS
Dis is one of de melancholy pickstraws, dere be a great many in de same degree of madness, dat goes about de streets and trobles de people vith dere rhimes and dere nonsense.

Enter Madman with many papers in his hand.

MADMAN 2
So, the *Marigold* from Smyrna; cargo: raisins, currants, wine, almonds, silks. Value: ten thousand pounds. The *James and John* from Genoa; cargo: five thousand pounds. The *William and Mary* from Lisbon, laden with sugars and wine; cargo: thirty thousand pounds—

Exit.

KEEPER
This is a cracked merchant. Doubly cracked: first in his estate by the loss of a ship or two taken by the Dutch, and afterwards in his brain. But he is continually reckoning up his several cargoes, that he fancies his ships bring him from all parts, and summing up the effects and his gains. He imagines himself the richest merchant in the City of London.

LADY MEDLER
Alas! Poor, poor man!

DR. QUIBUS
'Fait he be no poor man, he be de rich man in de imagination. He is one of the melancholy pickstraws, and in de very same degree of dis shentilman, he tinks himself rich in de project.

Enter Madman holding his head on one side, and leering off, with his hands.

61-62. **I'll pull … pale-faced moon** a quasi-literal quotation from Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV*, where Hotspur vows "to pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon" (I.iii.202).
63. ***ex tempore*** Lat. "without premeditation or forethought."
67. **Smyrna** Ottoman port in the Aegean coast of Anatolia (EB).
68. **Genoa** Mediterranean seaport in northwestern Italy (EB).
69. **Lisbon** the capital of Portugal and its chief port and commercial and political centre (EB).
71-72. **Doubly cracked … his brain** the character is not only unsound in mind, but also bankrupt. *Obs*. (OED *cracked* 4).

MADMAN 3
Stand aside, good folks, stand aside lest I hurt you. Pray, give way, I'll gore you else.

Exit, making motions with his head and holding it on one side, as if to get his horns through the door.

KEEPER
This is a citizen that became horn-mad through jealousy. He fancies that his horns are so big that he cannot carry them in the gallery, and that they weigh down his head that he is fain to carry it on one side.

DR. QUIBUS
Dis is one of de hypocondraic melancolics.

Enter two habited like scholars, with caps and gowns, disputing.

LADY MEDLER
I think all cuckolds are as mad as he, that would make their invisible horns known to to all the world. But, who are these gentlemen?

KEEPER
Madam, they are two mad critics that when they get together are continually disputing about the poets ancient and modern. One calls himself Aristotle, and the other thinks himself Julius Scaliger.

MADMAN 4
I say, Mr. Aristotle, that the poets of our age have nothing of wit in them and all their pieces are false drafts. Oh, the wise Sophocles, the wise Euripides, the oracles of their age!

MADMAN 5
I say the Bayes and the Ninnies of this age are far beyond them, and they know more than they did, and write better sense.

MADMAN 4
I say, Aristotle, thou liest. The ancient Aristophanes and the witty Menander were the only persons that understood comedy among the Greeks. Terence had some wit, but Shakespeare

---

78. **aside** Q1-Q2: aisde (<i> and <ſ> printed upside-down).
87. **Scaliger** Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484 – 1558), French classical scholar who worked in botany, zoology, grammar and literary criticism. In *Poetice* (1561), his most widely read book, Greco-Roman rhetoric and poetics are used as a foundation for literary criticism, and his exposition of Aristotelian criteria for tragedy did much to turn his contemporaries towards Classicism (EB).
88. **pieces** Q1-Q2: peieces.
89. **the wise … their age** Sophocles (*ca.* 496 – 406 BC) and Euripides (*ca.* 484-406 BC), together with Aeschylus (*ca.* 525 – 456 BC), were classical Athens' great tragic playwrights (EB).
90. **Bayes and the Ninnies** see chapter 2.3.
92. **Aristophanes** Greek dramatist (*ca.* 450 – *ca.* 388 BC), the greatest representative of old comedy (EB). **Menander** Greek dramatist (*ca.* 342 – *ca.* 292 BC), whom ancient critics considered the supreme poet of new comedy (EB).
93. **Terence** Roman dramatist (*ca.* 195 – 159? BC), the author of six verse comedies regarded as models of pure Latin. Terence's plays form the basis of the modern comedy of manners (EB). **Shakespeare** English poet, dramatist and actor (bap.1564 – 1616), often called the English national poet and considered by many to be the greatest dramatist of all time. At the Restoration, some of his works were heavily adapted for the new stage to suit the tastes of the period.

and Ben Jonson were mere oafs.

Enter Madwoman pulling Sneak by the sleeve on one side.

MADWOMAN
Are you married?

Exit.

GRIN SNEAK
What means she by that? (*Aside, brisking up himself*) I believe she is in love with me.

MADMAN 5
I say, Mr. Scaliger, you are a proud, malapert and impudent critic to find fault with the very inspired priests of the muses. And I tell you your Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes and Menander and all the rest of them were mere idiots to the poets of our age.

Enter Madwoman pulling Sneak aside.

MADWOMAN
You are not married, are you?

GRIN SNEAK
Why do you ask? No.

MADWOMAN
Don't let the keeper see me! I ain't mad. I have ten thousand pounds to my portion and five hundred pounds a year which a rich uncle keeps from me in Berkshire, and keeps me here and makes people believe I am mad only to keep my estate. I am no more mad than you are.

KEEPER
Sir, pray have a care of that woman. She is mad and sometimes very mischievous— How came you loose? Go in!

MADWOMAN
You see, he won't let me tell you. But, hark you, I'll marry you if you can get me out.

Exit.

GRIN SNEAK
(*Aside*) This was a happy coming hither. 'Tis so, the keeper is afraid I should discover it, she speaks very rationally. This was a very lucky chance, a happy discovery.

MADMAN 4
I say you are a dull, insipid and ignorant critic. And I say again, the kings of your poets are no better than Punchinellos. They are ridiculous and want majesty.

---

94. **Ben Jonson** English dramatist, lyric poet, and literary critic (1572 – 1637). Throughout much of the 17th c. Jonson was commonly regarded as a writer whose literary distinction equalled or even surpassed that of Shakespeare himself (ODNB).
92-94 **I say … mere oafs** poss. echoing Dryden's defence of the poets of his age in his "Defence of the Epilogue." See chapter 2.3.
97. **malapert** presumptuous, saucy. *Arch*. (OED adj.).
103. **Berkshire** a historic county of southern England (EB).
111. **Punchinellos** in the *commedia dell'arte* and in puppet shows of Italian origin Punchinello was a hook-nosed, humpbacked character, the prototype and equivalent of the English Punch (OED 1).

Enter Madwoman.

MADWOMAN
(*Aside to Mr. Sneak*) You'll marry me then and get me out of this place?

KEEPER
Pray, sir, have a care of her. I give you warning.

LADY MEDLER
Who is she?

KEEPER
A stocking-mender's daughter that has run mad through pride and fancies she has ten thousand pounds to her portion and five hundred pounds a year in Berkshire.

DR. QUIBUS
Do not disturb dem, dey are de fittest to talk togeder dat I know. She hat de long vorm in her brain and he hat de great maggot in his. She fancies she hat de ten thousand pounds and he imagines he hat de one hundred thousand pounds, ven he has noting. Which is de madder den?

MADWOMAN
[*To Grin Sneak*] Be sure you keep my counsel.

Exit.

GRIN SNEAK
And I will, and marry thee too, and get thy estate— Hah, this is a lucky hit. I'll deal well enough with her uncle by the help of my Lady Medler.

MADMAN 5
Thou art a very venomous, wicked and reproachful critic!

MADMAN 4
Thou art a scurrilous, surly, chemical critic!

Lifting up their fists.

MADMAN 5
Thou art—

MADMAN 4
And thou art—

KEEPER
Hold, I'll end your quarrel! I am so troubled with these mad critics when they meet together. They always dispute till they fall together by the ears (*parts them and turns them out severally*).

DR. QUIBUS
Dere be many of dese Greek wits about dis Town dat deserve a place in dis hospital. Dey do noting but find de fault and pick de hole in de coat of de poet and de wits, dey see de motes in de sun and de spots in de moon and de stars, dey find de fault in de lines, in de verse, in

125. **surly** haughty, arrogant. *Obs*. (OED 2.a).
130. **Greek wits about dis Town** see chapter 2.3.

de vords, in de plays, vitout de sence or de vit or de reason. Begar, dey be all mad and fit for de Betlem!

GRIN SNEAK
Madam, I am very happy today, I have made a most rare discovery. I'll tell you anon, you must assist me in it. You shall have a share, madam. I would not for a thousand pound but I had come here today.

LADY MEDLER
I am glad of the good fortune—

Enter, out of his cell, a Madman chained, shaking his chains and roaring.

MADMAN 6
Pull down the stars! Hah, blow, Boreas, blow! Make the seas meet, dash the rocks together and put out the sight of the sun!

LADY MEDLER
I'm afraid of him.

KEEPER
You need not, he is fast chained.

MADMAN 6
Cerberus, dost thou howl, Cerberus? I'll cut off thy three necks and boil 'em for that lady's supper! Avaunt, thou she-fury! I'll leap thee else like an incubus! (*Rattling his chains*) Tear 'em, tear 'em, tear 'em!

KEEPER
Go, get you in. This is a frantic, outrageous madman.

Exit Madman into his cell.

DR. QUIBUS
Dis is one of de coloric melancolics dat is full of de rage and de raving fits, and is not as de lunatics vith de lucid intervals. Dis sort, and de hot brain, like de vild fire. Here be all de sorts of de mad men and de melancolics in de varld, and here dey take de physic and have de cure for deir malady and distemper in de brain.

Enter Madman.

MADMAN 7
And now I am come to the nine and fortieth point, the downfall of the Whore of Babylon. Mark me, the judgments of the terrible approach of the falling into nothing, of the polluted and sinful world, shall be turned and converted to confusion and distress. And then you shall

---

s.d. **a Madman … and roaring** see Burton's description of the madman in the frontispiece of his *Anatomy of Melancholy*: "Naked in chains bound doth he lie / And roars amain he knows not why."

139. **blow, Boreas, blow** in classical mythology, the god of the north wind (Grimal). This may have been intended as an allusion to D'Urfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681), which includes a song by Henry Purcell (recorded in his *Orpheus Britannicus* 185-188) beginning with the very same phrase (I.i., p. 5-6).

143. **Cerberus** in classical mythology, the watch-dog which guarded the realm of the dead, usually represented as having three heads (Grimal).

144. **incubus** a feigned evil spirit or demon supposed to descend upon persons in their sleep, and especially to seek carnal intercourse with women (OED 1).

behold the crowns of the earth be tumbled on heaps, and the seas and the moon shall vanish into vapour. But then—

Exit.

KEEPER
This is a fifth monarchy preacher, who employs himself this way all day long.

DR. QUIBUS
He speaks as soberly as most of dem, and as mush sense.

Enter Madwoman again, pulling Sneak aside.

MADWOMAN
Let me tell you another secret. You will marry me?

GRIN SNEAK
Yes, yes, and get you out. But take no notice then—

MADWOMAN
Hark you in your ear (*she whispers in his ear*).

KEEPER
Pray have a care, sir, of that woman!

GRIN SNEAK
(*Cries out; she bites him by the ear*) Oh, oh, oh, oh, oh!

LADY MEDLER
O, Lord! Mr. Sneak, what ail you?

KEEPER
I told you what would come of it!

Keeper runs and takes her off, and turns out the Madwoman, who exit laughing.

LADY MEDLER
I think, Mr. Sneak, you were madder than she to trust your ear in her mouth.

KEEPER
Is this Mr. Grin Sneak the projector?

LADY MEDLER
Yes, this is Mr. Grin Sneak. (*Looking at his ear*) Poor gentleman!

KEEPER
(*Pulling out a paper*) Oh, sir, I have an order here to provide for you. I am glad you are come.

GRIN SNEAK
What mean you, sir?

156. **fifth monarchy preacher** a member of an extreme puritan sect that appeared in England in the mid-seventeenth century. They were so called from their belief that the time had come for the reign of Christ, which would be the fifth monarchy to rule the world, succeeding those of Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome (EB).

KEEPER
Only to carry you to your companions till I provide a chamber for you. I have your name here [*reads*]: "Mr. Timothy Turbulent, Mr. Abednego Suckthumb and Mr. Grin Sneak" (*whistles*).

Enter two Men.

Here, carry this mad gentleman to Mr. Turbulent.

GRIN SNEAK
What do you mean? I ain't mad!

LADY MEDLER
Sure, he is not mad.

KEEPER
Here is Dr. Quibus, that receives a pension from the house and assists in the cure of the mad folks. He knows sure, better than you, madam, who is mad and who is not. I have his hand for it and an order to provide for him.

DR. QUIBUS
He is de very mad man in de vorld, I assure you.

GRIN SNEAK
The doctor understands nothing. I tell you I am not mad and I won't go with you.

KEEPER
There is none of all these mad men that are here but will say as much as you do, they do not think themselves mad no more than you do.

DR. QUIBUS
He vere not mad if he did not tink himself so.

KEEPER
Have him away, I say! Away with him!

Exeunt, carrying out Sneak between them, Keeper, Men and Sneak.

LADY MEDLER
Alas! Poor man! I'll go after him.

DR. QUIBUS
I'll vait on you, madam.

Exeunt.
Enter Fairlove, Friendly, Cringe, Lucia, Priscilla.

FRIENDLY
Now do I think this is the fittest place in the world to conclude a wedding in, for since you have been so mad as to put on the fetters of marriage, this hospital is fittest for your entertainment. I have seen you so mad as to be married, but I despair of seeing your cure. I doubt your frenzy is for life.

LUCIA WELLBRED
It has cost me some pains and study to get my uncle Turbulent hither. And now I have made sure of Mr. Fairlove and my portion, I care not how soon he is released.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Let him be cured first of his turbulency. I doubt all the physic in London will hardly change his nature. He feeds upon choler and he chews galls and bitterness, as if they were eryngoes or marchpane.

FRIENDLY
I think this hospital is the fittest place in the world for all those sort of people, and if I were rich enough I would add to its revenue. For it is a great deal of pity that these kind of mad men should walk about the streets as they do.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Why, Mr. Cringe, what are you musing? You are melancholy.

FINICAL CRINGE
Who, I? Fa la la la! I was only meditating upon an epithalamium which I intend to speak myself to my bride at night, hey, hey.

PRISCILLA
Trouble not thy head with vain songs, plainly they will be disagreeing to me; and Mr. Goyle told me poetry was an unsanctified vocation and that all poets and players were hanged up by the tongues in hell.

FINICAL CRINGE
Mr. Goyle is a liar, hey, for slandering the poets, hey. Those were only the little bawdy, rhyming, lampooning poets, not those that make heroics, hey. I tell you, you shall hear my epithalamium, hey.

Enter Mrs. Turbulent and Pollux.

MRS. TURBULENT
Dost thou say my Priscilla is married to that vile, rhyming fellow Cringe?

POLLUX
Yes, forsooth.

MRS. TURBULENT
And has my niece married Mr. Fairlove and got her portion out of the chamberlain's hands?

POLLUX
Yes, indeed, 'tis sure enough. Look you here, they are together.

MRS. TURBULENT
Well! 'Tis well my poor husband is already distracted, else I'm sure this very news would make him mad.

---

194. **eryngoes** the candied roots of the sea holly, formerly used as a sweet delicacy and regarded as an aphrodisiac. *Obs*. (OED 1.a).
195. **marchpane** a thick paste made of almonds, egg whites, and sugar cooked together, used as an ingredient or eaten on its own as a sweet (OED n. 2).
203-204. **all poets … in hell** a traditional view of the correspondence between punishment and sin as exemplified by the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the first early christian surviving account of a guided tour of heaven and hell, where liars are hanged by their tongues over eternal flames (Ehrman 204-205).
210. **got her … chamberlain's hands** the chamberlain, i.e. the official in charge of the Chamber of London, received and paid out all funds in the institution. See I.118 n.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Mr. Cringe, speak! Speak to her! Go!

FINICAL CRINGE
We have committed matrimony forsooth, mother. Look you, I have taken Mrs. Priscilla for better and for worse, hey.

MRS. TURBULENT
You have taken her without my consent, Mr. Cringe, and consequently without any portion.

FINICAL CRINGE
'Tis no matter for that, hey. I know how to go to law, hey. I married your daughter upon a lawful consideration, hey, and I shall force you, hey.

MRS. TURBULENT
Force me, force me? You impudent ballad-maker! Will you force me? Oh, what times do we live in! Force me!

LUCIA WELLBRED
Aunt, I'm afraid they'll think you mad as well as my uncle. It is not good to be loud in this place, lest they provide a chamber for you.

MR. FAIRLOVE
I have taken care of your niece and taken her off your hands. I assure you she shall not trouble you any longer. I am now become her guardian.

MRS. TURBULENT
In good time! Well, mistress, I shall see you shortly live like those at the other end of the Town: you in one house and your husband in another, you with your gallant and he with his mistress, as they call 'em. You could not be contented with a good, honest, civil shopkeeper.

LUCIA WELLBRED
I have done you no hurt, I hope, to bestow the honest shopkeeper you had provided for me upon your own daughter.

FINICAL CRINGE
Come, mother, you shan't be angry, hey, you shall get us a sack-posset, hey, and we will dance and be merry, hey. Come away! Let us go see my mad father, hey!

MRS. TURBULENT
I doubt this news will make him ten times madder— Paul, show me the way to your master.

Enter Mr. Sly and Mrs. Sly.

215-216. **for better and for worse** a part of the marriage vows as recorded in the *Book of Common Prayer* (Church of England 1549): "I take thee to be my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us depart" (viii, "Of Matrimony").

232. **sack-posset** a drink made from hot milk curdled with sack and, flavoured with sugar, herbs or spices (OED *posset* n. 1). It was traditionally taken by the bride and bridegroom in the evening of the wedding-day, just before the company retired (Brand 173).

RABSHEKA SLY
Where is brother Turbulent? We are come to see him in tribulation and to assist him with a word of comfort.

MRS. SLY
I fear brother Turbulent is fallen away from his principles, being seduced by his nephew Furnish, and now he suffers for his backsliding.

MRS. TURBULENT
Are you freed from the oppression of the Egyptian dragon Right-or-Wrong? How got you forth of the paw of the bear?

MRS. SLY
We were delivered.

FRIENDLY
What canting is this?

MR. FAIRLOVE
This is the language of the saints.

POLLUX
None of the languages of Babel.

LUCIA WELLBRED
How came you reconciled?

RABSHEKA SLY
We have forgiven each other lest the wicked and reprobate should reproach us for our failings, and lest we should become a scandal and a stumbling block to the godly.

MRS. SLY
Mr. Furnish is a vile and an abominable man. Oh, 'tis a wicked and unregenerate age.

RABSHEKA SLY
Where vice reigns triumphant and runs down like a stream.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Let us be gone, they are falling again into their old fits. The roundhouse has not cured 'em.

MRS. TURBULENT
I am going to see Tim.

---

239. **Egyptian dragon** the term "dragon" can be found in Isa. 51:9 to refer to the Egyptian pharaoh; hence, by extension, any figure of civil authority in puritan jargon.
240. **the paw of the bear** see 1 Sam. 17:37, "The Lord that delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, he will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine."
242. **canting** the formal use of religious and biblical phrases that characterized the language of the puritans was often derisively alluded to as hypocritical talk in the 17th c. (OED n.2 3).
246. **the wicked and reprobate** in reformed theology, the reprobates were predestined by God to eternal damnation, as opposed to the elect (OED n. 1, 2).
247. **stumbling block** see Isa. 8:13-14: "Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem."

MRS. SLY
We will go with you. My bowels yearn, I am full of compassion.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Pollux, hast thou bespoke a dinner over the way at the Pope's Head?

POLLUX
All things are ready for you. And I have bespoke the fiddlers, they will be here instantly to play you to dinner.

MR. FAIRLOVE
And we'll have one mad frisk among the mad folks.

Exeunt.

The scene draws and discovers Mr. Turbulent, Suckthumb and Sneak sitting together.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
They are a company of rogues, varlets, cheats, trepanners, villains to make me mad and to feed me with bread and porridge. These are Babylonian days! Oh, the oppression of Pharaoh and the tyranny of Dionysius!

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Bear thy tribulation with patience and be in the meekness. We shall be delivered.

GRIN SNEAK
I have a friend at court that will soon release me, and I will inform of the abuse.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I despise the court, I hate the court, 'tis a vile abomination and stinks of profaneness. Oh, name not the court, I cannot endure the sound of it in my ears.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
Thou speakst well. Hold fast to thy principles and thou shalt be delivered from the paw of the lion.

GRIN SNEAK
[*Aside*] I begin to doubt these two are mad, but I am not yet convinced. But the woman as bit me by the ear was sober. She did it that they might not suspect our plot. 'Twas so.

Enter Dr. Quibus and Lady Medler.

DR. QUIBUS
Here be de tree mad fokes, de several sorts of de melancolics. Dey make de very good harmony.

LADY MEDLER
I am sorry to see you here, Mr. Turbulent, but they say there is no better place in the world to get cure. You have studied too hard, I doubt, Mr. Turbulent.

256. **frisk** a brisk and lively dance, probably similar to the British jig (OED n. 1).
257. **trepanners** entrappers, swindlers. *Arch*. (OED n.[2]).
259. **Dionysius** Dionysius I (*ca*. 430 – 367 BC), tyrant of Syracuse from 405 who saved Greek Sicily from conquest by Carthage and made Syracuse the most powerful Greek city west of mainland Greece (EB).

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Do you come here to jeer and mock me too? Are you one of the reprobates? Aye, aye, you glory and fawn on the evil times! You are a very unsanctified hypocrite, that you are! Pray be gone and meddle not with us.

LADY MEDLER
Alas! Poor man, I see he is distracted.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I see you are an old meddling fool.

LADY MEDLER
Old fool? Old fool? Thou art a distracted ass, a mad hare-brained raving coxcomb! Old fool—

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Yes, thou art wrinkled in iniquity and grown hoary with evil. Faugh! Thou smellst of the other end of the Town and art combined against me.

LADY MEDLER
He is raving, stark mad. 'Tis well he is here, I could not have believed it had not my eyes seen it and my ears heard his madness— Mr. Sneak, how is it with you?

GRIN SNEAK
I was thinking of the woman that bit me by the ear. I tell you she is a great heiress.

LADY MEDLER
Well, Mr. Sneak, I always took you to be a little crazed, but now I find you are mad and that nothing but good diet and physic will cure you.

DR. QUIBUS
Madam, de talk is very naught for de mad folks. Me vil give dem de pill of de ellebore and you sall see in de tree or de fore days, dey vil be very much amended. Let dem tink, let dem tink.

Enter Fairlove, Friendly, Cringe, Pollux,
Mrs. Turbulent, Priscilla, Keeper, Mr. Sly and Mrs. Sly.

KEEPER
Here are those you enquire for. I shall provide them chambers apart, for madness—like other diseases—is infectious and they will hurt one another.

MRS. TURBULENT
Tim! How is it, Tim? Dost thou know me, Tim? Thy own dear wife, Tim!

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
I know you for a harlot, a conspiring harlot, a wicked she-devil to bring me here to Bedlam! But I'll tear thy eyes out!

---

273. **a** Q1-Q2: a a.
279. **wrinkled in iniquity** see Ps. 51:5, "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me."
286. **naught** injurious, harmful. *Obs.* (OED adj. 3).

MRS. TURBULENT
Alas! He is raving! Good Dr. Quibus, will you do your endeavour? Do you think he will ever be his own man again?

DR. QUIBUS
Do not fear; me vill give him de excellent pill in the varld for de choleric melancoly. But he no eat de caudle, nor de turky eggs. He no cram, cram, cram.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
You are a rogue, doctor, and would starve me here.

MRS. TURBULENT
He knows what is best for you, Tim. But here is your daughter Priscilla and your niece come to see you. Do you know 'em, Tim? They have committed matrimony and provided for themselves.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Matrimony! Why, who are they are married to?

LUCIA WELLBRED
Why sir, you not being *compos mentis*, I have made bold to choose me another guardian: Mr. Fairlove here. I am his now.

MR. TURBULENT
'Tis well I am in Bedlam, I find I am mad now. Wicked, abominable varlet! You shan't have a penny of portion.

LUCIA WELLBRED
I have secured that already, sir. You know the clause in the will: you are not *compos mentis*.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
You are a cheating harlotry! I'll make you rue it!

LUCIA WELLBRED
I have got only my own, which you would have cheated me of.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
(*To Priscilla*) And who are you married to?

PRISCILLA
Thy rationality is departed and thou canst not understand.

FINICAL CRINGE
I ain't ashamed to own my Priscilla, hey. I married her to spite Mrs. Lucy. She agrees better with my temper, hey. We shall do well enough if she will like verses, hey.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
O, vile disobedient wretch! Marry a poet, a maker of profane verses, a lover of songs and tinkling instruments! A wicked, abominable, wretched, vile, profane, adulterous—

LUCIA WELLBRED
Hold! Stop his mouth, he will lose his breath else!— This poet and maker of profane verses, uncle, you thought good enough for me. Why are you so angry?

---

315. **adulterous** Q1-Q2: adultrous.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Away, away! Vile, abominable, conspiring cheats! Instruments of Satan! Get you together, go, begone! The mad people are much better company, you are full of defilement, sin, pollution and abomination. Away, begone!

RABSHEKA SLY
I am glad that in the midst of thy madness thou holdst fast to the truth. Brother Turbulent, be comforted, and gird up thy loins. I hope thou wilt recover this delirious fit and that we shall again meet with a breathing forth for the strengthening and edifying one another.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Go, get you together! I say I am not mad, but you are all a company of fools and cheats. This usage will cure me and let me see myself.

MRS. SLY
Let us depart. Brother Turbulent is disturbed, I doubt the fumes of the unsanctified wine are not yet out of his head. Let him have rest.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Go, go, take your turn in Moorfields with your black patches and yellow hood, the marks of the Beast.

RABSHEKA SLY
Do not scandalize my chicken! I'll take the law of you.

MRS. SLY
Oh, abominable and reproachful madman! I'll leave thee and thy madness together.

POLLUX
So, so, the brothers and sisters are falling to pieces.

MRS. TURBULENT
Well, Tim, I hope to see thee restored again to thy right senses. Dr. Quibus will take care of you.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Will you leave me here then?

DR. QUIBUS
Dis is de best place for you in de varld, Mr. Turbulent. Here you may be turbulent and rail at the times, at de government, at de governors. Here you may speak de treason all de day long vitout de danger of de prison or of de punishment.

POLLUX
But, master, they will not feed you well, I doubt.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Rogue, sirrah, jack, varlet, rascal, devil! Do you prate?

---

322. **gird up thy loins** a phrase of biblical provenance, extensively found in the 1611 King James version. See, for instance, Job 38:3, "Gird up now thy loins like a man; for I will demand of thee, and answer thou me."
328-329. **the marks of the Beast** the signs of the Antichrist. See Rev. 13:17: "and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name."
332. **brothers** Q1-Q2: brethers.

POLLUX
What a many of christian names have I! Well, master, fare you well. I have provided myself of another master here: Mr. Fairlove; but you first left me and got a new habitation.

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Let me go to my own house, I say! You will starve me here, you Dr. Devil!

DR. QUIBUS
Nay, dou shall have de porridge in de voden dish, dou shall have de boiled mutton, and de bred, and de beer, and de pill of de ellebore now tree times de week.

FINICAL CRINGE
Father Turbulent, fare you well, hey. We will talk of your daughter's portion hereafter, hey. Fa la la la la—

DR. QUIBUS
Dis de great pity monsieur Cringe is not in de Betlem too. He very mush vants de cure, he is mush trobled in de head vit de fa la—

FRIENDLY
Oh, let him alone, doctor, he has got a worse Bedlam by half. His new married wife will soon cure his fa la, you shall see.

DR. QUIBUS
Dey be bote mad.

MR. FAIRLOVE
And will help to cure one another.

A noise of fiddles.

ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
(*Pulling his hat over his eyes and stopping his ears*) I will shut my eyes against the vanities of the earth and will stop my ears, that I may not hear the abominable noise of the musical instruments, for this is a time of tribulation.

GRIN SNEAK
I will continue here willingly. I shall get the opportunity of meeting with the heiress that is in love with me. I shall get her and that will be worth my stay. Let them see who is mad then.

MR. FAIRLOVE
Oh, I hear the fiddles, they are coming. We will have one dance among the mad folks.

LUCIA WELLBRED
But first shut up my uncle, he will be stark mad indeed else—

TIMOTHY TURBULENT
Oh, the wicked, abominable, riotous age! Oh, the noisome fiddles, the provocatives to lightness and skipping together like the goats, frisking with their tails of wantonness! Fire, sword, plague, pestilence, riot, luxury, chambering, hell, confusion, blood, tempest, storm,

---

340. **jack** a low-bred or ill-mannered fellow. *Obs*. (OED n.[1] 2.a).
361. **provocatives** things that excite appetite or lust (OED n. 1).
363. **chambering** sexual indulgence, lewdness (OED n. 3).

thunder, lightning, hail and hailstones fall on your—

The scene shuts in Turbulent, Suckthumb and Sneak.

LUCIA WELLBRED
So, so. I though the noise of the fiddles would make him stark mad.

RABSHEKA SLY
Let us be gone from the carnal noise of these lewd instruments.

MRS. SLY
We will return to our vocation. Oh, the abominable wickedness of this riotous age!

Exeunt Mr. Sly and Mrs. Sly.

LUCIA WELLBRED
So, we are rid of our anabaptists.

FINICAL CRINGE
They would spoil our sport, hey. They are not fit company for us, hey.

PRISCILLA
Plainly, these are the carnal instruments of vanity.

FINICAL CRINGE
Don't speak against 'em, hey. We will have a dance, hey. Come, come, come and you shall dance too, hey.

PRISCILLA
I will yield to thy frailty.

Enter Hangby.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Where is my cousin Furnish? We want him to make one here.

HANGBY
'Faith, madam, it has been a fatal morning with Mr. Furnish. He is under tribulation.

LADY MEDLER
Where is he? What ails he?

HANGBY
Alas, poor man! Intending to come hither, a brace of sergeants—or devils, which you will—snapped him upon an execution and has carried him to the Coach and Horses in Wood Street. From thence, madam, I am come to be his solicitor to you, that you may redeem him this time, or he is utterly lost.

LADY MEDLER
Let him go to the devil if he will! He owes me too much already.

FRIENDLY

---

374. **make one** be present (OED v.[1] 25.b).
378-379. **the Coach … in Wood Street** the Coach and Horses Inn was placed on the east side of Wood Street, just off London Wall (Harben). One of the sheriffs' prisons, Wood Street Compter, was also located in this street. See IV.132 n.

‘Faith, madam, that’s unkind. I will speak one good word for the gentleman, though I’m a stranger to him, because he is so necessary an evil the commonwealth cannot be without. If it were not for such as he, fools having the favour of fortune would not know what to do with their money. ‘Tis they get riches and such as he ease them of the burden. They do but dispend their money for them and set it into motion.

LUCIA WELLBRED
Nay, madam, help him this once, I’ll join with you. He shall never suffer on my wedding day.

LADY MEDLER
Well, tell him he shall have the money sent him anon. (*Aside*) I’ll make the rogue pay me for’t.

HANGBY
Thank you, madam. [*Aside*] So, I think it was well he was arrested. He always comes off with flying colours.

FINICAL CRINGE
Come, you spoil our sport, hey. Leave your whispers and your business till another time, hey. Fa la la la! Come, fiddles, strike up!

MR. FAIRLOVE
Come now, let us go over to the Pope’s Head. You shall all be my guests today and there Mr. Cringe shall have his belly-ful of dancing.

FRIENDLY
I never was at a wedding in Bedlam before.

MR. FAIRLOVE

Fanatics here may safely have their frolics.
The world’s great Bethlem, most men melancholics.

Exeunt omnes.

F I N I S

386. **dispend** pay away, spend. *Obs*. (OED v. 1.a).

THE EPILOGUE

Spoke by Mr. Turbulent.

See, gentlemen? I now am sober grown
And all fanatic turbulence disown.
I, who did rail and roar against the times
And still was raking in the kingdom's crimes,
Who meddled with all matters and made known
All faults, but never told nor saw my own,
In silence now crimes, follies, madness too
Can see, and laugh and sneer like some of you.
Bethlem's a blessed hospital, and fit
T' effect the cure of each cracked brain and wit,
And may deserve a song as well, I trow,
As th' Monument or weathercock of Bow.
Thither let all fanatics of this age,
Who trouble both the church, the state and stage,
Be sent. Spare diet, whipping, letting blood
Is far more proper and may do more good
T' all who run mad in coffee-house and alehouse,
Than either Newgate, pillory or gallows.
Send thither every lay and frantic widgeon
Who cobble, botch, patch and translate religion;
Who leave their awls, their needles, hammers, shears

---

11. **trow** believe, think. *Arch*. (OED 4.b)

11-12. **a song … weathercock of Bow** the Monument, constructed between 1671 and 1677, was the name given the Doric column of stone designed by Christopher Wren and Robert Hooke (see III.49 n.) to commemorate the Great Fire of 1666. The weathercock of Bow refers to the golden dragon wind vane put up on the church of St. Mary-le-Bow's steeple in 1674 (LE). With regard to the songs mentioned in the text, allusions to the Monument and Bethlem's hospital can be found in a 1677 song performed on the occasion of the Lord Mayor's Day and included in Thomas Jordan's *London's Triumphs* (22). The song dedicated to the weathercock may be an anonymous 1680 broadside ballad titled *Upon the Stately Structure of Bow-Church and Steeple*.

15. **spare … blood** blood-letting or phlebotomy was prescribed in some cases, especially for those affected with love and bodily melancholies. In any case, Burton states that it always should be done "to such a one as may endure it, or to whom it may belong, that he be of a competent age, not too young, nor too old, overweak, fat, or lean, sore laboured, but to such as have need, are full of bad blood, noxious humours, and may be eased by it" (II 234). For diet, see IV.359-360 n.

17. **coffee-house** the first English coffee-houses opened in London during the 1650s, where they developed as centres for the exchange and distribution of news and political gossip. They soon carried with them a deep association with puritan and republican culture, and therefore Charles II tried to suppress them in 1675 as places where "diverse false, malitious and scandalous reports are devised and spread abroad, to the defamation of His Majesties government, and to the disturbance of the peace and quiet of the realm" (*A Proclamation for the Suppression of Coffee-Houses*). Prieto-Pablos has recently pictured the evolution of the dramatic image of coffee-houses between 1660 and 1700, arguing that changes in their derogatory connotations can be traced back to the different ideological changes that affected society (2010: 51-71). **alehouse** as opposed to coffee-houses, ale and alehouses stood as a symbol of traditional values and were therefore usually connected to political loyalty to the king (Pincus 825).

18. **Newgate** Newgate Prison stood at Newgate, one of the main gates in the City wall. Although its origins date back to the 12th c., it was rebuilt in 1672 after the Great Fire (LE).

19. **every lay and frantic widgeon** all unlearned simpletons or ninnies affected by ungovernable excitement.

To meddle with and prate of state affairs;
Who cry down vice, yet love a private whore.
These and, alas, to name too many more,
Want Dr. Quibus' pill of hellebore.
You critics, too, who damn our poets so,
Pray do not think that you shall scot-free go.
For all you half-brained wits, who never fail
Against both poets and their plays to rail,
Who still find fault, though oft told of it here,
Like our mad Aristotle and Scaliger,
In Bethlem 'mong the rest ought to appear.
I'll say no more, lest I should tedious grow,
But only make one prayer ere I go:
With this new play may you all pleased be,
May we all live in peace and all agree,
And may all turbulents find cure like me.

30. **oft** often. *Arch*. (OED adv. 1.a).

5. Politics and the stage.

5.1. *Restoration comedy (1678-1682): a stage in crisis.*

The late seventeenth century has often been characterized as an adverse period for the stage eventually overcome by a full dramatic revival after the 1688 Revolution. When *Mr. Turbulent* was first presented by the Duke's Company at Dorset Garden in late 1681, political and religious issues had long been taking the audience away from the playhouses. Both the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, two events closely related by their political significance, had provided Londoners with intrigues enough so as to capture their attention for a few years. In fact, we can say that both events could be integrated into what De Krey calls a larger Restoration crisis of "public confidence in the hierarchical beliefs that sustained hereditary monarchy, the episcopal guardianship of the faith, and a society of different ranks and orders" (1996: 246).

As a result, attendance to the playhouses fell from the early 1680s on. This was lamented in many prologues and epilogues of this period which insist on the idea that the theatre was in danger of being made redundant.[48] The prologue to Crowne's *The Ambitious Statesman* (1679), for instance, describes a "poor play house fallen to the ground" (l. 12) and its epilogue points to "our empty play-house" (l. 38). The times are characterized as being unfavourable to the staging of new plays, to the point that Behn, in her prologue to *The Feign'd Curtizans* (1679), makes Mrs. Currer ironically remark that some hypocritical whigs "piously pretend, these are not days, / For keeping mistresses and seeing plays" (ll. 26-27). Likewise Dryden, in a 1680 *Prologue to the*

[48] With the sole exception of Banks' *The Destruction of Troy* (November 1678; 1679), staged by the Duke's Company, no plays were premiered between September 1678 and March 1679. LS annotates that "in November 1678 the Duke of Modena sent his troupe of comedians to London. They remained there until mid-February 1678/9 but apparently played only six times in three months" (274) and also that "during February and March 1678/9 two plays, titles unknown, were acted before the King" (275). This amounts to all documented theatrical activity in seven months.

University of Oxford (Roper I: 368) declares his aversion to the current state of affairs in a highly politicized society: “Discord, and plots which have undone our age / With the same ruine have o’erwhelm’d the stage” (ll. 1-2).

Some dramatists tried to fight the stage’s lean years by providing topical plays, partly as a means to secure decent box-office figures and partly as a vehicle to put forward partisan responses to the political situation. In spite of the shaky situation of the playhouses, a flood of political works nevertheless found their way to the stage between 1678 and 1682, a lapse which Hume identifies as a coda to the more productive period of Carolean drama, i.e. circa 1667–1680 (1976: 8). Owen asserts that the majority of the new plays written during the Exclusion years “engage with the political crisis in fascinating and complex ways” (1996: 2-3), since the situation “sharply intensified both political divisions in the nation and political engagement in the drama” (2001: 131). In fact, the very nature of the Restoration stage, always oriented to satisfy the demands of the audience, made this proliferation of political plays possible. As Hume puts it, late seventeenth century drama was essentially built around a closed system of two competing playhouses where “fickle breezes of fashion and sudden gusts of fad were of enormous importance to any Restoration playwright who wanted to eat” (1976: 17). It may well be that the politically tumultuous situation brought about by both the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis forced the writers to resort to topical plays in an attempt to reactivate a declining institution.

Eventually, however, one of the London patent companies found impossible to cope with the harsh theatrical conditions of the time. The King’s Company was left in a state of inaction due to a combination of internal quarrels, the inefficiency of its managers and the demanding rivalry with the much more thriving Duke’s Company. It

seems that they were not prepared to face the growing tension and excitement of the theatre of news, together with the diminishing figures both in theatrical attendance and in box-office takings it entailed.[49] Besides, the two leading players in the company throughout the 1660s and 1670s, Michael Mohun and Charles Hart, were becoming too old for the stage (Cibber 1740: 57-58). As a matter of fact, Hart virtually retired not long after spring 1678 (he rarely acted from this date until his complete retirement in 1682; see BDA VII, 151) and the catholic Mohun was actually incapacitated by gout.[50] As a result, the King's was absorbed by the Duke's company in May 1682 to form a new United Company, putting an end to two decades of fruitful competition between rival patent companies.[51]

The death of Charles II in 1685 also deprived a stage in recess of its most important patron and regular playgoer and, although his successor continued to support the United Company, James II proved not to be especially interested in theatre during his short and unfortunate reign. Furthermore, as Hume contends, by the end of the decade the court support for the theatre was waning after "a decade of upheaval, distraction, and stasis" (1976: 340). But this decline in patronage and theatre-going coincided with a political engagement of the stage which saw the emergence of a new sub-genre of city comedies and laid the foundations for several dramatic developments such as a revival of satirical comedy and a rise of the political and sentimental tragedy (Owen 2000: 160). In this vein, Owen maintains that the effect of the crisis on the

[49] The Theatre Royal remained actually closed between March 1679 and February 1680 and some of the younger players in the company went to play in Scotland in late spring 1679, where they settled as "The Company of His Majesty's Comedians." For a full account of the King's Company's hard times during this period and the subsequent creation of the United Company, see Wilson 1964: 33-81.
[50] Mohun had been exempted from the Proclamation of 30 October 1678, which commanded all catholic recusants to stay at least ten miles away from London (Wilson 63).
[51] Hume and Scouten note that "the reluctance of the United Company to risk money on mounting new plays makes evidence from that source very sparse between 1682 and 1688" (1980: 54).

theatres was beneficial, since it "contributed to significant transformations in dramatic form and content, and gave the drama its vitality" (2001: 138).[52] What follows is a general view of how the stage dealt with the crisis and the different strategies employed by dramatists in their responses to the politicization of the stage.[53]

As has been argued by Owen (1996: 62-109) different political shifts can be discerned in the theatrical seasons of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis. With regard to the 1678-1679 season she contends that scepticism and mockery about the Popish Plot scare dominated productions, but I would rather argue that from the very beginning prologues and epilogues oscillated between two different communicative strategies. Some of the pieces made use of the political events as their point of departure in order to offer a satirical view of the many problems that the stage was going through or to lament the fortunes of playwrights. On the other hand, there were also plays—serious in tone and intention—that were performed to exhibit the author's political ideas as an answer to the current state affairs. As the ensuing analysis will show, scepticism and mockery coexisted with blatant partisanship.

Outright mockery of the ultra-politicized situation in the street can be found in the prologue to Behn's *The Feign'd Curtizans* (1679), where Elizabeth Currer, complaining about the politicization of everyday-life and the stage, ridicules the situation: "Each fool turns politician now, and wears / A formal face, and talks of state-affairs" (ll. 7-8). The same effect is achieved by playing on the word "plot," as in the epilogue to Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida* (1679), where Cave Underhill, after teasing

[52] According to Hume (1976), these changes were masked by the flood of political plays from the 1678-1683 period (376), a sub-genre which he clearly does not have much admiration for (360).
[53] This section draws upon my unpublished M.A. thesis on politically allusive prologues and epilogues of the Popish Plot period. A summary of my views can be found in the proceedings of the 34th International AEDEAN Conference (see Blanco Vacas).

the audience for their lack of wit and accusing authors of degrading the stage with songs and empty rhymes, jocularly points out that "If guilty, yet I'm sure oth' churches blessing, / By suffering for the *plot*, without confessing" (ll. 27-28; my italics).

Some other pieces became the poets' vehicle for downright professions of partisanship. Curiously, the 1678-1679 season was opened by *Oedipus* (1678; 1679), a play whose epilogue denied that the stage should become involved with politics: the author invokes the classical masters to disclaim any intention of reflecting on contemporary events by asserting that "the vote of full two thousand years / Has crown'd this *plot*, and all the dead are theirs" (ll. 23-24; my italics), and thus presents himself as a member of an intellectual elite who purports to put forward an illusional, pure kind of drama not to be tainted with current affairs. Meanwhile, the implicit rejection of potential political interpretation marks the epilogue as a quietist response to the dangers of any course of action resulting in the destabilization of the political and religious *status quo*. The idea that contemporary drama could be read as a political commentary on the current situation is also overtly denied in the epilogue to Lee's *Caesar Borgia* (1679; 1680), which asserts that the murders which take place in the play were "done two hundred years ago" (l. 19), and thus cannot be said to allude to contemporary events. When the text goes on to ask: "If you must damn, spare the historian's pen, / And damn those rogues that act 'em o're again" (ll. 19-22), the power of tradition is invoked again to condemn all possible acts of interpretation contrary to the ones sanctioned by history and convention.[54]

[54] Two more pieces employ the same rhetorical device: one is the epilogue to Whitaker's *The Conspiracy* (1680): "still the modest stage / Forbears to represent the present age. / Let forreign stories matter here supply, / Old tales and known are best for tragedy" (ll. 4-7). The other is the prologue to Crowne's *Thyestes* (1680; 1681): "Some say you must not dare to pass a doom, / On what has been admir'd by Greece and Rome" (ll. 19-20).

In any case, an undisguised sense of partisanship can already be detected in some plays. The aforementioned epilogue to Lee's *Caesar Borgia* makes use of derogative words such as "rogues" to point to alleged catholic plotters, thus advancing anti-catholic positions reinforced by the brutal attack on popery in the second part of the piece, where catholics are alluded to as "zealous liars" (l. 24) or "villains" (l. 25) and jesuits asked to "quite forswear their function / And not for gold give whores the extreme unction" (ll. 34-35). The prologue to Crowne's *The Ambitious Statesman* (1679) equates popery to dissent:

> But now the nation in a tempest rowles,
> And old St. Peters justles with St. Pauls,
> And whilst these two grat ladys fight and braule,
> Pick pocket conventicle whore gets all.
> Ungrateful jade, from Rome it is most clear,
> She had the stinking fish she sels so dear. (ll. 5-10)

A further example would be the epilogue to Behn's *The Young King* (1679; 1683), where the author makes use of pastoral imagery to present succession as part of a natural, ideal order and then moves to quasi-propagandistic positions in her defence of both King Charles and the Duke of York:

> The humble swain his birthright here enjoys,
> And fears no danger from the publick voyce.
> No wrong nor insolence from busie powers:
> No rivals here for crowns, but those of flowers:
> His country and his flocks enjoys with ease,
> Ranges his native fields and groves in peace. (ll. 16-21)

In the same text, the author even subverts a stock motif in the political language of the time when she attributes the vice of arbitrariness to all opponents to the natural order of succession, particularly to the parliament and its campaign of petitions in favour of the Duke's exclusion. The epilogue laments that James had been obliged

"forc'd by arbitrary votes to fly / To forein shores for his security" (ll. 22-23), since as a catholic his right to succeed was challenged.

In any case, Owen has noted that "attributing to these early Crisis plays the Toryism or Whiggism of the later Exclusion Crisis" (1993: 70-71) amounts to a teleological fallacy. Instead of indulging in an alluring but risky retrospective analysis, readers should be aware that "the political tensions reflected in the theatre pre-date the Popish plot revelations of autumn 1678" (1993: 71). Anti-Catholicism or fear of popery, a resource employed in many plays, was firmly founded on the many archetypal evils of Catholicism stored in the English mind: namely, absolutism, anti-parliamentarianism and arbitrary government.[55] Anti-French sentiment was likewise commonly resorted to, since the continental power was popularly perceived as an intrusive foreign authority and its monarch Louis XIV as the perfect epitome of absolutism and tyranny.[56] Finally, the Civil Wars and the Interregnum were also alluded to as negative examples of what political meddling disguised behind a religious code could entail for the nation. The crisis and the partisan strife of 1679-1681 undoubtedly grew from this "national as well as personal paranoid scenario of Jesuit perfidy, internal British instability, and foreign menace" (Marotti 173), and both the royalist and the opposition party would later exploit these tropes to suit their own needs, but trying to ascertain what was tory and

[55] Coward adds that one of the major strengths of the Popish Plot and its rapid acceptance as a matter of faith by so many people was that it was "unoriginal and incorporated much English anti-catholic mythology"; namely, "the Catholic conspiracies of the seventeenth century, including the Gunpowder Plot, the outbreak of the Civil War, the 'murder' of Charles I, and the Great Fire" (282).
[56] In 1678, after the disclosure of the secret clauses in the Treaty of Dover whereby the English king undertook to declare his conversion to Catholicism and restore it as the national religion in exchange for French military and financial support in the war against the Dutch, the nation felt vulnerable against an international catholic threat spearheaded by France, the greatest continental power of the time.

what was whig in the plays of the 1678-1679 season would just leave us with an oversimplistic and probably inaccurate picture.[57]

In fact, only twelve out of thirty plays acted in London from September 1678 to August 1680 incorporated allusive prologues and/or epilogues. Although this figure should warn us not to overemphasize the degree of polarization found in these years, it must be nonetheless agreed that it was further enhanced during the 1679-1680 season.[58] Among those which express political allegiances in the open, Dryden's prologue to Tate's *The Loyal General* (1679; 1680) incorporates a royalist reading of history which equates the politicization of drama to the conflicts of the Civil Wars years, therefore alerting the audience to the dangers that a partisan strife in the theatres could entail: "The style of forty one our poets write, / And you are grown to judge like forty eight" (ll. 16-17). On other occasions, opposition views and their association of liberty and property are ridiculed, such as in the prologue to Maidwell's *The Loving Enemies* (1680), where it is suggested that "*Meum* and *tuum* now shall be the rule, / The Magna Charta for the knave and fool" (ll. 27-28).

Also extensively employed in the prologues and epilogues of this season is a royalist-oriented call for quietism. Sceptic stances, usually seasoned with mockery of the Popish Plot paranoia, begin to dominate the productions through pieces that can ultimately be read as royalist defences of the *status quo* since, as Owen notes, while laying claim to moderation they "go on to castigate their political enemies in uncertain

[57] Anti-Catholicism was normally exploited by whig authors—though it is possible to find it in both royalist and opposition pieces alike prior to 1681—, while the ghost of the Civil Wars was almost always employed by tory playwrights.
[58] Owen argues that "the royalist intentions of the majority of dramatists are apparent in the prologues and epilogues of this season" (1996: 72-73). She also proposes that the stridency of tory prologues and epilogues is perhaps a response to the popularity of whig positions among the electorate (1996: 72).

terms" (1996: 73).[59] In a prologue by Dryden to an Oxford performance of Settle's *The Female Prelate*, an ironical analysis of what a victory of the opposition would bring about is disclosed:

> And few years hence, if anarchy goes on,
> Jack Presbyter shall erect here his throne,
> Knock out a tub with preaching once a day,
> And every prayer be longer than a play.
> Then all you heathen wits shall go to pot
> For disbelieving of a popish plot. (Danchin 1984: 176-177; ll. 11-23)[60]

Ravenscroft, on his part, in the epilogue to Whitaker's *The Conspiracy* (1680) cautiously pretends to put forward an apolitical message—"the modest stage / Forbears to represent the present age" (ll. 4-5)—but in fact he goes on to suggest that the whole Popish Plot affair is a rabble-rousing manoeuvre orchestrated by the opposition party: "Let us be mute till the whole truth comes out, / Not like the rable at executions shout" (ll. 10-11).[61] Popular newsmongering, over-excitement and the subsequent hysteria are stated to be at odds with the people's duty as obedient subjects. On other occasions, this equation is also reworked to include religious undertones, such as in the epilogue to Crowne's *The Misery of Civil-War* (1680), where the text deplores the consequences of giving too much importance to "religious brawls": "So nauseous and unpleasant now are grown / All the delights of wit to this cloyd town" (ll. 5-7).

[59] See the prologue to Whitaker's *The Conspiracy* (1680): "Let politicians too not be so hot, / To swear, that a spring-tide's a Popish Plot" (ll. 23-24); and Ravenscroft's epilogue to the same play: "This was no Popish Plot, yet English too, / For to say truth it was our plot on you" (ll. 20-21). Danchin includes an unpublished anonymous prologue which makes use of the same rhetorical device: "But now the brunt is o'r, we shortly hope / We shall be quiet too from plot and pope" (1984: 183-184).

[60] It seems that this prologue was specifically written for the King's Company performance at the annual Act in Oxford (P. Hammond 2014: 413). Although the existence of a prologue delivered at the London première on 31 May 1680 is to be presumed, the 1680 edition of the play does not include either a prologue or an epilogue. Why Dryden agreed to produce a prologue for an anti-catholic tragedy written by one of his literary rivals at the time is open to speculation.

[61] A similar case is found in the prologue to Crowne's *The Misery of Civil-War* (1680), where it is declared that "All parties in a play-house may agree, / The stage is priviledg'd from piety" (ll. 9-10).

The end of the 1679-1680 season, a period of political whig ascendancy identified by Owen as the "high tide of the opposition" (1996: 82), saw nevertheless the première of two anti-whig comedies which can be said to foreshadow the major shift towards city comedy and anti-Whiggism from 1681 to 1683, a period characterized by Owen again as "the Tory reaction" (1996: *passim*): Behn's *The Revenge* (1680) and Otway's *The Souldier's Fortune* (1680; 1681).[62]

5.2. Mr. Turbulent *and political comedy.*

The political crisis that affected the nation also made the burgeoning sex comedies of the mid-1670s wane. In fact, the only comedy premiered in the 1678-1679 season, Behn's *The Feign'd Curtizans* (1679), sets the tone for the forthcoming boom of city comedy of the early 1680s, "a new wave of political comedies which employ methods and modes reminiscent of 1660s comedy to attack the Whigs" (Owen 2001b: 132).[63] The City, a whig stronghold, is the target of the political comedies that began to flourish during the tory reaction period: the beginning of the 1681-1682 season, after the première of Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* (1681; 1682), the only opposition comedy from this period performed in the commercial circuit.[64] Hume notes that "after the tide had definitely turned (by around December 1681), they [i.e. playwrights] hasten to rub in the Tory triumph," thus producing a "series of debunking of the Whigs" which could be subdivided into proper political comedies, such as *The Roundheads* (1681;

[62] Hume and Milhous suggest March or April 1680 as a likelier date for *The Revenge*'s première (1974: 391).
[63] My own use of the term "city comedy" is not concerned with place, since some of the plays are set abroad (e.g., Behn's *The Feign'd Curtizans* in Rome or Crowne's *City Politiques* in Naples). See Hume 2011 for a relevant discussion of "city comedy" as an umbrella term with no generic markers or definite time span.
[64] The anonymous *Rome's Follies* (autumn 1681), performed at a private house and dedicated to Shaftesbury, is also considered by Owen a whig comedy from the same period (2000: 162).

1682) or *The Royalist* (1682), and "those which simply include incidental political satire on an appropriate cit figure, like *Sir Barnaby Whigg* [1681] or *The City Heiress* [1682]" (1976: 357); or, I would argue, *Mr. Turbulent*.[65]

In order to analyze the political content of these plays two crucial questions, posited by Hume, must be addressed. First, producing plausible ideological interpretations is not as straightforward a task as it may seem at first glance. Although it is to be assumed that the plays did not offer a realistic representation of London's characters, social practices and mores, we still have to deal with the problem of assessing audience response. As Hume puts it, "we cannot safely presume that seventeenth-century playgoers took 'London' plays as legitimate representations of reality" (2011: 193). Second, the author's intentions cannot ultimately be apprehended, so that it is very difficult to accept the idea that most dramatists created their works in order to put a socio-political message through (Hume 2011: 188). However, the majority of critics and historians seem to assume that contemporary playwrights and audiences conceived the stage as a space specially suited to convey partisan messages. Bulman, for instance, states that the "for the entire Restoration period, the theater served as a crucial, continuously operating venue for the political public sphere" (338). For him, the playwrights and their patrons "used plays to publicly confront rival accounts of the political process" (312-314), so that their public appeals triggered an uncontrollable process of interpretation and commentary, of which other dramatic productions were just one part (314).

[65] Ravenscroft's *The London Cuckolds* (1681; 1682) and Crowne's *City Politiques* (1683) are discussed within this group by Owen (2000: 161).

Nevertheless, this assumption must be partially challenged. As Owen notes, we should not consider the political context of the time as resembling a modern one of clearly defined political allegiances. As she puts it, "party-politics was new in the Exclusion Crisis, and was seen as a problem …. There is a danger in seeing political reference exclusively or mainly in terms of dramatists taking sides." Instead, she favours a close political reading of drama where the reader can relate the use of themes and tropes in the plays to both social process and power relations, against the traditional method of "reading the plays politically by attempting to discern topical allusions, coded references and parallels" (1993: 67).

Canfield's approach is similar in intention. He thinks that a political theatre history of the Restoration period could be established via an analysis that "traces tropes that embody and empower a hegemonic discourse shifting from ostensible aristocracy to ostensible meritocracy" (1991: 8); to do this, he offers a political reading that identifies the appearance and ascendancy of some key tropes in Restoration drama and contends that their emergent or dominant status does not "reflect but help to constitute the transformation from an aristocratic, late feudal to a newly dominant bourgeois ideology" (1995: 195-196). Regarding the political comedies of the early 1680s, he sees them as an attempt to underwrite Stuart ideology connected to an "anti-Puritan stream of Restoration social comedy [which] might be said to run underground after the early 1660s" (1997: 2).[66]

Hume's position stands out as somewhat more sceptical, stating that on the whole "Restoration plays aim more at entertainment than at deep meaning" (1976: 30).

[66] Canfield mentions Tatham's *The Rump* (1660), Cowley's *Cutter of Coleman Street* (1661; 1663) and Howard's *The Committee* (1662; 1665) as early Restoration comedies "in which the threat to be socialized is explicitly political" (1997: 2).

He has also voiced his doubts about the idea that many plays could have been written to perform a socio-political task or that playwrights might be attempting to influence contemporary life (2011: *passim*), being one of his contentions that many plays that nowadays are read as satirical were "generally taken in a spirit of essentially harmless fun" by Carolean audiences (2005: 360). In recent years he has, however, nuanced his stance to admit that it is possible to establish any single play's intention if elements such as "plot, tone, degree of realism or farcicality, plausibility of character, and performative potentialities" (2011: 217) are taken into account. He still argues that city comedies are "little more than displays of entertaining antics of characters who need not be taken seriously—concocted for the amusement of a diverse audience unthreatened by what is shown" (2011: 197). Nonetheless he concedes that some of the comedies of the Exclusion Crisis period contain ideological implications although "only a very committed ideologue would be likely to see them as other than frivolous" (2011: 199).

In this line, *Mr. Turbulent* could be seen as a case of "amusing antics," a mild satire "designed mostly to entertain and amuse," to use Hume's words (2011: 196).[67] As has been argued in chapter 3.2, the cast of this anti-whig topical comedy included almost all the great comedians in the Duke's Company. Likewise, Timothy Turbulent's incessant railings, his gang of dissenters and his equally fanatical family help to target the citizens as satiric butts to be mercilessly ridiculed. Owen actually notes that one of Turbulent's most recognizable features, his railing against the times, could be read as a parody on whig plays, especially Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* (1681; 1682): "the theme of criticizing the times in *Mr. Turbulent* may be intended as a direct satire of

[67] Although a discussion on satire falls out of the scope of the present dissertation, I would nonetheless like to note Hume's point that "whether trashing obvious generalized butts from a position of comfortable superiority constitutes satire is open to question" (2005: 353).

Shadwell, who is much given to moral indictment of the times in his prologues and epilogues, and in his humours comedy" (1996: 184). The character of Timothy Turbulent could have also been modeled on the character of Justice Clodpate in Shadwell's *Epsom Wells* (1672; 1673): similarly played by Underhill, the character is described as "a publick spirited, politick, discontented fop, and immoderate hater of London" ($A1^{v}$) who constantly rails at the vices of the times associated with the Carolean court.[68]

As in most Restoration comedies some kind of poetical justice is achieved in the end: the Town gallant and the fanatic's niece are allowed to marry and the dissenters are interned in Bedlam; order is restored while the play customarily ends with a happy dance (Canfield 1997: 22). On the whole, as Hume puts it, many literary critics often assume that their readings correspond to what seventeenth century playwrights actually intended to represent on stage and that the audience in turn interpreted the political message in the same way. In his own words,

> such postulates cannot be proved, given the paucity of evidence about performance and audience response, and they may well be false. We need to refrain from the notion that we can be sure what the author "meant" and that a passive, right-reading audience dutifully swallowed the medicine. In interpreting London comedies, we would do well to conceive of an audience that was variegated and inevitably inconsistent in its responses to what it was shown; theater audiences have been ever thus. (2011: 195-196)

However, though the play may not have been necessarily political in intention, it was written in very significant partisan times and consequently abounds in ideological implications that the acute critic can easily discern. As Owen argues, the modern reader cannot assume that the plays from the period examined "privilege an apolitical private

[68] *Epsom Wells* was revived at the Court on 20 February 1680 (LS 285).

sphere over a sordid political sphere. This assumption is anachronistic: it rests on notions of the separateness and superiority of literature in relation to politics which could scarcely have been prevalent in a period in which the specialised sphere of party-politics in the modern sense was only just beginning to develop" (1993: 90). As my ensuing analysis of the play's key motives will try to prove, *Mr. Turbulent* can be read as a political comedy, whether or not it was intended that way by its author or received as such by contemporary audiences. [69]

[69] The difficulties of assessing audience response to Restoration comedy have been extensively stressed by Hume (1980; 2011).

6. The setting of *Mr. Turbulent*: politics, place and identity.

6.1. *Reconceptualizing London in socio-cultural terms.*

Mr. Turbulent brings in a convenient connection between the topographical and the social dimensions of the city as represented on stage, so that both cityscape and setting become political tropes at the core of the equation. This moral evaluation of space is one of the tools employed by this comedy to integrate the enemies of the Court party into its discourse.

Stow's *A Survey of London* (1598) and Strype's expanded edition of the same work (1720) mark the limits of what can be considered a crucial transformation not only in the urban fabrics of the city, but also in the sociocultural connotations attached to its landscapes and spaces. During the seventeenth century London became up to three times more populous and much larger than three times in extent, a dramatic change that resulted in a redefinition of urban landscape.[70] Besides, the 1666 fire created not only a material, topographical void but also a social and conceptual one by devastating much of the old medieval City within the wall's precincts. The city was obliged to reinvent itself with new urban lay-outs and plans for rebuilding which evoked a sense of modernity, the creation of open squares and formal streets and a formal separation of the east and west ends which fostered the grow of a new city of regular spaces (Harding 444; see figures on next page).[71] At the same time, contemporary playwrights began to offer "an extensive representation of the capital's built environment in the drama and an

[70] The Institute of Historical Research asserts that London's population "grew from around 80,000 inhabitants in the mid-sixteenth century to well over half a million by the end of the seventeenth. By 1700 it contained nearly 10 per cent of England's population and much more than 10 per cent of the nation's wealth" (*People in Place*). Picard notes that over 300,000 lived in London in 1660, nearly one in sixteenth of the total population in England, just over 5 million (3).

[71] Within weeks of the fire, new proposals for redesigning the City were presented by Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke and John Evelyn among others, although none of them would be eventually used as the basis for rebuilding (Cooper 111; see Hanson for a detailed study of these plans). The overall intention of

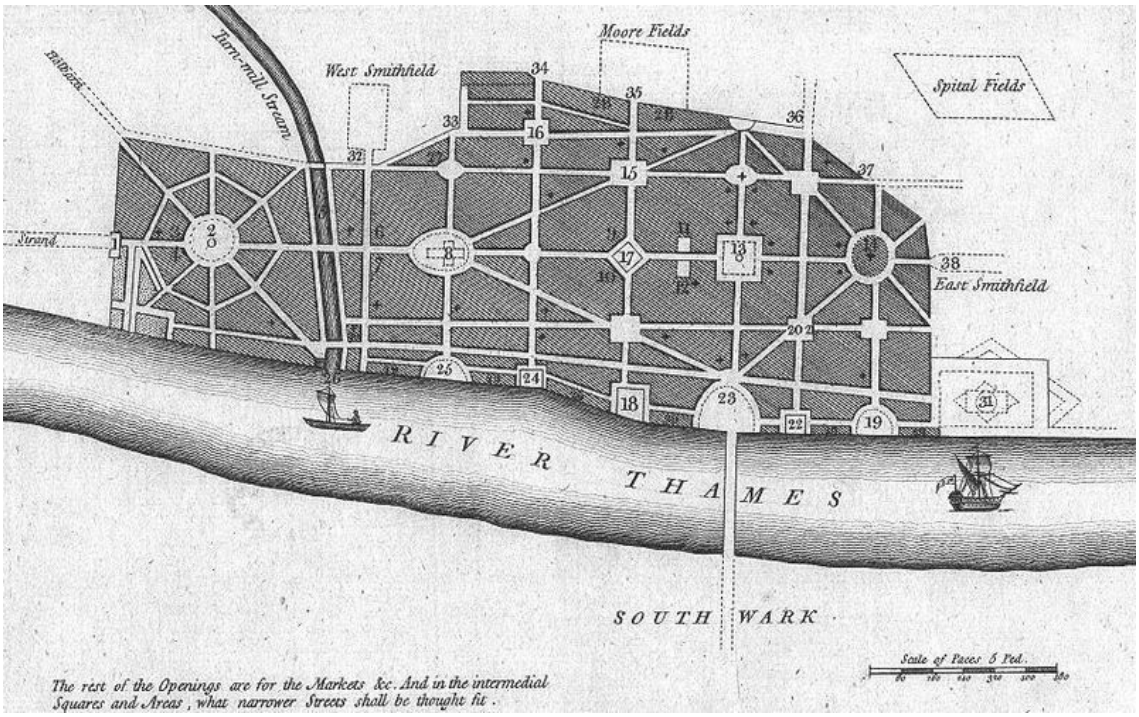


Fig. 5: John Evelyn's plan for rebuilding the City of London (Bodleian Library).

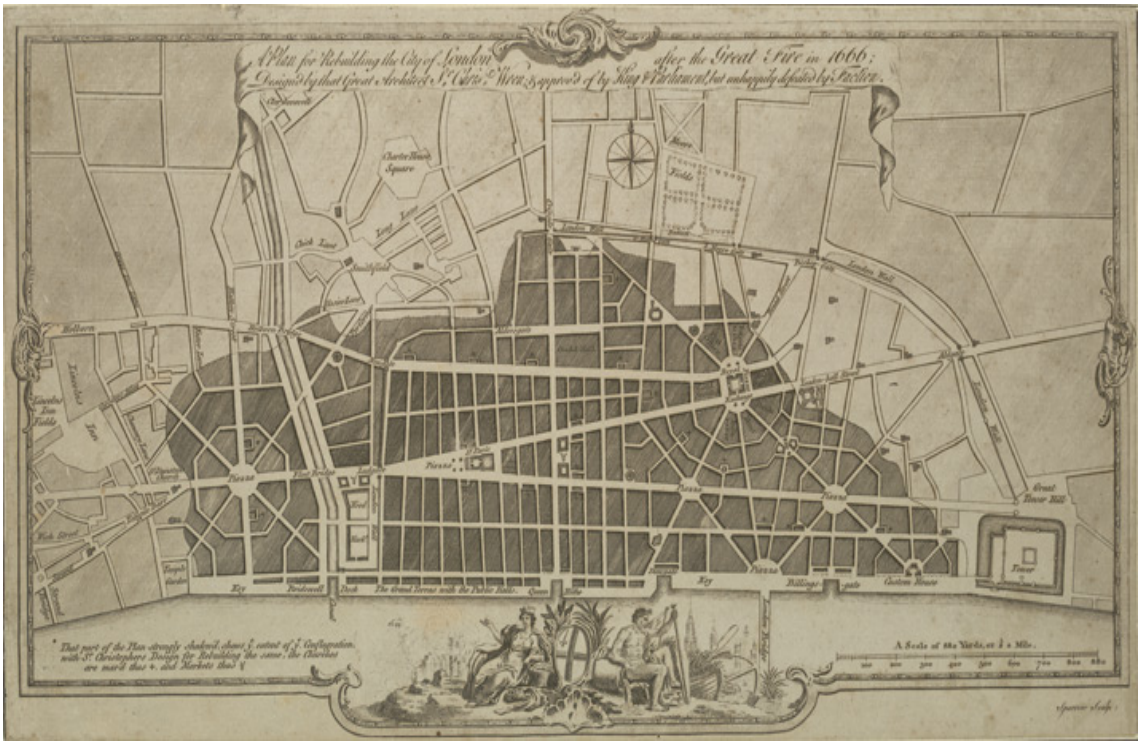


Fig. 6: Christopher Wren's plan for rebuilding the City of London (British Library).

---

the 1667 Rebuilding Act has been defined by Cooper as "to build a city more regulated, uniform and graceful than its predecessor and much less liable to suffer from 'great and outrageous fires'" (129).

evolving self-consciousness about what it meant to be urban" (Grantley 1). They therefore tried to make sense of these uncharted territories—virgin in socio-cultural terms—by attaching their own socio-political markers to them in order to create a new mental mapping of a city which had been stripped of much of its previous topographical familiarity. This new and conflicting conceptual dimension of space became so intimately connected with its topographical value that trying to define one without the other would be futile work.

This urban self-consciousness revealed itself during the seventeenth century in a shift in the setting of comedies, first from the City to the more fashionable West End in Town, and then back to the City again in the early 1700s (Roberts 153), when this particular place began to be reconceptualised in a respectable way.[72] Elizabethan and Jacobean city comedy from the 1598-1615 period customarily occupied and featured the City itself; the plays were, according to Jean E. Howard, "typically set in the walled city, though with many mentions of and excursions to the suburbs." In turn, the comedies of the 1620s and 1630s occupied "places of urban leisure … [in] the West End outside the old city walls," so that they ultimately "showcase the lifestyle of a sophisticated urban elite" (Howard 21).[73]

As opposed to this, much of early Restoration drama is usually set outside the area of rebuilding or, as Cynthia Wall puts it, "in the public spaces of London which had *not* changed, which had no need of reinvestment, which offered a psychological refuge to an audience apparently interested in distancing itself from topographic

[72] Jean E. Howard argues that by the mid-seventeenth century, the West End—the space between the old walled City and Westminster—had developed a "'town culture' of wit and leisure distinct from the 'city culture' to the east or the 'court culture' of Westminster" (5).
[73] The examples proposed are Dekker's and Middleton's *The Honest Whore*, Chapman's *Eastward Hoe*, Jonson's *Bartholmew Fayre*, and Marston's *The Dutch Courtezan* (1598-1615); and Shirley's *Hide Park*, Nabbes's *Covent Garden*, and Brome's *The Sparagus Garden* (1620s-1630s).

unfamiliarity, particularly from that looming economic and social power of the City" (xiii). Social distinctions between the genteel Town and the commercial City crystallized into a process of gentrification of the latter, no doubt springing from the increasing respectability of trade itself (Wall 162). This shift must be understood in both topographical and socio-cultural terms. The City was charged with a whole array of pejorative undertones: it was connected to trade, dissent, Puritanism and the Interregnum, while the Town was much closer to the court and its ideological and social world. In any case, this divide should be treated with caution in order to avoid oversimplification since, as De Krey argues, "when the public sphere of Restoration London is mapped topographically, it proves to be a somewhat artificial construct, for the city was geographically divided between contrasting spaces in which different political and religious languages and ideas flourished ... but the opposite partisan perspectives of the crisis were nevertheless embodied in enduring spatial communities with distinctive characteristics" (2005: 272).

Arguing for the importance of setting as a means of achieving a good degree of realism, Richard Perkinson, probably one of the first scholars to discuss the value of literary topographies in seventeenth century comedies, stated that locale "performs a double and somewhat contradictory function: the particular place contributes to realism or credibility; its characteristic atmosphere or reputation, by extension and exaggeration, to improbability" (277). However, his discussion does not include the unstable significance of dramatic settings during the Exclusion Crisis period or their sociological implications, which reached their high tide during these tumultuous years. As Grantley notes, locations could perform a two-fold function, "they are settings for the action of the plays, but they also form a backdrop for the theatre of social display,

and an understanding of the signifying potential of London's geography is as important a feature of the consciousness of characters as that of their own performance within it" (2).[74]

Much of the meaning in any Restoration play depends on the audience's knowledge of the multiple layers of signification attached to the places actually mentioned or visited in the play, which are presented in conceptual terms rather than in merely spatial ones.[75] For Holland, "the Restoration stage allowed the audience to 'read' the scenery, not just absorb it"; and he consequently argues for a triple reading of scenery, namely "as index of place, as commentary on the action, and also as its own structure" (19). Roberts, on his part, agrees with this only partially, since he feels that Holland's analysis lacks a fourth dimension, the political one: "the scenography … must intervene not only narratively but culturally, configuring the city in order to produce it: to return to the spectator a distinctively inflected account of London" (120). That is, authors used scenery not only as a theatrical device to make plays coherent and plausible to the audience's eyes, but ultimately as a resource for conveying political messages. For Hume, "topographic specificity works better later [i.e., after the Interregnum] than it does earlier, since after 1661 (when Lincoln's Inn Fields opened as the first public changeable scenery theater) scene painters could make local places visible on the stage" (2011: 192). Although Roberts' and Hume's opinions seem essentially right to me, to what extent contemporary audiences were able to identify local places onstage by means of scenery remains a disputed position: it must be

[74] Hume adds to this idea that "topographic specificity was a fad in the 1630s, though many of the plays indulging in it seem to be doing so mostly for extraneous amusement …. London settings can be used for direct commentary on topical socio-economic issues" (2011: 192).
[75] Grantley assumes that this may be the result "of the increased mobility of the elite in the period, owing to the provision of hireable transport such as coaches and sedan chairs" (8 n.).

pointed out that changeable scenes did only generically establish the kind of setting for the action, since they could be re-used for different plays. For instance, a stage direction in Boyle's *Guzman* (1669; 1693) reads: "*The scene a garden* (*the garden in* Tryphon *as a back scene*)." It may well be assumed that the same undifferentiated green space would function as the scene for Moorfields or St. James's Park, for instance. Furthermore, since the characters are placed "in the same geographical frame of reference as the audience … this, along with their self-conscious embrace of their identity as Londoners helps to close the gap between the stage-play world of London and the audience's experience" (Grantley 21).

Wall argues that among the settings represented in Restoration comedy, the most prominent places are those green spaces in Town which symbolized stability: St. James's Park, Hyde Park or the Mall, the sporting and leisure places frequented by the nobility and the gentry. This assertion should nonetheless be treated with caution since a closer look at the green spaces used as settings for comedies between 1660 and 1700 reveals that different locations tend to concentrate in particular chronological segments.[76] While scenes in identifiable gardens are not very numerous, parks are quite extensively featured during the period, especially St. James's Park and the Mall. For Wall, "the plays ... play themselves out primarily in the untouched (if not *old*) spaces of St. James's Park and Hyde Park, offering an audience however elite, however recovered from the immediate distresses and inconveniences of rebuilding London, a retreat into the *known*, the secure, the green spaces of uninterrupted social life" (149). They

[76] The Mulberry Garden or the Spring Gardens, two fashionable pleasure grounds adjoining St. James's Park, are slightly more prominent around 1667-1668, that is, in the years where the ruined City was more physically evident. The references to parks concentrate in two segments, the first one covering the years between 1672 and 1678, and the second one extending from 1688 to the end of the century. See Appendix B for a full account of green spaces in Restoration comedies.

therefore evoked a natural, ageless order in the middle of a city caught between loss and redefinition, thus "drawing on landed rural associations at the same time as invoking urban civility and sociability" (L. Williams 207). The parks settings therefore symbolized the celebration of a given, conservative and essentially non-dynamic *status quo*.

6.2. *Moorfields: green spaces and tory anxieties.*

Peripheral London fields, on the other hand, were very rarely featured in Restoration comedy, so that *Mr. Turbulent* can be considered a noteworthy exception. This play is not set in an urban park like the ones mentioned above, but in Moorfields, originally a large marshy area north of the City walls which was drained in 1527 (LE) and subsequently used as pasture to graze animals and dry the laundry. Like other open fields, meadows or pastures such as Lincoln Inn's Fields, Bunhill Fields or Spitalfields, by the Restoration period Moorfields had already become a more formal leisure space.[77] In Laura Williams' words, "Stow's *Survey* of late Elizabethan London details the use of fields around the perimeters of the City as the recreational space that served citizens seeking to 'recreate and refresh their dulled spirites.' By the time of Strype's *Survey*, London's green spaces had become more formally delineated and self-consciously incorporated into the urban fabric, in the form of parks, gardens and walks" (192).[78] This is related to the aforementioned process of gentrification undergone by the City of

[77] Apart from *Mr. Turbulent*, I have been able to identify only five other dramatic works where at least one scene is located in an identifiable field: Red Lion Fields in the anonymous *The Woman Turn'd Bully* (1675), Smithfield in Shadwell's *The Volunteers* (1692; 1693), Moorfields again in Powell's *A Very Good Wife* and Southerne's *The Maid's Last Prayer* (1693) and Lincoln's Inn Fields in Farquhar's *Love and a Bottle* (1698; 1699). See Appendix B.

[78] Moorfields began to be conceived as a recreational area with the planting of tree-lined walks from 1605 to 1607 (L. Williams 191).

London as it slowly incorporated these spaces into its layout during the seventeenth century, so that they eventually became part of the City itself by the early 1700s. In any case, they were never considered parks, because a park was associated with a different milieu; parks were pastoral settings belonging to the cultured world of the Town, whereas fields can be considered the green conquest of the traders and middle classes of the City.[79]

Seen in this light, the choice of Moorfields as the particular setting for *Mr. Turbulent* is not a casual one, since it certainly had a dubious reputation: homeless people and beggars spilled into it after the Great Fire (Wall 6), it later become one of the main red-light districts in Restoration London (Ashton 13-14) and by the early eighteenth century a path in its upper part eventually acquired the name "the sodomites' walk" (Norton). In addition, it seems that fights and duels were also not an uncommon sight: D'Urfey's *The Royalist* (1682) alludes to a fight as "Moorfields play" (IV.ii, p. 49) and in Farquhar's *Love and a Bottle* (1698; 1699), when one of the gentlemen is accused of being a coward, he retorts that "you imagin'd the contrary, when you employ'd me to fight for ye in Moorfields" (IV.iii, p. 60). Needless to say, the audience surely knew what to expect from a place not deemed proper to be visited by fine gentlemen.[80] The opening of the *Mr. Turbulent* makes clear that, even if gentlemen may

[79] Roberts, in his political reading of London parks as represented on stage between the 1630s and the 1670s, denies this cultural immanence of the park and concludes that they "were spaces where values might be inscribed under threat of erasure, and the mishaps which occur in front of them in the theater show how far the image of the garden, or park, had indeed been discredited as an image of the king's peace" (130-131).

[80] Obviously, Restoration audiences cannot be conceived as a single, uniform entity. For Holland, "different groups sat in different areas …. The division of the audience between the various parts of the theatre was as much economic as social" (12-13); and it should be added that even this classification could vary according to the spectators' personal criteria. It must be then assumed that the audience's realisation of the meaning intended by the author and its subsequent response are far from being homogeneous. See also Love and Avery for two classic studies of Restoration audiences.

turn up in Moorfields, they do not belong in there, as the following conversation between Frank Fairlove and Will Friendly, the wits in the play, illustrates:[81]

> FRIENDLY
> Frank Fairlove! What the devil do you do here? Is it to snuff the air of Bunfields? Or have you a City intrigue, to meet some shopkeeper's wife?
>
> MR. FAIRLOVE
> I may as well ask you what you do here. You belong to the other end of the Town as well as I.
>
> FRIENDLY
> Why, it lay in my way and I was passing the fields as a man does a ford in a river. As suddenly as I can I long to be out of them, they stink of City doghouse. But you, I see, are taking your serious turns here, as if it were for recreation or meditation, or that you took more delight in Moorfields than in the train-swept Mall, or glorious Hyde Park. (I.39-46)

The two gentlemen seem to be honestly surprised when they see each other, but soon we are to discover that their astonishment is feigned. Neither of them reveals their true intentions and both overtly look down on the place and speak about it in derogatory terms: note the sexual allusion implicit in the "City intrigue" or the degrading connection to animal stink. And of course, a place like that could not compete with "glorious Hyde Park," a much more fashionable place of rendezvous. The two friends go on in the same line when they compare the kind of women to be found in Moorfields to those who belong in more aristocratic areas. Thus, Friendly depicts the girls at St. James's Park in appreciative terms, "the bright, fair, buxom, witty, fine, willing and airy girls at that end of the Town," while he downgrades the female citizens at Moorfields to "green aprons and grogram gowns or petticoats that stink of soap and tallow" (I.59-61). An additional example of the disdain the two Town wits show for the place is provided

[81] In contrast, De Krey (2005) identifies Bishopsgate Without, the administrative ward governing Moorfields, as a "Tory-inclined space" where "more than 60 per cent of their common councilmen were loyalist or Tory" between 1680-1683 (276-279).

when they describe the inhabitants of Moorfields in an enumeration that exemplifies all the social and religious prejudices of the tories:

> MR. FAIRLOVE
> Why, Will Friendly, do you speak against a place that you know not? You are much mistaken in supposing here is no recreation.
>
> FRIENDLY
> Yes, here are recreations indeed: to see the wenches dry their clothes, and the boys play at grass-cat, the archers in Finsbury to shoot at rovers, and ninepin alleys, and bawdy-houses in every quarter. What other recreations canst find?
>
> MR. FAIRLOVE
> Yes, all the varieties thou canst imagine. Oh, the several sorts of people that walk in these fields: the saint, the sot, the cheat, the cully, the grave, the frolic, the wise, the fool, the melancholy, the religious, the fanatic, the usurers, the philosophers, the alchemists, the quacks, the shopkeeper—from the mercer to the cobbler and stocking-mender—with all their wives, daughters, nieces and maidens.
>
> FRIENDLY
> Fairly reckoned. You forgot the madmen too, in Bethlem they make part of the rarities. (I.47-56)

Eventually, what the two gentlemen are stating is that Moorfields is not part of their world or even an honorable place to be, so that, from a tory point of view, it functions as a symbolic space beyond their values and parameters, a place which can be considered the point of departure for their construction of the other, just like the characters in the play tend to construct the others' identities from place by including referential allusions to actual London spaces, though reworked in their discourses as topo-cultural constructions. Gómez-Lara employed the term "cultural landscape" in his reading of Restoration spas to argue that they were "contact zones, suitable for an appealing display of nontraditional attitudes towards class and gender" (202) and that they implied a process of levelling which made these watering places be seen with anxiety by those who feared their effects on the social hierarchy (217-218). In this

particular play, it can be similarly argued that Moorfields is put forward as a cultural landscape which would fulfill the same function in tory discourse: an open, public space where Londoners of all classes intermingled. As has been argued above, such a place was seen with contempt by the faction who associated it with their own fears of popular anarchy and the tyranny of popular government (Harris 1987: 136-139). It could therefore be described as an example of the otherness which most loyalist authors ascribed to their enemies.

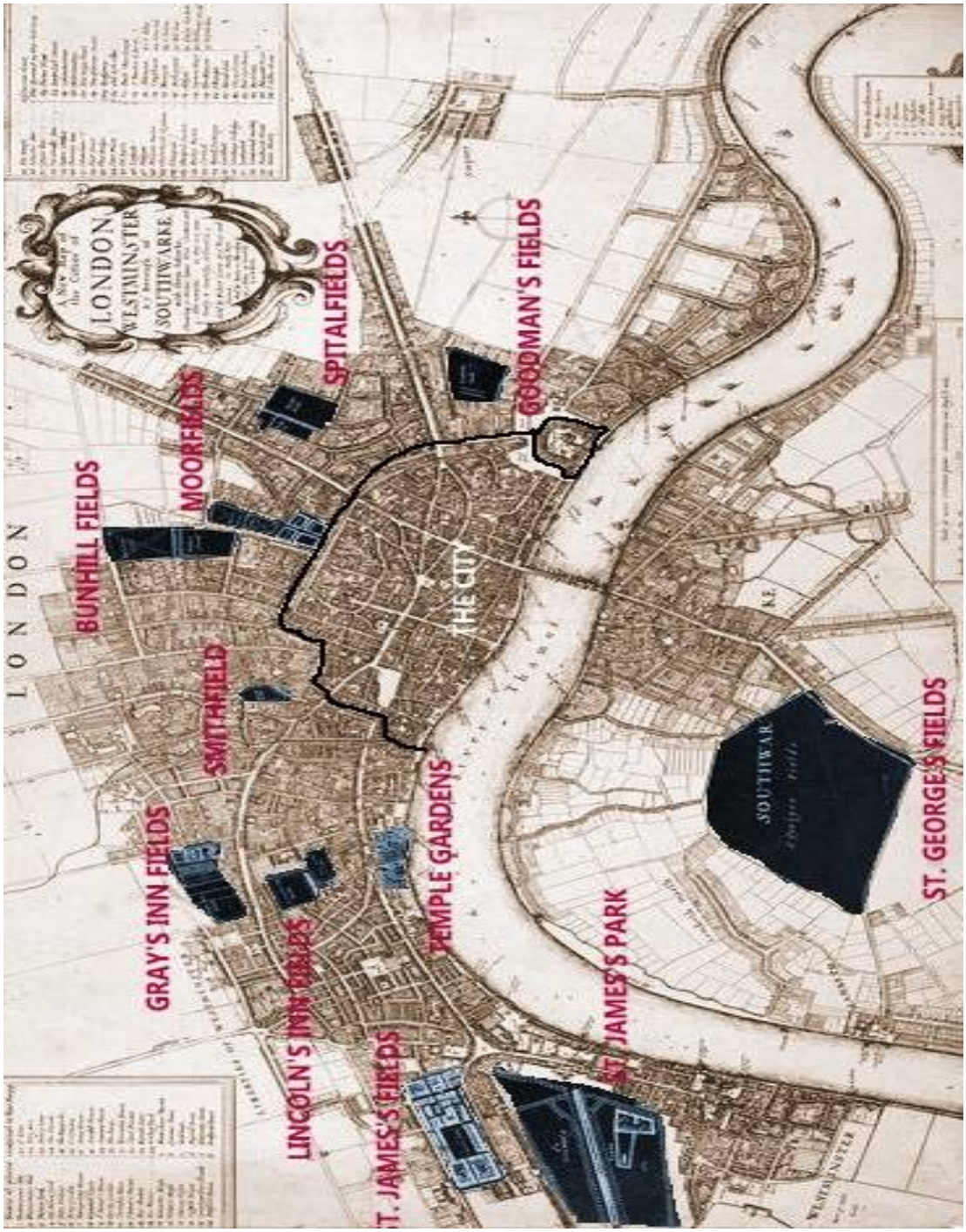


Fig. 7: Green spaces outside the City of London *ca*. 1675 (adapted from Hollar's Map at the British Library Online Gallery).

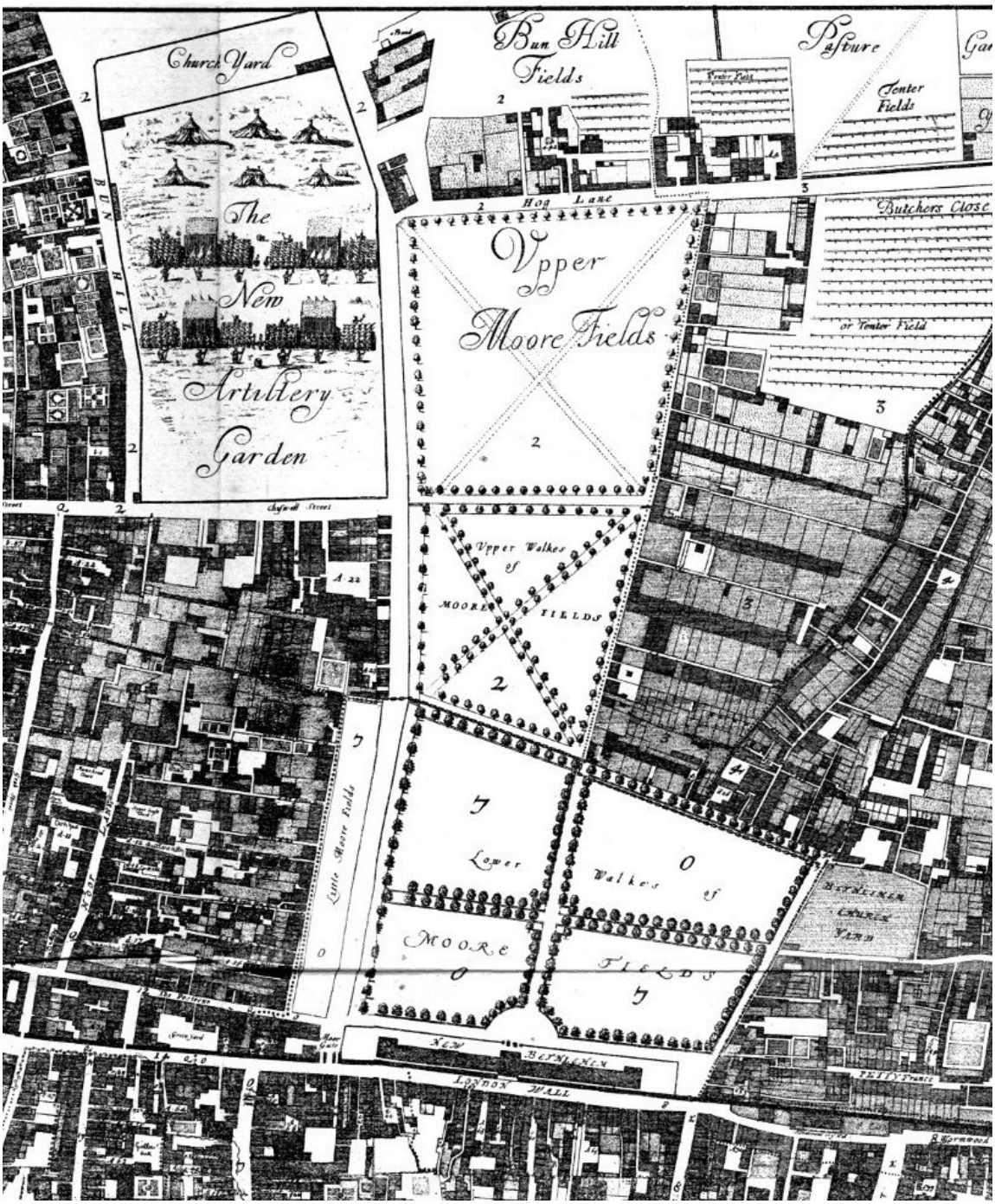


Fig. 8: Moorfields in Ogilby's and Morgan's 1677 map of London (British Library).

7. Bedlam and the discourse of madness in *Mr. Turbulent*.

7.1. *Madness as a political trope.*

Moorfields was the site chosen in 1675 by the Bethlem Hospital for the insane to erect its newly designed grand building. The election of this hospital as one of the stage settings in the comedy amplifies the mock portrait of the whigs by characterizing the rhetorics of nonconformism as a destabilizing force which could find no place in the orderly model of traditional society advocated by the tories. All in all, the play puts forward a derisive notion of insanity which accommodates the tory conception of their political rivals as potentially, if not essentially, harmful.

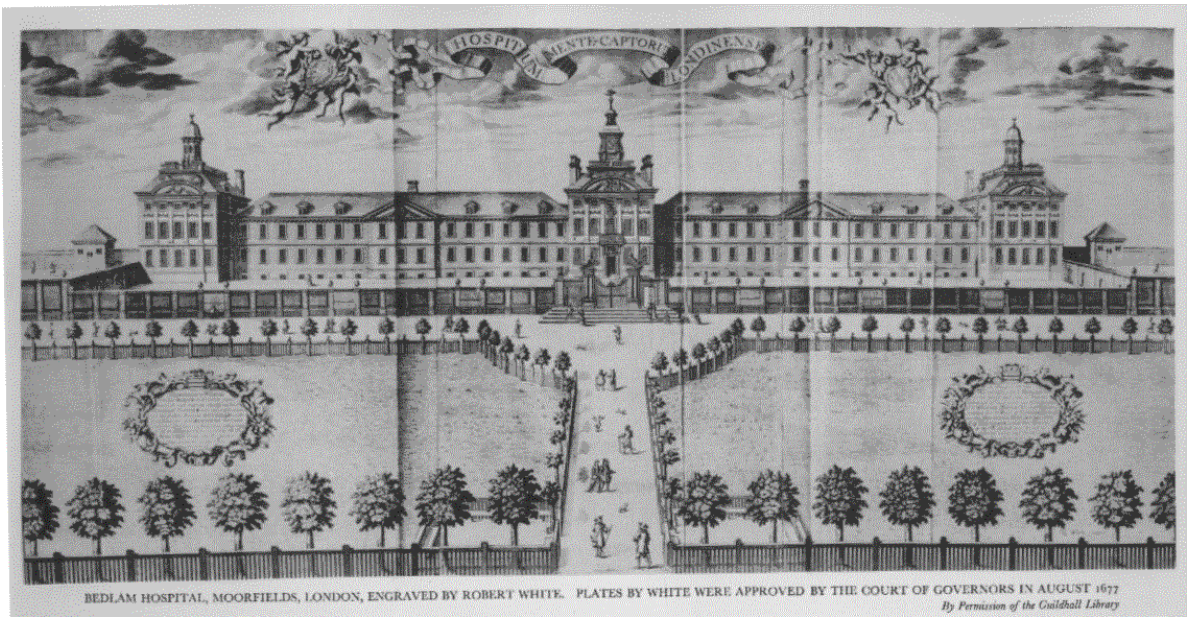


Fig. 9: Bedlam Hospital in 1677 (Guildhall Library).

Before moving to its new building in Moorfields in 1676, the Bethlem Royal Hospital—or Bedlam as it was commonly known—had been attached to the Priory of St. Mary Bethlehem in St. Botolph's parish.[82] The new Bedlam, designed by Robert

[82] On the west side of Bishopsgate Street, between present-day Liverpool Street and New Broad Street (Harben). Although the Priory was founded in 1247, "it was not until 1377 that 'distracted' patients were looked after" in its hospital (LE).

Hooke and built at a cost of £17,000, became the only English public institution catering for those with mental disorders and also a place for public entertainment since it allowed visitors in exchange for money.[83] Stevenson summarizes what the hospital could have meant to late seventeenth-century Londoners in the following terms:

> Hooke's Bethlem was a phenomenon much more remarkable than has ever been acknowledged. Most obviously, London was in 1676 presented with its first great charitable building since the Savoy Hospital (1505-1517) and one of the few public buildings to have been completed since the Fire, the only one on such an open site … Bethlem would have been notorious whatever its function, and purposeful reiterations of its expense and speed of construction enhanced the effect as surely as did sheer size. (255)

In MacKinnon's words, the building "writ madness large on the mental and physical landscape of late seventeenth-century London" (143). It was probably no coincidence that two male sculptures, carved by Caius Gabriel Cibber, representing "raving madness" and "melancholy" were placed over the entrance portico.[84] They dramatise the opposition between the visible symptoms of mania and melancholy: while the first is depicted contorted in chains, the second lies expressionless. They can therefore be taken as a metaphor of the cultural consideration of these two states that lay at the heart of the Early Modern understanding of mental ill-health.

[83] Ken Jackson states that the practice of visitation begins to be registered around the turn of the century, when "to compensate for funds lost at the 1598 reconstruction of poor relief … the nation turned to the poor law as a social welfare mechanism" (14-15). It seems that the hospital's governors tried in some way to put certain limits to visitation in the late seventeenth century: according to Andrews, "Bethlem's records also manifest a substantial concern with curtailing this sort of access" (2007b: 145). He also notes that in 1677 the Bethlem Grand Committee established rules for the new building, seven of which concerned visitors' presence in the hospital (2007b: 153).

[84] Batten notes that although the statues, now in the Bethlem Royal Hospital Museum, have always been attributed to Colley Cibber's father, "Hooke makes no reference [in his diary] to Cibber in connection with Bedlam nor does Cibber's name occur in the Court books" (93).

Fig. 10: "Melancholy" and "Raving madness" (Bethlem Royal Hospital Museum)

The Elizabethan and early Stuart periods were times of fascination with melancholy. Two possible causes for this interest in the disease are mentioned by Schmidt: on the one hand, due to "aristocratic pretensions to refined sensibility," melancholy acquired the status of a fashionable malady functioning "as a sign of nobility of mind" (1).[85] On the other hand,

> the other major catalyst of the Renaissance interest in melancholy was the increased humanist scrutiny of ancient medical texts on the subject, most of which analyze melancholy not as a privileged philosophical temperament, but as a form of madness and disease caused by the excess of black bile … or by the burning of one of the other three postulated constituent fluids of the body (choler, or yellow bile, phlegm, and blood). (2)

Gowland adds to this idea by stating that "the rapid increase in the production of treatises and university disputations devoted solely to the disease" (84) by authors such as Timothy Bright, André Du Laurens, Ercole Sassonia, Jourdain Guilbelet, Robert Burton, Melanchthon or Caspare Marcucci suggests that melancholy was a widespread cultural phenomenon operating at European level. In his own words, these writers "were influential across Europe in terms of numbers of books sold and read, and their status as eminent authorities gave their views wide dissemination in learned circles at least" (86). It nonetheless seems that in England it did not remain a matter of interest for the cultured elite only, an increase in the publication of both popular and learned texts on the matter suggests that contemporary perceptions of the disease cut across social boundaries (Gowland 84-86).

[85] According to Schmidt, this tradition came from "the revival and popularization in the Florentine Renaissance of the ancient association of melancholy with genius found in the Aristotelian *Problemata* 30.1" (1).

Moreover, as Neely points out, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries signal the time when madness "begins to be read/constructed/experienced differently … than it had been in the Middle Ages (where it marked the intersection of human and transcendent) or than it will be in subsequent eras" (317). Madness probably fascinated the Elizabethans because it entailed both a knowledge of and a critical commentary on what makes men human in a period when humankind was beginning to be conceived as a subject of research. In Neely's words, "the discourse of madness gained prominence because it was implicated in the medical, legal, theological, political, and social aspects of the reconceptualization of the human" (318). Gowland similarly attributes this "heightened early modern consciousness of the incidence of melancholy" to the fact that, in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, "the disease was understood to be primarily an emotional condition, it carried emotional and ethical as well as medical significance, and assumed a prominent place within religious, moral-philosophical and political discourses on the passions of the soul" (83-84).

As a result, melancholy became a concept permeating all aspects of Early Modern cultural life although, in order to avoid terminological confusions, it must be stated what conception of melancholy prevailed during this period. Burton, who published his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621)—one of the major seventeenth-century treatises on the subject—as a compendium on traditional views on the matter, characterizes it as "a kind of dotage without a fever, having for his ordinary companions fear and sadness, without any apparent occasion" (169-170); a definition which, as Schmidt puts it, "corresponds very broadly with our own use of the term 'depression'"

(8).[86] The concept has hence been successfully analysed in several scholarly works but few scholars, however, have made their studies cover the Restoration period, with the result that the ways in which melancholy was understood in the late seventeenth century remain largely unexplored.[87] It would be thus dangerous to assume that the concept remained unaltered for a hundred years or, to say it otherwise, that Elizabethan and Early Stuart assumptions about melancholy could still be found in the Restoration period as fully functional uncontested ideas. Seen in this light, the publication history of Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* is extremely revealing. While the work enjoyed seven successive editions between 1621 and 1652, it was only published twice—in 1660 and 1676—during the Restoration and then only in impoverished editions not including Burton's own corrections (Holbrook Jackson xxv). After that the book disappears from publication until 1799.[88] Although this alone may not necessarily constitute a proof, it seems to imply that towards the end of the seventeenth-century madness was being reconceptualised in a different way.

Schmidt argues that this change of focus on melancholy was due to its identification with dissent and locates it within a wider movement, what he calls the "Restoration critique of enthusiasm" (83). Gowland has pointed out that, up to the end of the sixteenth century "the polemical usefulness of the idea of melancholy was limited by Protestant physicians and puritan divines, who upheld a rigorous distinction between, on the one hand, the kind of despair betokening a naturally caused melancholy, and, on

[86] Burton conceived melancholy as a disease of both the body and the mind originating from an excess of black bile, an idea that he inherited from the English Renaissance and can be traced back to Ancient Greco-Roman philosophical thought and the christian patristic tradition. See Schmidt (19-25) for a detailed account.
[87] See, for instance, Babb's *The Elizabethan Malady*, Lyons's *Voices of Melancholy*, or MacDonald's *Mystical Bedlam*.
[88] Apart from the editions mentioned by Burton's editor Holbrook Jackson, i.e. 1621, 1624, 1628, 1632, 1638, 1651, 1660 and 1676, EEBO adds a 1652 edition which must have been unknown to Jackson.

the other, that indicating a divinely afflicted conscience" (Gowland 106). That is, melancholy was traditionally thought to have its origin either in the body or in the soul. Burton, on his part, would have blurred this distinction by establishing a new kind of melancholy, the religious one, which he describes as resulting from either excess or defect of zeal. [89] Religious melancholy as an excess is thus presented in the following terms:

> Not that there is any excess of divine worship or love of god; that cannot be, we cannot love God too much …. But because we do *aliud agere* [attend to the wrong thing], zealous without knowledge, and too solicitous about that which is not necessary, busying ourselves about impertinent, needless, idle, and vain ceremonies …. Some of us again are too dear, as we think, more divine and sanctified than others, of a better mettle, greater gifts, and, with that proud Pharisee, contemn others in respect of ourselves; we are better Christians, better learned, choice spirits, inspired, know more, have special revelation, perceive God's secrets, and therefore presume, say and do many times which is not befitting to be said or done. Of this number are all superstitious idolaters, ethnics, Mahometans, Jews, heretics, enthusiasts, divinators, prophets, sectaries, and schimatics. (Burton 319)

A long-standing view equating melancholy with dissent as one of the signs of an overenthusiastic state of mind would have been thus born, a concept whose polemical value, for all that can be gathered from *Mr. Turbulent*, was still operating in the late seventeenth century. In Schmidt's opinion, dissenters were customarily portrayed by Restoration divines and philosophers as displaying an "emotive form of religion … proceeding from an imagination ungoverned by what they argued was the proper and sovereign principle of the human mind, the faculty of reason." Melancholy therefore

[89] In this light, Lund has argued that Burton himself describes melancholy as a disease of the soul which should be treated both medically and spiritually (672-673).

became a concept used by anglicans to "dismiss a range of religious experiences as delusions and madness" (84). He goes on to illustrate the point:

> The Restoration critique of enthusiasm was an incisive and critical moment in the discourse of melancholy …. The rhetoric that represented the nonconformist as dangerously under the sway of sense and feeling cemented an approach to religious thought and experience that rejected many of the central elements which had informed the approach to melancholy and to spiritual affliction of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century pastors. Where previously the melancholic element of religious melancholy had often been overshadowed by a language that described the affliction of conscience in terms of a harrowing and distracted dark night of the soul, the medical concept of melancholy as a disorder of the body was now foregrounded as the central and perhaps the sole cause of religious despair and disconsolation. (84)

A second aspect within this process of reconceptualisation of madness and its use as a politico-moral tool that took place during the seventeenth century must also be analyzed in the context of the tumultuous period politically dominated by the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis. Although, as Owen argues, "even before the Popish Plot scare of autumn 1678, there was already a political division around issues of anti-dissent and anti-popery" (1996: 140), it was precisely at the Exclusion Crisis when the language of religion decidedly became political to stress the threats of partisan enemies through the allusion to religious conflicts from the past.

When the Popish Plot ran out of steam and the whigs fell into disgrace with the dissolution of the Oxford parliament in March 1681, their implication with dissent was the target chosen by the tories to direct their counterattack. Just like the opposition party had been using popery as a rhetorical tool to raise suspicions of arbitrary government and tyranny, the cornerstone of the tory response was to identify the whigs as "nonconformist subversives, who were a threat to the security of the church and state"

(Harris 1987: 133-134). They thus appealed to the very same anxieties, but with a crucial difference. The whig propaganda campaign had been based on the exploitation of popular anti-catholic prejudices in an attempt to push for the passing of the Exclusion Bill and defend the sovereignty of parliament. The tories, for their part, chose to support the church and the monarch by highlighting the implicit danger of destabilization of the political and religious *status quo* should any course of action— other than those sanctioned by custom and history—be taken. That is, they refused to give the whigs the benefit of the doubt in their proposals of reformation and denounced them as as staunch nonconformists and rabble rousers who promoted popular anarchy (Harris 1987: 131) and could therefore find no place in society.

My interpretation of Foucault's seminal work on madness, *Madness and Civilization*, fits into this socio-political scenario. Foucault argues that the progressive development of the hospital system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—a process he called "the great confinement"—was guided by a coercive desire on the part of the authorities to impose the notion of insanity on different groups of population which could be considered potentially subversive. He suggests that the use of madness as a state-sponsored labeling mechanism resulted partly from a moral condemnation of idleness and partly from purely economic reasons:

> Men did not wait until the seventeenth century to "shut up" the mad, but it was in this period that they began to "confine" or "intern" them, along with an entire population with whom their kinship was recognized. Until the Renaissance, the sensibility to madness was linked to the presence of imaginary transcendences. In the classical age, for the first time, madness was perceived through a condemnation of idleness and in a social immanence guaranteed by the community of labor. This community acquired an ethical power of segregation, which permitted it to eject, as into another world, all forms of social uselessness. It was in this *other world*, encircled by the sacred powers of labor, that madness would assume the status we now attribute to it. If there is, in classical madness,

> something which refers elsewhere, and to *other things*, it is no longer because the madman comes from the world of the irrational and bears its stigmata; rather, it is because he crosses the frontier of bourgeois order of his own accord, and alienates himself outside the sacred limits of its ethic. (58)

Foucault's tenets have already been disproved by historians and critical theorists alike, alleging that his interpretation is "simplistic and over-generalized" (R. Porter 93) or that his work can be at best characterized as "good 'idealist history', but flawed 'empirical' history" (K. Jackson 268).[90] Roy Porter, for instance, has specifically denied the existence of such a "great confinement" in England as an act of state, arguing instead for a more complex system of negotiations:

> The asylum solution should be viewed less in terms of central policy than as the site of myriad negotiations of wants, rights, and responsibilities, between diverse parties in a mixed consumer economy with a burgeoning service sector. The confinement (and subsequent release) of a sufferer was commonly less a matter of official fiat than the product of complex bargaining between families, communities, local officials, magistrates, and the superintendents themselves. The initiative to confine might come from varied sources; asylums were used by families no less than by the state; and the law could serve many interests. (99)

Foucault's narrative of "the great confinement," historically inaccurate as it may be, can be useful as a metaphorical frame where to place my own reading of *Mr. Turbulent*. It is my claim that the concept of madness as employed in the play functions as a rhetorical tool to mark certain characters as quintessentially divergent in political terms: the dissenters have their differences properly highlighted and condemned by being placed in Bedlam; they are, as nonconformists, characterized as insane and made

[90] See, for instance, *Rewriting the history of Madness: Studies in Foucault's* Histoire de la Folie, eds. Arthur Still and Irving Velody; *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine, and the Body*, eds. Colin Jones and Roy Porter; Roy Porter's *Madness: A Brief History*; Erik Midelfort's ''Madness and Civilization in Early Modern Europe: A Reappraisal of Michel Foucault.''

to belong with all kind of lowly characters in the City (I.47-56).[91] This use of madness metaphorically mirrors Foucault's narrative, i.e., that actual people were interned in mental hospitals and asylums in an autocratic attempt by the authorities to render them silent. Although this may be untrue for seventeenth century England as a whole, the central idea in Foucault's argumentation remains valid, albeit in a fictional sense.

7.2. *Madness in* Mr. Turbulent.

The stage was by no means alien to the aformentioned wider cultural movement regarding mental ill-health. Many references not only to mad people or melancholy, but also to the public visits to the Bedlam's inmates, found their way into quite a number of Elizabethan and early Stuart plays between 1598 and 1630 (Ken Jackson 11).[92] Although the Restoration stage recalled this tradition—allusions to Bedlam did not disappear overnight and one can still find many instances of mad characters in the texts—*Mr. Turbulent* may be the only Restoration play that specifically addresses the madness motif.[93] The whole text is constructed around the connection between fanaticism and disease, rhetorically putting forward madness as a political tool in order to integrate the enemies of the Court party into its discourse. If the whigs are mad, then they stop posing a threat and just become a monstrous deviation in the system. Above all, their political divergence can be explained making use of the system's narrative and

[91] Bedlam is also one of the crucial elements in the comedy's plot. It is in the hospital where Turbulent is interned, and thus declared insane, so that Fairlove and Lucia can get married and enjoy her dowry.
[92] Ken Jackson mentions Dekker and Middleton's *The Honest Whore, Part One* (1604), Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (1602; 1623), *Hamlet* (1601?; 1603) and *King Lear* (1605?; 1608), Dekker and Webster's *Northward Ho* (1605; 1607), Webster's *The Tragedy of the Dutchesse of Malfy* (1613; 1623), Middleton and Rowley's *The Changeling* (1622; 1653), Fletcher's *The Pilgrim* (1621; 1647), and Ford's *The Lover's Melancholy* (1628; 1629).
[93] A possible exception may be John Lacy's *The Dumb Lady* (1669; 1672), a play whose central motif is counterfeited madness. For references to Bethlem Hospital and its patients in Restoration drama, see Appendix C.

eventually domesticated if proper coercive measures are applied, something that would fit into the aforementioned process of reconceptualising madness and its use as a politico-moral tool.

The attacks on the political opposition are mainly expressed in *Mr. Turbulent* through the identification of the whig cause with dissent and republicanism. Harris points out that the tory propagandists did that in the 1678-1682 period in order to "compare the activities of the whigs with those of the presbyterians in 1640-2, and emphasize the very arbitrary style of government that had emerged as a result in the 1640s and the 1650s" (1987: 131). During the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, memories of the Civil War were also conveniently exploited by the tories partly, as Harris observes, "because the presbyterians were seen as having been responsible for the drift towards Civil War in 1641-2" (1987: 134). Owen, on her part, has proved that the same manoeuvre was applied in the theatres by tory dramatists who "frequently raise the spectre of 1641, draw parallels between the whigs and interregnum radicals, and claim that the whigs pose the threat of civil war in the present" (1996: 138). In *Mr. Turbulent* dissenters are likewise portrayed as anarchists in disguise, incapable of governing by definition.

This technique can be seen at work from the very beginning of the play. The prologue sets the moral tone of the comedy by making clear what concept of madness will be put forward, so that fanaticism is exposed as a derisive obsession:

> But he at last did on some mad men light,
> With whom he'll entertain you here tonight,
> Hoping that his fanatic melancholics
> Will make you laugh at their unusual frolics.
> Whate'er the title in the bill may say,
> He thinks 'twill prove no melancholic play. (38-43)

In the same vein, the play's pivotal comic character, Mr. Turbulent, is duly described in the *dramatis personae* as "one that hates all sorts of government and governors" and again later in the play as "one that is still railing against the times, the court, the king, the church, the government and almost everything that stands in his way" (I.121-122). As Owen argues, his madness "is the associated political madness of 1641 and 1681" (1996: 136); an enumeration of the books he carefully keeps in his house—including the doctrines of many major Interregnum sects and other tales of prophecies and visions (IV.177-193)—likewise highlights the mocking connection to dissent. This is in turn further reinforced by the portrayal of his immediate family and followers: while his wife is a member of a nonconformist sect (the Society of the Sweet Singers), his daughter is a quaker who "pretends to knowledge, learning and logic," and his house is frequented by a gang of "anabaptists, visioners, quakers, hypocrites, cheats and fools of all sorts" (I.125-130). Moreover, Mr. Turbulent is repeatedly represented as not being able of "steering the helm of government" in his own family (III.194-198, III.282-283, IV.383-385, IV.476-477), whose absence of hierarchy—he is ultimately tricked by his own wife and niece—parallels the tory depiction of what disorders a state ruled by the whigs could entail. Actually, Mr. Turbulent's submission to his wife offers a negative perception of manliness which may be connected to "effeminacy" as understood during the Restoration period, a criticism that can extensively be found in other politically-oriented plays from the Exclusion Crisis period.[94]

Another instance of this highly biased characterization technique can be seen at the end of Act II, when a secret assembly of fanatics takes place. While the participants

[94] In fact, accusations of lack of manliness or effeminacy were more useful for whigs than for tories. Since these criticisms alluded to "subordination to unruly passions and excessive preoccupation with women," they were often intended to mirror Charles's political irresponsibility and submission to his mistresses (Owen 1996: 164-165).

are depicted taking all necessary precautions not to be discovered—a Conventicle Act forbidding these meetings had been passed in 1670 (Cannon)—they do not refrain from uttering seditious words, reminiscing about "the good times of the Rump, when anyone might rail against kingly government and the idols of monarchy, without check or control" (II.518-519). And yet a further reformulation is to be found in Act IV, when Mr. Turbulent hides in a press cupboard to avoid being arrested, standing so motionless in the brown paper armour he had prepared to conceal himself that they pretend to mistake him for an image of Cromwell:

> HANGBY
> No, no, you are mistaken, 'tis the direct image of Oliver. He cannot be content to adore him in his heart, but he sets up his image in his press and in his chamber.
>
> POLLUX
> Indeed, sir, you are mistaken. He never loved Oliver in his life, nor any governor nor government. (IV.228-231)

The technique is subtle but eventually effective in suggesting that popular anarchy lies deep inside the heart of all dissenters. While the image of Cromwell is included to remind the spectators that the whigs would try to revive the "good old cause," it is through its regicidal connotations that their anti-institutionalism is laid bare. Dissenters are depicted as inconsistent in their political affiliations, thus reinforcing the argument about their essential madness. When Mr. Turbulent is later asked to feign madness to avoid being arrested, he answers: "Mad, say you? I need not counterfeit that" (IV.270), implying that he is already mad with the wickedness of the times. Indeed he did not need to feign madness; as a fanatical dissenter, he could not be portrayed otherwise in such an anti-whig play.

Abednego Suckthumb, the bogus soothsayer in the play, is also marked as insane through characterization. One stage direction presents him "*habited oddly, with his hat over his eyes,*" (I.518) thus resorting to a tradition that typically portrayed the melancholy affected with arms across and a hat over his eyes. The frontispiece of Burton's *The Anatomy of* Melancholy, where an "inamorato" is described as "with folded hand; / down hangs his head, terse and polite" (7) or John Donne's portrait as a melancholy poet are good examples (see figures 11 and 12 below). When later in the play Suckthumb is informed that his friend Turbulent has allegedly lost his reason, he observes: "then he is purified. He ought not to have anything to do with reason. It is the idol of the world and the very Babel of the sons of the earth …. Logic is the very language of Babel, and used by the carnal and the profane men of the earth" (IV.393-398). Moreover, Suckthumb resorts to a travesty of the religious language found in the dissenting sermons and homilies of the time to identify reason as the cause of all corruption:

> ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
> I say reason is the filth and scum of the carnal brain. It is the soot and fume of hell. It ought to be banished and not made use of. It is the froth of a corrupted mind, it is the carnal weapon of the wicked learned men. And I say again, we ought to live above reason, beyond reason, and to act against reason, and contrary to reason, and to pull down reason, and to overthrow, overthrow, overthrow the idol reason!
>
> PRISCILLA
> Wilt thou give me leave to reply?
>
> ABEDNEGO SUCKTHUMB
> Thou canst not, shalt not reply nor take the part of reason. 'Tis that which causes the rulers of the earth to impose laws on us. 'Tis that which causes the outward worship and the congregating in stone churches. 'Tis that which causes the orders and the ceremonies, the institutions, and the schools, and the universities, and the study, and the books and subtle questions and answers among the men of the world. 'Tis the vey root of all evil and it must be confounded. And if brother Turbulent has lost his reason, he is become perfect. (IV.403-414)

Canfield has similarly argued that the final scene of the play is set in Bedlam in order to show that the political opposition is mad, so that the play ends with "a scene of triumph in the culture wars that were the extension of the Civil war" (1997: 119). After feigning madness to avoid being arrested, Mr. Turbulent and his fanatical friends are confined in Bedlam, a place which is deemed perfect for fanatic dissenters like them, as Quibus tells Mr. Turbulent, "Dis is de best place for you in de varld, Mr. Turbulent. Here you may be turbulent and rail at the times, at de government, at de governors. Here you may speak de treason all de day long vitout de danger of de prison or of de punishment" (V.336-338).[95] I would agree with Canfield that the fanatics are confined in Bedlam in order to characterize their discourse as deviant, as opposed to official Stuart ideology. This is, for instance, the same strategy followed by Otway in one of the epilogues he wrote for his *Venice Preserv'd*, a play premiered in the same theatrical season, where the author enjoin the whigs: "repent your madness and rebel no more" (Otway 1682). In fact, this could be seen as part of a wider movement where, as Sena points out, "anti-sectarians in the Restoration and eighteenth century established a rationale for their charges of madness by employing contemporary medical theory to demonstrate that the Puritans suffered from mental and emotional disorders as a result of natural physical causes" (293-294).

[95] Bedlam-beggars or bedlamites—men and women who claimed to be insane in order to beg for charity or carry out illegal activities—became such a problem for the hospital's governors in the 1670s that several public notices against this practice were published in the London press (MacKinnon 136). Andrews also points out that, in any case, "the unreliability of contemporary tests for lunacy and its periodic, inconsistent nature often blurred distinctions between madness and shamming" (2007a: 9-10).

Fig. 11: "Inamorato" from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (left).

Fig. 12: Portrait of John Donne as a melancholy poet (right; National Portrait Gallery, London)

The last scene in the comedy begins with Lady Medler and Grin Sneak, the matchmaker and the fop in the play, visiting Bethlem Hospital to discuss with Mr. Turbulent the possibility of a marriage. Once there, the hospital's keeper invites them to have a look at some of the inmates, so that a large part of the ensuing scene consists of a succession of mad grotesque characters walking on stage. The audience is presented with a scholar "in a gown and cap, reading in a book and not looking off"; a mad poet reciting ornate lines; a cuckolded citizen pretending to have trouble to get his horns through the door; two mad critics who eventually come to blows over the nature of poetry; a raging "Madman chained, shaking his chains and roaring"; and a Fifth

Monarchy preacher pontificating about the end of the world (V.56-157). On observing this rackety succession of mock stereotypes—which surely elicited laughter among the audience—Friendly summarizes the patronizing tory conception of madness in the play when he says: "I think this hospital is the fittest place in the world for all those sort of people, and if I were rich enough I would add to its revenue. For it is a great deal of pity that these kind of mad men should walk about the streets as they do" (V.196-198).

It is noteworthy that the two mad female characters in this scene, a "mad maid" and a "madwoman" seem to have been tailored to highlight different aspects of one of the clearest models of female lovesick madness popularized in the Restoration period: Mad Bess (or Maid) of Bedlam.[96] The theatrical connection between singing and madness goes back to Elizabethan times—Shakespeare's Ophelia would be the clearest of examples—, but it was in the Restoration when mad songs developed a new language and evolved towards a subgenre in their own terms (Vélez Núñez 223).[97] Although it was not composed specifically for the stage, Henry Purcell's first mad song, "Bess of Bedlam" (1683), very much reflects contemporary views on female madness via a composition that was probably "part of the auditory world of early modern London and … almost certainly played to audiences comprised of the King, courtiers, and commoners (MacKinnon 127).[98]

Both aforementioned female characters in the play would then function as a "comic depiction of mad Bess based on the stereotypical socio-medical diagnostic elements which readily link women, lasciviousness, and madness" (MacKinnon 128).

[96] "Bess of Bedlam" was published in the fourth book of Playford's *Choice Ayres and Songs to Sing to the Theorbo-Lute or Bass-Viol* (45-47). MacKinnon points to the popular verse "Mad Maudlin" (1682) as the probable source of inspiration for Purcell's own mad song (126-127).
[97] Especially popular were, for instance, Anne Bracegirdle's singing mad characters in the 1690s.
[98] This song continued to be very popular in the eighteenth century, being repeatedly performed both in concerts and theatrical performances (Herissone 321-322).

On the one hand, several common stereotyped traits highlighting madness are to be found in the "young maid anticly dressed, staring and singing" (V.41) Although no further reference is made to her attire, tatty dress and tangled hair were probably used on stage as easily identifiable features of mania. At the same time, her illogical discontinuous rendering of popular love-songs—she interpolates fragments taken from at least two different songs within the same speech (V.41-51)—would also help the audience to identify the character as insane.[99] On the other hand, the second female mad character is a "madwoman" who is depicted performing improper actions such as suddenly running in and out of the stage, flirting with a male character, pulling him aside or even biting him on the ear before leaving the scene laughing, which probably provoked a great amusement in the audience (V.95-165). As MacKinnon puts it, "madness was an ever-present feature of early modern experiences, either in its frighteningly real manifestation in everyday life, or in its safer contained stereotypical impersonations on the stage and in musical performances" (137), so I would argue that both female characters provide the audience with an unmistakable model of social and mental madness in their "violation of particular social norms" (MacDonald 114).

It can therefore be stated that this comedy makes use of a form of mediated realism for political reasons. The play presents the audience with a constructed conception of madness based on easily identifiable jocular stereotypes, and it is precisely through this topical device that a political reading of the comedy is enabled. Canfield has argued that this is done to project a tory ideology: the play closes with "the

[99] Discontinuity as a device to represent mania is also present in Purcell's "Bess of Bedlam." From a musicological point of view, "the piece represents Bess's mood swings and sudden hallucinations via a highly sectional structure" (Rose 123), constructed from "short sections in nearly all the styles available to Purcell at the time: *secco* recitative, arioso and lyrical movements in both duple and triple time" (Laurie 20).

Town wit and his witty lady triumphant; the Quaker daughter redeemed from her parents and converted from abstemiousness to the Cavalier pleasure of dancing; and the mad fanatics literally sealed off in the interior scene, silenced in mid-rant" (1997: 119). As Ken Jackson argues, the madness motif, ubiquitous in the play, "preserves, displays, and prompts an awareness of the irreducible strangeness of *all* others from each other" (255), so that he political opposition is objectified and marked as insane in this way.

8. Conclusion

There seems to be a growing interest in the exegesis and publication of non-canonical texts in the scholarly field of Restoration drama. Regarding comedy, the times when this period was eminently characterized by a teleologically-marked transition from the 1670s sex comedies to the sentimental comedies of the late Restoration period—epitomised by Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (1675), Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676), and Congreve's *Love for Love* (1695) and *The Way of the World* (1700)—were long ago superseded. It is now acknowledged that an evolvement towards a certain model of comedy did not exist as such. On the contrary, the development of Restoration drama is characterized by rapid changes in theatrical trends which responded to the audience's demands, the internal mechanics of playhouse competition and external sociopolitical factors. The sub-genre of political city comedy that surfaced in the early 1680s, when *Mr. Turbulent* was premiered and published, was completely dependent upon the latter.

Some critics have wrongly treated the 1680s as a theatrical wasteland which saw the collapse of playhouse competition, the demand for new plays reduced and old comedy models fruitlessly repeated. However, the politicization of drama during the Exclusion Crisis years allowed a number of new comedies to take the stage, thus revitalizing an already declining institution. If they used old themes, they did it in new ways. As Owen puts it, "comedy was also adapted for the purposes of political critique: cuckolding is an ancient theme, and satire of puritans dates back to the sixteenth century. Both traditions were employed in the satire of dissenting whig citizens. Satire of interregnum radicals and rebel upstarts also became a staple of comedy" (1996: 4-5).

Probably due to its anonymous character, *Mr. Turbulent* has long retained a marginal status in the scholarly works on Restoration drama. However, as I have tried to prove with the present critical edition, it is a comedy that has relevant things to offer and thus challenges the assumption that the comedies from the 1678-1683 period "do not have a great deal to recommend them" (Hume 1976: 360). Probably intended as a more or less mild satire on stereotyped citizens—and hence whigs—, the play nonetheless enables the reader to gain appreciation of the politically vicious climate of London ca. 1682. The use of madness in the play as a political tool is revealed to be very context-specific, reflecting the political and religious dynamics present in the tory campaign of vilification of the opposition party that began to take place towards the end of 1681. Though this may be seen as just a counterpoint to the staunch anti-catholic rhetoric deployed by whigs from 1678-1681, the implications of aligning either political or religious dissent with madness transcend the mere political move. As I have tried to demonstrate, the kind of political madness to be found in *Mr. Turbulent* is precisely enabled by the existence of an earlier association between enthusiasm and melancholy which allowed the author of the play to characterize the whigs as deviants and intern them in Bedlam.

The theatrical use of urban topographies has been the other key issue in my analysis of the play, as it is my contention that *Mr. Turbulent* puts forward a politicized notion of setting. Moorfields and Bedlam were not chosen at random by the author of the play, and do not just provide a physical space for the plot or the characters. On the contrary, they are significantly marked spaces that helped to negotiate the tensions attached to them and made the cityscape of London culturally legible for the members of the audience. It could then be argued that London provided not only a familiar locale,

but also a space to be culturally interpreted by playwrights. By choosing Moorfields and Bedlam as the setting of *Mr. Turbulent*, a whole array of connotations are added to the social interactions displayed by the comedy and made to meet the audience's set of expectations about those particular places. Thus, the settings are powerfully reconstructed onstage and made to stand as markers for a very specific political message: while Moorfields is not a place for gentlemen and nothing good can come of it, Bedlam is the place where all whigs should be kept. It is through this cultural negotiation of space that they become significant venues for exploring the role of politics in defining tory anxieties and how they managed to discursively reconstruct these spaces with a new, political meaning.

Mr. Turbulent's lack of textual reference to its author has also triggered a relevant discussion of anonymity. It has been my intention to see the work's anonymous character not as a problem, but rather as an instrument which has allowed me a greater insight into the mechanics of the book trade scenario of the late Carolean period. Overcoming the idea of an individual author, I have posited the existence of a composite one which draws on Foucault's "author function." Paradoxically, this has highlighted latent aspects within the work's authorial figure that would have probably been left dormant if we were dealing with an attributed text. The role of printers and publishers, whose work has been usually masked by the looming presence of an author, has emerged as an important driving force in the incorporation of texts to the literary market.

Finally, the present dissertation has tried to prove that there are still neglected dramatic works from the Restoration period which merit scholarly attention and lie waiting for a proper critical edition to do them justice. Though the cultural picture that

the play presents onstage need not be taken as a literal depiction of late seventeenth century English society—the play was probably just a funny divertisement put forward for the audience's mirth—, a comedy like *Mr. Turbulent*, topical as it may appear to be, provides readers with a text where the sociopolitical tensions of the Exclusion Crisis period can be seen at play within their proper context. Not only that, but the analysis of this comedy illuminates relevant conceptions about social practices and cultural mores of late Carolean London.

APPENDIX A
COMEDIES OF THE EXCLUSION CRISIS PERIOD

1678-1679

- *The Ambitious Statesman* (Crowne. 1679)
- *The Feign'd Curtizans* (Behn. 1679)

1679-1680

- *The Young King* (Behn. 1679; 1683)
- *The Woman Captain* (Shadwell. 1679; 1680)
- *The Virtuous Wife* (D'Urfey. 1679; 1680)
- *The Muse of Newmarket* (Anon. 1679; 1680)
- *The Loving Enemies* (Maidwell. 1680)
- *Fools Have Fortune* (Anon; Unacted?; Lost)
- *The Revenge* (Behn. 1680)
- *The Souldier's Fortune* (Otway. 1680; 1681)

1680-1681

- *The Spanish Fryar* (Dryden. 1680; 1681)
- *The Second Part of the Rover* (Behn. 1681)
- *The Lancashire Witches* (Shadwell. 1681; 1682)

1681-1682

- *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (D'Urfey. 1681).
- *The London Cuckolds* (Ravenscroft. 1681; 1682)
- *Rome's Follies* (Anon. 1681)
- *Mr. Turbulent* (Anon. 1681; 1682)
- *The Roundheads* (Behn. 1681; 1682)
- *The Royalist* (D'Urfey. 1682)
- *The City Heiress* (Behn. 1682)

1682-1683

- *City Politiques* (Crowne. 1683)
- *Dame Dobson* (Ravenscroft. 1683; 1684)
- *The Atheist* (Otway. 1683; 1684)

APPENDIX B
LONDON GREEN SPACES IN RESTORATION COMEDY

The following table provides the reader with a relation of new comedies performed between 1660 and 1700 which include at least one scene set in a London green space (i.e., parks, gardens, or fields), ordering them by year of publication. The list only includes plays in which the green space is explicitly mentioned in a stage direction or found in any other prefatory material. The search has been partially conducted via the *Literature OnLine* web page.

PLAY	AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	PARKS	GARDENS	FIELDS
The Comical Revenge	George Etherege	1664			A field
The Humorous Lovers	William Cavendish	1667		Mulberry Garden	
She Wou'd if She Cou'd	George Etherege	1668		Mulberry Garden; New Spring Garden	
The Mulberry Garden	Charles Sedley	1668		Mulberry Garden	
The Humorists	Thomas Shadwell	1671		The garden	
Love in a Wood	William Wycherley	1672	St. James's Park; Old Pall -Mall		
The Morning Ramble	Henry Neville Payne	1673	Hyde Park	Mulberry Garden	
The Mall	J. D.	1674	The Mall; St. James's Park		
The Country Wit	John Crowne	1675	The Pall-Mall		
The Woman Turn'd Bully	Anon.	1675		Temple Garden	Red Lion Fields
The Man of Mode	George Etherege	1676	The Mall		
The Virtuoso	Thomas Shadwell	1676		The garden	
The Triumphant Widow	William Cavendish	1677		The garden	The field
Madam Fickle	Thomas D'Urfey	1677	The Mall		

PLAY	AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	PARKS	GARDENS	FIELDS
The Rambling Justice	John Leanerd	1678	St. James's Park	The garden	The fields
Friendship in Fashion	Thomas Otway	1678	The Mall	Night garden	
Sir Patient Fancy	Aphra Behn	1678		A garden	
The Fool Turn'd Critick	Thomas D'Urfey	1678		Mulberry Garden	
Squire Oldsapp	Thomas D'Urfey	1679		A garden; a bowling green	
A True Widow	Thomas Shadwell	1679		The garden	A field
The Virtuous Wife	Thomas D'Urfey	1680		Chelsea Palace garden	
The Kind Keeper	John Dryden	1680		A garden-house	
Sir Barnaby Whigg	Thomas D'Urfey	1681		Spring Garden	
Mr. Turbulent	Anon.	1682			Moorfields
The Atheist	Thomas Otway	1684		A garden	Fields on the back side of a garden
Sir Courtly Nice	John Crowne	1685		A garden	
A Fool's Preferment	Thomas D'Urfey	1688	St. James's Park		
Mr. Anthony	Roger Boyle	1690		A garden with an arbour	
The English Frier	John Crowne	1690			A field
Greenwich-Park	William Mountfort	1691	Greenwich Park	A garden in the middle Debtford Wells	
The Scowrers	Thomas Shadwell	1691	The Park		
The Marriage-Hater Match'd	Thomas D'Urfey	1692	The Park near Kensington		
The Wives Excuse	Thomas Southerne	1692	St. James's Park	The garden	

PLAY	AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	PARKS	GARDENS	FIELDS
The Maid's Last Prayer	Thomas Southerne	1693	St. James's Park		Moorfields
The Wary Widdow	Henry Higden	1693	The Park		
A Very Good Wife	George Powell	1693	The Park		Moorfields
The Volunteers	Thomas Shadwell	1693			Smithfield
The Old Batchelour	William Congreve	1693	St. James's Park		
The Lost Lover	Mary de la Rivière Manley	1696	St. James's Park	The garden	
The Lover's Luck	Thomas Dilke	1696		The Temple Walks	
The She-Gallants	George Granville	1696	St. James's Park		
The Younger Brother	Aphra Behn	1696		A garden	
The Mock-Marriage	Thomas Scott	1696			A field
The City Bride	Joseph Harris	1696			The Fields
Love's Last Shift	Colley Cibber	1696	St. James's Park		
The Provok'd Wife	John Vanbrugh	1697	St. James's Park	Spring Garden	
A Plot and No Plot	John Dennis	1697		A garden	
The City Lady	Thomas Dilke	1697		A garden	
The Innocent Mistress	Mary Pix	1697	St. James's Park		
The Pretenders	Thomas Dilke	1698		The garden	
The Deceiver Deceived	Mary Pix	1698		A garden	
The Constant Couple	George Farquhar	1699	The Park		
Love and a Bottle	George Farquhar	1699	The Park		Lincoln's Inn Fields
The Beau Defeated	Mary Pix	1700	The Park		
The Way of the World	William Congreve	1700	St. James's Park		

APPENDIX C
REFERENCES TO BEDLAM IN RESTORATION DRAMA

As in the previous appendix, this table provides the reader with a relation of new Restoration plays performed between 1660 and 1700 including allusions to the Royal Bethlem Hospital, ordering them by year of publication. The search has been conducted via the *Literature OnLine* web page.

PLAY	AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	GENRE	TEXT
The Rump	John Tatham	1660	Comedy	*Lady Bertlam*: She begins to rave, send her to Bedlam among her Consorts (II.i, p. 17); *Mrs. Cromwell*: A meer Stalking horse to Bertlam 's Pride; his Wife, that Minion, doth assume that title, I once, and my Son Richard 's wife Enjoyed; She will be called her Highness with a horse pox, while I am call'd Old Joan, old Bess, old Bedlam, old Witch, old Hagg, the Commonwealth's Night Mare (II.i, p. 21); *Stoneware*: Bertlam, lett Bertlam gang tol Bedlam in the Deels nam, what ha I to da with him, I se yeer humble Servant Gentlemen. (II.i, p. 29)
Wits Cabal, Part II	Margaret Cavendish	1662	Comedy	*Superbe*: Why, do not we give money to see mad people in Bedlam? and we may see her for nothing (I.vi, p. 298); *Matron*: My Honey sweet Love, where shall we keep our Wedding-Feast? *Frisk*: For your sake, my Sugar-sweeting, we will keep it in Bedlam, and Monsieur Busie and his Bride shall keep us company. (V.iv, p. 322)
The Publick Wooing	Margaret Cavendish	1662	Comedy	*Letgo*: Next I would buy such a piece of ground, and build a Bedlam, and then put in all such Divines as preach themselvs out of their power and riches; and I would put all such Lawyers in, as pleaded themselves out of practice; and all such Citizens as petition'd themselves out of trade. (IV.iii, p. 403)

PLAY	AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	GENRE	TEXT
The Comical Revenge	George Etherege	1664	Comedy	*Dufoy*: De matré! de matré is easie to be perceive; Dis Bedlamé, Mad-cape, diable de matré, vas Drunké de last night, and vor no reason, but dat Me did advisé him go to bed, begar he did Striké, breaké my headé, Jernie (I.i, p. 2); *Dufoy*: Begar do you tinké dat I amé de Bedlamé? No tingè but de Bedlamé can governé himé (I.i, p. 7); *Dufoy*: Matré Clark, to divertise you, I vil tell you How I did get be acquainted vid dis-bedlam Matre. About two, tree year ago me had for my convenience. (III.iv, p. 37)
Tarugo's Wiles	Thomas St. Serfe	1668	Comedy	*3. Cust*.: You are in the right; for there were two late experiences of it in Britain: The one of a Wine-Cooper, who thought to have made disturbance under the pretext of the Good old Cause; but that kind of stummed stuffe wou'd not down with the people, their stomachs having been so much cloy'd with it formerly. The other was renewing a rebellious Covenant in the North part of the Island, but that juggle had the same success: so that the effects of both were no better then if a Garrison of Bedlam had sallied out to conquer the world. (III.i, p. 26)
The Sullen Lovers	Thomas Shadwell	1668	Comedy	*Sir Pos*.: Well Madam! I found that by my self, for I was about three years ago as mad as ever man was; I 'scap'd Bedlam very narrowly, 'tis not above a twelve-moneth since my brains were settl'd again. (III.i, p. 33)
The Dumb Lady	John Lacy	1672	Comedy	Two whippers of Bedlam. (A4v)
The Careless Lovers	Edward Ravenscroft	1673	Comedy	*D. Boast*.: The Womans Distracted; send her to Bedlam. (IV.i, p. 42)
Epsom Wells	Thomas Shadwell	1673	Comedy	*Frib*.: Oh Impudence! nay then have at you. If you be mad, I'le cure you without the help of Bedlam. (IV.i., p. 72)

PLAY	AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	GENRE	TEXT
The English Mounsieur	James Howard	1674	Comedy	*Comely*: Lady, faith you'l never see mee so, perhaps you may hear when I am in the Country, that I am in love with my Hounds if they run well, but as for falling in love with Woman, when ever I do I'le sell all my Estate, and purchase Bedlam to have it to my self, for 'twill be a house fit for no other kind of Madmen (IV.i, p. 39); *L. Weal*.: Comely, do you remember the house you talk't of purchasing if e're you fell in love with a Woman, methinks 'twere time now you took possession of Bedlam. Comely: O that care's, taken by my short experience, I find a man is in Love and in Bedlam both at one minute. (IV.ii, p. 45)
The Mistaken Husband	Anon.	1675	Comedy	*Haz*.: Call for a Beadle hear to conduct this Madman to Bedlam. (IV.iv, p. 41)
The Virtuoso	Thomas Shadwell	1676	Comedy	*Snarl*: In sadness I think Bedlam's broke loose and come hither. What a company of Antick Puppies are here? (V.iii., p. 89-90)
The Counterfeit Bridegroom	Thomas Betterton?	1677	Comedy	*Sam*: Sir shall I fetch him, ere it be too late; for he's so raving Mad, that shortly he'le either be in Bedlam, or break his neck off some Steeple. (I.i, p. 5)
The Country Innocence	John Leanerd	1677	Comedy	*Thr*.: My Lady your wife? By this Chain if you play the mad Alderman here, you were better have done it in Bedlam. (IV, p. 39)
Friendship in Fashion	Thomas Otway	1678	Comedy	*Saunt*. Ay, ay, 'tis so, the poor Devil must to Bedlam: Bedlam, Knight, the Mad-man's Hospitall. (V, p. 58)
Tunbridge Wells	Thomas Rawlins	1678	Comedy	*Fair*.: I never heard you desire it; but for this Beldam, she is alway Bedlam mad, near Midsumer Moon. (IV.i, p. 30)

PLAY	AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	GENRE	TEXT
Trick for Trick	Thomas D'Urfey	1678	Comedy	*3. Phys*.: I'll answer no more---farewel, Sir, the next Fit you have, Bedlam shall find a Salve for. (III.i, p. 28)
Sir Patient Fancy	Aphra Behn	1678	Comedy	*Leander*: And I'me ingag'd to wait on her thither, she designe to carry the Fiddles too, he's Mad enough already, but such a Visit will fit him for Bedlam. (I.i., p. 13)
The Counterfeits	John Leanerd	1679	Comedy	*Car*.: This is Madness beyond Bedlam; be calm, and I'll further your Design. (I.i, p. 2)
Henry VI, Part I	John Crowne	1681	Tragedy	*Suff*.: True Sir? His Wive's crime prove e'm; what do you think / Did instigate that Bedlam brainsick Woman / To her foul fault. But his foul subornation? (IV.i, p. 39)
Bellamira	Charles Sedley	1687	Comedy	*Lion*.: That won't do: I must and will enjoy her; thou'lt hear of me in Bedlam else. (II.i, p. 18)
The Squire of Alsatia	Thomas Shadwell	1688	Comedy	*Belf. Jun*.:Thou Devil! In thy properest shape of Furious, and Malicious Woman: Resolve to leave off this Course this moment, or by Heaven I'll lay thee fast in Bedlam (III.i, p. 39); *Sir Will*.: Death and Hell, you make me stark mad! You will send me to Bedlam. (IV.i, p. 55)
A Fool's Preferment	Thomas D'Urfey	1688	Comedy	*Tob*.: Why faith, Sir, see how strangely things will happen, I dream't last night that you were in Bedlam, and now my Dream is out. (I.i, p. 11)
The English Frier	John Crowne	1690	Comedy	*Laur*.: That Fop is just at Bedlam-gate, Ile thrust him in, if all my Charms can do it (II.iii, p. 14); *Lau*.: Now will I fool him into Bedlam. Ha? he behaves himself modestly, keeps his distance--- (V.ii, p. 43)
Love for Money	Thomas D'Urfey	1691	Comedy	*Rake*.: Ay, ay---A Pox on him, but I'll not endure this; I'll send the Dog to Bedlam to morrow--- (V.iii., p. 61)

PLAY	AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	GENRE	TEXT
The Volunteers	Thomas Shadwell	1693	Comedy	*Hack. Sen.*: In truth this savoureth much of Bedlam; behold I am filled with Wonder. (III.i, p. 28)
A Very Good Wife	George Powell	1693	Comedy	*Widd.*: Prithee Cousin perswade me not, I wou'd not live a week more in the House to gain the Turkish Empire; what tho' she be my Sister; must I for that confine my self to a perfect Hell? The noise of Bedlam is still Musick to't. (II.i, n.p.)
The Maid's Last Prayer	Thomas Southerne	1693	Comedy	*Gay.*: Sir, I hope you'll pardon my Message. Sir Ruff desires you wou'd meet him, with your Second, in Moorfields. […] *Gay.*: He desires it may be to Night, Sir. *Sir. Sym.*: To Night? *Gay.*: At twelve: The Moon shines very clear: At Bedlam Gate, at twelve, Sir--- (IV.ii, p. 43)
The Mock-Marriage	Thomas Scott	1696	Comedy	*Will.*: Well then, since thou art so inexorable, I proclaim open War against thee; thou shalt not have a Monkey left to play with a-days, or a Lap-dog to sport with a nights; not an old Beaux to hand thee to Church, or bow to thee in the Play-house; I'll watch thee as narrowly as thy old Husband ever did; if any one offers thee the least Civility, I'll challenge him; and if he dares refuse the Combat, post him up for a Coward; till by degrees I have so exercised thee, that thou fallest sick of the yellow Jaundice, and at last dy'st in Bedlam (I.i, p. 4); *Fair.*: Prithee Frank , let her alone, 'tis some Bedlam Fool or other. (V.i, p. 41)
The Cornish Comedy	Anon.	1696	Comedy	*Free.*: The old Gentleman, I know, hath too great a kindness for him to abuse him, yet to me this discourse seems as if it would make him fit for Bedlam. (II.i, p. 10)

PLAY	AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	GENRE	TEXT
The Lover's Luck	Thomas Dilke	1696	Comedy	*Eag*.: And han't I laid by all business, to saunter along with you?---Show'd you the Lions at the Tower, New Bedlam , and the Tombs at Westminster? (III.i, p. 17).
A Plot and no Plot	John Dennis	1697	Comedy	*Belv*.: And that his friends who studied his welfare, made use of the Address of making him believe he was sent to Newgate, only that they might convey him gently to that other place. *Bull s*.: Ay, ay, as Bedlam for example; but be sure you say as I do (V, p. 72); *Bull s*.: This fool ought to be shut up in Bedlam. *Bull j*.: Why there's it, the fool is already shut up in Bedlam (V, p. 73); *Bull j*.: Exceedingly foolish, let me perish. Come, come, judgment, judgment, the judgment of the Company. Is this old fellow in Newgate or in Bedlam? *Omn*.: In Bedlam, in Bedlam (V, p. 75); *Bull s*.: (*Aside*) Well, either this old Countess is a damn'd Jade, or else it is a moot case, whether I am in Newgate or Bedlam (V, p. 76); *Bull s*.: Now let me see a little whither they have brought me whither this is Newgate or Bedlam. (He runs to the Door and looks out) Death and the Devil! I have been all this while in my own house. But tho I am not at present in Bedlam, I am not like to be long out of it. (V, p. 75).
The Anatomist	Edward Ravenscroft	1697	Comedy	*Dr*.: You rave both, and must be sent to Bedlam. (III.i, p. 37).
The Relapse	John Vanbrugh	1697	Comedy	*Y. Fas*.: Dear Dad don't be angry, for I'm as Mad as Tom of Bedlam (V, p. 87); *L. Fop*.: I ever thaught Newgate or Bedlam wou'd be his Fartune, and naw his Fate's decided. Prithee Loveless dost know of ever a Mad Doctor hard by? (V, p. 104)
Queen Catharine	Mary Pix	1698	Tragedy	*Cat*: Come all ye Bedlam wretches, shake your horrid / Chains, grin and scream around me, 'till my / Brains are quite o'erturn'd; let me feel all your / Stripes, and wants, and straw, so I am rid of the / Racks my mind indures. (V, p. 50).

PLAY	AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	GENRE	TEXT
The Pretenders	Thomas Dilke	1698	Comedy	*Minx*: I believe Legion himself has possest him: He seems at present even too mad for Bedlam. (IV.ii, p. 38).
Love and a Bottle	George Farquhar	1699	Comedy	*Mock.*: Certainly these Poets must have something extraordinary in their faces. Of all the Rarities of the Town, I long to see nothing more than the Poets and Bedlam. (II.ii, p. 23)
The Beau Defeated	Mary Pix	1700	Comedy	*L. Lands*: I have seen it all, and despite it: At the Theatre, am tir'd with the double Acted Farce on the Stage, and in the side Boxes; the Noisy Nonsense of the Pit; the Impudence of the Orange Women renders the whole Entertainment to me, a disagreeable Medley: Then, for Hide-Park, that's Madness in perfection; and the poor Lunatick that runs an eternal Circle in his Bedlam Apartment, has, in my Judgement, equal Pleasure (III.ii, p. 21); *Mrs. Rich*: Certainly. And I wou'd not for a Thousand Pound, lose this excellent occasion of sending Mr. Rich. to Bedlam (II.ii, p. 24); *Mr. Rich*: Hey day! What's the House turn'd into a perfect Bedlam, learning to fence, Madam Whimsical? (V.ii, p. 37).
The Fate of Capua	Thomas Southerne	1700	Tragedy	Poets fine Titles for themselves may find: / I think 'em the Fool-mongers of Mankind. / The charitable Quacks indeed pretend, / They trade in Fools, only those Fools to mend. / Yet they wou'd scarce the nauseous Task endure, / But that, like Bedlam Doctors, they are sure / To get, by showing Fools they cannot cure. (Epil., A4r)

APPENDIX D
MONETARY UNITS ALLUDED TO IN *MR. TURBULENT*

Prior to 1971, the pound sterling was broken down into 20 shillings or 240 pence (1 shilling was worth 12 pence). Since the British pre-decimal coinage system may seem alien to the reader, a list of seventeenth-century monetary units mentioned in the play-text is offered here.

Farthing	a quarter of a penny.
Twopence	2 pence or a half-groat.
Groat	4 pence.[100]
Sixpence	6 pence.
Shilling	12 pence.
Twelvepence	1 shilling.
Pound	20 shillings.
Guinea	£1.05 or 21 shillings.[101]

[100] Groats ceased to be issued for circulation in 1662.

[101] Guineas had a nominal value of 20 shillings from 1663 to 1717.

WORKS CITED

The Abdicated Prince; or, the Adventures of Four Years. 1690. London: printed for John Carterson.

The Aberdeen Bestiary. 1995. Translated and transcripted by Collin MacLaren and the Aberdeen University Library. University of Aberdeen Web Publication.

Aesop 2008. *Fables*. Trans. Laura Gibbs. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The Amorous Old Woman; or, 'Tis Well if it Take. 1674. London: printed for Simon Neale and B. Tooth.

Andrews, Jonathan 2007a. "The (Un)dress of the Mad Poor in England, c. 1650-1850. Part 1." *History of Psychiatry* 18.1. 5-24.

--- 2007b. "The (Un)dress of the Mad Poor in England, c. 1650-1850. Part 2." *History of Psychiatry* 18.2. 131-156.

Arnauld, Antoine and Pierre Nicole 1996. *Logic or the Art of Thinking*. Ed. Jill Vance Buroker. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arrowsmith, Joseph 2003 [1673]. *The Reformation*. Eds. Juan A. Prieto Pablos *et al*. Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions Universitat de Barcelona.

Ashton, Robert 1983. "Popular Entertainment and Social Control in Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart London." *London Journal* 9.1. 3-19.

Avery, Emmett 1966. "The Restoration Audience." *Philological Quarterly* 45. 54-61.

Ayto, John, ed. 2004. *An A-Z of Food and Drink*. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press.

Babb, Lawrence E. 1951. *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Baker, David Erskine 1812. *Biographia Dramatica; or, a Companion to the Playhouse*. Vol. 1. Part 2. London: printed for Longman *et al.*

Bancroft, Thomas 1639. *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitapths*. London: printed by I. Okes for Matthew Walbancke.

The Banished Duke; or, the Tragedy of Infortunatus. 1690. London: printed for R. Baldwin.

Banks, John 1679. *The Destruction of Troy*. London: printed by A. G. and J. P.

Barber, Charles 1976. *Early Modern English*. London: Deutsch.

--- 1993. *The English Language: a Historical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baring-Gould, S. and John Fisher 1908. *The Lives of the British Saints*. Vol. 2. London: Charles J. Clark.

Barthes, Roland 1967. "The Death of the Author." *Aspen* 5+6.

Batten, M. I. 1936-1937. "The Architecture of Dr. Robert Hooke." *The Twenty-Fifth Volume of the Walpole Society*. 91-93.

Beal, Peter 2011. *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450-2000. Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press,

Behn, Aphra 1677a. *The Debauchee; or, the Credulous Cuckold*. London: printed for John Amery.

--- 1677b. *The Rover; or, the Banish't Cavaliers*. London: printed for John Amery.

--- 1679. *The Feign'd Curtizans; or, A Night's Intrigue*. London: printed for Jacob Tonson.

--- 1680. *The Revenge; or, a Match in Newgate*. London: printed for W. Cademan.

--- 1681. *The Second Part of the Rover*. London: printed for Jacob Tonson.

--- 1682a. *The City Heiress; or, Sir Timothy Treatall*. London: printed for D. Brown, T. Benskin, and H. Rhodes.

--- 1682b. *The False Count; or, a New Way to Play an Old Game*. London: printed by M. Flesher for Jacob Tonson.

--- 1682c. *The Roundheads; or, the Good Old Cause*. London: printed for D. Brown and H. Rhodes.

--- 1683. *The Young King; or, the Mistake*. London: printed for D. Brown, T. Benskin and M. Rhodes.

Bevis, Richard W. 1988. *English Drama: Restoration and Eighteenth Century 1660-1789*. London: Longman.

Birch, Barbara M. 1995. "Quaker Plain Speech: a Policy of Linguistic Divergence." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 116. 39-59.

Birch, Dinah, ed. 2009. *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*. 7th ed. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press.

Biswanger, Raymond Adam, ed. 1987. *Thomas D'Urfey's* The Richmond Heiress. New York and London: Garland.

Blackburn, Simon 2008. *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*. 2nd rev. ed. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press.

Blackstone, William 1765-1769. *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. 4 vols. Oxford: printed at the Clarendon Press.

Blanco Vacas, Jorge R. 2011. "Communicative Strategies in the Restoration Stage: Politically Allusive Prologues and Epilogues of the Popish Plot Period." *A View from the South: Proceedings of the 34th International AEDEAN Conference, Almería 2010*. Eds. José R. Ibáñez Ibáñez and José Francisco Fernández Sánchez. Almería: Editorial Universidad de Almería.

The Bloody Duke; or, the Adventures for a Crown. 1690. London: printed for W. Bonny.

Bowers, Fredson 1994. *Principles of Bibliographical Description*. New Castle, Delaware: St. Paul's Bibliographies.

Boyce, Charles 1996. *Dictionary of Furniture*. Ware: Wordsworth.

Boyle, Roger 1693. *Guzman*. London: printed for Francis Saunders.

Brand, John 1849. *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*. London: Bohn.

Brewer, Ebenezer Cobham 1970. *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Phable*. London: Cassell.

The British Book Trade Index. 2005. University of Birmingham Web Project.

Brome, Richard 1640. *The Sparagus Garden.* London: printed by I. Okes, for Francis Constable.

Brown, Frank Clyde 1910. *Elkanah Settle*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Brown, Laura 1981. *English Dramatic Form, 1660-1760: An Essay in Generic History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bruster, Douglas and Robert Weimann 2004. *Prologues to Shakespeare's Theatre. Performance and Liminality in Early Modern Drama*. London and New York: Routledge.

Buckingham, George Villiers, 2nd Duke of, 1672. *The Rehearsal*. London: printed for Thomas Dring.

Bulman, William J. 2012 "Publicity and Popery on the Restoration Stage: Elkanah Settle's *The Empress of Morocco* in Context." *Journal of British Studies* 51. 308-339.

Burt, Roger 1995. "The Transformation of the Non-Ferrous Metals Industries in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *The Economic History Review* 48.1. 23-45.

Burton, Robert 1978 [1621]. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Ed. Holbrook Jackson. London: Dent.

Canfield, John Douglas 1991. "Dramatic Shifts: Writing an Ideological History of Late Stuart Drama." *Restoration and Eighteenth Century Theatre Research* 6.1. 1-9.

--- 1995. "Shifting Tropes of Ideology in English Serious Drama, Late Stuart to Early Georgian." *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater*. Eds. Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press. 195-227.

--- 1997. *Tricksters and Estates: on the Ideology of Restoration Comedy*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Canfield, John Douglas and Maja-Lisa von Sneidern, eds. 2001. *The Broadview Anthology of Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century Drama*. Peterborough: Broadview.

Cannon, John 2009. *A Dictionary of British History*. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press.

Carpenter, William E., ed. 1987. *Thomas D'Urfey's* The Virtuous Wife: *A Critical Edition*. London and New York: Garland.

Chapman, George, Ben Jonson and John Marston 1605. *Eastward Hoe*. London: printed for William Aspley.

Church of England 1549. *The Boke of the Common Praier and Administratio of the Sacramentes and Other Rytes and Ceremonies of the Churche, after the Vse of the Churche of Englande*. Wigorniae: in Officina Ioannis Oswaeni.

--- 1810. *Sermons or Homilies Appointed to Be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.

Cibber, Colley 1740. *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*. London: printed for the author.

--- 1756. *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*. Vol. 2. London: printed for R. and J. Dodsley.

Coke, Edward, Sir 1628. *The First Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England*. London: printed for the Societie of Stationers.

--- 1644. *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England*. London: printed by M. Flesher, for W. Lee and D. Pakeman.

Collins, Tony *et al*., eds. 2005. *Encyclopedia of Traditional British Rural Sports*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Congreve, William 1695. *Love for Love*. London: printed for Jacob Tonson.

--- 1700. *The Way of the World*. London: printed for Jacob Tonson.

Cooper, Michael 2003. *'A More Beautiful City.' Robert Hooke and the Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire*. Stroud: Sutton.

Cordner, Michael, ed. 1982. *The Plays of Sir George Etherege*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---, ed. 1989. *Four Comedies by Sir John Vanbrugh*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

---, ed. 1995. *Four Restoration Marriage Plays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

---, ed. 1996. *The Country Wife and Other Plays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corman, Brian 2000. "Comedy." *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*. Ed. Deborah Payne Fisk. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 52-69.

The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth, with the Restauration of the Protestant Religion; or, the Downfal of the Pope. 1680. London: printed for Ben. Harris.

Cotton, Charles 1674. *The Compleat Gamester*. London: printed by A. M. for R. Cutler and to be sold by Henry Brome.

Cowley, Abraham 1663. *Cutter of Coleman Street*. London: printed for Henry Herringman.

Coward, Barry 1988. *The Stuart Age. A History of England: 1603-1714*. London: Longman.

Crowne, John 1677. *The Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian*. London: printed for James Magnes and Richard Bentley.

--- 1679. *The Ambitious Statesman; or, The Loyal Favourite*. London: printed for William Abington.

--- 1680. *The Misery of Civil-War*. London: printed for R. Bentley and M. Magnes.

--- 1681. *Thyestes*. London: printed for R. Bently and M. Magnes.

--- 1683. *City Politiques*. London: printed for R. Bently and Joseph Hindmarsh.

Dalrymple, John 1790. *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. 1. London: printed for A. Strahan *et al*.

Danchin, Pierre 1981. *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700. Part One: 1660-1676*. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy.

--- 1984. *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700. Part Two: 1677-1690*. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy.

Dawson, Mark S. 2005. *Gentility and the Comic Theatre of Late Stuart London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deazley, Ronan 2008. "Commentary on the Statute of Monopolies 1624." *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)*. University of Cambridge Web Project.

Dekker, Thomas and Thomas Middleton 1604. *The Honest Whore with the Humours of the Patient Man, and the Longing Wife.* London: printed by V. S. for Iohn Hodgets.

Dekker, Thomas and John Webster 1607. *Northward Hoe*. London: imprinted by G. Eld.

De Krey, Gary 1996. "Reformation in the Restoration Crisis, 1679-1682." *Religion, Literature and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688*. Eds. Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 231-252.

--- 2005. *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Saussure, César 1902. *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II*. Ed. Madame Van Muyden. London: John Murray.

A Description of the Academy of the Athenian Virtuosi. 1673. London: printed for Maurice Atkins.

Dilke, Thomas 1696. *The Lover's Luck*. London: printed for Henry Playford and Benj. Tooke.

Dryden, John 1667. *The Indian Emperour; or, the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards*. London: printed by J. M. for H. Herringman.

--- 1672. *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*. London: printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman.

--- 1676. *Aureng-Zebe*. London: printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman.

--- 1679. *Troilus and Cressida; or, Truth Found Too Late*. London: printed for Abel Swall and Jacob Tonson.

--- 1680. *The Kind Keeper; or, Mr. Limberham*. London: printed for R. Bentley and M. Magnes.

--- 1681. *Absalom and Achitophel*. London: printed for J. T. and are to be sold by W. Davis.

Dryden, John and Nathaniel Lee 1679. *Oedipus*. London: printed for R. Bentley and M. Magnes.

Duffett, Thomas 1674. *The Empress of Morocco*. London: printed for Simon Neal.

--- 1675. *The Mock-Tempest; or, The Enchanted Castle*. London: printed for William Cademan.

Dugdale, William 1917. *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*. Ed. J. W. Clay. Vol. 3. Exeter: William Pollard.

D'Urfey, Thomas 1681. *Sir Barnaby Whigg; or, No Wit like a Womans*. London: printed by A. G. and J. P. for Joseph Hindmarsh.

--- 1682a. *The Royalist*. London: printed for Jos. Hindmarsh.

--- 1682b. *Scandalum Magnatum; or, Potapski's Case. A Satyr against Polish Oppresion*. London: printed for Jos. Hindmarsh.

--- 1693. *The Richmond Heiress; or, a Woman Once in the Right*. London: printed for Samuel Briscoe.

--- 2014 [1692]. *The Marriage-Hater Matched*. Eds. Manuel J. Gómez-Lara, María José Mora, Paula de Pando. Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions Universitat de Barcelona.

The Dutchess of Malfey. 1678. London: printed for D. N. and T. C.

Ehrman, Bart D. 2010. *Jesus, Interrupted: Revealing the Hidden Contradictions in the Bible*. New York: Harper and Collins.

Encyclopaedia Britannica Online Academic Edition.

England and Wales. Sovereign (Charles II). 1675. *A Proclamation for the Suppression of Coffee-Houses*. London: printed by the assigns of John Bill and Christopher Barker.

English Short Title Catalogue. The British Library Web Project.

Etherege, George 1676. *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter*. London: printed by J. Macock for Henry Herringman.

Evans, Arise 1652. *An Eccho to the Voice from Heaven; or, a Narration of the Life and Manner of the Special Calling and Visions of Arise Evans*. London: printed for the author.

The Factious Citizen; or, the Melancholy Visioner. 1685. London: printed for Thomas Maddocks.

The Famous History of Frier Bacon. 1679. London: printed by M. Clark and are to be sold by T. Passenger.

Farquhar, George 1699. *Love and a Bottle*. London: printed for Richard Standfast and Francis Coggen.

Fellmeth, Aaron X. and Maurice Horwitz 2012. *Guide to Latin in International Law. Oxford Reference Online.* Oxford University Press.

Fletcher, John and Francis Beaumont 1647. *Comedies and Tragedies*. London: printed for Humphrey Robinson and Humphrey Moseley.

The Folly of Priest-Craft. 1690. London: printed for Richard Baldwin.

The Fond Lady. 1684. London: printed for Simon Neale.

Ford, John 1629. *The Lovers Melancholy*. printed for H. Seile.

The Forerunners Work Set Forth by Motive Motion. 1652. London: n.p.

Foster, Donald W. 2002. "In the Name of the Author." *New Literary History* 33.2. 375-396.

Foucault, Michel 1973. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. New York: Vintage.

--- 1977. "What Is an Author?" *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*. Ed. Donald B. Bouchard. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 113-138.

Fox, George 1694. *A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry of that Ancient, Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, George Fox*. London: printed for Thomas Northcott.

Fox, Margaret Askew Fell 1660. *A True Testimony from the People of God (Who by the World Are Called Quakers) of the Doctrines of the Prophets, Christ, and the Apostles*. London: printed for Robert Wilson.

Genette, Gerard 1997. *Paratexts*: *Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ghosh, J. C., ed. 1968. *The Works of Thomas Otway*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gómez Lara, Manuel J. 2005. "Discourses on Health and Leisure and Modern Constructions of Holidays at the Restoration Spas." *Style: Essays on Renaissance and Restoration Literature and Culture in Memory of Harriet Hawkins*. Eds. Allen Michie and Eric Buckley. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 202-227.

Gouldman, Francis 1664. *A Copious Dictionary in Three Parts*. London: printed by John Field.

Gowland, Angus 2006. "The Problem with Early Modern Melancholy." *Past and Present* 191. 77-120.

Grantley, Darryll 2007. "The Social Geography of London in Restoration Comedy." University of Kent Web Publication.

Greene, Robert 1594. *The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon, and Frier Bongay*. London: printed for Edward White.

Greg, Walter 1950. "The Rationale of Copy-Text." *Studies in Bibliography*. 19-36.

Griffin, Robert J. 1999. “Anonymity and Authorship.” *New Literary History* 30.2. 877-895.

Grimal, Pierre 1990. *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Mythology*. Ed. Stephen Kershaw. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Hammond, Brean, ed. 2004. The Relapse *and Other Plays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hammond, Paul 2006. *The Making of Restoration Poetry.* Cambridge: Brewer.

----, ed. 2014. *The Poems of John Dryden*. *Volume I: 1649-1681*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hanowell, Holger, ed. 2001. *Sir Charles Sedley’s* The-Mulberry Garden *(1668); and,* Bellamirar, or, The Mistress *(1687): an Old-Spelling Critical Edition.* Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Hanson, Julienne 1989. “Order and Structure in Urban Design: the Plans for the Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire of 1666.” *Ekistics* 56. 22-42.

Harbage, Alfred 1940. “Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest.” *The Modern Language Review* 35. 287-319.

Harbage, Alfred, S. Schoenbaum, and Sylvia S. Wagonheim 1989. *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700; an Analytical Record of All Plays, Extant or Lost, Chronologically Arranged and Indexed by Authors, Titles, Dramatic Companies, &c*. London: Routledge.

Harben, Henry 1918. *A Dictionary of London.* London: Henry Jenkins. *British History Online*.

Harding, Vanessa 2004. “Recent Perspectives on Early Modern London.” *The Historical Journal* 47.2. 435-450.

Harris, Tim 1986. “The Bawdy House Riots of 1668.” *The Historical Journal* 29.3. 537-556.

--- 1987. *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II. Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heilbron, J. L., ed. 2003. *The Oxford Companion to the History of Modern Science*. Oxford Reference Online.

Herbert, George 1651. *Jacula Prudentum*. London: printed by T. M. for T. Garthwait.

Herissone, Rebecca 2012. “Performance History and Reception.” *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*. Ed. Rebecca Herissone. Farnham: Ashgate. 303-352.

Hersey, William R., ed. 1987. *A Critical Old-Spelling Edition of Aphra Behn’s* The City Heiress. New York and London: Garland.

Hey, David, ed. 2009. *The Oxford Companion to Family and Local History*. 2nd ed. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press.

Heywood, Thomas 1651. *Merlins Prophesies and Predictions Interpreted*. London: printed for I. E. and are to be sold by Thomas Pierrepoint.

Higden, Henry 1693. *The Wary Widdow; or, Sir Noisy Parrat*. London: printed for Abell Roper and Tho. Rainy.

Highfill, Philip H., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans 1973-1993. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London: 1660-1800*. 15 vols. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Hillebrand, Hans J., ed. 2005. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*. Oxford Reference Online.

An Historical Description of Westminster Abbey: Its Monuments and Curiosities. 1827. London: A. K. Newman.

Holland, Peter 1979. *The Ornament of Action. Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hooke, Robert 1665. *Micrographia; or, Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies Made by Magnifying Glasses, with Observations and Inquiries Thereupon*. London: printed by Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry.

Hornblower, Simon, and Anthony Spawforth 2003. *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*. *Oxford Reference Online*, Oxford University Press.

--- 2012. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hornsey, Ian Spencer 2003. *A History of Beer and Brewing*. Cambridge: The Royal Society of Chemistry.

Howard, Jean E. 2009. *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Howard, Robert 1665. *The Committee*. London: printed for Henry Herringman.

Howard Traister, Barbara 2011. "Dealing with Dramatic Anonymity: The Case of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*." *Anonymity in Early Modern England: What's in a Name?* Eds. Janet Wright Starner and Barbara Howard Traister. Farnham: Ashgate. 99-111.

Howe, Elizabeth 1992. *The First English Actresses. Women and Drama 1660-1700.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hughes, Derek 1987. "Naming and Entitlement in Wycherley, Etherege, and Dryden." *Comparative Drama* 21.3 (1987). 259-289.

--- 2004. “Aphra Behn and the Restoration Theatre.” *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*. Eds. Derek Hughes and Janet Todd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 29-45.

Hughson, David 1807. *London; Being an Accurate History and Description of the British Metropolis and its Neighbourhood to Thirty Miles Extent, from an Actual Perambulation*. Vol. 4. London: Printed for William Stratford.

Hume, Robert D. 1976. *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

--- 2005. “‘Satire’ in the Reign of Charles II.” *Modern Philology* 102.3. 332-371.

--- 2011. “The Socio-Politics of London Comedy from Jonson to Steele.” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 74.2. 187-217.

Hume, Robert D., and Arthur H. Scouten, eds. 1976. *The Country Gentleman*. London: Dent.

--- 1980. “‘Restoration Comedy’ and its Audiences, 1660-1776.” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 10. 45-69.

Hume, Robert D., and Judith Milhous 1974. “Dating Play Premieres from Publication Data, 1660-1700.” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 22. 374-405.

--- eds. 1977. *The Frolicks; or, The Lawyer Cheated*. Elizabeth Powhele. Ithaca, N. Y., and London: Cornell University Press.

--- 1980. “The Prologue and Epilogue for *Fools Have Fortune; or, Luck’s All* (1680).” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 43.4. 313-321.

Hunter, Michael 2009. *Editing Early Modern Texts. An Introduction to Principles and Practice.* Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jackson, Holbrook 1978. Introduction. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Robert Burton. London: Dent.

Jackson, Ken 2005. *Separate Theaters: Bethlem ("Bedlam") Hospital and the Shakespearean Stage*. Newark: University of Delaware Press.

Jeffares, A. Norman, ed. 1974. *Restoration Comedy*. Vol. 2. London: Folio Press.

Jeffrey, David Lyle, ed. 1992. *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.

"John Paine. Sexual Offences. Bigamy. 11th December 1678 (s16781211e-1)." 2013. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*. Humanities Research Institute Online Publications, University of Sheffield.

Jones, Colin and Roy Porter, eds. 1994. *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine, and the Body*. London: Routledge.

Jones, J. R. 1978. *Country and Court: England, 1658-1714*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Jonson, Ben 1631. *Bartholmew Fayre*. London: printed by I. B. for Robert Allot.

--- 1669. *Catiline His Conspiracy*. London: printed for A. C. and are to be sold by William Cademan.

Jordan, Thomas 1677. *Londons Triumphs*. London: printed for John Playford.

Jordan, Robert and Harold Love, eds. 1988. *The Works of Thomas Southerne*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.

Kewes, Paulina 1997. "Gerard Langbaine's 'View of Plagiaries': The Rhetoric of Dramatic Appropriation in the Restoration." *The Review of English Studies* 48.189. 2-18.

Kinservik, Matthew J. 2001. "Theatrical Regulation during the Restoration Period." *A Companion to Restoration Drama*. Ed. Susan J. Owen. Oxford: Blackwell. 36-52.

Langbaine, Gerard 1688. *Momus Triumphans; or, the Plagiaries of the English Stage*. London: printed for Nicholas Cox.

--- 1691. *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*. Oxford: printed by L. L.

Lass, Roger 1999. "Phonology and Morphology." *The Cambridge History of the English Language. Volume III, 1476-1776.* Ed. Roger Lass. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 56-186.

Latham, Alison, ed. 2011. *The Oxford Companion to Music*. 1st rev. ed. *Oxford Reference Online.* Oxford University Press.

Laurie, Margaret 1984. "Purcell's Extended Solo Songs." *The Musical Times* 1691. 19-25.

The Late Revolution; or, the Happy Change. 1690. London: printed and are to be sold by Richard Baldwin.

Law, Jonathan and Elizabeth A. Martin 2009. *A Dictionary of Law.* 7th ed. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press.

Lee, Nathaniel 1680. *Caesar Borgia, Son of Pope Alexander the Sixth*. London: printed by R. E. for R. Bentley and M. Magnes.

--- 1689. *The Princess of Cleve*. London: printed for Abel Roper.

Leeming, David 2006. *The Oxford Companion to World Mythology*. *Oxford Reference Online.* Oxford University Press.

The Leveller; or, the Principles and Maxims Concerning Government and Religion, Which are Asserted by Those that Are Commonly Called Levellers. 1659. London: printed for Thomas Brewster.

Lilly, William 1645. *A Collection of Ancient and Moderne Prophesies Concerning These Present Times, with Modest Observations Thereon*. London: printed for John Partridge and Humphrey Blunden.

Livingstone, E. A., ed. 2006. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 2nd rev. ed. *Oxford Reference Online.* Oxford University Press.

Love, Harold 1980. “Who Were the Restoration Audience?” *Yearbook of English Studies* 10. 21-44.

Lund, Mary Ann 2006. “Robert Burton the Spiritual Physician: Religion and Medicine in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.” *The Review of English Studies* 57. 665-683.

Luttrell, Narcissus 1857. *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lyons, Bridget Gellert 1971. *Voices of Melancholy: Studies in Literary Treatments of Melancholy in Renaissance England*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Lyons, Paddy, and Fidelis Morgan, eds. 1991. *Female Playwrights of the Restoration*. London: Dent.

MacDonald, Michael 1981. *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mackenzie Taylor, Aline ed. 1976. *The Orphan*. [1680]. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

MacKinnon, Dolly 2001. ‘“Poor senseless Bess clothed in her rags and folly’: Early Modern Women, Madness, and Song in Seventeenth-Century England.” *Parergon* 18.3. 119-151.

Maidwell, Lewis 1680. *The Loving Enemies.* London: printed for John Guy.

Marotti, Arthur F. 2005. *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy. Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourse in Early Modern England.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Marston, John 1605. *The Dutch Courtezan*. London: printed by T. P. for Iohn Hodgets.

Mayhew, Robert 2011. General Introduction. *Problems. Books 1-19.* By Aristotle. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. xiii-xxxiii.

McGeachy, James 1964. “The Times of Stephen Mumford.” First World Consultation of Delegates from Seventh Day Baptist Conferences. Salem. 17-22 August. Conference presentation.

McMillin, Scott, ed. 1997. *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Comedy*. 2nd ed. New York: Norton.

McMullin, B. J. ed. 1984. *The Comedies of John Crowne*: *a Critical Edition*. New York: Garland.

Merry, Mark 2010. *London Hearth Tax Project Database*. School of Advanced Study Web Project, University of London.

Metzger, Bruce M., and Michael D. Coogan 2012. *The Oxford Companion to the Bible. Oxford Reference Online.* Oxford University Press.

Michael, Emily 1997. “Daniel Sennert on Matter and Form: at the Juncture of the Old and the New.” *Early Science and Medicine* 2.3. 272-299.

Middleton, Thomas 1652. *The Widdow.* London: printed of Humphrey Moseley.

Middleton, Thomas, and William Rowley 1653. *The Changeling*. London: printed for Humphrey Moseley.

Midelfort, Erik 1989. “Madness and Civilization in Early Modern Europe: A Reappraisal of Michel Foucault.” *After the Reformation: Essays in Honor of J. H. Hexter*. Ed. Barbara Malament. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 247-266.

The Mistaken Beauty; or, the Lyar. 1685. London: printed for Simon Neale.

Mora, María José 2006. “Theatre, Authorship, and Print: Negotiating Patronage in the Early Restoration Period.” 30th International AEDEAN Conference. Huelva. 13-17 December. Conference Presentation.

Mora, María José, *et al*. 2007. Introduction. *The Woman Turned Bully*. Anonymous. [1675]. Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions Universitat de Barcelona.15-66.

Mr. Turbulent; or, the Melancholllicks. 1682. London: printed for Simon Neal.

The Muse of New-Market; o, Mirth and Drollery. 1680. London: printed for Dan. Browne, Dan. Major and James Vade.

Myers, William, ed. 1995. The Recruiting Officer *and Other Plays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nabbes, Thomas 1638. *Covent Garden*. London: printed by Richard Oulton, for Charles Greene.

Neely, Carol Thomas 1991. "'Documents in Madness': Reading Madness and Gender in Shakespeare's Tragedies and Early Modern Culture." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42.3. 315-338.

Niclaes, Hendrik 1575. *Euangelium Regni. A Ioyfull Message of the Kingdom, Published by the Holie Spirit of the Loue of Iesu Christ, and Sent-Fourth vnto all Nations of People, which Loue the Trueth in Iesu Christ.* Cologne: Printed by N. Bohmberg.

Nicoll, Allardyce 1921. "Political Plays of the Restoration." *The Modern Language Review* 16. 223-242.

--- 1923. *A History of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Noorthouck, John 1773. *A New History of London, Including Westminster and Southwark*. London: printed for R. Baldwin.

Nordio, Andrea 1995. "L'Ospedale degli Incurabili di Venezia." *Notiziario Bibliografico* 20. 39-40.

North, Marcy L. 2003. *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Norton, Rictor 2013. "The Sodomite's Walk in Moorfields." *The Gay Subculture in Georgian England*. Online Publication.

Otway, Thomas 1681. *The Souldier's Fortune*. London: printed for R. Bentley and M. Magnes.

--- 1682. *The Epilogue Written by Mr. Otway to his Play Called* Venice Preserv'd, or a Plot Discover'd. *Spoken upon His Royal Highness the Duke of York's Coming to the Theatre, Friday, April 21, 1682*. London: printed for Joseph Hindmarsh.

Owen, Susan J. 1993. "Interpreting the Politics of Restoration Drama." *The Seventeenth Century* 8.1. 67-97.

--- 1996. *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

--- 2000. "Drama and Political Crisis." *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*. Ed. Deborah Payne Fisk. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 158-173.

---, ed. 2001a. *A Companion to Restoration Drama*. Oxford: Blackwell.

--- 2001b. "Restoration Drama and Politics: an Overview." *A Companion to Restoration Drama*. Ed. Susan J. Owen. Oxford: Blackwell. 126-139.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 2014. Online edition. Oxford University Press.

Oxford English Dictionary. 2014. Online edition. Oxford University Press.

Parry, William T., and Edward A. Hacker 1991. *Aristotelian Logic*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Partridge, Eric 1995. *Dictionary of the Underworld*. Ware: Wordsworth.

Payne Fisk, Deborah C. 1990. “The Restoration Dramatic Dedication as Symbolic Capital.” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 20. 27-42.

--- 1995 “Reified Object or Emergent Professional? Retheorizing the Restoration Actress.” *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater*. Eds. J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press. 13-38.

---, ed. 2000. *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---, ed. 2005. *Four Restoration Libertine Plays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Payne, Henry Neville 1673. *The Fatal Jealousie*. London: printed for Thomas Dring.

People in Place; Families, Households and Housing in Early Modern London 1550-1720. The Institute of Historical Research Web Project, n. d.

Pepys, Samuel 1976 [1660-1669]. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. 11 vols. Edited by R. C. Latham and W. Matthews. London: Bell.

Perkinson, Richard H. 1936. “Topographical Comedy in the Seventeenth Century.” *Journal of English Literary History* 3.4. 270-290.

Picard, Liza 2003. *Restoration London*. London: Phoenix.

Pincus, Steven 1995. “‘Coffee Politicians Does Create’: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture.” *The Journal of Modern History* 67.4. 807-834.

Playford, John 1683. *Choice Ayres and Songs to Sing to the Theorbo-Lute or Bass-Viol. The Fourth Book*. London: printed by A. Godbid and J. Playford Junior.

--- 1686. *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*. London: printed for John Playford.

Plomer, Henry 1915. *A Short History of English Printing*. London: Kegan Paul *et al*.

--- 1922. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*. London: Bibliographical Society.

Porter, Gerald 1999. "The Ideology of Misrepresentation: Scots in English Broadsides." *Writing in Nonstandard English*. Eds. Irma Taavitsainen, Gunnel Melchers and Päivi Pahta. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 261-274.

Porter, Roy 2002. *Madness: A Brief History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Powell, George 1693. *A Very Good Wife*. London: printed for Samuel Briscoe.

Powell, Jocelyn 1984. *Restoration Theatre Production*. London: Routledge.

Power, D'Arcy 1897. *William Harvey*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Price, Curtis A. 1979. "Restoration Stage Fiddlers and their Music." *Early Music* 7.3. 315-322.

Price, Jacob M. 1989. "What Did Merchants Do? Reflections on British Overseas Trade, 1660-1790." *The Journal of Economic History* 40.2. 267-284.

Prieto Pablos, Juan A. 2010. "Coffee-houses and Restoration Drama." *Theatre and Culture in Early Modern England, 1650-1737*. Ed. Catie Gill. Farnham: Ashgate. 51-74.

Prieto Pablos, Juan A., *et al*. 1997. Introduction. *The Virtuoso*. By Thomas Shadwell. [1676]. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones. xvii-xlvii.

The Prophesie of Mother Shipton in the Raigne of King Henry the Eighth. 1641. London: printed for Richard Lownds.

Prynne, William 1633. *Histrio-Mastix. The Players Scourge; or, Actors Tragaedie*. London: printed for E. A. and W. I. for Michael Sparke.

Purcell, Henry 1698. *Orpheus Britannicus*. London: printed by J. Heptinstall, for Henry Playford.

Quinsey, Katherine M. 1996. *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

Raithby, John, ed. 2013. *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5 – 1628-80*. British History Online.

The Rampant Alderman; or, News from the Exchange. 1685. London: printed, and are to be sold by Randal Taylor.

The Ranters Religion; or, a Faithfull and Infallible Narrative of their Damnable and Diabolical Opinions, with their Detestable Lives & Actions. 1650. London: printed for R.H.

Ravenscroft, Edward 1682. *The London Cuckolds*. London: printed for Jos. Hindmarsh.

--- 1684. *Dame Dobson; or, The Cunning Woman*. London: printed for Joseph Hindmarsh.

Reeve, John and Lodowick Muggleton 1661. *A Divine Looking-Glass; or, the Third and Last Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ whose Personal Residence is Seated on his Throne of Eternal Glory in Another World*. N.p.: n.p.

Remarques on the Humours and Conversations of the Town. 1673. London: printed for Allen Banks.

The Restoration Comedy Project. 1997-2015. Universidad de Sevilla Web Project.

Ripa, Cesare 1709. *Iconologia; or, Moral Emblems*. London: printed by Benj. Motte.

Roach, Joseph 2000. "The Performance." *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*. Ed. Deborah Payne Fisk. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 20-39.

Roberts, David 2004. "Caesar's Gift: Playing the Park in the Late Seventeenth Century." *ELH* 71.1. 115-139.

Rogers, Katharine M. *The Meridian Anthology of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Plays by Women*. New York: Penguin-Meridian, 1994.

Rome's Follies; or, the Amorous Fryars. 1681. London: printed for N. Nowell.

Romulus and Hersilia; or, the Sabine War. 1683. London: printed for D. Brown and T. Benskin.

Roper, Alan, ed. 1956-2002. *The Complete Works of John Dryden*. 20 vols. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Rose, Stephen 2012. "Performance Practices." *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*. Ed. Rebecca Herissone. Farnham: Ashgate. 115-164.

Rosenfeld, Sybil 1960. *The Theatre of the London Fairs in the 18th Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The Royal Flight; or, the Conquest of Ireland. 1690. London: printed for Richard Baldwin.

The Royal Voyage; or, the Irish Expedition. 1690. London: printed for Richard Baldwin.

Rump, Eric, ed. 1985. *The Comedies of William Congreve*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Russell, Anne 1999. Introduction. *The Rover*. Aphra Behn. [1677]. Peterborough: Broadview. 9-52.

Sabol, Andrew J., and Gary Taylor 2007. "Middleton, Music, and Dance." *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*. Eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 119-181.

Schmidt, Jeremy 2007. *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Scott, Jonathan 1993. “Restoration Process. Or, if This isn’t a Party, We’re not Having a Good Time.” *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 25.4. 619-637.

Sena, John F. 1973. “Melancholic Madness and the Puritans.” *The Harvard Theological Review* 66.3. 293-309.

Settle, Elkanah 1673. *The Empress of Morocco*. London: printed for William Cademan.

--- 1680. *The Female Prelate*. London: printed for W. Cademan.

--- 1693. *The New Athenian Comedy*. London: printed for Campanella Restio.

Sgarbi, Marco 2013. *The Aristotelian Tradition and the Rise of British Empiricism. Logic and Epistemology in the British Isles (1570–1689)*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Shadwell, Thomas 1668. *The Sullen Lovers; or, the Impertinents*. London: printed for Henry Herringman.

--- 1682. *The Lancashire Witches, and Tegue O Divelly the Irish Priest*. London: printed for John Starkey.

--- 1693. *The Volunteers; or, the Stock-Jobbers*. London: printed for James Knapton.

--- 1997 [1676]. *The Virtuoso*. Eds. Juan A. Prieto Pablos *et al*. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones Universidad de Sevilla.

--- 2000 [1673]. *Epsom Wells*. Eds. Juan A. Prieto Pablos *et al*. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones Universidad de Sevilla.

Shakespeare, William 1988. *The Complete Works*. Eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor. Oxford: Clarendon.

Shirley, James 1637. *Hide Park*. London: printed by Tho. Cotes, for Andrew Crooke, and William Cooke.

Simpson, Jacqueline, and Steve Roud 2000. *A Dictionary of English Folklore*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Slagle, Judith, ed. 1991. *Thomas Shadwell's* The Lancashire Witches, and Tegue O' Divelly the Irish Priest: *A Critical Old-Spelling Edition*. [1682]. New York and London: Garland.

--- 1993. *Thomas Shadwell's* The Woman Captain: *A Critical Old-Spelling Edition*. [1680]. New York and London: Garland.

Slavitt, David R. 2011. Introduction. *The Gnat and Other Minor Poems of Virgil*. Berkeley: University of California Press. xiii-xvii.

Smith, John 1677. *Cytherea; or, the Enamouring Girdle*. London: printed for Langly Curtis.

Smith, John 1691. *Win Her and Take Her; or, Old Fools will be Medling*. London: printed for J. Hindmarsh, R. Bently, A. Roper, and Randall Taylor.

Sommerville, C. John 1996. *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Speaight, George 1955. *The History of the English Puppet Theatre*. New York: John de Graff.

Spencer, Jane, ed. 1996. *The Rover and Other Plays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sprunger, Keith L. 1982. *Dutch Puritanism: a History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill.

Stevenson, Christine 1996. "Robert Hooke's Bethlem." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55. 254-75.

Still, Arthur, and Irving Velody, eds. 1992. *Rewriting the History of Madness: Studies in Foucault's* Histoire de la Folie. London: Routledge.

Stow, John 1842 [1598]. *A Survey of London*. Ed. William J. Thoms. London: Whitaker.

Straznicky, Marta 1997. “Women Playwrights and the Limits of Professionalism.” *ELH* 64.3. 703-726.

--- 2004. *Privacy, Playreading, and Women’s Closet Drama 1550-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Summers, Montague ed. 1968 [1927]. *The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*. 5 vols. New York: Blom.

Swanson, Alan, ed. 2011. *An Annotated Edition of Joshua Barnes’* The Academie, or, The Cambridge Dunns. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen.

Tate, Nahum 1680. *The Loyal General*. London: printed for Henry Bonwicke.

Tatham, John 1660. *The Rump; or, the Mirrour of the Late Times*. London: printed by W. Godbid for R. Bloome.

Taylor, John 1647. *The Armies Letanie*. N.p.: n.p.

Terence 1999. *The Brothers*. Ed. and trans. A. S. Gratwick. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

The London Gazette. 1682. Issue 1778. London: Thomas Newcomb.

Thorpe, James, ed. 1963. *The Poems of Sir George Etherege*. Ed. James Thorpe. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tilley, Morris 1950. *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Todd, Jane, ed. 1993-1997. *The Works of Aphra Behn*. 7 vols. London: Pickering.

Trapnel, Anna 1654. *The Cry of a Stone; or, a Relation of Something Spoken in Whitehall, by Anna Trapnel, Being in the Visions of God*. London: n. p.

Treglown, Jeremy, ed. 1980. *The Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*. London: Blackwell.

Tryon, Thomas 1690. *A New Art of Brewing Beer, Ale, and Other Sorts of Liquors*. London: printed for Tho. Salusbury.

Tunstall, Kate E. 2011. "'You're Either Anonymous or You're Not!': Variations on Anonymity in Modern and Early Modern Culture." *MLN* 126.4. 671-688.

Upon the Stately Structure of Bow-Church and Steeple, Burnt An. 1666, Rebuilt 1679; or, a Second Poem upon Nothing! 1680. London: n. p.

Valentinian. 1685. London: printed for Timothy Goodwin.

Van Lennep, William, ed. 1965. *The London Stage, 1660-1800. Part I: 1660-1700*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Vaughn, J. A., ed. 1976. *Two Comedies by Thomas D'Urfey*. Rutherford, New Jersey, and London: Farleigh Dickinson University Press.

Vélez Núñez, Rafael 2003. "Melancholic Sounds: Singing Madness in Restoration Drama." Ed. Jorge Bueno *et al*. "*Nothing but Papers, my Lord*." *Studies in Early Modern Language and Literature*. *SEDERI XIII*. Vigo: Universidade de Vigo. 219-227.

Venn, John 1922. *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vieth, David M. 1963. *Attribution in Restoration Poetry: a Study of Rochester's Poems of 1680*. New Haven: Yale university Press.

Wall, Cynthia 1998. *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ward, Charles E., ed. 1942. *The Letters of John Dryden*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Watson, John 1911. *British and Foreign Building Stones. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Specimens in the Sedgwick Museum, Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Webster, John 1623. *The Tragedy of the Dutchesse of Malfy*. London: printed by Nicholas Okes, for John Waterson.

Weinreb, Ben *et al.*,eds. 2008. *The London Encyclopaedia*. London: Macmillan.

Wessel, Jane 2014. "Performing a 'Ra-ree show': Political Spectacle and the Treason Trial of Stephen College." *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 38.1. 3-17.

Westminster-drollery; or, a Choice Collection of the Newest Songs & Poems, Both at Court and Theaters. 1671. London: printed for H. Brome.

Wheatley, Henry Benjamin and Peter Cunningham 2011. *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Whitaker, William 1680. *The Conspiracy; or, the Change of Government*. London: printed for William Cademan.

Whiting, George W. 1930. "Political Satire in London Stage Plays, 1680-83." *Modern Philology* 28.1. 29-43.

Williams, Gordon 1994. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*. 3 vols. London: Athlone.

Williams, Laura 2001. "'To Recreate and Refresh their Dulled Spirites in the Sweet and Wholesome Ayre': Green Space and the Growth of the City." *Imagining Early Modern London*: *Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*. Ed. J. F. Merritt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 185-216.

Willman, Robert 1974. “The Origins of ‘Whig’ and ‘Tory’ in English Political Language.” *The Historical Journal* 17.2. 247-264.

Wilson, John Harold 1964. *Mr. Goodman the Player*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

---, ed. 1967. *The City Politiques*. [1683]. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Wit and Drollery: Jovial Poems. 1656. London: printed for Nath. Brook.

Wood, Anthony á 1820. *Athenae Oxonienses*. Vol 4. London: printed for Lackington *et al*.

The Woman Turned Bully. 2007 [1675]. Eds. María José Mora *et al*. Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions Universitat de Barcelona.

Wren, Melvin C. 1949. “The Chamber of the City of London, 1633-1642.” *The Accounting Review* 24.2. 191-198.

Wrigley, E. A., and R. S. Schofield 1981. *The Population History of England 1541-1871*. London: Edward Arnold.

Wycherley, William 1673. *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*. London: printed by J.M. for Henry Herringman and Thomas Dring.

--- 1675. *The Country Wife*. London: printed for Thomas Dring.