'Transgressing Nature's Law': Representations of Women and the Adapted Version of The Tempest, *1667*

Barbara A. Murray St Andrews University

From the last day of Annus Mirabilis Samuel Pepys looked forward to the new year with grave misgivings – 'all sober men . . . fearful of the ruin of the whole kingdom this next year'.[1] As if catching his mood, 1667 began with a bitterly cold spring in which the ruins of the City were still smoking six months after the Fire had started. There followed a summer in which the English fleet was burned at anchor in the Medway, and an autumn which saw the impeachment and exile of Lord Chancellor Clarendon; by many 1667 might well have been thought of as Annus Horribilis.[2]

Given the distressing magnitude of such events, one might think that poets and playwrights in 1667 had plenty of immediately obvious social and political issues to draw on for the enlightenment, and even entertainment, of their followers. One might not have expected to find in the literature of this year, therefore, the expression of a widespread anxiety about the nature of women. It is true that this subject touches politics most closely where concern for the effects of the King's womanising are expressed, although it was clearly of social, if less specific, concern too – appearing as it does at every turn. Generally, perhaps, many of the public representations of this topic, at any rate when witnessed by male readers and theatregoers, would have offered reassurance in these troublesome times, and especially to those made additionally uneasy by the apparent poaching by women on male preserves. The topic recurs through 1667 in poems, diaries and, particularly, in plays. Finally, in early November and taking London by small storm, Davenant and Dryden offered an outrageously witty conclusion to this year's work in women-studies with their version of *The Tempest*.[3] Here the behaviour of two additional 'innocent'

adolescents is deployed for comic effect, brought up as they have been in island caves, apart from the other sex and from civilised society. Their trouble-prone pairing allows the playwrights to explore and wittily illustrate aspects of contemporary interest in the 'wild' human, while also exploiting the paradoxical possibilities embodied in professional actresses. The public theatres had been closed for the plague between June 1665 and late November 1666, and J. A. Winn has already noticed an increased fascination with sex in the theatres when they re-opened, 'a fascination that would ultimately lead to the famous sex comedies of the 1670s'.[4] This paper more closely considers the nature of this fascination in these months, specifically a fascination with female ingenuity and with the young ingénue. In doing so it will trace the development to, and the expression within, the year 1667 of a number of social, political and theatrical topics which come together in the November performance of one of the period's most popular Shakespeare adaptations.[5]

A fairly brief discussion, since it is a well covered topic, of contemporary thinking on the subject of woman's nature and therefore of her social role, will be followed by a demonstration of, and explanation for, the palpable anxiety felt in this year about women's apparent transgressions of the natural law. Inevitably such anxiety entails a concomitant interest in the nature of pristine feminine innocence and, particularly in this year, dramatists representing the ingénue and her sexual awakening drew strong attention to the actress and her body; modern feminist debate has already begun exploration of this topic. Finally, both seventeenth-century theories of physiology as well as the period's expectations about theatrical cross-dressing are significant for a reading of the man-woman Hippolito of *The Tempest or, The Enchanted Island* of November 1667. Here, towards the end of this uneasy year and for half the audience at least, a reassuring signal is given that even where gender division may seem most disconcertingly blurred, basic femaleness, and thus fallibility, can be entertainingly re-affirmed.

The reader of *Paradise Lost*, published in August 1667, would have understood the line Milton chose to take on the vexed question of the Bible's two creation stories: the 'Priestly' version of *Genesis* I. 27, by which male and female are created together, 'male and female created he them', and the 'Jahwist' version of II. 22, by which from 'the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man'.[6] Arguments for the essential equality of the sexes could be (and occasionally were) framed from the former passage; much more pervasively in the seventeenth century, however, justification for the view of women's status as inherently inferior, derived from the latter.[7] Once this basic inferiority is accepted the way is made clear for a view of womankind as spiritually insufficient, therefore intellectually deficient, and also physiologically lacking and unstable – in fact in all respects an imperfect man. It then follows of course that for the maintenance of domestic and social harmony this erratic creature will

require the guidance and direction of superior wisdom, which can only be male, and her proper comportment under this instruction will be meek, submissive and passive. Such a view sat well, of course, with equally ancient notions of an hierarchical universal order. In contemporary accepted orthodoxy therefore, it is properly 'natural' that women should have the terms and conditions of their lives dictated to them, and at least comprehensible that any wilful attempts at independence or self-determination should be met with disapproval or alarm. From the power of the courtesan to the pathos of the freakish side-show the 'unnatural' woman in this unhappy year was paid anxious and sometimes prurient attention.

At court the political power of women was allegedly considerable and increasing. In some quarters it was felt that the war was being lost while the King womanised; peace would be patched up 'only to preserve the King for a time in his lusts and ease, and to sacrifice trade and his kingdoms only to his own pleasures'.[8] The war apart, in June Pepys repeated the opinion of a friend that 'the Duke of York's marriage . . . hath undone the kingdom, by making the Chancellor so great above reach'; in July he reported angry words between the King and Lady Castlemaine over the imprisonment of Buckingham – the King had apparently called her 'a jade that meddled with things she had nothing to do withal'. In July the Court also sat through a 'strange bold sermon' preached by Dr. Creighton 'against the sins of the Court, and perticularly against adultery, over and over instancing how for that single sin in David, the whole nation was undone'.[9] In August the Duke of York's surgeon observed to Pepys 'how this business [disgrace] of my Lord Chancellors was certainly designed in my Lady Castlemaine's chamber'. The perception of many was summed up by Pepys in July: the King was 'governed by his lust and women and rogues about him'.[10]

It was not only at court that the influence of women was being felt. A study of stage records and literary output for this year reveals a striking number of explicit references to the nature of women; these deserve investigation, along with their implicit concern with gender difference. The number is striking, and this is not merely because it contrasts with the empty months between June 1665 and November 1666 when plague closed the theatres, nor is it entirely attributable to the tireless playgoing of Pepys himself, that enthusiastic admirer of a pretty face. Certainly Pepys noticed the external tokens of femininity in the audiences: women with their 'hair done up with puffs', some wearing masks and others who were 'fine', 'wonderfully pretty' or had 'a very excellent face and body'; at home he was outraged in May by his wife's sudden appearance in a white wig.[11] He was also interested in the theatrical fortunes of certain actresses – at this period particularly those of Elizabeth Knepp – and in their private lives; the two were suddenly and disconcertingly blurred for him when Knepp met him offstage 'dressed like a country-mayde' for *The Goblins* in January.[12] He went backstage with Knepp in October and seems to have been very upset by the manifest discrepancy

between the reality and the art: Nell dressing herself is 'pretty, prettier than I thought' but 'to see how they were both painted would make a man mad, and did make me loathe them'.[13]

Pepys also very frequently commented on the performance of female parts; Dryden wrote *eight* female roles into *Secret Love* in February (one of only six new plays in that year) including that of the independent and outspoken Florimel. It was in this part that Nell Gwyn made a hit 'most and best of all, when she comes in like a young gallant'; for the enchanted Pepys she was more like a man than a man, for she 'hath the motions and carriage of a spark the most that ever I saw any man have. It makes me, I confess, admire her'.[14] Davenant's rival company offered a riposte a few days later when, after *The English Princess* by Caryll, 'little Mis Davis did dance a Jigg after the end of the play . . . only to please the company to see her dance in boy's clothes; and the truth is, there is no comparison between Nell's dancing the other day at the King's house in boy's clothes and this, this being infinitely beyond the other'.[15] In August Pepys admired the dancing of Moll Davis in shepherd's clothes (the play also requires a lad dressed as a woman) and in September the dance of ladies 'in a Military manner' after a performance of Fletcher's *The Storm*.[16] In all these aspects women are assessed from outside; even where they are dressed as men they are viewed as objects of interest or 'admiration', and twice this year women actually played men's roles. Jonson's *The Silent Woman*, with its motifs of metamorphosis and gender reversal, was performed in April.[17] Edward Kynaston had played the 'heroine' in 1661 when professional actresses were still so new that knowing a boy was playing the role would not have changed the audience's perspective on the plot.[18] For December 1666, however, and a performance at Court, Downes records Elizabeth Knepp as playing Epicoene and so when the shrew is finally revealed as a boy, and as with Hippolito in *The Tempest* a few months later, the audience must imagine that they are looking at a male, while knowing that in fact a woman's body is beneath the clothes.[19]

Dressing as men on-stage was one thing, ordered and controlled as performance, although as recently as October 1666, and even as Pepys was praising the women of the Duke's Company, the voice of John Evelyn had been stridently raised against the actresses. 'Women now (& never 'til now) permitted to appeare & act, which inflaming severall young noble-men & gallants, became their whores, & to some their Wives, witnesse the Earle of Oxford, Sir R: Howard, Pr: Rupert, the E: of Dorset, & another greater person than any of these, who fell into their snares, to the reproch of their noble families, & ruine both of body & Soul'.[20] Social disruption thus caused by women on the stage was disconcerting in a way that the spectacle or even thought of the grotesquely 'unnatural' in women's body or soul apparently was not. At one crude extreme, in September, was presented 'The Wonder of Nature', offered as an entertainment at Smithfield: 'A Girl, above Sixteen Years of Age, born in Cheshire, and not above Eighteen Inches long, having

shed the Teeth seven several Times, and not a perfect Bone in any part of her, only the Head; yet she hath all her senses to Admiration, and Discourses, Reads very well, Sings, Whistles, and all very pleasant to hear'. Pepys went to see a monstrous Irish child and her brother in July and again in October.[21] At another extreme was the eccentric and highly sophisticated figure of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, who had recently been repeating her claims for female rationality and educability.[22] Pepys attended her play *The Humourous Lovers* in March 'that I might the better understand her'.[23] He was fascinated by her style, several times following her carriage to catch a glimpse, recording her outlandish garb, clearly intrigued by her grand visit to the Royal Society in late May.[24] Taken to its spiritual extreme the perception of the unnatural is associated with infernal power. The 'prophecies' supposedly uttered by the fabled Mother Shipton of the sixteenth century first surfaced in 1641 – notably there would be 'Wars within this Kingdom', although Prince Rupert observed of the Great Fire also that 'now Shipton's prophecy [is] out'. On 17 March 1667 Richard Head entered in the Stationers' Register *The life and death of Mother Shipton, or a true Relacõn of what strange and wonderfull thinges shee did and spakt &c*. According to the *D.N.B.* Mother Shipton was represented here as the daughter of the devil; 'her hideous aspect and power of prophesying disaster, of which [Head] invented numerous instances, fully attested her paternity'. The reaction to such cases is neutral, however, compared with the perception of the manly, and thus of the unforgivably unnatural, in behaviour – which could be received with alarm. Not for John Lacy in February the possibility of a final harmonious equilibrium between Petruchio and Katharina based on newly discovered good humour and co-operation. When he altered Shakespeare's play into *Sauny the Scot* his aggressive heroine asserts at the height of her loquacious defiance of her husband, 'You shall know me to be the Master'. The then disobediently silent woman is threatened with a dentist and finally with live burial; the moment before her forced submission offers the disturbing tableau of a prone, bound and defeated woman, with the stage dominated by a powerful group of standing males.[25]

In that tableau we see staged a violent reaffirmation of the conventional gender roles and power relations believed to be subverted in the contemporary political sphere. Marvell's 'Last Instructions to a Painter' was completed some time between 30 August and 29 November, in which Anne Hyde ('Philosopher beyond Newcastles Wife') is sarcastically commended for her perfection of an 'Engine' with which to renew virginity and for her ability to mature a royal heir in 'fewer months than Mothers once endured', and Lady Castlemaine, royal favour fluctuating, is to be painted washing the 'sweaty Hooves' of her footman.[26] Later on in the poem, in a spirit similar to Lacy's, Marvell describes the skimmington ride designed for 'Masculine Wives, transgressing Nature's Law', a paradigm of the relationship between an emasculated and beaten England and the currently dominant Holland; such

a ride was an event which Pepys had actually witnessed in June.[27] There were those whose gossip suggested that many of the kingdom's troubles were owing to such 'unnatural' role reversal and the 'horrid effeminacy' of the King himself, as Pepys in June described the womanising; it was rumoured that the King had been chasing moths with his ladies while the fleet burned and that he was 'at the command of any woman like a slave'.[28] After chatting one July night with a tipsy friend, Pepys recorded that Charles himself had been 'speaking of the Duke of York's being mastered by his wife [and had] said to some of the company by, that he would go no more abroad with this Tom Otter'.[29] Of all the guises and forms a woman might take, that of dominatrix is most alarming, be she wife, King's mistress or foreign power for, 'when the brawney Female disobeys, / [She] beats the Husband till for peace he prays'.[30]

Admiration of attractive appearance, entertainment at the unusual, or else alarm at dangerous social or political potential – these responses to female 'ingenuity' are not new and it is not particularly surprising that they should recur.[31] What is unusual is their pervasiveness in these anxious months; if the sex comedies of the 1670s had their inception in the increasing fascination with gender in the theatre after the plague – from 1667 – this fascination may have had a political source in the rumoured antics at court. It is also quite possible, however, that women were simply a dominating social presence at this time; the 1660s was a peak period for men to leave England for the colonies and as a consequence apparently as many as twenty-five per cent of women did not marry.[32] With the publication of *Paradise Lost* in August, however, came further development of a view of female nature which, while it may have been tempered by Milton's own experiences and by centuries of received opinion, as indicated above, was nevertheless ostensibly more genuinely sympathetic. Despite her late-coming to creation and her inferior intellectual status, natural Eve is here perceived as man's 'other self . . . Man-like . . . Bone of [his bone . . .] one flesh, one heart, one soul'. The measure is still 'Man' although within the prevailing cultural and social parameters, the male poet makes a serious and by no means unsympathetic attempt to describe and to give a woman's voice to the ingénue – here to essential, pristine, innocence.[33] Compared with the cynical fun which early Restoration dramatists, particularly, were to have with ideas of female innocence, Milton's voice is one of humane moderation.

Restoration literature did not invent the state of nature as a literary topic. Its representation goes back, of course, to ancient creation myths and to evocations of the Golden Age and of the Garden of Eden. Conversely, a radical, and largely comic, re-visiting of the subject towards the end of the seventeenth century was not prompted simply by Thomas Hobbes' contentious, and much attacked, view of an existence in which men live with no other security than their own strength, and of such a life as being 'solitary, poor,

nasty, brutish and short'.[34] In Florio's Montaigne of 1603 the life of savages is in many respects purer than that of civilised societies – indeed with his noble courage and natural sense of honour Montaigne's savage is not so different from Dryden's heroic Montezuma of 1664. In other respects, however, the life of the 'Caniballes' is less than ideal; they fight their enemies, exact revenge, practise cannibalism, and indulge in polygamy.[35] Francis Bacon's prescriptions for the practical development of a colony include the view that settlers should be on their guard with neighbouring savages, and should not help them 'to invade their enemies'.[36] It is in *The Tempest*, and with Caliban, however, that Earl Miner sees set forth the terms of the seventeenth century's encounter with the Wild Man in a state of nature. Shakespeare is shown as combining 'in varying proportions the cannibal of unknown islands, the Wild Man of Europe, the exploited savage, and the masses of subjected European peasants'.[37] The figure of the isolated girl which recurs in several different dramatic versions of a shipwreck story, all staged in 1667, is not of this sort, however.[38] She is a socialised and perfectly articulate European; what is exploited for comic effect is the consciousness of burgeoning sexuality with the arrival of eligible men.

Female inventiveness or 'ingenuity' may have been perceived as both fascinating and dangerous, but the dramatic potential of the ingénue herself was not lost on Restoration dramatists either, and in 1667 representing the innocent female – as a child either within or without 'civilisation' – was not a new idea in Restoration literature. The role may be exploited to expose the duplicitous potential of the seeming innocent: Dryden's Mrs. Christian is instructed in its devious deployment in *The Feigned Innocence or, Sir Martin Mar-all* in August 1667. She is taught how 'to play the innocent just like a Child' and is an apt pupil – 'What should I do with a Husband?', she asks the gull Sir John, who himself longs 'to keep School, and teach the bigger Girls'.[39] In contrast Dryden's innocent children in the Prologue to *The Indian Queen* of 1664 speak artlessly of their golden world, offering flattery to the 'gentle' invaders they espy beyond the forestage. Milton's prelapsarian Eve is unselfconscious in a way that Dryden's Quevira is not although, of course, from her first conscious moment her moral vulnerability is signalled by the 'vain desire' with which she gazes on her own reflection, deaf and blind to the beauty of the world with which she is surrounded. Her artlessness is emphasised by the comparison Milton draws later on with the 'bought smile' of harlots and wanton 'court amours'; even if these passages had been composed much earlier, they were nevertheless peculiarly topical in the year of publication.[40] Davenant himself had used the role of a genuinely innocent little girl as early as 1662 with the sprightly Viola in his Shakespeare adaptation *The Law against Lovers*, and in *The Tempest* of November 1667 the ingénue features as Dorinda, sister for Miranda, who is provided with an equally artless mate in the innocent Hippolito.[41] All have been brought up on the island apart from, although not in entire ignorance of, the opposite sex.

Dryden was to redeploy such a role to extract sympathy later on although here the mode is one of ridicule; the comic potential in the re-doubling of the ingenuous lovers themselves is clear from the pre-Restoration plays in which such parts were first created and which were explicitly in the adapters' minds as they were writing in 1667. In his Preface to his version of *The Tempest* Dryden points out that Fletcher had so valued Shakespeare's play that he made use of it for *The Sea-Voyage* of 1622 – revived successfully at the rival theatre as *The Storm* as recently as late September 1667.[42] Specifically, the comic potential for sexual innuendo in the role of 'the Woman who had never seen a Man' is already hinted at in Fletcher's play in the comment of Crocale as Clarinda touches Albert's hand,

> I see, that by instinct,
> Though a young maid hath never seen a Man,
> Touches have titillations, and inform her.

Crocale expects a storm with the appearance of Rosellia who shrieks 'Un-hand this Monster'. 'Monster, Mother?', queries Clarinda artlessly.[43] Sir John Suckling, continues Dryden in the Preface to *The Tempest,* was also a 'profess'd admirer' of Shakespeare (along with Davenant, Fletcher and himself) and followed in his footsteps with *The Goblins* of about 1638, in which Reginella is an 'open imitation' of Shakespeare's Miranda. This play was staged twice, again by the rival company, in the earlier part of 1667.[44] For one modern commentator *The Goblins* caught only the sensational and showy from *The Tempest,* and with Reginella 'innocence shades over into undeniable simple-mindedness'.[45] This simpleminded creature, who in III. iv asks of Orsabrin,

> Tell me what thou art first:
> For such a creature
> Mine eyes did never yet behold

is an eager pupil by IV.i: 'Sure I should learne [love] Sir, if you would teach it', and by the last scene is a willing collaborator: 'Any thing that you wou'd aske me, sure I might grant'.[46] While the comic potential of such a role is clear in these earlier, but currently revived, versions, neither Clarinda nor Reginella is painted with the exaggerated and hyperbolic responses of Hippolito in the adapted version of *The Tempest* or with the determined curiosity of Dorinda, his mate-to-be. The staging of these three plays this year, along with *The Feigned Innocence* of August, suggests that speculation about the moral nature of female innocence was at least as interesting and topical as gossip about the political dangers of experienced women. In *The Tempest* the role of the womanly innocent is much more subtly and wittily portrayed than that of the manly termagant in *Sauny the Scot,* although in

the end, through the role of the 'principal boy' Hippolito, played by a woman, subordination is equally enforced.

Dorinda's first meeting with a 'proper' man is expressed as an awakening of physical self-awareness, culminating in absurd bathos:

> *Dor.* At first it star'd upon me and seem'd wild,
> And then I trembled, yet it look'd so lovely, that when
> I would have fled away, my feet seem'd fasten'd to the ground,
> Then it drew near, and with amazement askt
> To touch my hand; which, as a ransom for my life,
> I gave: but when he had it, with a furious gripe
> He put it to his mouth so eagerly, I was afraid he
> Would have swallow'd it. (*T*, III.33–4)

Dryden himself was to continue to play variations on this role, with women not so much ostensibly inexperienced and unenlightened on account of their youthfulness, but on account of some other social inhibition outside their control.

In *Marriage a la Mode* of 1672 Leonidas and Palmyra have been brought up far from the court, 'in the neighbouring Hamlet / Amongst Fishers Cabins'. Bemused by the courtly language of Argaleon, Palmyra reminisces with her true love about the inception of her feelings for him, a moment of physical proximity at a rural festival:

> You kneel'd; and, in my lap, your head laid down.
> I blush'd, and blush'd, and did the kiss delay . . .
> But when I gave the Crown, and then the kiss,
> I scarce had breath to say, Take that – and this.[47]

Dryden's Eve, innocent of the modes of courtship for quite a different reason, is nevertheless equally responsive to the physical proximity of the one admired, taking more than a hint from Milton:

> And now a face peeps up, and now draws near,
> With smiling looks, as pleased to see me here.
> As I advance, so that advances too,
> And seems to imitate whate're I do:
> When I begin to speak, the lips it moves;
> Streams drown the voice, or it would say, it loves.[48]

The awakening self-awareness of Dorinda and Palmyra is in Eve represented as complete narcissism; the lover and the beloved are one. Finally Emmeline, in *King Arthur* of 1691, is 'innocent' because she is blind although she is nevertheless equally conscious of her physical self and artlessly, but repetitively, draws attention to the imagined sight of it:

> *Emm*. If you can see me so far and yet not touch,
> I fear you may see my naked legs and feet
> Quite through my clothes. Pray do not see so well.
> *Arth*. Fear not sweet innocence.[49]

Dorinda is thus one of the earliest in the line of Dryden's innocents *ab origine*: all exhibit strong physical self-awareness, played in a range of registers from the absurd, in Dorinda, to the dignified, pathetic or artless. Common to all, however, is the frank awareness and admission of physical reaction: 'I trembled', 'I blush'd', 'I advance', 'I fear'; in all the state of female innocence is represented as susceptible, and yet physically self-aware and responsive.[50] In strong political contrast, but with a similar tableau effect, Marvell was instructing his painter at this time to represent a royal male uncertainly confronting a 'sudden Shape with Virgin's Face'. Here, however, the girl – an 'airy Picture' of 'England or the Peace' – disappears from the King's increasingly amorous clutches and with her silent tears, secret anguish and throbbing heart she is a seriously pitiable figure in a way that the available Dorinda is not. For both poets, however, the picture of virginal female innocence is framed to serve political ends; for Marvell she is a victim of, and for Dryden a willing collaborator with, the importunities of aristocratic male desire.[51]

Indeed, giving the ingénue a strong physical self-awareness to express, as Dryden does, may be a way in which to reassure a largely male and often libertine audience that in this respect men and women are not so greatly different. Such ostensible gender sameness is also signalled in the Prologue to the adaptation where it is made clear that the part of the innocent and untried male, Hippolito, would be played by a woman – 'Man-like, but different sex' as Milton had recently said in quite a different mood.

In his Preface to *The Tempest* Dryden stated that this part of young Hippolito had been conceived by Davenant as such a 'Counterpart' to Shakespeare's plot of a woman (Miranda) who had never seen a man, 'that by this means those two Characters of Innocence and Love might the more illustrate and commend each other'. For this illustration of the characteristics of love and innocence to be satisfactorily concluded a prospective mate for Hippolito then had to be supplied in the person of Dorinda. What the illustration then interestingly reveals for the entertainment of a libertine court is the comic – and thus reassuring – downside to love in the hyperbole of awakened desire, and to innocence in its ignorant and vociferous curiosity; even pristine human innocence is ripe for corruption. If Dorinda's part reassuringly illustrates that there is no such thing as virtuous female innocence anyway, Hippolito's is exploited to assure a libertine court that the notion of platonic love itself is indeed ridiculous.[52]

Davenant had earlier devised a figure comparable to Hippolito in Gridonel of *The Platonic Lovers* (acted in 1635).[53] This son of an old courtier, brought

up uneducated and apart from women on account of a 'peevish humour' of his father's, appears in a sub-plot to a main action concerning two Dukes and their sisters, with the complications caused to their courtship by the cult of platonic love, and by a love potion devised to try to restore natural relationships. Having drunk the potion Gridonel is then, as it were, over-manned; he utters lustfully possessive thoughts about any woman mentioned, even those dead or newly born, until he has to be locked away. The play enacts the disruptive effects caused on the one hand by the adoption of artificial and fashionable behavioural constraints and on the other by the administration of an artificial emotional stimulant, the effect of each then being parodied by the grotesque Gridonel in the sub-plot. The play also explicitly exposes the problem of populating a world dominated by the cult of platonic attachment and the actual barrenness of it as a philosophy, despite the verbal fecundity with which its devotees communicate. For Dryden and Davenant to take up this mode again and to redeploy its anti-précieuse satire for a court whose philosophy of love was anything but platonic, would seem an obvious step. That such satire is intended in their version of *The Tempest* can be deduced from the similarity with which the play's two naif characters respond to their circumstances, Dryden's writing of this part receiving 'daily [Davenant's] amendments'.

In Act II Hippolito's speculation about the nature of this, to him, unknown creature (woman) is more fanciful than Gridonel's although each is easily assured that the manifestation is of a childishly simple supernatural form: important angels have blue wings; sunbeams – the sun's playful progeny – wear their father's clothes :

> *Grid*. This is a rare sight. One of the Angels sure, and a great gallant among 'em, had it but blue wings on the shoulders, it could not be of less degree than an Angel.[54]
>
> *Hip*. What thing is that? sure 'tis some Infant of the Sun, dress'd in his Father's gayest Beams, and comes to play with Birds. (*T*, II.29)

Having discovered his attraction to these fair creatures, Gridonel then develops a desire for them only a little less greedy than Hippolito's monstrous desire for all the fair women in the world:

> *Grid*. The Turk! Is he platonically given?
> *Castr*. Troth, sir, not much; he hath some seven hundred of those taff'ty creatures you admire so in's own house.
> *Grid*. Would I were the great Turk but for one Month. (*PL*. IV. 404)
>
> *Hip*. I will have all of that kind, if there be a hundred of 'em . . .
> *Ferd*. Sir, if you love you must be ty'd to one . . .
> *Hip*. But, Sir, I find it is against my Nature.
> I must love where I like, and I believe I may like all,
> All that are fair. (*T*, III.50)

The purpose of these innocents' desire to own and to have so many women is left unstated, but it is clear to the listeners. For the experienced Ferdinand, by contrast, the relationship is less the fantasy of total male possession than the realistic fact of restriction; the lover will be 'ty'd'. Similarly, the earlier play contains a passage in which a more experienced figure instructs another in the knowledge necessary for a husband; here the extravagant Duke Theander is the pupil:

> *Theand.* I prethee let's dispute it bashfully; yet I would learn, is custom grown so bold? first marry, Phylomont, and then to bed! (*PL*, IV.403)
>
> *Hip.* to Ferdinand] Pray teach me quickly how Men and Women in your World make love, I shall soon learn, I warrant you. (*T*, V.80)

After taking the love-potion the erstwhile platonic Duke now has a cautious sense of modesty in the face of his need for knowledge, but his astonishment at what may be entailed is comic; Hippolito is polite but unconstrained – the urgent tone carries the comic effect.[55] With Hippolito played by an actress, however, these 'masculine' words are now being spoken by a woman, and a new level of entertainment is thereby opened up in the disingenuous ingenuity of the ingénue role.

By 1667 of course there was nothing new about professional actresses; they had been introduced for the first time on the public stage within eight months of the court's return from exile.[56] Thereafter cross-dressing itself was to become standard practice; J. H. Wilson calculated that eighty-nine out of three hundred and seventy-five plays between 1660 and 1700 had roles for women dressed as men. Interestingly, of these only fourteen were for women playing what was actually a man's part, as with Hippolito; it was quite an uncommon practice. Wilson sees the chief reason for casting women in leading roles written for men as capitalising on 'their effectiveness in breeches parts' – an effectiveness subsisting in the display of shapely legs.[57] Elizabeth Howe notes such sexual exploitation of actresses, which often resulted in the confirmation of traditional female stereotypes: women as chaste, passive, sufferers, or as demonic, and punished, trespassers on male territory. In addition, though, she finds that in the outstanding plays of this period 'the sexual realism provided by the actress helped to promote a fresh, sensitive, and occasionally even a radical consideration of female roles and relations between the sexes'.[58]

Such ambivalence about the nature of the relationship between Restoration audiences and actresses is further explored by more recent commentators. On the one hand the actress is held to be reified, the focus of possessive male gaze.[59] On the other, however, she is seen as an emerging, and increasingly respected, professional. Which view to accept? In 1995 Deborah C. Payne offered an answer by outlining the history of these views, the first 'an all too

familiar tale of oppression [the second] an equally tired romance of feminine skill triumphing against all odds', and drew the two strands together as 'mutually defining'. Her essay challenges the view of actresses as mere objects by re-examining contemporary evidence in Prologue and Epilogue, and shows how by the visual art of stage perspectivism, as well as by their professionalism, 'perfectly ordinary women become simultaneously the object of collective attention and the practitioners of an "art", a doubly powerful yet circumscribed position'.[60]

The Prologue to the 1667 version of *The Tempest* is anxious to stress the female body playing Hippolito's role, and to invite the audience to imagine it, 'What e're she was before the Play began, / All you shall see of her is perfect man'; what is seen is a code for something else. Both the pronouns and the gesture at off-stage reality serve from the very beginning to focus attention on the female beneath the masculine clothes; breasts and long hair are not going to be revealed at the end, and so elements in the audience are going to have to be satisfied with a pair of glamorous legs in breeches, and they are warned to make the necessary mental adjustments in advance. What the role of Hippolito then offers is the sort of 'gender hybridism' identified by Elizabeth D. Harvey in her discussion of Spenser.[61] The sexual indeterminacy is ostensibly baffling; is this a manly woman or a womanly man? Are different parts of the audience to be entertained, horrified or even reassured by the character's expression of rampant sexual desire, the words heterosexual, but the voice of lesbianism? Behind this role lies the whole myth of the manly Amazons, with their Queen Hippolyta and their warlike and unnatural customs – including self-mastectomy.[62] Hippolito's name is surely intended as a key to the myth, and he is as sexually forward as anyone might expect of an Amazon.[63] Here, however, there is to be no sort of heroic Theseus *ex machina* to take and tame this unruly figure. Gender difference is finally established instead through the ingredients of the powerful symbol – a mystic potion – by which the mortally wounded boy is to be revived from his injury, and by which a crucial difference between women and men is signalled and femaleness finally enforced. This herbal mixture offers an orthodox reassurance about the gender status quo, exposing as it does the basic physical and therefore moral fallibility of the most – nearly – manly woman of this topsy-turvy year.[64]

At the beginning of Act V, as Prospero is about to summon Caliban to execute Ferdinand for the killing of Hippolito, Ariel replies to his master's bemused questioning that he has procured the means for the resuscitation of the dead youth. To achieve this he has circumnavigated Europe in search of herbs while Hippolito's equally energetic good angel has undertaken a lunatic voyage (up 'the circle of the Moon') to draw remedial virtue from the appropriate planets. As a result they have administered a potent reviving cocktail to the patient, and Ariel has also procured a 'sympathetic' salve with which to anoint the sword which wounded him.[65] The herbs which Ariel

collects are moly from the Hesperides, 'trickling' balm from Palestine and the 'purple Panacea' from Britain. The first, moly, is the herb given by Hermes (Mercury) to Odysseus as an antidote to the poisonous enchantment of Circe.[66] Gerard, in his *Herbal* of 1597, describes Homer's moly as 'the Sorcerers Garlicke' as it appears in *The Odyssey*, its root covered in a blackish skin and having 'faire whitish floures'.[67] For such early English herbalists the property of the garlics is hot and Culpeper (1653) regards it as being ruled by the planet Mars.[68] The balm of Gilead, gathered near the Red Sea as it trickles from the trees' bark, is closely related to myrrh of mystic ritual, which is hot and dry, says Culpeper, 'in the second degree'.[69] Purple panacea from Britain must be the indigenous purple all-heal or valerian, ruled by Mercury and hot in the fourth (or hottest) degree according to Culpeper; the herbalists list nearly twenty ailments in which it is efficacious.[70]

All three of these plants were regarded as medicinally beneficial in many ailments but the only property shared by garlic, myrrh and valerian in Culpeper is that of 'procuring the woman's courses' or menstruation, and it is by this that role and actress are here differentiated.[71] In addition all of these herbs have heating properties and, apart from its mythic association with Mercury, garlic is associated with Mars and valerian with Mercury by Culpeper, and these are notoriously the most tempestuous and volatile of planets. For contemporaries versed in medical or what Culpeper calls 'astrologo-physical' thinking – and knowledge of herbal use was widespread if the sources of the recipes in Kenelm Digby's *Closet* are to be trusted – an entertaining in-joke was being played with the fact that the figure to whom this appropriately female 'remedy' was being administered was in fact a woman.[72] However closely she may approximate to manliness, she will remain, and can be medicined to remain, subject to the volatile emotions and to the distressing monthly liability to turn 'wine sour and sugar black, and [of] making pickled meat go rancid'.[73] A theoretical demonstration is made of the notion, reassuring to many in 1667, that a woman cannot really play a man's part; she may mimic masculine autonomy, but her femaleness cedes it.

In the fiction, then, the innocent boy is to be revived and his wound staunched by the administration of a mystic potion, but in theatrical reality, for the highly experienced young woman playing the role, a debilitating and noxious flow of blood would be caused by such a herbal concoction. The man-woman Hippolito is a joke, not least in his pretension to spiritual knowledge – the soul is 'a small blew thing that runs about within us' he pronounces.[74] This is a much subtler and wittier joke, however, than any others made in 1667 on the subject of female nature, and certainly than the introduction of the topically monstrous Sycorax, Caliban's sister and 'bigger than . . . both' of Prospero's daughters. Hippolito is ridiculous both as fictional, innocent and spiritually impressionable male and as the counterpart of a real, experienced and physically susceptible female.

Women were represented elsewhere in that year, then, as speciously attractive or as transgressing natural law in some entertaining or alarming way, and thus as having the potential to pose a social, moral or even political threat. On-stage the 'ventriloquised' female body may sometimes clearly be objectified by the gaze, as the blind Emmeline (of 1691) certainly invites: 'I fear you may see my naked legs and feet / Quite through my clothes. Pray do not see so well'. Equally, the inexperienced female body is shown in drama of this period to be physically susceptible to touch; this was a period about which Lawrence Stone concludes that 'casual physical contacts . . . were acceptable to a wide variety of women', and the 1667 audience of *The Tempest* is certainly invited, if it so 'fancies' (or fantasises), to discover Hippolito's sex 'abed'.[75] Sight or touch – they are faculties belonging to either sex and may objectify or empower the gazer or the toucher, man or woman. Behind the role of Hippolito, however, lies the fundamental physiological difference between men and women as perceived in the seventeenth century; women's physical organs would be represented as internalised versions of the male, and it is the womb, with its menstrual flow, which is thought of as separate and distinctive to womankind.[76] In *The Tempest* and by means of a drink which is at once real medicine and magic potion, a wound salve which is at once serious chemistry and romantic hocus pocus, recovery and restoration are won for a fairytale prince and physical limitation theoretically enforced on the real woman who played him. It offers a witty demonstration that women and men may share emotional responses but that where the female might be most mistrusted – where she appears almost indistinguishably male, most unnervingly like an Amazon – her gender can be reassuringly affirmed and controlled.

The entertaining November play may have offered some consolation to those who were either fearful of, or upbraided with, the unnatural political influence of women in that anxious year. Literary and theatrical representations of women had been ostensibly diverse while, for male readers and audiences at least, reassuringly orthodox. The entire mode of *The Tempest* may here be comic but there is witty meaning and even some strategically political subtlety on the part of these court supporters in giving this male role to a woman, as there is not in the contemporary casting of an actress as the boy Epicoene, nor in the other more predictable and numerous representations of the female and her transgression of natural order in this dramatically formative but unhappy year.

Notes

1 Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols (London, 1970–83), VII (1974) p. 426, 31 December 1666.

2 Not everyone was as explicitly gloomy as Pepys. Perhaps hoping to cash in on natural human optimism when things seem as if they could not get worse, a book of astrological predictions was entered in the Stationers' Register on 17 March 1667

(n. s.). It was called *Astrologicall Praedictions of Englands hapie successe and compleat victorie over the French, Dutch, and Dane this yeere 1667; The rebuilding and flourishing of the City of London, in great glory, our King commanding the treasures of his enimies &c.* This is taken from G. E. B. Eyre and others (compilers), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640–1708*, 3 vols (London, 1913), II, p. 374, 1 February–25 March 1666 (i. e. 1666–7). I am using the word 'Horribilis' with the wry modern gloss with which Queen Elizabeth II referred to 1992, but there must have been many who found some events in 1667 simply terrifying.

3 The specific political impetus behind the version of *The Tempest* by Davenant and Dryden is discussed by George R. Guffey in 'Politics, Weather, and the Contemporary Reception of the Dryden-Davenant *Tempest*', *Restoration*, 8 (1984), 1–9.

4 James Anderson Winn, in *John Dryden and his World* (New Haven and London, 1987), p. 183

5 The most recent longer works on these adaptations are by Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet* (Oxford, 1992); Jean I. Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-century Literary Theory* (Lexington, 1995); Barbara A. Murray, *Restoration Shakespeare: Viewing the Voice* (Cranbury N. J. and London, 2001).

6 This subject, and the specific reason as to why Milton had Eve describe her first consciousness before Adam describes his, is discussed in depth and detail by Mary Nyquist in 'Gynesis, Genesis, Exegesis, and the Formation of Milton's Eve', in Marjorie Garber (ed.), *Cannibals, Witches and Divorce: Estranging the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London, 1987), pp. 147–208. The quotations are from the 'Authorised' version of the *Holy Bible* (1611).

7 Neil Keeble summarises this argument and gives contemporary evidence for these views; he finds Milton's voicing of the latter commonplaces to be 'muted'. In *The Cultural Identity of Seventeenth-Century Woman* (London and New York, 1994), pp. 1–13.

8 Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, pp. 354–5, 27 July 1667.

9 *Ibid*., p. 362, 29 July. The social effects of a 'priapic monarch' are discussed by James Grantham Turner in 'Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy', in Gerald MacLean (ed.), *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 95–110.

10 Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 287, 24 June; p. 331, 12 July; p. 404, 27 August; p. 361, 29 July.

11 *Ibid*., p. 210, 11 and 12 May, 'her being dressed this day in fair hair did make me so mad, that I spoke not one word to her in our going though I was ready to burst with anger . . . in my way home discovered my trouble to my wife for her white locks . . . bending my fist, that I would not endure it. She, poor wretch, was surprized with it. [The next day she agreed] to wear white locks no more in my sight'.

12 *Ibid*., p. 28–29, 24 January. He reported gossip of the affair between Buckhurst and Nell Gwyn on 14 July and 26 August, and of the row between Nell and Beck Marshall on 26 October.

13 *Ibid*., p. 463, 5 October.

14 *Ibid*., p. 91, 2 March. Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 70–71, finds the inspiration for the development of the assertive heroine in the playing of Florimel by Nell Gwyn at this time.

15 Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 101, 7 March.

16 *Ibid* p. 375, 5 August and p. 450, 25 September.

17 William Van Lennep (ed.), *The London Stage, 1660–1700*, p. 106, 16 April. This is vol. I of (1965) Emmett L. Avery and others (eds), *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, 5 arts in 11 vols (Carbondale, 1960–68).

18 *Ibid*. p. 23, 7 January 1661.

19 John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (1708), in Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (eds), *Roscius Anglicanus* (London, 1987), p. 13.

20 E. S. de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1955), III, pp. 465–66, 18 October 1666. Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, had deceived one of the actresses by a false marriage; she sought redress from the King and was granted an annuity and ordered to resume the name of Roxana. This information is given by Sandra Richards in *The Rise of the English Actress* (London, 1993), p. 11. Hester Davenport had played the part of Roxolana in *The Siege of Rhodes* in June 1661; in January Evelyn noted that 'the faire & famous Comoedian call'd Roxalana' had become 'the E. of Oxfords Misse'. In 1667 Evelyn was not necessarily referring to the immediate present, and Sandra Richards reckons (p. 15) that given the 'prevailing attitudes to women on stage, the first appearance of the actress had the general effect of lowering the moral tone of the theatres and plays'.

21 Van Lennep, *The London Stage*, p. 113, 4 September, and Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 326, 8 July and p. 500, 24 October; the girl was eight years old and six feet tall.

22 The most recently published piece by Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, had been *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy. To which is added, the Description of a New Blazing World* (1666). Her works do not uniformly make such claims for women's intellect and against educational subjection although both had been expressed or implied in her writings before this date. Keeble, *Cultural Identity*, p. 44, outlines the tension which arises 'when an imaginative and impassioned female intelligence is wedded to political and social conservatism'; the Duchess claims both that women have 'as clear an understanding as men', but also that there is 'a great difference' between the masculine and feminine brain.

23 Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 137, 30 March.

24 Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 163, 11 April; p. 186, 26 April, 'with her velvet cap, her hair about her ears . . . neck naked'; pp. 196–97, 1 May; p. 209, 10 May; p. 243, 30 May. Susan Wiseman notes the disparity between Cavendish's view of herself as 'singular' and the critical assessments of 'the watching male eye' (p. 160) in 'Gender and Status in Dramatic Discourse: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle' in Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (eds), *Women, Writing, History 1640–1740* (London, 1992), pp. 159–77.

25 John Lacy, *Sauny the Scot or, The Taming of the Shrew* (London, 1698; Cornmarket facsimile text, 1969), pp. 42 and 45.

26 H. M. Margoliouth (ed.), *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell,* 2 vols (Oxford, 1952), I, p. 142–43, 'The Last Instructions to a Painter', ll. 49–104.

27 *Ibid*., ll. 372–96; Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 257, 10 June.

28 Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 288, 24 June; p. 282, 21 June; p. 356, 27 July.

29 *Ibid*., p. 368, 30 July. Tom Otter is a henpecked husband in Ben Jonson's *Epicoene*.

30 Marvell, 'Last Instructions', ll. 379–80.

31 The *O. E. D.* confirms that 'ingenious' and 'ingenuous' were often confused in the Seventeenth Century, 'ingenuity' being used by this date as the capacity for invention or construction. 'Ingenious' and 'ingenuity' are used in the last Act of *Sir Martin Mar-all* to refer to clever plots – ones designed for an ulterior motive

32 Winn, *John Dryden*, p. 183, and Liza Picard, *Restoration London* (London, 1997), p. 96.

33 Douglas Bush (ed.), *Milton: Poetical Works* (London, 1966), *Paradise Lost*, bk VIII, ll. 449, 471, 495, 499.

34 John Plamenatz (ed.), *Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan* (1651), (London, 1962), chap. XIII, p. 143. Richard Ashcraft has shown how there were theological precedents

in Calvinism for something like this view, as well as in philosophy and travel literature in 'Leviathan Triumphant: Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Wild Men', in Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak (eds), *The Wild Man Within* (Pittsburgh, 1972), pp. 141–81. In 'The Noble Primitive as Bourgeois Subject' Peter J. Weston traces the story of the noble primitive, demonstrating it as 'intimately connected with that critical point of bourgeois ascendancy in the late seventeenth century', *Literature and History*, 10:1 (1984), pp. 59–71.

35 A. R. Waller (ed.), *Michel Eyquem de Montaigne: Essays*, trans. John Florio (1603), 3 vols (London and New York, 1910), I, chap. XXX ('Of the Canniballes'), pp. 215–29.

36 A. F. Watt and A. J. F. Collins (eds), *Francis Bacon: Essays* (London, n.d.), Essay XXXIII ('Of Plantations', 1612), pp. 100–103.

37 Earl Miner, 'The Wild Man through the Looking Glass', in Dudley and Novak (eds), *Wild Men*, pp. 87–114.

38 Julia Douthwaite examines mid-eighteenth-century accounts of the 'Wild Girl' in 'Rewriting the Savage: The Extraordinary Fictions of the "Wild Girl of Champagne"', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 28:2 (1994–95), 163–92. Here, however, the wild girl has been solitary, not civilised by patriarchal upbringing (like Dryden's Dorinda). The difference between the two states of nature, solitary and familial, is highlighted by Douthwaite's quotation from the French naturalist, the Count de Buffon, 'Attached to each other . . . they would have first learned the language of love, and then of tenderness for their offspring' (p. 182).

39 H. T. Swedenberg Jr. (gen. ed.), *The Works of John Dryden*, 20 vols (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956–), IX (1966), J. Loftis (ed.), *The Feigned Innocence: or, Sir Martin Mar-all*, I.i.l. 67 and V.i.ll. 404 and 414–15.

40 Milton, *Paradise Lost*, bk. IV, ll. 460–68 and 765–70.

41 William Davenant, *The Works of Sr William D'avenant* (in three parts bound as one, London, 1673), part I, *The Law against Lovers*; Davenant and Dryden, *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (London, 1670; Cornmarket facsimile 1969). The play has a diverse critical history, beginning in 1710 and culminating in recent studies which mainly focus on its social and historical dimensions. Notable among these are those of Katharine Eisamen Maus, 'Arcadia Lost: Politics and Revision in the Restoration *Tempest*', *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 13 (1982), 189–211; George R. Guffey, 'Politics, Weather, and the Contemporary Reception of the Dryden-Davenant *Tempest*', *Restoration: Studies in Literary Culture*, 8 (1984), pp. 1–9; Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London, 1984), pp. 62–83; Jack M. Armistead, 'Dryden's Prospero and his Predecessors', *South Atlantic Review*, 50 (1985), 23–33; Derek Hughes, 'The Dryden-Davenant *Tempest* and some Seventeenth-Century Images of the Stranger', in N. J. Rigaud (ed.), *L'Etranger dans la littérature et la pensée anglaises* (Aix-en-Provence, 1989), pp. 83–108; Matthew H. Wikander, '"The Duke My Father's Wrack": The Innocence of the Restoration *Tempest*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 43 (1991), pp. 91–8; Eckhard Auberlen, '*The Tempest* and the Concerns of the Restoration Court: A Study of *The Enchanted Island* and the Operatic *Tempest*', *Restoration: Studies in Literary Culture*, 15 (1991), 71–88; Dobson, *Making of National Poet*, pp. 38–61; Nancy Klein Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 126 and 131–37; Laura Rosenthal, 'Reading Masks: The Actress and the Spectatrix in Restoration Shakespeare', in K. M. Quinsey (ed.), *Broken Boundaries* (Lexington, 1996), pp. 207–11; Derek Hughes, *English Drama, 1660–1700* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 49–55; Sandra Clark (ed.), *Shakespeare Made Fit* (London and Rutland, Vermont, 1997), pp. lii–lix .

42 Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 118, 25–27 September. Earl Miner, 'The Wild Man', pp. 97–9, discusses Fletcher's solution to the problem of the sexual appetites

of his Amazonian race. With the restoration of patriarchal order rescues are enacted and appetites satisfied.

43 Fredson Bowers (gen. ed.), *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, 10 vols (Cambridge, 1966–96), IX, Bowers (ed.), *The Sea Voyage*, II.ii.ll. 184–91.

44 Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 101, 24 January and p. 109, 22 May. *The Sea Voyage* and *The Goblins* (printed 1646) were assigned to Thomas Killigrew of the King's Company by a patent of 12 January 1669, cf. Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660–1900*, 6 vols (Cambridge, 1952), I, *Restoration Drama*, pp. 353–54 .

45 Charles Squier, *Sir John Suckling* (Boston, 1978), pp. 79–80.

46 L. A. Beaurline (ed.), *The Works of Sir John Suckling*: *The Goblins* (Oxford, 1971).

47 In Swedenberg, *John Dryden*, XI (1978), John Loftis and D. S. Rodes (eds), *Marriage-à-la-Mode*, II.i.ll. 440–44.

48 *Ibid*., XII (1994), Vinton A. Dearing (ed.), *The State of Innocence*, II.iii.ll. 18–23.

49 *Ibid*., XVI (1996), Vinton A. Dearing (ed.), *King Arthur*, I.i.l. 122–5.

50 In Wycherley's *The Country-Wife* of 1676 – with its satiric deployment of the semantically slippery word 'innocence' – the physical self-awareness of the 'innocent' country girl is deployed to lubricious effect. In her secret letter to the rake Horner in IV.ii. she describes how she would touch him: 'if you and I were in the country at cards together . . . I could not help treading on your toe under the table . . . or rubbing knees with you and staring in your face till you saw me'; in Peter Holland (ed.), *The Plays of William Wycherley* (Cambridge, 1981).

51 Marvell, 'Last Instructions' ll. 885–906. With its opening storm and concluding harmony the play also inverts the trope of harmonious voyage followed by ravishment of innocent islanders which Marvell had very recently deployed in his satire. First he had ironically depicted an idyllic, masquelike, scene for the destructive arrival of De Ruyter in the Medway; for him 'Among the Shrowds the Seamen sit and sing, / . . . Old Neptune springs the Tydes . . . Aeolus their Sails inspires [and] Tritons all the while / Sound the Sea-march, and guide to Sheppey Isle'. Having arrived, however, by l. 759 the Dutch admiral then becomes a 'ravisher' in the face of whom the 'Medway chast', if human, would have died, ll. 365–550, 759–60.

52 Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production*, p. 70, sees Dorinda as the character of innocence and Hippolito as the character of love although Dryden's passage does not in fact mention Dorinda at this point.

53 Hippolito's ancestry was first noted by Alfred Harbage in *Sir William Davenant Poet Venturer, 1606–1668* (Philadelphia and London, 1935), p. 261.

54 Davenant, *The Works of Sr William D'avenant,* part II, *The Platonick Lovers,* II., p. 389.

55 Derek Hughes, in 'The Dryden-Davenant *Tempest* and Some Seventeenth-century Images of the Stranger', discusses the predominant relationship of 'stranger to stranger' in the 1667 version of *The Tempest*; the senses of sight and touch here are not Shakespeare's media for a compassionate understanding, but rather for a desire which breeds 'the suspicion and conflict of strangers competing for possession in the Hobbesian condition of nature'. The passage is contained in N. J. Rigaud (ed.), *L'Étranger*, pp. 92–106.

56 The standard works on the subject are those of J. H. Wilson, *All the King's Ladies* (Chicago, 1958); Elizabeth Howe *The First English Actresses* (Cambridge, 1992); Sandra Richards *The Rise of the English Actress* (London, 1993).

57 Wilson, *King's Ladies*, pp. 73–86.

58 Howe, *English Actresses*, p. 37.

59 Keeble, *Cultural Identity*, p. 55, has illustrated the way in which the male gazer may objectify his ostensible female subject in contemporary poetry.

60 Deborah C. Payne, 'Reified Object or Emergent Professional? Re-theorizing the Restoration Actress', in J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne (eds), *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-century English Theater* (Athens and London, 1995), pp. 13–38. Cautious about separating the subject of gender from the overall cultural network Susan Wiseman ('Gender and Status' p. 160) identifies the 'intractable dilemma' of Margaret Cavendish in creating the pre-Restoration heroines of her read plays. Here the desire to disrupt gender ideology is seen to be in intractable conflict with the playwright's patriarchal or monarchist ideals (p. 177). In contrast, and in the denouements of some tragedies of the 1690s, Rebecca Merrens invites us to 'look beyond the female body for the source of tragic strife', and to identify the inadequacies of patriarchal authority itself (p. 49), in 'Unmanned with thy words: Regendering Tragedy in Manley and Trotter', in Quinsey (ed.), *Broken Boundaries*, pp. 31–53. The suffering passivity newly created by several adapters from the late 1670s for the actresses of many of Shakespeare's women, often with a focus on the idea, or near presentation of rape, is discussed by Jean I. Marsden in 'Rewritten Women: Shakespearean Heroines in the Restoration', in Jean I. Marsden (ed.), *The Appropriation of Shakespeare* (New York and London, 1991), pp. 43–56. The topics are further discussed in Jean I. Marsden *The Re-imagined Text* (Lexington, 1995), pp. 30–40. In Marsden's 'Rape, Voyeurism, and the Restoration Stage', in Quinsey (ed.), *Broken Boundaries*, pp. 185–200, rape scenes are shown to present a disturbing vision of gender relations, and expose the problems of response for the female spectator. Stage rape is also discussed by Howe, *English Actresses*, pp. 43–49. Laura J. Rosenthal has also explored Restoration theatre's more ambivalent view of female sexuality, by which female members of the audience have to negotiate at once the sexual objectification of the female body on stage, alongside textual sympathy and subjectivity, in 'Reading Masks: The Actress and the Spectatrix in Restoration Shakespeare', in Quinsey (ed.), *Broken Boundaries*, pp. 201–18. Cynthia Lowenthal has found that amid anxiety about the actress's capacity to mimic the 'essential quality' of the aristocratic class the status quo is confirmed by essentialising her identity through the activities of her sexualised body, in 'Sticks and Rags, Bodies and Brocade: Essentializing Discourses and the Late Restoration Playhouse', in Quinsey (ed.), *Broken Boundaries*, pp. 219–233.

61 Elizabeth D. Harvey, *Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 45–6.

62 The subject is fully addressed by Simon Shepherd in *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-century Drama* (Brighton, 1981).

63 Earl Miner, 'Wild Man', p. 102, sees Hippolito derived from Hippolita in *The Sea Voyage*, a lady with a determined sexual appetite. Nancy Klein Maguire examines Hippolito's parallels with the promiscuous royal brothers in *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragi-Comedy, 1660–1671* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 134. Rosenthal, 'Reading Masks', p. 208, sees Hippolito's part as calling greatest attention to the play's 'fascination with the dangers of female subjectivity', and reads the fight of Ferdinand with Hippolito 'as a battle between men over women but also as the equally violent defeat of a character whose name recalls the Amazon Queen Hippolita'.

64 Howe, *English Actresses*, p. 56, states that Jane Long played the part, although breeches roles were not particularly her speciality. Others have followed Montague Summers in assigning the role to Moll Davis, *Shakespeare Adaptations* (New York, 1922, repr. 1966), pp. xlviii–xlix .

65 It is not only in its reference to herbs and planets that the passage is making a topical joke. The magic wound-salve is of ancient provenance although one of its

most notorious seventeenth-century proponents was Kenelm Digby himself who had acquired from a Carmelite friar in Florence a recipe for its manufacture out of powdered vitriol, cf. A. Macdonell (ed.), *The Closet of Sir Kenelm Digby Opened* (London, 1910), pp. xxxi–ii and 272–74 . The Royal Society received a recipe for sympathetic powder in June 1661, see *The Record of the Royal Society* (London, 4th. ed., 1940), p. 32. Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production*, p. 74, makes a persuasive discussion of the stage presentation of the sword's anointing and, if its impact were as wittily erotic as suggested, then the effect would also have been mockery of Digby, with whom Davenant had mortally quarrelled some years before and whom Henry Stubbes was to call 'the Pliny of our age for lying' in 1670, in *The Plus Ultra of Mr J. Glanvill reduced to a non-plus* (1670), p. 161, cited by M. H. Nicolson (ed.), *Letters* of Anne, Viscountess Conway (Newhaven and London, 1930), p. 11. Alfred Harbage, *Sir William Davenant Poet Venturer, 1606–1668* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 107–8, mentions the unfinished quarrel in Paris in 1648 after which Digby left the city 'disgusted at the lost opportunity to kill Davenant'.

66 E. V. Rieu (trans.), Homer, *The Odyssey* (Harmondsworth, 1946), bk X, pp. 166–67.

67 John Gerarde, *The Herball* (London, 1597; 1636 reprint), *Lib*. 1, chap. 100, pp. 182–85.

68 Nicholas Culpeper, *The Complete Herbal* (London, 1653; 1815 reprint), p. 82. Garlic is given as 'hote and drye in the fourth degree' in *The first and seconde partes of the herbal of* William Turner (Cologne, 1568), p. 28.

69 Culpeper, *Complete Herbal*, p. 272.

70 Wikander, 'Restoration *Tempest*', p. 93, cites the account of the herbs from the Notes to the Swedenberg *Works* of Dryden, X, pp. 374–75. The twenty-seven lines of this detailed 'herbal' passage were reduced to a general four ('the best of Balms') when the play was embellished as an opera seven years later; the in-joke – topical, in 1667 – is lost, and at this point the play is moving towards its lavish conclusion in a masque.

71 Culpeper also gives two recipes for *troches,* or medicinal cakes, designed for such a purpose, of which myrrh is an ingredient; the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* states that the volatile oils (of which one is a derivative of myrrh) have for centuries been regarded as of value in disorders of the reproductive organs.

72 Macdonell throughout. Winn, *John Dryden*, p. 231, considers that Dryden himself was much concerned with health matters. Culpeper died in 1654, although his work continued to be issued, 'corrected' and re-issued. His *Directory for Midwives* of 1652 appeared in 1693, for instance, with the happy injunction 'To cure all diseases in women, read the second part of this book: Newly corrected from many gross errors . . . to be sold by most booksellers'.

73 Picard, *Restoration London*, p. 96. Her reference is to P. Crawford 'Attitudes to Menstruation', in *Past and Present,* 91 (1981). In a similar sort of device Davenant had restored the manhood of Gridonel by a potion in 1635.

74 After Miranda's application of the salve, Hippolito and Dorinda discuss the nature of the human soul which can apparently come and go with such ease. For Hippolito it is a 'small blew thing that runs about within us'. 'Then', says Dorinda, 'I have seen it in a frosty morning run smoaking from my mouth', Davenant and Dryden (1670), *The Tempest*, V, p. 75. The nature of the soul is an ancient topic of theological debate, although Hobbes's refutation of the idea of the soul as 'incorporeal substance' had itself been recently refuted by the Cambridge Platonist and member of the Royal Society, Henry More. Although Dryden was an admirer of Hobbes he had also recently been expelled from the Royal Society for non-payment of dues and may not have been above some small jokes at its expense. His expulsion is noted by Winn, *John Dryden*, p. 129.

75 Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (London, 1977; 1990 reprint), p. 348. The Prologue ends, 'if your fancy will be farther led / To find her Woman, it must be abed'.

76 Keeble, *Cultural Identity*, pp. 17–20.

Address for Correspondence

Barbara A. Murray, School of English, St Andrews University, Fife, Scotland, KY9 1JF, UK. E-mail: bam2@st-and.ac.uk