GRAPHIC SOURCES FOR THE TEACHING OF RESTORATION ACTING STYLE, AN APPROACH TO THE ACTING OF RESTORATION COMEDY. FINAL REPORT.

BY- HENSHAW, NANCY WANDALIE

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Nancy Wandalie Henshaw

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University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
GRAPHIC SOURCES FOR A MODERN APPROACH
TO THE
ACTING OF RESTORATION COMEDY

by

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A.B., University of Michigan, 1956
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INTRODUCTION

A

The comedies of Etherege, Wycherley, Congreve and their contemporaries are perhaps less universal in appeal than are those of Shakespeare, Jonson or even Sheridan. However, as Bateson points out, chalk is not to be criticized for not being cheese and serves a very useful purpose of its own.¹ Not the least of the various purposes to be served by Restoration comedy in the modern theatrical repertory is that of providing audiences with a wealth of racy, dazzling, humorous entertainment. These iconoclastic classics can also evoke a utopia of gallantry for those who delight in experiencing vicariously the triumphs of the dexterously conscienceless in a world where compassion is unnecessary because anguish is non-existent.

The comedies can also induce a very high level of aesthetic pleasure in those who enjoy literary brilliance and verbal virtuosity for their own sakes. Indeed, the plays of Congreve and his colleagues can provide deep meaning—for those who, as Wilder's Stage Manager might put it, think they have to have deep meaning. Lynch, Fijimura, Holland and others make cases for various moral and philosophical

truths to be found in them.  

In any case, these deliciously outrageous theatrical pieces, which are not quite like anything written before or since, ought to be extremely popular here and now. What seems to be a striking modernity of tone in their cheerful cynicism should ensure their appeal to any audience sophisticated enough not to be shocked by them. And no audience capable of accepting *Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf* and the *Marat-Sade* should have any great qualms about even the infamous china scene. Nevertheless, productions of Restoration comedies remain rare, particularly in the United States. A new British approach to the genre has proved highly successful in the National Theatre’s recent production of *Love for Love*, but on this side of the Atlantic, critics and audiences remain generally dissatisfied with such few productions of Restoration comedy as are attempted.

The 1965 Lincoln Center *Country Wife* is a depressing case in point. Taubman decried its lack of "precious, elegant, gallant style," while Brustein complained that it had "breeding, but little humor." Weales attributed its lack of humor to its lack of style, but was careful to remark that "surely no one could want one of those precious

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performances which English companies and their American imitators used to bring to English comic classics."\(^5\) Clurman called the written play, "a falsification of a reality which aimed at the false and unnatural;" he excused the actors on the ground that "their spirit, not to mention their skill, is alien to the material."\(^6\)

A glance at the reviews of other recent New York revivals tells a similar story. Clurman said of a 1957 production of *The Country Wife*, by the Playwright's Company that it was "a stylization of a stylization...the London it portrays has no smell, taste, or feel to it...what remains is too much like museum stuff."\(^7\) Atkinson thought the production and its style relatively well done,\(^8\) while *Theatre Arts* specifically deplored its lack of style, calling it a "slam-bang affair...as meaningless and tasteless as one of Mr. Minsky's sketches."\(^9\)

The Phoenix production of *The Beaux' Stratagem* in 1957 was, comparatively, a critical success, but was almost universally likened to a college romp with a flavor of vaudeville. The implication was that this was the best that could be expected from American actors, and that although it served for Farquhar, it would never do for Etherege or Congreve. The 1954 production of *The Way of the World*...

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also fared well, but the critics were clearly making allowances for these young American actors who, although still "rough-grained" and hampered by a lamentable lack of "tradition in arts and manners," made a praiseworthy attempt to revive "the manners and style of a lost period."10

The Theatre Guild's 1950 production of The Relapse was, in a word (that of Woolcott Gibbs) "cute."11 Atkinson was more polite but not much more enthusiastic, as he wondered wistfully in print, "Did they play Restoration comedy as broadly in those days."12

Gielgud's 1947 production of Love for Love got better, but still mixed reviews. His Valentine seems to have been played with so much psychological depth as to be downright sad, and the whole enterprise, although highly respectable, was evidently a bit dull. John Mason Brown did praise the English actors' "true grace and skill" in comparison with the strutting and gesturing of American actors "who are forever toying with their snuffboxes, flourishing lace-bordered handkerchiefs, or fancying that to talk like the gallants of a vanished day, they must mince their way through a pavane."13


The minor productions rating national reviews have elicited a similarly puzzled and dissatisfied critical response. They seem to have followed the major productions in searching widely but unsuccessfully for "some way to perform the old comedy and still hold the audience."14

Although their estimates of the shortcomings of the productions are frequently contradictory, the critics seem pretty well agreed that the problem has something to do with "style." The consensus seems to be that American actors do not have "style" that style is, in fact, alien to their entire philosophy of life and approach to the art of acting. This deficiency in style is considered a natural consequence of the emphasis on psychological realism, which has dominated the American theatre since the thirties. The "pick-and-stutter" school of acting has probably carried its founders' theories rather further than those founders ever intended; but its canon, reduced to essentials, runs something like this: Theatre must be truthful. Truth is natural, not artificial. Actors must act naturally, not artificially. Therefore, any play which demands "style" or artificial behavior, rather than such behavior as comes naturally to actors, presents problems which demand extraordinary directorial measures for their solution.

The measures usually taken in connection with Restoration comedy are of three main types. The director may turn the production into a college romp like the Phoenix's Beaux Strategem. Or he may invent a "style" for it out of whole cloth as in the case of the

original Actors' Workshop production of *The Country Wife*. (Rather
unaccountably this production was praised by Mr. Brustein for such
directorial inspirations as the portrayal of Lady Fidget as "an out-
rageous eccentric," for slapstick pantomimes by a French servant, and
for the misbehavior of a clumsy revolving stage "to add to the humor."\(^{15}\)
Then again, if his actors possess the requisite vocal and physical
skill, the director may stage the play as an esoterically pantomimed
reading for the delectation of such purists who favor "those precious
performances" mentioned by Mr. Weales.\(^{16}\)

But, it is really impossible for actors trained in modern
subjective techniques to combine the convincing humor of a sincerely
motivated performance with the elegance of diction, grace of movement,
and brittleness of atmosphere demanded by Restoration comedy? Neither
Gildon's "Betterton" nor Stanislavsky considered technical polish and
subjective motivation to be antithetical qualities in an acting per-
formance. "Betterton" in his notes on acting discussed emotion or
"Passion" fleetingly but unmistakably:

...if the grief of another touches you with a real
compassion, tears will flow from your eyes, whether
you will or not. And this art of weeping, as I
have read, was studied with great application by
the ancient players; and they made so extraordinary
a progress in it, and worked the counterfeit so
near a reality, that their faces used to be all-
over blurred with tears when they came off the
stage.

They used several means of bringing this passion-
ate tenderness to a perfection; yet, this they
found the most effectual. They kept their own
private afflictions in their mind, and bent it

\(^{15}\)Brustein, p. 35.

\(^{16}\)Brustein, p. 35.
perpetually on real objects, and not on the fable, or fictitious passions of the play, which they acted...17

A high degree of emotional responsiveness could presumably be assumed in anyone who chose the stage as a vocation, and "Betterton" thought that what could and should be taught were the vocal and physical techniques of communicating that emotion to an audience. In the treatises of Stanislavsky the emphasis is simply reversed. It is assumed that any would-be actor understands the need for external technical polish and will take steps to acquire it; what he must be made to understand more fully is his need for training in inner psycho-technique. Both theorists took for granted a simple fact which their respective followers have often found difficult to grasp. The actor needs the greatest possible range and flexibility of both internal and external resources. He should ideally command every conceivable human sound, movement and expression of emotion. Still, theatre is a practical art, and the practical question is this: can a performer experienced only in the techniques of modern realistic acting possibly attain the "style" necessary for Restoration comedy?

In handbooks of theatrical direction, "style," or "mode of presentation," is generally described as that level of reality on which an audience is encouraged to respond to any particular performance. For example, Phedra and The Importance of Being Earnest appeal to the audience on a heightened, concentrated, somewhat cerebral level of reality, which may be far removed from everyday experience. These

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plays are said to require an essentially formal style, or mode of presentation. *The Lower Depths* and *Marty*, on the other hand, appeal to an audience on a level of reality which closely approximates everyday life as it is normally perceived. These plays are said to require a realistic style. (Various other theatrical styles are identified as romanticism, expressionism, absurdism, etc., but the preceding dichotomy is sufficient for the present purpose.) *The Way of the World* is obviously more closely akin in literary style to *The Importance of Being Earnest* than to *Marty*; but the usual assumption that it therefore requires a formal, rather than a realistic, acting style is a mistake.

*The Way of the World* is perhaps the definitive "comedy of manners." Manners, by definition, are external, observable patterns of human behavior in society. Hence, the acting style proper to any play whose primary subject is "manners" is essentially realistic. Consider the modern comedies of manners by Barry, Maugham and Coward. Admittedly, *Private Lives* is often produced in America as a farcical frolic or an effete burlesque of nothing in particular. But the real comic effectiveness of its geometric plot and elaborately structured repartee depends on its being performed with seemingly effortless urbanity; just the kind of urbanity on which the British aristocracy of the twenties and thirties liked to pride itself. When the critics of Restoration comedies say that American actors are deficient in "style," they mean that these actors are deficient in their understanding of the time-honored social practices of the English upper classes and consequently cannot duplicate them. The problem is not so much that the modern American actor's training is too naturalistic, but that it is limited to current notions as to what constitutes natural behavior.
Perhaps, a modern American director of *The Way of the World* can be excused for failing to see how the behavior of Mirabell can be considered naturalistic by any standards whatsoever. Not only does Mirabell talk in a way which would not come naturally to our present-day actor, he does not talk in a way that seems to proceed naturally from any realistic environmental circumstances. He seems to live in a world of two-dimensional opulence, where people with two-dimensional emotions say a lot of polished and witty things to one another in the course of a complicated pattern of casual peccadillos, mercenary courtships and unromantic marriages. Mirabell's artificial behavior is placed in a context of artificial stage conventions; conventions which modern handbooks on directing call "presentation." The sparse and formally-placed furniture is often moved between and during scenes in full view of the audience. The settings are painted wings and borders, which are also changed a vista, thus requiring a somewhat arbitrary alternation of short and long scenes. Scene structure and indicated stage business are often highly and pointedly patterned. Asides, soliloquies and direct addresses to the audience are frequent; a character is usually given a formal description at his first entrance by another character; and there are regular and irrelevant interpolations of music and dancing. Indeed, the director who perceives an artificial presentation of artificial people behaving artificially in an artificial world may be forgiven for tampering somewhat with the playwright's original intent. He may modernize the script into a college romp, he may relegate it to the status of a respectable and rarified museum piece, or he may resort to even more drastic distortions. But in any of these cases, he will be producing a parody and not a play.
Any audience familiar with *Our Town* knows that presentational production techniques do not preclude realistic acting and may well enhance it. Any actor who has attempted direct address to an audience, especially one which is uncooperative, knows how much more motivational concentration is required for this technique than for normal representational acting. Any director knows that the more specifically familiar the stated locale of a scene, the more appropriate to that locale the behavior of the actors must be. And any designer knows that, usually, the more familiar an audience is with the stated locale of a setting, the more connotative and less actual the indications of that locale need be. And the fact is, that what may seem to us to be highly artificial production devices were, in terms of a seventeenth-century audience's expectations, very realistic devices indeed. A painted representation of St. James' Park was as striking a piece of naturalism to a theatre-goer of 1673 as Belasco's reproduction of Child's Restaurant was to the theatre-goer of the early 1900's.

In the seventeenth century there was nothing unrealistic in an actor's sharing lines with an audience which was there and was, after all, listening. In any period there are conventions of audience perception just as there are conventions of acceptable behavior on and off stage. The removal of one wall of a room, the turning outward of all the furniture, and the tacit agreement between actors and audience that the wall of the room is really there and the furniture in its usual position does not disturb a modern audience's belief in the verisimilitude of the stage action. But the unnaturalness of this convention would have shocked a Restoration audience which decried the violation of the unities on grounds of realism. The critical writings of Dryden
and Congreve demonstrate their concern for dramatic verisimilitude. The Way of the World was considered as true to life in their terms as Two for the Seesaw is in ours.

If any doubt remains as to the essential realism of acting style required by Restoration comedy, there is the testimony of the more recent literary critics. Although I am inclined to agree with Holland that the mountain of criticism of English comedy from 1668 to 1710 has brought forth a mouse, it would be beyond the scope of this study to explicate, evaluate or add to it. I merely wish to point out that none of the major critics has seriously contested the premise that Restoration comedy is an essentially realistic picture of the life of the times. For example, Palmer, the leading exponent of the "manners" approach to the plays says:

...The familiar touches that enable us in She Would if She Could/ to recover the air and aspect of the town, as it lay to the west of the city in 1668, are one of the play's pleasantest features....

...Restoration society, viewed in Etherege's comic art, moves in our fancy as we read. We accept the laws of this strange and distant world, and fall, imaginatively, into the attitudes of its people. The spirit of the early Restoration--the spirit that lived only for adventure, but accepted it, when it came, with indifference--is well put in the declaration of Dorimant, the finished amateur of intrigue. "We are not masters of our affections," he tells Love it in one of his most impudently written scenes, "our inclinations daily alter; now, we love pleasure, and anon we shall dote on business; human frailty will have it so, and who can help it?"

...The contrast between Wycherley and Etherege must not blind us to a fundamental similarity. We are in the same world of ordinary, theatres, and walks. We are looking into the same mirror of contemporary life. Manners

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are observed with eyes equally alert, and are presented comically in terms of realism....

There is an equable finality about the morality of The Way of the World—a dead level of conscience against which is vividly thrown a brilliant variety of manners and habits....

Fumimura, who directly opposes himself to Palmer on questions of philosophical content, does not differ with him on this matter of realism:

This close copying of life is also suggested in the prologue to Wycherley’s Plain Dealer....In actual practices realism is a striking feature of Restoration comedy; here the fashionable life of the gallants and ladies is presented realistically, and the low life of London is mirrored in the meetings at ordinaries, the adventures with whores and bawds, and the encounters with bailiffs and the watch. Realistic effects were also sought for in the theatre, and on June 11, 1668, Pepys saw even horses brought on the stage.

The seductions, amorous escapades, assignations, and betrayals of the comedies can be duplicated by actual episodes at the Court of Charles....

The naturalistic content, and the realistic technique that is its concomitant, gives to the comedy its vigour and earthiness.

Even Holland, who advocates a "stylized performance of very conscious theatrical artistry," does not deny that "the feeling of reality and contemporaneity...is an important part of the atmosphere of Restoration comedy."

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20 Holland, p. 259.

21 Holland, p. 206.
The realism required in the acting style of Restoration comedy is obviously not the fidgeting, mumbling and behavioristic expression of emotion which we have come to associate with the Actors' Studio and its imitators. Incidentally, this seeming spontaneity has become a style as specific, recognizable and predictable as anything developed by the Comedie Francaise or the No Theatre of Japan. Realism in acting style merely requires an actor to motivate and justify all stage actions in terms of everyday physical, emotional or intellectual human experience. A complicated flourish of the wrist, for instance, might be motivated in various ways: by the character's wish to display his white hand and expensive cuff-lace, by his desire to present himself to a lady as attractively as possible or merely by his acquiescence to the social dictates of his environment. An action and its justification may be as usual or unusual as the director pleases, but in a realistic production any action without such justification becomes affected or precious.

The fidgeting and mumbling of the Actors' Studio style of acting would be improper in The Way of the World for the same reason that such mannerisms would have been improper in the real-life originals of Mirabell, Fainall or even Sir Wilful. In the seventeenth century even a country gentleman, particularly when visiting a city and on his best behavior, would have had breeding enough to refrain from the clownishness of manner which we take for granted in Marty and in Willy Loman, as well as in their real-life originals. Spontaneously expressed impulse is valued for its own sake in our culture, and we are accustomed to it in ourselves and in others. We show our emotions, we externalize our inner selves, and if the results are shuffling movement, dissipated
gestures and blurred speech, argues well for our naturalness and sincerity.

The very act of standing upright is a learned behavior and, therefore, not "natural"; there is nothing more inherently natural in slumping than in standing straight. Speech, too, is an acquired faculty, and there is nothing more intrinsically sincere in articulating badly than in articulating well. But as our current taste in political leaders indicates, we have come to regard very careful speech and carriage as almost automatically suspect.

In the seventeenth century, on the other hand, sincerity was thought to be less a virtue than an embarrassing lapse of taste. The Chevalier de Chetarde’s frankly Machiavellian handbook for courtiers is full of the following exhortations:

It is not sufficient to be secret, circumspect, regular, assiduous, complaisant, and flattering; Those qualities, though essential, may not be of any use, if judgment does not fit them to occasions...22

The life of a courtier ought to be a continual study of subtlety of Spirit...

We must be eternally on our guard, not only against those who surround us, but likewise against ourselves; be of a plying and flexible temper, and always propose

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22 To the neophyte actor or director of Restoration comedy, the plays often seem to be written almost in a foreign language. An actor or director working in a foreign language is always encouraged to speak, read and, if possible, think in it, in order to make it his own. In my opinion, the interests of the actors and directors, to whom this paper is primarily addressed, would not have been served by the usual scholarly practice of duplicating the archaic spelling of primary sources. Unfamiliar spelling tends to slow down comprehension and to distance the reader from the text and its world. Moreover, the random capitalization customs of seventeenth century writers tend to confuse, and perhaps slightly mislead the modern reader as to emphatic meanings. I have, therefore, taken the liberty of modernizing the spelling and capitalization of all quoted material. Otherwise, fidelity to the sources has been maintained to the best of my ability.
to ourselves an aim that may lead us to something as may augment our fortune or our glory...

There is more wit than people imagine, in concealing one's mind.23

Such plain-dealing as was not precluded by policy was discouraged by the demands of politeness, or that "certain attention... which others pleased with us and themselves."24 The social ideals were briefly: beauty, complaisance, civility, wit, ease, self-control and urbanity. Somewhat smugly, Richelieu pointed out that "persons who have been brought up in cities have a handsome behavior opposite to that which we call rusticity in country people."25 Anything in excess was impolite, that is, anything in excess of what was fashionable; admiration, for instance, was considered "commonly the effect of a gross ignorance: great admirers are usually great fools, or silly flatterers, they admire what deserves but moderate commendation."26 Likewise laughter: "'Tis unbecoming to break out into extravagant fits of laughter, that stun all the company."27

Politeness was defined by Bellegarde as a "combination of discretion, civility, complaisance, circumspection, and modesty,


27Bellegarde, p. 209.
accompanied with an agreeable air, which expands itself on whatever you do or say."^{28} The gaucheries of youth were supposed to be corrected, rather than imitated, by mature people:

Tis no wonder that young people are so clownish and unpolite...they are neither discreet, nor civil, nor complaisant, but have all the opposite vices, and have no thoughts of getting free from them; their words and actions have a kind of harshness and wildness in them; they have a sort of a warlike air, and you would think they were always going to mount the breach...^{29}

...Young men in general...laugh every moment so loudly that their laughter is in no sort like the subtle smiles observable in the conversation of polite persons...^{30}

The infallible guide to conduct, as well as clothing, was fashion:

How extravagant soever a mode may be, a man would be still more extravagant, if he refused to comply with it...let not a man examine whether this law be good or bad, it is sufficient it has obtained, whereby we are obliged to obey it....

...A French man who should scruple to say, "I am your most humble servant," because he felt in his soul that there was no such thin, would pass for a ridiculous misanthrope...^{31}

The young gentleman was advised to be officious to all, familiar with but few and intimate only with one; he was advised to cumber his head only with "polite learning," to let his common sense govern his heart in questions of love or generosity and always to let his interest be his guide. Obviously, what today would be considered affected social

^{28}Tbid., p. 13.

^{29}Tbid.

^{30}Richlieu, p. 270.

^{31}Tbid., pp. 30-33.
superfluities were then considered the rudiments of civilized living:

"Nothing is more important in the commerce of life, than to please in
conversation; and if men are born for society, one may say that it is
conversation which is the bond of friendship."\(^{32}\)

How to please was studied as assiduously then as how to succeed
is studied today and for similar reasons. Advancement was not to be
procured through industry, initiative or business ability, but through
court favor. A gentleman who did not inherit a fortune could hope only
to curry or marry one. In the meantime he might starve, sponge, borrow
or swindle without forfeiting his claim to gentility; this was to be
lost only by going into trade or working for a living in some other
way. Thus, a gentleman's breeding was likely to be his major financial
and social asset, and he gave it his utmost attention. He had a danc-
ing master to teach him how to comport himself generally, as well as
how to dance and make reverences. He had treatises and tutors of
polite behavior to teach him how to act in refined company. He had
courtly examples and printed academies of compliment to teach him what
to say and when, and he had a sojourn in France during which he put the
finishing touches on his education:

There is as much art in sitting in a coach finely, as
there is in riding the great horse, and many a younger
brother has got a good fortune by his graceful lolling
in his chariot, and his genteel way of stepping in and
out, when he pays a visit to her ladyship. There are
a great many such qualifications amongst our true French-
bred gentlemen, that are admired amongst our nicer
ladies nowadays, besides the smooth dancing of the
minuet, the making of a love song, the neat carving
up a fowl, or the paring of an apple.\(^{33}\)

\(^{32}\)Richlieu, p. 5.

\(^{33}\)Edward Ward, *The London Spy: The Vanities and Vices of the
Town Exposed to View*, ed. Arthur L. Hayward (London: Cassell and Com-
p. ...y, Ltd., 1927), p. 117.
Living was an art which required skill, and the skill derived from the most careful training. This emphasis on polite behavior, however, was not without its paradoxical side, according to modern notions of politeness. "These very elegant ladies and gentlemen substituted perfumes for baths, spat on the floors and often used the fireplaces as privies. The French Court had the same pleasant habits. A story is told that in King Louis' great palace at Versailles—a thousand rooms without a bath—there was once a sign which read, 'Il est défendu de faire pipi dans la chambre du Roi.'"34

One was not supposed to play with one's hat or bandstrings in company, but one was allowed to blow one's nose with one's fingers if this became necessary. One was supposed to forbear hawking and spitting as much as possible, especially in a room that was neat and cleanly kept, but one ate with one's fingers except on state occasions. The actual life of the aristocracy was as primitive and earthy, by our standards, as it was artificially refined. The meetings at ordinaries, the adventures with whores and bawds and the encounters with bailiffs and the watch provide a modern director with ample opportunity to show the other side of the Restoration atmosphere, as do the numerous street, fair and dressing-room scenes written into the comedies. Mirabell's behavior toward his own familiars should provide a deliciously healthy contrast to his polished behavior toward Millamant. No one could talk or behave like Mirabell all the time, just as no one could comport himself always as an Osborne anti-hero today. Mirabell, however, was the

sought-after norm, the seventeenth-century ideal of "nature" with which the gallants were pleased to identify. He behaved as they liked to think of themselves as behaving; he reacted to life and fortune as they aspired to react; and the fact that he occasionally spoke directly to them, man to man, from in front of a painted representation of Will's Coffee House, did not lessen their empathy with him in the least.

B

The first formal acting instructions in English are included in Gildon's Life of Thomas Betterton (1710). There are detailed directions for the acting of tragedy, down to the government of the eyelids, supposedly taken from Betterton's own notes on the subject. But "Betterton" himself seems to have dismissed comic acting technique as being too simple to require special instructions. Undoubtedly he also considered it a less interesting subject to write about. All "Betterton," as comedian, had to do was to imitate selectively the fashionable people he saw every day walking in the streets, taking their ease in ordinaries and coffee houses or sitting in the boxes and adventuring behind the scenes; and then let his own instinctive genius for comedy do the rest. The modern would-be Mirabell has no such gentle models to copy, and acting texts treat Restoration style, when they treat it at all, as a way of movement rather than as a way of life. What is taught is a series of conventional gestures and reverences which, like all handed-down traditions, has been subject to cumulative distortion. In England, where the politeness of the centuries is a part of the cultural heritage, the accuracy lost in this distortion may be partially compensated for by the conscious or unconscious
sympathy which even modern actors have for aristocratic ideals of elegant deportment.

But no such sympathy exists in the average American actor, since no such ideals are part of the American cultural heritage. A man's speech, deportment and upbringing—in other words, his breeding—do not bias our judgment of him. Our social ideal is the upstanding, clean-cut, red-blooded, regular guy rather than the civil, complaisant man of wit and refinement. Joseph Wood Krutch's comment on these long-ago-and-far-away personages of quality, "they are gentlemen in everything except essentials," sums up the usual first reaction to Dorian, Horner and Mirabell. The imposition on an American actor of a set of rarified stage conventions, based on a totally alien set of social values, is almost certain to result in the meaningless strutting and mincing of which the critics complain. The problem, then, might be stated as follows: Can a modern American actor, schooled in standard subjective acting techniques, achieve success in the portrayal of a wealthy and titled seventeenth-century Englishman? And if so, how?

Happily, the three chief theorists of subjective acting suggest the ways in which their theories may be applied to the production of period plays. Stanislavsky directs the actor to create within himself the life of the human spirit by finding out all there is to know about the character he is to play. The actor should start from the script and the milieu in which it is set. Using facts when they are available and pertinent, using imagination when necessary or preferable,

he is to become emotionally, viscerally, intellectually and sociologically familiar with the character's entire life. Boleslavsky enjoins the actor to study not only the literature and social history of the period, but its plastic and graphic arts as well. "The Creature," as he calls his protege, is directed to memorize and learn to duplicate the hand and body positions depicted in as many great paintings and sculptures as possible.

In his chapter on "The Psychological Gesture," Michael Chekhov suggests by implication the most efficient use of hand and body positions derived from period graphic sources. Chekhov's technique is related to the James-Lange theory of emotion which, although clinically suspect, has proved very helpful to actors. This theory in its simplest terms might be stated, "We don't run because we are afraid; rather, we are afraid because we run." That is, the body responds reflexively to an external stimulus almost independently of conscious emotion. The conscious emotion consists in the individual's awareness of, and reaction to, this reflexive visceral and/or muscular response. Even when the external stimulus is lacking, the mechanical execution of a gesture or position can stimulate something very like a "real" emotion. For instance, if one bares the teeth and bites the knuckle of a forefinger, one is likely to experience a facsimile of anger. If one


stands erect, arms and legs wide, looking at and reaching for the sky, one is likely to experience a resulting facsimile of exultation. The emotion stimulated by the mechanical gesture, if allowed free expression, will then find further, perhaps more creative, manifestations for itself.

Chekhov suggests that the actor can stimulate his inner creativity by finding an archetypal gesture symbolic of his character’s will, which can arouse in him the character’s inner psychological state and can be the basis for the creation of the actual gestures to be seen by the audience in performance. He also suggests an exercise based on a "PG" (psychological gesture) chosen by the director rather than the actor. Like most psycho-techniques, it is more easily comprehended in a practical application than in an abstract theory:

Take as one illustration the PG of calmly closing yourself (see Drawing 7). Find a sentence corresponding to it, perhaps: "I wish to be left alone." Rehearse both the gesture and the sentence simultaneously, so that the qualities of restrained will and calmness penetrate your psychology and voice. Then start making slight alterations in the PG. If, let us say, the position of your head had been erect, incline it slightly downward and cast your glance in the same direction. What change did it effect in your psychology? Did you feel that to the quality of calmness was added a slight coloring of insistence, stubbornness?

Do this altered PG several times, until you are able to speak your sentence in full harmony with the change that has occurred.

Do a new alteration. This time bend your right knee slightly, transferring the weight of your body to the left leg. The PG might now acquire a nuance of surrender. Lift your hands up to your chin and the quality of surrender can become stronger, or new slight nuances of unavoidability and loneliness will introduce themselves. Throw your head back and close your eyes: pain and pleading qualities may appear. Turn your palms outwards: self-defense. Incline your head to one side: self-pity. Bend the three middle fingers of each hand: a slight hint of
humor might occur. With each alteration, speak the same sentence to conform with it....This exercise....will also greatly increase the sense of harmony between your psychology and speech....Soon you will notice that, while acting, fulfilling your business, speaking the lines, making simple and natural gestures, the PG is somehow ever-present in the back of your mind. It helps and leads you like an invisible director....It preserves your creation for you in a condensed and crystallized form.

In addition...the following exercise is recommended:

Choose a short sentence and speak it, taking different and natural positions or making different everyday movements. These may consist of sitting, lying, standing, walking around the room, leaning against the wall, looking through the window, opening or closing a door, entering or leaving a room, taking and putting down or throwing away some object, and so forth. Each bodily movement or position, calling up a certain psychological state, will prompt how you are to speak your sentence, with what intensity, quality, and in which tempo. Change your position or movements, but speak the same sentence each time. It will increase in you the sense of harmony between your body, psychology and speech.39

An extension of this exercise is suggested, in turn, by Stanislavsky's chapter on internal relaxation.40 Here he demonstrates that the most extreme or alien posture can be made meaningful if the actor can find a suitably believable motivation for it. An actor, versed only in modern subjective acting techniques, who wished to become proficient in the deportment of a particular period might use the following synthesis of the essentially subjective procedures advocated by Stanislavsky, Boleslavsky and Chekhov:

1. Become conversant with the period's social history, philosophical outlook and popular literature.

39Chekhov, pp. 79-81.

2. Study its graphic sources for social documentation, for
tastes in form and atmospheric quality and for specifics of carriage,
bearing and deportment.

3. Learn to duplicate with appropriate inner justification
the figures' typical poses and actions.

4. Arrange the poses in action sequences and learn to execute
them with the inner belief requisite to all realistic stage action.
It will be found that the rhythmic and stylistic qualities of the
movements, which constitute the transitions between the poses, become
increasingly consonant with the rhythmic and stylistic qualities of the
poses themselves.

5. Practice these sequences until their physical execution
becomes automatic and all conscious attention can be directed toward
the psychological objective.

6. Follow the execution of these memorized sequences of
action with such pantomimed everyday activities as hanging up clothes
or mixing drinks. The stylistic qualities of the original poses will
persist in the new activities to a surprising degree.

7. In privacy, precede any ordinary activity with one of the
memorized action sequences. Introduce the individual motivations of
the character being prepared. Dry the dishes or mow the lawn as
Mirabell would do so if forced into such ignominious employments.
Dress as Mirabell would dress if caught without his valet. Insofar
as is possible and practical, live Mirabell's life both in and out of
rehearsals. Approached in this manner, a style of movement based on
period graphics can result in stage behavior which is not a mere
animated cartoon of meaningless poses, but which looks and, in fact, is natural to the actor.

Although the foregoing outline of procedure is simply an adaptation, reorientation and extension of common rehearsal techniques, I believe it has not yet been applied specifically or systematically to the production of Restoration comedy. No doubt this omission is partly the result of general misconceptions about the style proper to the performance of these pieces. Also responsible, however, is the inaccessibility of sufficient and suitable graphic materials.

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English paintings of the latter seventeenth century are almost exclusively portraits; portraits in a formal allegorical style which is much more in keeping with the verbal qualities of the heroic plays of the period than with those of the comedies. In these portraits even the clothing often bears little resemblance to the actual fashions of the Restoration. In a comparison of Lely's graphic style with that of Van Dyck, Lord Oxford observes:

Lely supplied the want of taste with clinquant; his nymphs trail fringes and embroidery through meadows and purling streams. Add, that Van Dyck's habits are those of the times; Lely's a sort of fantastic nightgown, fastened with a single pin....

The portraits then are not very helpful. The actor needs instead the kind of graphic documentation of social life provided for the earlier

part of the seventeenth century by the engravings of Abraham Bosse and
for the middle of the eighteenth by those of Hogarth and Boucher. Un-
fortunately, no comparably useful illustrator of the Restoration period
had sufficient artistry to warrant the preservation and wide circulation
of his work in later times. A comprehensive selection of the pertinent
works of such minor but informative artists as were working during the
latter seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries has long been overdue
as an aid to the development of a modern approach to Restoration acting
style. It is my aim in this project to provide a selection of plates
in a usable order, together with such supplementation from the popular
literature of the period as may contribute to their legitimate inter-
pretation.

The project will not attempt to deal with problems of speech
or mise-en-scene, which would be subjects for separate studies. Nor
will it attempt to duplicate the several excellent verbal accounts of
the life of the times.42 Nor will I attempt to provide an accurate
reconstruction of stage behavior.

Interesting accounts of the performances of Nokes, Kynaston,
Bracegirdle and the rest are available in the memoirs of Aston,

42I particularly recommend the following secondary sources:
John Harold Wilson, A Rake and His Times (see ref. p.
John Harold Wilson, Court Wits of the Restoration (Princeton
University Press, 1948).
Arthur Bryant, The England of Charles II (London: Longmans,
Green and Co., 1934).
H. D. Trail, D. CL. and J. S. Mann, M.A., Social England
J. P. Malcolm, Miscellaneous Anecdotes of the Reign of Charles
II, James II, William III, and Queen Anne (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees
and Brown, 1811).
Max von Boehn, Modes and Manners, tr. Joan Joshua, Vol. III:
Betterton and Cibber; Edwin Duerr presents an excellent selection from them in his *The Length and Depth of Acting*.\(^43\) These accounts, however, are of little help in determining the specific comic techniques used by Betterton and his contemporaries. The techniques themselves were based on conventions of theatrical presentation and audience perception which no longer exist and hence would be of little value to the present purpose. Similarly, the accounts of Restoration theatre performances by Nicoll and Summers are of more historical interest than practical value to modern-day performers of the comedies.\(^44\)

A critical analysis of the plays, on the other hand, would certainly be appropriate, since interpretation of content must form the basis of any sound directorial approach. This analysis also, however, is a subject for a separate study. Holland's *The Earliest Modern Comedies* provides an excellent summary of what has already been said on the subject in his chapter entitled "The Critical Failure." Holland's phrase expresses my own feeling on the matter, although I confess to a bias in favor of Palmer's approach as being most conducive to theatrically satisfying productions of Restoration comedy. In any case, it is safe to say that some variation of the realistic acting style described in the following pages is suitable to any of the various critical interpretations now being propounded. I suggest that the correctness of this approach is demonstrated by the unqualified critical


and popular success of the English National Theatre's recent *Love for Love*. Whatever rehearsal techniques were used for this production, the effect achieved in performance was certainly that of "Restoration Realism."

My project is primarily devoted to specifics of Restoration movement and deportment and was in part suggested by Wildeblood and Brinson's *The Polite World*. This book, although too wide in scope to be more than a survey, makes an excellent attempt to summarize the relationship of Restoration behavior to the polite behavior of the periods which preceded and followed it. Oxenford's *Playing Period Plays* and *Manners and Movements in Costume Plays* by Chisman and Raven-Hart give fairly accurate, if abridged, descriptions of specific movements; but they are insufficient guides to the American director for two reasons. First, their terse descriptions convey the letter but not the spirit of the behaviors they are dealing with. Indeed, reading an unillustrated book on how to bow is rather like reading one on how to swim. Second, these books are addressed to actors trained in the traditional English manner and assume an attitude, an approach not shared by members of the Actors' Studio and its derivative institutions.

Obviously, primary sources are always more useful than secondary ones for conveying both the letter and spirit of period behavior.

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   Isabel Chisman and Hester Emilie Raven-Hart, *Manners and Movements in Costume Plays* (London, no date).
Ideally, any prospective director of Restoration comedy should include in his 'preliminary study Ward's London Spy, Gay's Trivia, Hopkins' Art of Love, the "travels" of Celia Fiennes, Cosmo III and Mission, the "Memoirs" of Grammont, Sorbiere, and Comminges, and the "Letters" of Muralt and Sevigne. Absolutely essential, of course, are the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn. He should also read as many as possible of the lesser-known comedies of the time; whatever their literary merit, these pieces invariably provide excellent glimpses of contemporary life.

The task of the director and the actor is to translate the world of the play into terms the audience can understand. Such a translation depends on a thorough comprehension of a somewhat alien way of life. A director is well-advised to immerse himself (and his actors) in the verbally and graphically expressed thoughts of the people who lived that alien life. In many cases an author's meaning and expression have seemed so inextricable from each other that I have included a long and perhaps cumbersome quotation in lieu of a concise paraphrase. It is by such incidental remarks as, "for don't we all walk, and make bows?" and "for nobody, whatsoever his station in life, makes a bow without first taking his hat off," which appear at random in the quotations, that the actor will be, perhaps subliminally, persuaded of the ordinary, everyday necessity of behaviors which he might have regarded as affected or superfluous.

What I am suggesting here is not radical or new except in its application to Restoration comedy. Directors of "local color" plays and plays written in regional or class dialects have long understood the efficacy of encouraging an actor to "live" his role. Most actors of such roles have attended rehearsals in which related literature was
read aloud and in which all speech on stage and off was in the dialect of the play being rehearsed, or in which typical but unwritten scenes in the lives of the play’s characters were improvised. Restoration comedies are plays of local color in the most literal sense of the term and are susceptible to all the rehearsal techniques normally used for such productions.

A preliminary question remains to be considered. How accurate are the postures depicted in engravings which are sometimes far from naturalistic in their appearance? The engravings of the period fit roughly into five categories. The most questionable are the stylistically similar works of Arnoult, St. Jean, and the Bonnart Brothers. A few of these highly conventionalized pieces are engravings of court portraits, but most of them are avowedly fashion designs or humorous conversation pieces. It seems reasonable to assume that their conventions are analogous to those of modern fashion sketches; that they depict the ideals or archetypes of fashionable behavior, those patterns by which behavior was influenced and guided. Therefore it would be theatrically inadvisable to imitate literally their blankness of expression and extreme stiffness of attitude except perhaps in such cases as the mock love scene between Harriet and Bellair, in which the ultimate in artificiality is required. The more informal quality in the costume studies and book illustrations of Mariette and Le Clerc is more suitable for normal scenes, but it will be noted that the actual body positions pictured in this second group of plates are substantially the same as those pictured in the first group.

A third type of plate, by such artists as Silvestre and Le Brun, is concerned primarily with the presentation of architectural
features, the figures being used for compositional interest or for the establishment of architectural scale. These plates are idealized in execution but evidently realistic in documentation. The postures of the incidental figures are similar to those in the preceding groups.

A fourth classification includes engravings specifically commemorative or illustrative of royal activities and state events. These range in style from the stiffness of Trouvain through the almost photographic naturalism of Ven der Meulen. In all of these the artistic techniques differ, but the quality of attitudes and movements remains the same.

A fifth type of print, a bit late chronologically but similar to the others in statement, consists of engravings specifically published as aids to correct behavior. Although generally lacking in atmospheric qualities, they serve to corroborate the validity of the other types of plates.

A word is necessary here about the relationship of English manners of the period to those of the French. Although English plates have been used whenever possible in preference to French ones, the fact remains that very few illustrative engravers were working in England at this time. William Hope, the great Restoration fencing master, found it necessary to insert in the first edition of his famous treatise an "Apology for the insufficiency of the plates. They could be got no better in this kingdom, that kind of employment being so little encouraged that few or none follow it."47 Faithorne, Barlow and Holler had little apparent interest in the portrayal of the social life they

French dancing, French wine, French kick-jaws, and now and then French sauce come in among them; and so, no doubt, but French doctors may be in esteem too.51

...But I'm afraid that while to France we go To bring you home fine dresses, dance and show, The stage, like you, will but more foppish grow.52

Vat have you English, dat you call your own? Vat have you of grand plaisir in dis towne Vidout it come from France, dat vill go down? Piquet, basset, your wine, your dress, your dance: 'Tis all you see, tout allamode de France. De Beau dere buy a hundre knick, knack; He carry out wit, but seldom bring it back; But den he bring a snuff-box hinge, so small, De Joynt, you can no see de Vork at all, Cost him five pistole, dat is sheep enough,

In tree year, it sal save, alf an ounce of snuffe. De Coquet she owe her ratatia dere, Her gown, her complexion, deux yeux, her lover; As for de cuckold--dat indeed you can make here. De French it is dat teach the lady wear De short muff, wit her vite elbow bare; De Beau, de large muff, with his sleeve down dere.... (points to his fingers)

Still, all this satirical protest suggests that the prevailing French manners did not always sit well on their English practitioners and were a constant source of irritation to some segments of the population. Similarly, there is a consistent difference in tone between the English plates available for this study and their French counterparts. The English prints are always a little looser and freer, a little more careless in atmosphere, a little less formal in execution. The implication, in graphic and verbal sources alike, is that the

51 The Ladies Catechism: Useful for all Eminent Females, and Necessary to be Learnt by All Young Gentlewomen that Would Attain to the Dignity of the Mode (London, 1703), p. 2.

The historic English craving for independence and individuality was in no way submerged by the influx of French taste. The national characteristics and the ideals of the two countries remained vastly different, however similar their tastes in the external elements of fashion and deportment might be.

Charles' court might bring back to England the dances, games and ceremonies of Louis' court, but this did not prevent Charles from engaging in scolding matches with the Thames bargemen. French manners did not keep gentlemen from playing at bowls with tradesmen, nor, in the case of a disagreement, allow the gentlemen to use their swords or whips on those who had none. The use of French plots did not keep playwrights (who boasted of being too lazy to invent their own) from adding home-grown humours, sub-plots, themes and character types to the French stories they pirated. The Swiss traveler, Muralt, excused what he considered to be the comparative inferiority of English comedy in the following curious but telling manner:

Moliere had more proper materials for the stage. The characters in France are general, and comprehend an entire order of rank of people; but in England, where everyone lives according to his fancy, the poet can hardly find any thing but particular characters, which are very numerous, and can never produce any great effect.

The sophisticated Englishman's attitude toward the prevailing French modes is perhaps most succinctly stated in Dorimant's reply when Fopling compliments him on having been taken for a true French chevalier, "I would fain wear in the fashion as long as I can: 'tis a

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52Muralt, Murulty Letters Describing the Characters of the English and French Nations, tr. anon (London: Tho. Edlin, 1726), p. 20 /In-
dividual letters undated but English ones context shows them to have been written during the '90s,/'
thing to be valued in men as well as baubles." In other words, the
gallants who were pleased to identify with Dorimant and Mirabell ab-
sorbed the French fashions and made them their own—improving on the
originals, at least, in their own eyes. They put on French forms
without French formality, French elegance without French dedication
to it and French politeness without French emphasis on complaisance
at all costs. They made a point of maintaining their English porpen-
sities for idiosyncracy, understated directness and a certain deprecat-
ing common sense. In short, the fancy new French sauce did not essen-
tially alter the robust flavor of the roast beef of old England. The
actor of Restoration comedy, therefore, when duplicating the physical
attitude of a French marquis, should always remember to maintain the
mental attitude of an English gentleman. When this reservation is
born in mind, the French and English graphic sources for the period
from 1660 to 1720 can be considered interchangeably.

The proposals described in this paper will, hopefully, provide
a partial solution to the problems of finding a modern acting style
for Restoration comedy. Succeeding parts of the project will deal with:
carriage, salutations, gestures and major upper class activities. They
will include suggestions for rehearsal procedures. Although the paper
treats exclusively of movement and its motivation, I hope it may serve
as a step in the development of a coherent, relevant and theatrically
effective production style for these British masterpieces; a style
which is not adolescent, esoteric, vulgar or arch; a style which is,
in terms of Restoration life and convention, realistic.
CHAPTER I

POSTURE AND CARRIAGE

...From the regular or irregular positions, and motion of the body, we distinguish the handsome presence, and deportment of the fine gentleman, from the awkward behavior of the unpolished peasant; we discover the graceful mien of a young lady, from the ungainly carriage of her maid, and this regulation even stamps impressions on the mind, which we receive from the outward figure of the body; for as the soul is informed from the external objects of sensation, how careful ought we to be, to give the most agreeable impressions, which cannot be affected without this regularity; and how commendable, how advantageous is it, for a gentleman, or lady, to be adroit at every step, and that every motion or action of the body be consonant to symmetry and grace. 'Tis an elegant way of touching the passions which we call address, and which renders the person at first so agreeable.1

...A good mien alone does not always produce this good effect; we see every day country people, who are well shaped and of a good aspect, and yet are in no wise agreeable company. The air I speak of is the soul of a good mien; without this air, it is very difficult to please; it is this gallant and polite air, which renders everything pleasing.2

These remarks, by two masters of early eighteenth-century behavior, provide as neat and clear a justification for the specific study


2Richlieu, p. 5.
of Restoration movement as the most subjective modern actor could wish. They prove that the specifics of that movement are not "windmill gestures" or mechanical poses without meaning. Rather they are the ways by which Restoration people of quality fulfilled their first, if not most important, task: that of behaving as people of quality.

Tomlinson goes even further:

...Before I proceed to treat on motion, I apprehend it to be necessary to consider that grace and air so highly requisite in our position, when we stand in company, for having formed a true notion of this, there remains nothing further to be observed, when we enter upon the stage of life, either in walking or dancing, than to preserve the same.

And for better understanding of this important point, let us imagine ourselves, as so many living pictures drawn by the most excellent masters, exquisitely designed to afford pleasure to the beholders: and, indeed, we ought to set our bodies in such a disposition, when we stand in conversation, that, were our actions or postures delineated, they might bear the strictest examination of the most critical judges.3

In other words, life is to be regarded as a stage. A person of quality is to think of himself as a living picture. The sense of form which some of our young actors claim cannot be maintained without destroying their "sense of truth" was once the constant, taken-for-granted, everyday concern of a whole class of people. These people defined nature differently than we do, and they invoked it just as frequently, seeing nothing unnatural in their behavior. Weaver proved the consonance of his laws of position and movement with those of "nature" quite as conclusively as anyone can prove the naturalness of the modern slouch, shuffle and pelvic lead. It is the inalienable right of every age to

regard its way of doing something as the only correct and, therefore, natural way of doing it. The modern actor has learned his way of walking by introjection and imitation just as did the Restoration gallant, although the former has unfortunately not chosen his models so consciously or so well.

Today it is a regular part of the subjective actor's preparation, either in fantasy or improvisation, to live through the most important or pertinent aspects of his character's life. He knows how to experience imaginatively the time Biff Loman spent with his horses and the time Happy spent with his various girls. In his preparation for a Restoration role, it is equally necessary that the actor be particularly assiduous in living through the time his character spent with a dancing master.

Throughout the period from 1660 to 1721, the posture was erect and solid, the feet turned out; the lead in walking was from the inner part of the thigh with the rear leg extended behind in order to display it to its best advantage. It is evident from the plates, however, that a change in silhouette did occur, as very full breeches and spaniel wigs were replaced by the narrower breeches and high horned wigs. In the earlier part of the period, the emphasis was on horizontal lines. The stance was wider, the walk more deliberate, the gestures more robust, the head set more squarely on the shoulders. In this earlier period, the center of energy was in the mid-section, which tended to be the most forward part of the slight arc made by the standing figure. (Plate 1) By 1690 the costumes had become closer fitting and the headdresses higher; at the same time the visual emphasis in costume had changed to vertical lines. The stance had become somewhat narrower, the walk lighter and the head held at more of an angle. The gestures were higher and more flamboyant,
the center of energy was in the chest, which was now the most forward part of the slight "S" shape made by the standing figure. (Plate 2)

Manners were changing too, as a young gentleman of the period observes:

...There's as much difference between a beau of 86 and a beau of 86 as between a prim, spruce city apprentice (with his hair turned up in buckles, to wait upon Mistress Susan, the chambermaid, to the Farthing Pye-House on an Easter Holyday) and a senseless dancing master that affects all the tawdry-ness imaginable. What in that age was an extravagant beau, is in this, accounted a silly animative coxcomb, to such a height of folly and foppery are men arrived.4

And yet, from our three-hundred year perspective, neither manners nor carriage changed enough to warrant serious differences in movement techniques between The Man of Mode and The Way of the World. Palmer aptly points out that the overall spirit and atmosphere of these two plays is very similar:

Congreve's comedies, as in the popular idea of them, should rather be associated with King Charles and his spaniels than with Queen Anne and her dish of tea. The popular idea is right and wrong. It is right in assuming that Congreve is King Charles and his spaniels at their highest expression. It is wrong in not having realized that King Charles and his spaniels at their highest expression is Queen Anne and her dish of tea. Pope is the perfection of Etherege.5

The director should also keep in mind that costumes (and the corresponding attitudes), which we identify as being twenty or thirty years apart according to the annals of fashion, were actually in use simultaneously, depending on the wearer's social and geographic circumstances:


5Palmer, p. 143.
...If...we look on the people of mode in the country, we find in them the manners of the last age. A polite country squire shall make you as many bows in half an hour as would serve a courtier for a week. The rural beaux are not yet got out of the fashion that took place at the time of the Revolution (of 1689), while the women in many parts are still trying to outvie one another in the height of their headdresses. 6

Meanwhile, the town beaux, at any given time, were busily aping the latest French fashions in clothing and deportment and were therefore several years ahead of the norm set by more conservative people of "honor and sense." Thus, instead of setting one style for Etherege, another for Congreve and a third for Farquhar, a director will do well to give his older characters and his country characters noticeably earlier costumes and manners than the norm of fashion set by his leading couples. Contrariwise, he will give his fops and affected ladies noticeably later costumes and manners. That norm of fashion, itself, may be earlier or later, depending on the director's taste and the costumer's capabilities and budget; Dorimant and perhaps Aimwell might conceivably wear each other's costumes and display each other's mannerisms without distorting the playwrights' intentions.

The mid-eighteenth-century refinement and airy lightness of stance, movement and gesture, evident in the plates of Hogarth and Boucher, should be avoided in Restoration productions. (Plate 4 This later delicacy of deportment calls for a corresponding delicacy of sense and expression and would be highly inconsistent with Dorimant's "smelling as he does" or Lady Fidget's unblushing pursuit of "china".

Jack Absolute may feel warmer emotions than does Dorimant, but Jack Absolute definitely does not smell. The lusty vigor of Dorimant's and Mirabell's movement, on the other hand, must indicate to the audience that they do smell and are proud of it.

There is considerable chronological latitude within which a director may work insofar as overall carriage is concerned. The years from 1660 to 1720 constitute a transitional period between the swaggering stateliness of the Cavaliers and the hyperrefinement which we associate with the Georgian period. De Lauze's *Apologie de la Danse* may be taken as the starting point of this continuum, Rameau's *Maitre a Danser* as its termination. The date of the first, 1623, is admittedly very early; that of the second, 1725, rather late to be ideal for our purpose. Since no analogous treatises were written during the intervening century, however, some sort of compromise between their two approaches would seem to be the best solution to the problem of Restoration movement. The validity of this hypothesis is, I believe, amply demonstrated by the plates. Graphic sources from the 1660's indicate that many of De Lauze's principles were still at least partially in vogue, although unquestionably in a modified form, and many of Rameau's principles are evident in plates dated around the turn of the century.
The "midsection lead" is particularly noticeable in the lower right center grouping.
By the early 1700s the seventeenth-century swaggering posture had become somewhat lighter in quality.
These plates from the "eighties" show a useful silhouette norm for most Restoration comedies. The feet are wide apart, the head is erect, the chest is the body's center of energy but does not protrude, and the arms are carried well away from the body.
The tone of Plate A would be suitable to Restoration comedy; that of Plate B would not.
A. The Earlier Carriage

...The dancing master should firstly teach his scholar how to walk. For, whatever gentility he would have naturally, he would be unable to do this of himself with the required exactness, whether for the movement of the eyes, the carriage of the leg, or the gravity of his steps, which should be made in a straight line without bending the knee, the toes well outwards in a manner that the movements, free from all timidity, proceed from the hip.

This manner of walking, wholly grave and noble, will bring to him great ease in dancing, an assured bearing in approaching or receiving with good grace any company, but which of himself would be impossible unless, he be made to practice the instructions which I give here.7

Instructions for the lady are a bit more vague:

...One must in the first place endeavor to set her head, and to regulate her eyes, which should always be level with one's height when dancing. Then make her put her feet close to one another, the toes outwards, and thus holding her by the hands, make her take some steps, sedately and in a straight line, in order that she may acquire the manner in which she should approach, or receive company.8

The non-bending of the knees, on which De Lauze insists, may seem to us impossibly unnatural, but in the work of Abraham Bosse (whose engravings of social life are too well-known and readily available to need reproduction here) this wide and stately gait is definitely in evidence. Although knees had begun to bend slightly by the 60's, the director may find the earlier straight-legged stride valuable as a rehearsal technique. Just as a soprano always vocalizes several notes higher than she will need to sing, so the use of an extreme behavior

8Ibid., p. 131.
in rehearsals often renders an actor much more comfortable in the modified behavior he uses before an audience.

An adaptation of Della-Casa's *Galeteo*, revised and republished in 1663, lists some abuses and deviations from the stiff-kneed manner of walking, which the director may find useful for some of his eccentric character roles:

...'Tis unseemly to bobble as you walk, and to fling out your legs, and to stretch yourself by wide steps, to hang down your hands or to throw them about as if you were sowing corn. You will see some tread tenderly, like a foundered horse, and lift up their feet as high as if they were always stepping over a threshold, and others stamp so hard that you would think a whole team were coming; one goes as if he intended to kick you at every turn, a second cuts, and strikes his ankles one against 'tother, and a third ever and anon stoops down to tie or wipe his shoes.  

Although the straight-legged walk had modified by the 60's, Francis Hawkins indicates in a letter written in 1663 that the wide stride was still in use:

...Though thou shouldst maintain the stately, court-like straddle for fear of putting thy boot-hose-tops out of the set posture (for I hope thou wilt never have any foreign reason for it).

Hawkins makes his point delicately; but our most fanatical advocates of the use of sensory objectives in acting could hardly


ask for a more specifically physical justification of this court-like straddle than "...What guaried breeches with such huge sets of points round the knees, that were intended to hide the French-Pox by forcing men to straddle above a yard wide."11

Moralists of the time, including John Evelyn, found the fashionable dress of the 60's and 70's to be womanish as well as ostentatious and to savour of the wages of sin. In reality, of course, the costume is no more innately effeminate than is the Scottish kilt, as a glance at Plates 5 and 6 will show. Nor did even the moralists suggest that the carriage it inspired was less than masculine. Rather, the reverse was true, but the volume and weight of the costume plus its complete lack of relation to the human figure require total domination by its wearer. Otherwise he may, indeed, appear to be swathed in the gatherings of his "grannan's loose gown."12

A little later in the period he must similarly avoid looking like what Brooke calls "an upholstered sausage."13 (Plate 6B) How is this to be done? To use Michael Chekhov's terminology, the actor should mold large, strong shapes around him, and he should think of himself as filling as much space as possible with his most illustrious and vital presence. He should take lordly delight in mastering his recalcitrant costume, and he should take pride in embodying such descriptions as the


following: "Look upon his powdered head, you will think him a meal-man; by his cod-piece a satyr...and by his feet a giant, whom no shoe can fit but such as is made upon the last of Hercules..." 

Even the tops were characterized by extravagance rather than by effeminacy:

...It was a fine silken thing which I spied walking th'other day through Westminster Hall, that had as much ribbon about him as would have plundered six shops, and set up twenty country peddlers: All his body was dressed like a Maypole or a Tom-a Bedlam's cap. A frigate newly rigged kept not half such a clatter in a storm as this puppet's streamers did when the wind was in his shrouds; the motion was wonderful to behold."
"How can we expect that men should keep the commandments of God (and the King) that preserve not the lineaments of their bodies?"

Evelyn, _Tyrannus_, p. 16
An actor who cannot dominate this costume will be in considerable danger of looking like an "upholstered sausage."

Here is a somewhat idealized but rather epitomical evocation of the spirit of the earlier carriage.
The "Petticoat breeches" and "jackanapes" coat of the "seventies" demand that their wearer keep his legs and arms as far as possible from the center of his body.
Early female carriage -- in a slow tempo -- and a fast one.
B. Later Carriage -- Standing

The three dancing masters on whom we must depend for information on the modes of standing and walking prevalent at the end of the period were writing well after its close. However, they trace their principles back to the French master, Beaumont, from whom Rameau had received personal instruction. Since Beaumont retired from his post in Louis' Court in 1686, it seems reasonable to assume that something like the behavior described by Rameau and his contemporaries must have been in use at the end of the seventeenth century. And since the biggest change from Restoration to Georgian ideals of polite behavior occurred during the 30's and 40's, it appears legitimate as well as inevitable for us to draw heavily upon the treatises of Weaver, Tomlinson, and Rameau, as translated by Essex.

Weaver is the earliest and, considering his lack of graphic illustrations, the clearest writer of the three:

...Some defects...obvious to the meanest of our profession...are the holding down of the head; putting out the chin; stooping in the shoulders; bending too much forwards; and, thrusting out of the belly....

...A head justly placed; a gentle and easy carriage of the body; and a true position of the limbs; as it should be our first, so it ought to be our greatest care; since these be, what are always expected of us....

First, it may not be improper to observe to you, that the natural situation of the joints is not straight but a little bent, and that such position of the joints is just and natural; and so consequently most graceful. A theory obviously

14Evelyn, Tyrannus, p. 11.
15Hawkins, p. 60.
developed after De Laue's time

We shall proceed to position, or standing. And, first, in general, let us observe, that the body should be erect, and that the feet be turned outwards, in such manner that the heels being joined together, the two feet, a line being drawn from toe to toe, will make an equilateral triangle, whose angle at the heels will be somewhat obtuse....  

[According to the plates, "equilateral," rather than "obtuse," is the term in error.]

The patella, or knee-pan, ought to be directly in a line over the toe, or point of the foot, so that if the toe should turn out more than usual, and the knee keep its just and natural situation, such a one may be said to be splay-footed; or, if on the contrary, the foot should be in its proper position, and the knees turning inwards, then such a man will be called baker-kneed. It therefore behooves us in our art, to take a particular care in preserving the knee in its proper situation; for that so preserved, will have consequently a very peculiar effect towards the just position, and regular turning of the foot.

The weight of the human body in [first] position, may be placed either on both feet equally poised... or else, the weight may be upon one foot only... the other foot just bearing on the floor, and its knee somewhat bent. Though this position may be used in standing, yet it is not the most graceful posture for this purpose. (Plate 7A)

The second position is, when the feet, from the first position, separate one from the other side-ways in a straight line; and which I shall distinguish into a short second, and a long second. The short second is, when the distance of the feet from heel to heel does not exceed much above five inches; and the long [second] when its separation extends to seven, eight, etc. The weight of the body [in long second position] is equally supported by each foot; the knees straight; and this position is one of the graceful positions of standing; but in the short second, the [weight] may be on one foot. (Plate 7B)

The third position is, when the feet are joined close together, but inclosed one foot before the other, so that the heel of the foremost
foot touch the side of the instep of the hind-foot.... (Plate 8A)

The fourth position is the most useful of any, and is distinguished into the long, and the short. This position arises from the feet being one before the other, not crossing, but so that a straight line may be drawn between both heels. The long is, when the foot is extended forwards upwards of six inches, and then the weight will be on both feet; and the short fourth is, when one foot is not advanced above six inches before the other; this short fourth is the most graceful posture of standing; the weight falling on the hinder foot, and the former just bearing on the ground, the knee of the former somewhat bent. It is some addition to the gracefulness of this posture in standing, when it borrows something from the second position; and then may properly be called an open short fourth;.... 16 (Plate 10B)

Weaver, like all scientists and would-be scientists, has a passion for precise definition. He is actually saying that the best position for standing is one in which the feet are somewhat separated, not crossed, turned out at least forty-five degrees from the perpendicular, preferably with the rear foot bearing most of the weight and the forward knee slightly bent. The posture known as leaning or slouching on one's hip, has no place whatever in the directives of Mr. Weaver nor of any other movement coach before 1920, if then! The maintaining of an erect stance by the actor, poised primarily on one leg, requires special attention to these principles of good posture common to almost every age and recommended by physicians for health and well-being, viz.: a high full chest, relaxed shoulders, belly and buttocks held firmly in, and breath controlled from the entire

16Weaver, pp. 94, 95, 103-106.
Without mastery of these principles, it is impossible to speak or move well in any period style.

Weaver's instructions for walking are, of course, based on his attitude toward posture:

...A transition [sic] of this [fourth] position from one foot to another, translates the body from one place to another, and produces what we call walking. As this position is the most graceful posture of standing, it is requisite that we endeavor to account for the beauty of it by showing that it is also the most natural. [At which point, Weaver does just this, according to early eighteenth century precepts of mechanics and anatomy.]

...It's manifest, that an alternate position, sometimes on one foot, and sometimes on another, is a sort of change, like walking: For such is the desire and love of change, that in sitting we often lay one leg across the thigh of the other, and then remove that which was undermost, and lay it in the same manner upon the other...and such a change is wonderfully refreshing and delightful.

The fifth position is, when one foot is extended before the other, and the legs crossed; this is never used as a posture for standing, and is only necessary for the rise, or terminations of some few steps in dancing.

There are five other positions, which they call the five false positions, but very improperly so; for they are not positions but an irregular motion of the feet, which is scarce worth our notice.17

By this Weaver means to say, without any equivocation whatsoever, that in public, the feet of a polite person are never at any less than a ninety degree angle to each other. He emphasizes that the feet follow the knees, which follow the hips. Otherwise, the effect will be

17Weaver, pp. 107-109.
somewhat like that of Mary Poppins rather than that of "Millot, Comedian."

(Plate 6A)

Weaver's instructions for the body at rest advocate the use of two of the five traditional positions:

Standing in a graceful posture can only be in two of the five positions: for a man \([\text{viz.}]\) in the second position, either long or short; and in the short fourth. And for a woman, in the first; short second; and short fourth positions.

When a man stands in the long second position, his body will be equally poised on both feet... but in either of the other positions, as well for the man as for the woman; the weight of the body should be on one foot... and the other foot bearing a little on the floor, and its knee somewhat bent. The gracefulness of this posture requires the body to be erect, the head upright, and easy, and always a little inclining, or somewhat turned towards one side or the other; its motion to be free, natural and various, which gives an air and vivacity to the whole body:

The shoulders not shrugged up, or thrust forwards, but hanging easy in their natural situation; and the chest, or breast, extended, that it appear full. Though the placing, or disposition of the arms and hands alter, and vary according to fashion, fancy and opinion, yet there are some certain rules we cannot deviate from, without breaking in upon that harmony arising from the regular disposition of the parts, which produce gracefulness. We are, therefore, to take care the elbows be not pressed too close to the body, nor set too much out; neither are they to be drawn too much backwards, or brought too far forwards, but to fall easily down, and not to appear stiff or obstinate; and, that the tip of the elbow be placed even with the middle of the sides of the body.

The position of the hands ought to be directed, or governed by the position of the feet: they will either be both the same, or contrasted, \([\text{that is}]/\) when each hand has a position not only contrary each to the other; but also a contrary position to the foot of the same side.
The fingers should be a little bent, and open from each other.\textsuperscript{18}

Tomlinson adds the third position to those proper for standing, suggesting that when the hand is put between the folds of the waistcoat, the result is "a very modest and agreeable posture."\textsuperscript{19} He also indicates that in the second position the arms should be in an "agreeable fashion" at about the "joint or bend of the hip which completes a most heroic posture." (Plate 11A) This, he says, is a bold and graceful attitude for use among familiars but "improper in the presence of superiors."\textsuperscript{20} For the fourth position, Tomlinson suggests that the hat be held under one arm, and this he calls a "very genteel and becoming posture\textsuperscript{21} for conversation. (Plate 11B)

After similar directives on basic carriage, Essex adds a few words of caution, "No one should be so ridiculous as to be stiff or formal, which ought to be avoided as much as affectation; a just carriage requiring nothing more than a natural, free, and easy air, which is only to be gained by dancing."\textsuperscript{22} Essex and his colleagues were not just advertising for clients with such remarks. Even John Locke believed in the absolute necessity of dancing lessons:

\textsuperscript{18}Weaver, pp. 131-133.

\textsuperscript{19}Kellom Tomlinson, The Art of Dancing Explained by Reading and Figures, Whereby the Manner of Performing the Steps is Made Easy by a New and Familiar Method: Being the Original Work First Designed in the Year 1724, ... (London, 1735), p. 4.

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., Plate III.

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., Plate VIII.

...And since nothing appears to me to give children so much becoming confidence in behavior, as so to raise them to the conversation of those above their age, as dancing, I think they should be taught to dance as soon as they are capable of learning. For though this consists only in outward gracefulness of motion, yet, I know not how, it gives children manly thoughts and carriage more than anything.23

Indeed, the cast of every Restoration comedy should be taught a rudimentary coranto or minuet to be danced before each rehearsal as an aid to graceful movement.

"This position is never perfect but when both legs are so well extended and closed together, that light cannot be seen between them."

Rameau - Essex, p. 9

Troisième Position

"This position regulates the steps... and gives them their due proportion, which ought to be observed either in walking or dancing... As to walking, if a person crosses his legs, it makes him go awry, as well as disorders the body, which one should take care of.

Rameau - Essex, p. 10
To my much Honour'd Scholar, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Howard, Son to the Earl of Stafford: This PLATE is humbly dedicated by his Lordships most obliged Servant, J. Tomlinson.

Tomlinson's second position.

To the Honourable Charles Talbot, and the Honourable John Talbot, Sons to the late Earl of Shrewsbury, this PLATE is humbly inscrib'd by their Humours most obliged Servant, J. Tomlinson.

Tomlinson's fourth position.
This and the following plate show further variations of formal posture.
Here are more casual variations. Note the curious effect produced by the closely folded arms in "B." The assumption of such a position was a tacit admission (in some cases an advertisement) that one was in serious financial, emotional or amourous distress.
Here are examples of studied, almost foppish casualness of posture.
C. Later Carriage Walking

In walking gracefully, I shall only remind you, that walking is performed from the fourth position to the fourth position: That one foot is always on the floor and...the heel always moves first from the ground, and is first put down again. The motion of the body is continued, and...the motion of the arms and feet contrasted; which contrast seems to me to be the very soul (if I may be allowed that expression) of gracefulness.

Note that the wide stride has completely disappeared here.²⁴

It is worth our observing, that the rules laid down, for these and the following actions, or motions, are according to the dictates of nature; agreeable to the laws of mechanism; and consonant to the rules of proportion: And, that whatever positions, or motions, derogate from these laws and rules; such attitude, or action, will be absurd, awkward, disagreeable, and ungenteel.²⁴

Tomlinson directs that the foot be almost brushed through first position in the process of making the step and reminds the pupil that the weight of the body is to remain wholly on the rear foot until the forward foot is set down. The foot, he says, must always go before the body to receive it; otherwise, it will present the body in a "falling posture."²⁵ Interestingly enough, Tomlinson's definition of motion as the result of successive positions supports the basic hypothesis of this dissertation.²⁶

Tomlinson also insists that "time and harmony be observed in walking with a good grace...counting one, tow, and three, as in

²⁴Weaver, p. 133.
²⁵Tomlinson, p. 6.
²⁶Tomlinson, p. 5.
music."27 The step is made upon one, the taking up of the other foot to make the next step is upon two, and the coming up of this released foot is upon three.

Essex is emphatic on the matter of the position of the legs during the act of walking. "The legs ought to be very much extended in their due time, and the hips turned outwards, because the lower parts are governed by this commanding joint...." What he means by "extended," as he goes on to explain, is that "the knees be stretched out when you move either the one or the other foot, which will prevent your crossing your steps...hobbling...or walking too wide or too close."28

According to Essex, further directions for the carriage of the arms, although set forth with regard to dancing, are valid, with some reservations, for normal standing and walking:

"...I look upon the arms...as a frame made for a picture.... ...The arms should be raised to the height of the pit of the stomach..." [rather than higher, as in Nivelon's 1737 treatise on The Rudiments of Genteel Behavior.]

...If the thumb was to touch one of the fingers, it would make the motion more stiff.

...These movements of the shoulder appear yet more in opposition, in that the arm being extended, the opposite shoulder is shaded behind: For example, if you go by any one aside, you draw back your shoulder.

...Care should be taken not to bend the wrist too much, which would make it look lame.29

27Tomlinson, p. 6.
28Essex, p. 4.
This last admonition is a necessary precaution against the tendency of some modern actors to lead with the wrist. This may give the effect of lameness, effeminacy or the flailings of a sea mammal. As a matter of fact, the wrist does lead, but very slightly. A better way to think of a gesture is to regard the wrist as the handle, the fingers, or prop held by them, as the bristles of an artist's paintbrush. The gesture then becomes the painting or molding of a shape in the air rather than a meaningless and irritating dissipation of tension and energy.

The dancing-masters' directives were sometimes so precisely and self-consciously followed, that they drew considerable fire from the satirists of the age. The gibes of the latter are often very helpful in conveying the atmosphere of the styles they disliked:

...On they all did prance
Throwing their arms out a-la-mode-de France.30

...Next come with hats cocked up to show
The pertness of a city beau;
Treading as nicely with their legs
As if the streets were paved with eggs,
And that they feared their weighty heels
Should crack or incommode the shells.
So have I seen a gaudy fop,
Fit only for a lady's lap,
Dance 'cross a street with so much pride
As if, at ev'ry bound and stride
He scorned his dirty Grannum Earth....31


...These creatures...study an engaging turn of the head, and a sort of sweetness and languishing in the eyes.... Their very gaits are contrived and artificial, and every step they take borrowed from a minuet. 32

...You must learn to walk with such a pleasing gait that your swinging arm may keep time with your feet, which must dance, to the music of the points, rattling on your pantaloons, and to avoid the horrible absurdity of setting both feet flat on the ground, when one should always stand tottering on the toe, as waiting in readiness for a congee. 33

These comments, evocative as they are, must be considered in their proper context. A sensibility accustomed to De Lauze's "stately courtlike straddle" (which, incidentally tends to discourage the natural swing of the arms) would find the new manner alien indeed, but not for the same reasons that we do. The seventeenth-century minuet was not the minuet we know (see section on "Dancing"). The gracefulness of dancers did not have for these people the same connotation which it has for us. To most moderns the "grace" of a male dancer smacks of effeminacy, but to Weaver and Tomlinson the word meant something quite different.

The prevailing attitude of the times toward dancing and its effect on carriage is probably best expressed by John Locke—of all people:

Dancing being that which gives graceful motions all the life, and above all things manliness and a becoming confidence to young children, I think


it cannot be learned too early, after they are once of an age and strength capable of it.... But you must be sure to have a good master, that knows, and can teach, what is graceful and becoming, and what gives a freedom and easiness to all the motions of the body. One that teaches not this, is worse than none at all, natural unfashionableness being much better than apish affected postures; and I think it much more passable to put off the hat, and make a leg, like an honest country-gentleman than like an ill-fashioned dancing master. ...(Dancing) tends to perfect graceful carriage.

This from John Locke who is speaking of the education of business men, not beaux.

The men of the period are sometimes accused of strutting, preening, self-love, exhibitionism and overwhelming triviality; they are likened to apes, puppets and especially turkey-cocks. But seldom does anyone cast upon them aspersions of effeminacy in anything like the modern sense. The facial features in some of the fashion plates are somewhat pretty for current tastes, but very few of the poses strike even our modern eyes as less than masculine.

This point, admittedly belabored at some length, is of more than incidental importance in our age, in which the charge of effeminacy is such a personal and artistic bugaboo. Such a charge cannot reasonably be made of well-executed Restoration action. To ensure the essential virility of atmosphere, the first rehearsals of any Restoration production should be conducted in the early, straight-legged stride. When this becomes second nature to the cast members, the norm may, if desired, be modified into the later comparative "naturalness."

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34Locke, p. 234-5.
Carrying the hands in the pockets was frowned upon, but evidently practised. Even in this casual attitude, the feet are set as carefully in fourth position as they are in Figure P.
Long training and practice kept the hips and knees extended and the feet turned out, even in moments of considerable excitement.
There is a strong suggestion of the staged scene about these 1711 illustrations for Farquhar's comedies. Note the exaggerated width of stance, the breadth of gestures, the distance between each other maintained even by very active and involved figures.
D. Later Female Carriage

Essex is the only one of the three later dancing masters to deal specifically with female carriage. His remarks indicate that the changes in the female silhouette were analogous to those in the male:

...independently of what I have already said of the manner of walking in the foregoing chapter, which equally regards both sexes, the same remarks are necessary for the women, who ought to turn out their feet, and straighten or extend their knees... by holding their heads upright the body is more steady, and by extending their knees their steps are more firm.... If (a woman) holds (her head) upright, and the body well disposed, without affectation, or too much boldness, they say, There goes a stately lady. If she carries it negligently, they accuse her of carelessness; if she pokes her head forward, of indolence; and in short, if she stoops, of thoughtlessness, or want of assurance; and so on.... This figure represents the carriage they ought to have in walking: Viz. the head upright, the shoulders down, the arms bent, and easily drawn back to the body, and the hands before, one upon the other, with a fan; but above all, without affectation.35 (Plate 19A)

It is not from the treatise of the dancing masters, however, that we learn most about the qualities of female carriage. For truly evocative descriptions, we have such light popular literature as Hopkins' *Art of Love*:

The day grows fair, your coach, or chair may wait, And you may walk, if graceful in your gait. See how R—h displays her stately mind, How, in the pride of steps, the haughty wind, Swells her loose robes before her, and behind, I—n there, trips nimbly o'er the park, As if she feared to disappoint some spark.

35Essex, pp. 22-23.
C--l demurely on the ground does look,
As if she measured every step she took.
The hasty H---- there walks as if she ran,
And whisks her eyes, and brandishes her fan.
The tall walk slowly, others walk apace,
Each movement, every gesture has its grace,
Men are not always charmed with but a face,
Consult that gait, which suits your stature best.
Walk but to please yourself, nor doubt the rest.

As it happens, the deportment ironically rhapsodized by Ward is
the norm most usually depicted in the graphic sources:

From thence we went through the Palace into
the Park, about the time when the Court
ladies raise their extended limbs from their
downy couches, and walk into the Mall to re-
fresh their charming bodies with the cooling
and salubrious breezes of the gilded evening.
We could not possibly have chosen a luckier
minute, to have seen the delightful park in
its greatest glory and perfection, for the
bright stars of the Creation were moving here,
with such an awful state and majesty, that
their graceful deportment bespoke them Goddesses.
Such merciful looks were thrown from their
engaging eyes upon every admiring mortal;
they were so free from pride, envy or contempt,
that they seemed, contrary to experience, to be
sent into the world to complete its happiness.
The wonderful works of Heaven were here to be
read in beauteous characters. Such elegant
compositions might be observed among the female
quality, that it's impossible to conceive
otherwise than that such heavenly forms were
perfected after the unerring image of Divine
excellence....

Though I was greatly affected with the majestic
department of the female sex, each looking with
a presence as well worthy of Dian's bow, or
Bellona's shield, as the golden apple of Venus,
yet I could by no means reconcile myself to the
sheepish humility of their cringing worshippers,
who were guilty of so much idolatry to the fair
sex, that I thought the laws of Creation were

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36 Charles Hopkins, The Art of Love in Two Books Written Both
to Men and Ladies (London: Joseph Wild, 1700), p. 27.
greatly transgressed, and that man had dwindled from his first power and authority into pusillan-
imity and luxury, and had suffered deceitful whores to cozen him of his prerogative. The men...showed such cowardly tameness by their extravagant submissions, as if they wanted courage to exercise that freedom which they had a just title to use.

It seemed to me as if the world was turned top-
side-turvy, for the ladies looked like undaunted heroes, fit for government or battle, and the gentlemen like a parcel of fawning, flattering fops, that could bear deceptions with patience, make a jest of an affront, and swear themselves very faithful and humble servants to the petticoat, creeping and cringing in dishonour to themselves, to what were decreed by Heaven their inferiors.  

Murlalt, likewise, makes pertinent remarks on the English ladies' manner of walking:

...Walking is likewise a great diversion among the ladies, and their manner of doing it is one way of knowing their character; desiring only to be seen, they walk together, for the most part without speaking; they are always dressed and always stiff; they go forward constantly.... I doubt they would not stoop to take up a flower from under their feet; I never saw any of them lie on the grass, nor show the least inclination to sing. Yet notwithstanding all their care to be seen, they are seldom coquettes, nor have they any ridiculous affectations or bold ways.  

This last observation would seem to be belied by such comments as Ward himself made about non-titled ladies of the town. For example, in reference to a citizen's wife, he writes:

She minces her steps, but to pleasure her rider, Her pace she can alter and lay her legs wider, Her arms by her sides are so formally posted, She looks like a pullet trussed up to be roasted.

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38 Murlalt, p. 15.
True dancing-school breeding in her is recorded;  
The swell of her bobbles, and jut of her bum  
To the next brawny stallion cries, Come, my dear, come. 39

Ward was not much more gallant in his sketches about the fair
sex in the London Terrifilius some six years later:

...Consider, Miss, you have been scarce long
enough at a Hackney boarding school to learn
how to tread out your toes, wiggle your bum,
thrust out your dumplins. ... 40

Yonder goes a fine liplicking lady, whose patches
upon her white lead face, some big, some little,
look like so many raisins and currants floating
in a porringer of rice-milk. Pray observe the
vanity of her gait and extravagancy of her dress;
there's a winning smile for you; now a killing
glance; next the toss of her head; then a peep
upon her fine laced shoes, now a squint over her
shoulder, and so to the ventilation of the fan. 41

Pray observe that airy lady with her foot-boy
after her, who tosses up her head, as she walks
as if she beckoned to every gentleman she met. ... 42

In the stateliness of (another's) mien, you may
read the prodigality of her temper, for every
step she takes is with such awful majesty, that
a man would judge her, as she walks, to be a
theatrical Cleopatra striding over the stage to
be kissed by her Mark Antony. ... 43

Of course, the most famous description and perhaps the best
evocation of female carriage of the period is Mirabell's introduction

39 Edward Ward, A Walk to Islington, with a Description of New
40 Edward Ward, The London Terrifilius: or, The Satyrical
    Reformer, being Drolling Reflections on the Vices and Vanities of Both
42 Ibid., Part III, p. 30.
of Millament, 'Here she comes i'faith, full sail with her fan spread and her streamers out and a shoal of fools for tenders.' (II, ii)

From the preceding passages and the graphic sources, we learn the following things about female carriage of the body: the stance is narrower and the step smaller, but only by comparison with that of the male for the same period. The legs of Restoration women, unlike the limbs of their granddaughters, were often wide apart and disengaged, and the part of the body below the waist carried very freely, perhaps partly because the figure above the waist was so very tightly restrained.

In the latter half of the period, there is a definite thrusting forward of the bosom and thrusting backward of the buttocks, but this should not be so exaggerated as to lessen the essential erectness of the body or to disorder the firm control in the mid-section. In walking, the hands are usually kept engaged with a fan or other part of the costume, instead of being allowed to swing naturally. The gait should give the effect of an elevated glide or, in fact, of "sailing." But there is no attempt to leave the earth or "float" as in some later periods. The keel of the sailboat, as it were, is kept very firmly in the water.
Leopold's lady (Figure A) has begun to "float"; Somers's lady (Figure B) and those in the following plates are definitely walking."
Dame de qualité en habit d'Esté

Elisabeth Charlotte de Bavière, Madame Duchesse d'Orléans.

Dame de qualité en Robe déroussée

Arrêté chez Girard Leblancrue Faucon a l'Hotel Louis avec prin(e) du Roy 1689.
Plate 21A

The hasty H.... there walks as if she ran,
And whisks her eyes, and brandishes her fan....

Hopkins, p. 27

Plate 21B

There is nothing neater than the feet and ankles of the English ladies in their well-fitting shoes and silk stockings. They wear their skirts short, and I often see legs so well turned that a sculptor would like to mold them. ...The garter, of which glimpses are often afforded, is below the knee....

Dame de qualité en habit d'Été

aux Colonnes d'Hercules avec Privil. du Roy
Promenading with a gentleman was a favorite diversion of the Restoration lady as well as of her French counterpart. Her left hand might rest lightly on the back of his right hand, or on the side of it as in Figure A, or he might delicately hold her hand as in Figure B.

The lady might be closing her fan in Figure A and gesturing with it in Figure B. Observe that a gentleman’s carrying his hat under his arm does not prevent his gesturing with that arm.

The extreme out-turn of the feet is, of course, an exaggeration, but it leaves no doubt as to the “ideal” positioning of the foot and ankle.
Dame en Falhala à la Promenade, juin 1669.

Allez-belle en ces lieux charmans,
La douce saison de l'année
Je t'aurais invitée à finir la journée,
Vos pas s'appaîtrait longtemps.

Dame en Stenkerque à la Promenade, aux Tuilleries.

Allez-belle en ces lieux charmans
La douce saison de l'année
La joie faine avec moue aegride, derrière longue, s'agit sur l'assise prestans.
In the absence of a gentleman, a lady might promenade with another lady, their arms might be linked, or one might put her arm lightly around the other's waist or shoulders.

_Mesdames Loison se promenant aux Tuileries_
E. Sitting and Reclining

The clearest instructions for sitting come from the plates. For men and women both the back is held straight, the body is kept toward the forward part of the chair and the feet are placed in some variation of fourth position (occasionally second position for the men). In fourth position the rear heel is off the ground. The following are directions for the act of sitting down:

1. Make very sure of the exact position of the chair without seeming to do so.

2. When ready to sit, address the edge of the chair (without so much as a glance in its direction) with the back of the leg.

3. Keeping the back straight and without protrusion of the buttocks, lower the body, keeping the weight on the leg that addressed the chair while the other leg, toe pointed, slips under the chair to steady the descending body. If one wears a sword, a neat tap on the hilt will bring the point forward so as to be out of harm's way (if the carriage of the sword is high as in the earlier part of the period). A sword worn lower is to be swing, with an easy motion that may take considerable practice, around toward one's back as one sits. If one wears a skirt and train, a deft turn of the body and kick of the foot will serve to arrange it gracefully; manipulation of the skirt by the hands impairs the requisite sense of effortlessness and should be used only when effortlessness is not the desired effect.

4. Once seated, an easy and inconspicuous reversal of the positions of the feet serves to finish off the action nicely. A similar reversal of the positions of the feet is a graceful beginning for the
action of rising and allows for the exact placement of the rear toe to push the weight of the rising body so that the buttocks may remain tucked in and the back straight as the weight is received on the forward foot.

5. If a cross is to follow the rise, the turn or forward impulse should not occur until the body is fully erect—which brings up a principle of good movement no more peculiar to Restoration comedy than the forgoing procedure for sitting and rising, and just as frequently ignored by modern subjective actors. Although the various stages of an action should flow into each other smoothly, they must be executed cleanly and in sequence if the action is not to appear muddy, uncontrolled and dissipated. One should not attempt to rise, turn, and move forward all at the same time any more than one should attempt to open, turn and move a fan in space all in one motion. Similarly, the striking of one of the afore-mentioned attitudes, proper for conversation, should be performed as a finishing movement of the entrance or cross which preceded it.
This and the following plates show correct positions for standing and sitting on formal occasions. Note the heads held erect, the feet placed in second or fourth position, the extremities kept disengaged from the body centers.
These and the following engravings exemplify the studied sense of "naturalness" proper for slightly more relaxed circumstances -- for visits, conversation, salons, etc.
Le Roy

Lay tout le monde sur les bras
Sans rien perdre de ma constance,
Et j'espère enfin que la France
Fera toujours trembler tous les autres États.
Doux charme de ma solitude,
Brulante pipe, ardent fourneau,
Qui purges d'humeurs mon cerveau,
Et mon esprit d'inquiétude,

Tabac dont mon ame est ravie,
Aussi prompte : sipes en l'air,
Je vois l'image mon souvenir,
Tu remets en je dois devenir:

N'étant qu'une cendre animée,
En te voyant, je m'aperçois,
Que tu t'en vas tout en fumée,
Et que je passe comme toy.

"For a man to be so daring as to lean in his elbow chair, when he is weary with sitting upright," is accounted true liberty, in France.

Muralt, p. 95
Observe the wide kneeling postures and tilted heads associated with courtship procedures.
The kneeling position for the woman (who normally knelt only at church) was usually a matter of sitting on the calves on a cushion rather than actually kneeling.

Although the legs could not be openly displayed, ways were found to call attention to them. Instead of holding the thighs demurely together, a lady usually held them apart, for the better placement of the feet in fourth position as well as for the forming of a graceful "lap."
A lady usually did not cross her legs in the presence of the opposite sex, but on informal occasions the legs were very frequently crossed indeed.
The open placement of the legs in the following plate is only a trifle more noticeable than that shown in the love scenes. Notice that the turn-out begins at the hip and carries through the knee to the ankle at all times, with the result that there is nothing slovenly about these rather loose sitting positions.
Note the careful pointing of the toes and the extreme out-turn of the thighs in this presumably relaxed sitting posture.
F. Typical Variations From the Norm
The Frenchman, the Spaniard and the Beau

Obadiah Walker gives us additional warnings about faults in walking and standing which are helpful in the development of period character syndromes:

When you discourse with any person, gaze not upon him, as if you were taking his picture.... To bite your lip is used in threatening; ...To sink the head into the shoulders, is laziness; the head erect and backward, is interpreted pride and arrogance, letting it fall on either side, hypocrisy. To go with folded arms, is sloth or melancholy...to set them akimbo [the hands on the insides of the opposite arms, instead of the outsides as formerly] is arrogance, and to hang them down, folly and laziness. A slow pace is proper to delicate and effeminate persons, a hasty one to madmen; strutting is affectation, waddling is for the slothful and lazy, and in measure to dancers.¹⁴⁴

Walker's syntax is a little awkward, but his instructions are clear and pertinent. If this approach to the expression of traits and emotions seems to the modern actor to savor overmuch of that Stanislavskian anathema, mechanical acting, let him remember two things: First, techniques of self-expression, then, as now, were more acquired than instinctive; a baby has to be taught to smile, and the difference between a smile and a grimace is purely a matter of motivation. Second, the difference between a rhetorical gesture and one which is psychological in origin is also a matter of motivation; Michael Chekhov convincingly demonstrates that there is a chicken-and-egg relationship between most internal feelings and their external manifestations.¹⁴⁵ At any rate, passages in the popular literature

¹⁴⁵Chekhov, pp. 63-85.
on the familiar types of the time can be very helpful in the building of
certain Restoration characters.

For the Frenchman, real or feigned, who so often appears in these
plays, there are such passages as:

...Half a dozen Frenchmen when they meet,
Their tongues not only wag, but tongues and feet.
Each part about them seems to move and walk,
Their eyes, their noses, nay, their fingers talk.46

...Others in ragged coats, with nimble heels, and
more nimble tongues, cutting of capers and whistling
of minuets, with a brown George in one hand and a
wisp of dandelion in the other as if they were French.47

These were confusedly jumbled among people of sundry
nations, such as our neighboring antics, the French,
who talk more with their heads and hands than with
their tongues; who commonly speak first and think
afterwards; step a minuet as they walk, and sit as
gracefully on an Exchange bench, as if in a great
saddle; their bodies always dance to their tongues,
and they are so great lovers of action that they are
ready to wound every pillar with their canes, as they
passed by, either in tierce, decarte, or sacoon.48

...Aye, now the Marquis is at it...don't you see how
the French rogue has the head, and the feet, and the
hands, and the tongue, all going together together?
[Sir Harry Wildair, III, i.]

The Spaniard is the next most popular object of British national
satire both in and out of the comedies:

We deride the Spaniard for his odd shape, not for
his constancy to it....49

46 The Baboon A-la-Mode, A Satyr Against the French, By a Gentleman
(London: S. Malthus, 1706), p. 3.

47 Thomas Brown and Edward Ward, A Legacy for the Ladies, or:
Characters of the Women of the Age, and A Comical View of London and West-


49 Evelyn, Tyrannus, p. 15.
...Some accoutered with short cloaks and long spadas, with huge snuff-boxes in their hands and a clove of garlic in their mouths, as if they were Spaniards....

...we were got amongst a parcel of lank-haired formalists, in flat, crowned hats and short cloaks, walking with as much state and gravity as a snail o'er a leaf of cabbage, with a box of tobacco-snuff in one hand, and the other employed in charging their nostrils, from whence it crops into their mustachios, which are always as full of snuff as a beau's wig is full of powder. Every sentence they spoke was graced with a shrug of the shoulders, and every step they took was performed with as much leisure as a cock strides.

Wycherley, in The Gentleman Dancing Master, gives us an amusing comparison of these two extremes:

**Formal.** ...You are a rash young man, and while you wear pantaloons, you are beneath my passion, voto—Auh—they make thee look and waddle (with all those gew-gaw ribbons) like a great, old, fat, slovenly water-dog.

**Paris.** And your Spanish hose, and your nose in the air, make you look like a great, grisled-long Irish grey-hound, reaching a crust off from a high shelf, ha, ha, ha. (III, i.)

**Formal.** Come Sirrah Black, now you teach him to walk with the verdadero gesto, gracia and gravidad of a true Castilian...Malo, malo, with your hat on your pole, as if it hung upon a pin; the French and English wear their hats, as if their horns would not suffer 'em to come over their foreheads, voto—

**Paris.** 'Tis true, there are some well-bred gentlemen have so much reverence for their perruques, that they would refuse to be grandees of your Spain, for fear of putting on their hats, I vow and swear.

---


Formal. Come, Black, teach him how to make a Spanish leg.

Paris. Ha, ha, ha, your Spanish leg is your English courtsey. I vow and swear, ha, ha, ha.

(Evidently the Spanish were still using the sixteenth-century Coroso reverence, in which one foot was drawn behind the other and the knees, rather than the body bent. This is, indeed, more like a lady's curtsey than a modish latter seventeenth-century bow; see Reverences in next chapter.)

Formal. ...This will be a light French fool, in spite of the grave Spanish habit, look you. But Black, do what you can, make the most of him, walk him about....

Black. Hold up your head, hold up your head, Sir, a stooping Spaniard, Male.

Paris. True, a Spaniard scorns to look upon the ground....

Black. Now let me see you make your visit-leg thus.

Paris. Auh, teste non, ha, ha, ha.

Black. What, a Spaniard, and laugh aloud! no, thus only so--now your salutation in the street as you pass by your acquaintance; look you thus—if to a woman, thus, putting your hat upon your heart; if to a man, thus with a nod, so—but frown a little more, frown. But if to a woman you would be very ceremonious to, thus—so—your neck nearer your shoulder, so—Now if you would speak contemptibly of any man or thing, do thus with your hand—so—and shrug up your shoulders, 'til they hide your ears. Now walk again. (IV, i.)

The Spanish were derided for their pride and gravity as much as were the French for their complaisance and frivolity. Those Englishmen who forsook their native moderation for either extreme received their share of ridicule. Much of the humor was directed at idiosyncrasies of carriage which, unfortunately for us, were so very familiar to the people of the time that most writers did not describe but merely referred to them. Much of the humor, if not the sense, of Wycherley's Dancing Master is lost to the modern reader for this reason. However, the accompanying plates
suggest, at least, the quality of the behavior being satirized.

Puritans, Quakers, and other Protestant minorities, were likely to be combined under the label of "fanatics" for lampooning purposes.

The following passage suggests some evocative physical objectives for an actor playing roles, such as Smirk or Spintext:

If he be in a fanatical society, his eye (must) for a while be fixed, and stand still as the sun in Juha's time, and then on a sudden...there is nothing to be seen but the whites, for his sight has gone into the labyrinth of his brain in search of his soul, to ask the question whether she is ready for her journey to Heaven. Next he imitates the pulling down of the nether jaw to make his face look long and lean, the certain indication of the mortification of the flesh; the next is the contraction of his lips, the gathering up of his chin, the thrusting out of his head, and the sour faces he makes, would make one believe that he is about to make a close stool of his breeches, and being very costive, he strains hard but cannot do it, without the help of a skillful midwife, a known Professor.52

Of course, the most common butts of satire, in the comedies and out of them, are the beaux and fops, the latter being merely the more extreme version of the former. They are usually Francophiles, like Sir Fopling:

The people that the English call beaux, are a kind of copy of your French Marquis, but not quite so impertinent, for they don't take as much pains to be heard as to be seen.53

Their bearing in public was inclined to exhibit a pretentious extravagance:

53Muralt, p. 33.
His gait is a strut which he learns from the stage,
When heroes by whores are put in a rage....
Thus proud as a turkey-cock spreading its plumes,
He stalks thro' the walks, so enriched with perfumes....
His wig and his handkerchief, gloves and cravat,
Smelt sweet as the arse of a Muscovie-Cat,
His snuff-box each minute was open'd with pains
To fill his head fuller of snuff than of brains;
Thus congee: and bows with his hat in his hand,
And is each common jilt's humble slave to command.54

While in private, their behavior might incline toward extravagance of a
more soulful type:

Medley. His head stands for the most part on one
side and his looks are more languishing than a
lady's when she lolls at stretch on her couch, or
leans her head carelessly against the side of a
box in the Playhouse.  (Man of Mode, I, 1.)

In spite of their delicate airs and gew-gaw ribbons, the beaux knew how
to fight and wanted it known:

(They) bow their heads in tierce and cringe in quart
(And) kiss their hands and clap them on their heart....55

They painted, they tossed their curls and paid special attention to the
various articles of their attire. Richelieu makes the remark, "...an
old man would be ridiculous, should he look on his toes, and ever and
anon throw back the locks of his perruke like a young beau of eighteen...."56
Misson observes, "Their whole business is to hunt after new fashions.
They are creatures compounded of a perriwig and a coat laden with powder

54Ward, Walk to Islington, p. 7.


56Richlieu, p. 19.
as white as a miller's, a face besmeared with snuff, and a few affected airs; they are exactly like Molière's Marquesses, and want nothing but that title...."57

But exactly what constitutes the difference between one of these beaux and the ideal seventeenth-century man-about-town? In productions of Restoration comedy it is frequently impossible to tell, except that the hero gets what he wants and the fop does not. The standard dichotomy between the "wit" and the "witwoud" is not of much practical help to the actor, and Knight's observation about Witwood's being about as witty as Mirabell is not without some justification.58 Van Brugh's classification is more definite than definitive:

Berinthia. (There are) men that may be called the beaux' antipathy; For they agree in nothing but walking on two legs.
These have brains: The beau has none.
These are in love with their mistress: The beau with himself.
They take care of her reputation: He's industrious to destroy it.
They are decent, He's a fop.
They are sound: He's rotten.
They are men: He's an ass. 
(The Relapse. II, i, p. 43)

All of which, upon examination, boils down to something like the modern dichotomy between the right sort of people and the wrong sort of people; the former are people one approves of, and the latter are people one doesn't approve of. Clearly, the gallants in a Restoration audience identified themselves with Dorimant, and their neighbors with Sir Fopling.

57Muralt, p. 16.

No fool thinks of himself as a fool, no bore thinks of himself as a bore, and no fop thought of himself as a fop. What motivational difference, then, can the director build between the actor playing Dorimant and the actor playing Fopling?

Happily, one variation is suggested in all the above quotations, at least by indirection. The fop appears to be interested exclusively, enthusiastically—and without self-perspective—in his external appearance and social personna. The man of wit, although unexceptionable in those matters, is also presumed to have an infinite scope of interests and activities. Dorimant is a social success because his mind is not wholly bent on it (although just what else his mind is bent on is never made clear); Sir Fopling is not a social success because his mind is bent on nothing else.

Dressing, talking, and trying to impress people are the fop's whole life, and he gives advice, based on the fruits of his arduous researches, to others: "A complete gentleman...according to Sir Fopling, ought to dress well, dance well, fence well, have a genius for love letters, an agreeable voice for a chamber, be very amorous, something discreet, but not over constant." (Man of Mode I, i.)

Brisk, in Shadwell's The Humorists is generous with his serious counsel: "Let me advise you ever, while you live, if you have a fair peruke, get by a green or some dark coloured hanging or curtain, if there be one in the room. Oh, it sets it off admirably...And be sure if your eye-brows be not black, to black 'em soundly; ah, your black eye-brow is your fashionable eye-brow. I hate rogues that wear eye-brows that are out of fashion." (III.)
In terms of actor motivation, the fop works hard at what is performed with careless ease by men of sense. Far from being motiveless posturing, his posturing is very intensely motivated indeed, and this intensity is what makes it so ridiculous. Thus, while a Dorimant would simply allow his arms their natural swing, a Sir Fopling might exaggerate the swing as he walked and take pains to begin and end a cross with a studied flourish or other mark of emphasis, with the leading arm. While a Dorimant would have perfected a rhythmic walk to the point where it was automatic, a Sir Fopling, "treading as nicely with his legs as if the street were paved with eggs," might actually count, "one, two and three as in dancing." Not that Sir Fopling's walk in his opinion could admit of any improvement; the counting would simply serve as a kind of accompaniment, like humming, to the figure he was very consciously cutting; it would be an expression of his delight in fulfilling so admirably his primary purpose in life.

Among female characters, a similar set of extremes was satirized. On the one hand there was the prude with her "cant and turning up of the eyes, the frequent sighs and sobs, the artificial hims and haws, the exegetical motions of the handkerchief and mouth, [which] are but the super-structure of the hypocritical temple."59

On the other hand, there was the "affected young lady," of whom Belinda in The Old Bachelor is an example. Neither of these types occurs in the comedies as regularly as do their masculine counterparts. The more

59Brown, Legacy For the Ladies, p. 20.
usual butts of satire are the aging females, or those dominated by lust, and their basic physical mannerisms do not differ appreciably from those of "ladies of honour and sense."

Affectation itself varied from accepted behavior only in motivation and in degree. Since affectation was considered the cardinal sin of the period, it is fitting to close this chapter on carriage with a few words on the subject. Bellegarde perceptively isolates the quality as a flaw of motivation from which spring various kinds of faulty behavior:

Affectation is the falsification of the whole person, which deviates from all that is natural, whereby it might please, to put on an ascetitious air, wherewithal to become ridiculous. It is the effect of a corrupt taste, of an extravagant imagination, of an immoderate and mistaken desire of pleasing and distinguishing oneself. People corrupted with this vice, have nothing natural in their way of talking, walking, dressing, turning their eyes or head; these are notions unknown to other men. In order to speak, there needs no more than to open the mouth easily, and without pains; but they seek a mystery in it, they seem to be moved with springs; their disguise reaches even to the sound of their voices. We must bear in mind the seventeenth-century meanings of such words as "natural" and "easy."

Take heed how you disguise yourself and copy others; stick to nature...for whatever is fictitious and affected is always insipid and distasteful. She mimics the walk of this lady, the sound of the voice of that; she turns her eyes in a way that is unnatural; she opens and shuts her mouth in measure and time; she seems to be acted with wheels and pulleys like a machine; 'tis a piece of clockwork...

'Tis true, she imitates good patterns, but all she does is offensive, because she has forsaken her own natural behavior for a borrowed one of others; in short, she is a body copy of excellent originals. 60

60 Bellegarde, p. 77.
Wise people ought to submit themselves to the humours of the mode; it would be affectation not to do what done by all the world; a singularity to make a man observed. As extravagant as a fashion seems, it must be followed when it is established, provided we will not exceed the folly of those that have invented it; what could we say of a man that would still wear an high-crowned hat, and breeches as wide as petticoats?  

The intensity with which affectation is decried in Restoration treatises on polite behavior indicates how common a fault it was among people incapable of effective polite behavior. Then, as now, affectation consisted in striving too hard to make an impression and consequently overshooting the mark. For the modern actor's purpose, affectation might be called the quality of pleasing ourselves by showing off, whereas true politeness is the quality of pleasing others by making them satisfied with us and with themselves.

61 Bellegarde, p. 97.
A. 

Un homme barbu de noble naissance. Il porte une longue robe, des bottes et un chapeau. Son visage est régulier et ses traits sont bien dessinés.

B. 

Un homme en habits de ville. Il porte un chapeau haut de forme, une robe à manches longues et une jupe à talons aigus. Il est debout dans une rue animée avec d'autres passants.

C. 

Une jeune femme. Elle porte une robe longue et élégante, une coiffe sur la tête et des bijoux au cou. Elle est debout dans un paysage rural avec des paysans à l'arrière-plan.
Gens de qualité en famille à la promenade

Homme en habit de coiffe
CHAPTER II

REVERENCES AND SALUTATIONS

Perhaps the greatest single problem of Restoration movement is that of the honor or reverence: How it is executed, where and, most importantly, why? Except on solemn occasions, the curtseys exchanged by Restoration ladies and gentlemen were not primarily gestures of sincere respect. Nor were they merely civilized social rites, although some of the moralists of the day preferred to think of them as such.

During the transition between the old order based on Providence and the new order based on accomplishment, the hereditary aristocracy was experiencing something of a crisis of identity. On the basis of mere wealth or title, its members could no longer be readily distinguished from the country gentry, the city bourgeoisie or from persons riding the waves of political upheaval. But they could still base their claim to superiority on their indisputable preeminence in the field of "breeding."

At this point in English history, an honour or reverence was a public performance requiring impeccable choice, timing and execution. The guidance of a dancing master was needed for its perfection. Like formal conversation or dancing, the making and returning of honours was one of the arts of aristocratic living. It also provided a veritable index of breeding by means of which persons of quality recognized and communicated with each other. By the nice regulation of these studied
gestures, they courted superiors, acknowledged inferiors and accepted equals.

Steele has considerable fun at the expense of this prime technique of social intercourse. His criticism comes, moreover, at the end of the period, when manners were supposedly growing more "careless" and casual, perhaps even more "sincere!"

There are some things which cannot come under certain rules, but which one would think would not need them.... As to salutation...there are great enormities committed with regard to this particular. You shall sometimes see a man begin the offer of a salutation, and observe a forbidding air, or escaping eye, in the person he is going to salute, and stop short in the pole of his neck. This in the person who believed he could do it, with a good grace, and was refused the opportunity, is justly resented with a coldness the whole ensuing season.... Your great beauties, people in much favour, or by any means or for any purpose over-flattered, are apt to practice this which one may call the Preventing Aspect, and throw their attention another way, lest they should confer a bow or courtsey upon a person who might not appear to deserve that dignity. Others you shall find so obsequious, and so very courteous, as there is no escaping their favours of this kind. Of this sort may be a man who is in the fifth or sixth degree of favour with a Minister; this good creature is resolved to show the world, that great honours cannot at all change his manners; he is the same civil person he ever was; he will venture his neck to bow out of a coach in full speed, at once, to show he is full of business, and is not yet so taken up as to forget his old friend.... I think I have read in one of our English comedies, a description of a fellow that affected knowing everybody, and for some want of judgment in time and place, would bow and smile in the face of a judge sitting in the Court, would sit in an opposite gallery and smile in the minister's face as he came up into the pulpit, and nod as if he alluded to some familiarities between them in another place. I have a very angry letter from a lady who tells me [of] one of her acquaintance,
who out of mere pride and a pretense to be rude, takes upon her to return no civilities done to her in time of Divine Service, and is the most religious woman for no other reason but to appear a woman of the best quality in the church....

Like other fashionable manners, honours were supposed to appear casual and effortless; but they were, in fact, very carefully calculated to show awareness of station—one's own as well as that of others. One fines this awareness not only in diplomatic situations where a trivial question of precedent might affect the whole balance of power, but in the social situations mirrored by the comedies. Bellegarde puts it this way:

...Decencies are of an infinite extent. Sexes, ages, professions, characters, times and places, demand different devoirs; which differences must be known and practised, if we would be acceptable to the world....

How is it possible for people ignorant of decorum to please the genteel and well-bred? Their actions, words, gestures, walks, are so many impertinencies. Decorum is learnt in the school of the world, which is the fountain of politeness and agreement.

If we would please, we must study the different respects we owe to all sorts of persons, according to their different characters, for there's no decency in treating everybody alike, and paying the same deference to a wretch, as to a man of merit. Whatever attitudes our period may share with Bellegarde's, the belief that all men are created equal is assuredly not one of them.


2 Bellegarde, p. 360-361.
In honours as well as in other customs, English fashions followed those of the French, but, as usual, with some common-sense reservations:

Take heed of being too ceremonious and compli-mental, lest thou give others an occasion to think, that thou art full of craft because thou art full of courtesy; the bowings, bendings, and cringings of some resemble but such gestures as men use when they go about to catch dotterels; yet there are some ceremonies in giving men their due titles of honour, according to their several degrees, either when we write to them, talk with them, which we cannot omit, without the imputation of being ill-bred.3

Frenchmen, fops and country people later in the period were all derided for overdoing honours. But undergoing was just as bad, as Crowne's comparison between beau and boor indicates: "Sir Courtly is so civil a creature, and so respectful to everything that belongs to a gentleman, that he stands bare to his own periwig. Surlly uncovers to nothing but his own night-cap, nor to that, if he be drunk, for he sleeps in his hat." (Sir Courtly Nice, I.)

Lord Stately, in the same author's English Friar, is soundly ridiculed for his high-handed pronouncements as to who is eligible for his favors, and for his distinctions as to who receives which reverence:

Lord Wiseman. (Aside). This fool makes the whole business of greatness to be foppery and impertinence.

Lord Stately. I make distinctions of persons, and whenever I uncover to any man I weigh my hat.

3 Josiah Dare, Counselor Manners, His Last Legacy to His Son (London: Edward Gough, 1673), p. 42.
Bellmour. Weigh your hat, my lord?

Lord Stately. Aye, with gold weights. To a nobleman I give an entire behavior (Puts his hat low). To all gentlemen I give only a kind of demicaster (Poises his hat over his shoulder). To a common fellow I give a bend of my brim and a cock; the bend to show my courtesy, the cock to show my quality and my superiority. (II.)

It is not, however, Lord Stately's practice which is being criticized, nor even his principles. These were for the most part shared by all people of fashion. Rather, it is the pretentiousness and the officiousness of his attitudes which are in error. Gatty, in Shadwell's Bury Fair, expresses the correct approach, "Breeding! I know no breeding necessary, but discretion to distinguish company and occasions, and common sense, to entertain persons according to their rank, besides making a courtsey not awkwardly, and walking with one's toes out." (II.)

This casual dismissal is, of course, no dismissal at all, but a fairly tall order. Fashions in reverences, as in dress, were not only complicated but were constantly changing, so that only the courtly ingroup could keep up with them. Toward the end of the period, as Steele points out, a polite country squire would make as many bows in half an hour as a courtier would make in a week and probably of the wrong sort at that.

French-derivative treatises on deportment give instructions as to what kind of reverence is proper in various social situations. A certain amount of leeway is permitted; for instance, if the prescribed behaviours become too troublesome, they may be discontinued at the least encouragement from one's superior. Among equals, some sort of reverence
is usually called for upon any greeting, leave-taking, entrance or exit; likewise, upon the giving or receiving of anything, and as an acknowledge of a compliment or favor no matter how slight:

Bows and courtseys are the outward marks of respect we pay to others, which, in one sex, are showed by bowing the body, but, in the other, by bending the knees; and, if made in a regular manner, they are, indeed, very grand, noble, and highly ornamental. They accompany our conversation, as well in standing as in walking; in the former on breaking off a conversation, as in taking leave, or by way of acknowledgment for some favour or obliging thing spoken in our praise, and in the latter, when we enter a room, or meet a person passing on the right or left. 4

Discretion, the direction of circumstance, the examples of people of fashion are repeatedly invoked as guides to particularities of honours and other aspects of good breeding. The person of quality was assumed to have a certain instinct which automatically enabled him to improve upon the examples set for him by his paid dancing master:

You are persuaded, without doubt, that your dancing master has omitted nothing he ought to tell you (about making an honour); and I am likewise willing to believe that you salute with a better grace than he that taught you to salute. I know that most masters are too formal in these matters; they bow down, and raise themselves up by rule only. Everything is starched in them, all savours of art, and scarcely have they ended their reverence, but they seem to promise the beginning of a courant or minuet. Persons of quality, on the contrary, salute with a better air, and in a more natural manner. If you still feel any kind of restraint, you must get rid of it as soon as you can, and give to your countenance and action all requisite liberty. 5

4 Tomlinson, p. 5.
5 Richlieu, p. 73.
The motivation, then, for the paying of everyday social honours was usually to please, sometimes to show off, but always, consciously or not, to demonstrate one's quality. Breeding and merit were a closed circle (whether vicious or benign); if one had breeding one was a person of merit; if one was a person of merit, one had breeding. Without question, therefore, the young Restoration nobleman applied himself diligently to the making of honours. A similar diligence is recommended to an actor attempting to impersonate a gallant today.

The gallant was presumed to have access to private instruction and to the observation of good models at Court and abroad. Fashions in the fine points of physical behavior were changing faster than instructions on them could be published. For these reasons, presumably, no detailed precepts for the execution of reverences seem to have been printed during the Restoration period proper. One suspects that the rise of the middle class and the increasing opportunities for climbing the social ladder helped to create the demand which caused the publication of the treatises of Weaver (1720), Rameau (1725), and Tomlinson (1734), written in 1724. To this rising middle class, personal tutelage and noble example were not so readily available, but "breeding" was losing its exclusive aspect. It was now considered less a gift that one had to be born with and more a science which could be mastered by anyone with the will, good sense and application to do so.

In any case, after De Lauze's somewhat vague *Apologie De La Danse*, published in 1623, the first precise descriptions of the making of honours would appear to be in John Weaver's *Anatomical and Mechanical*
Lectures on Dancing. Although there is a marked difference between the verbal descriptions of the reverences of 1623 and those of 1720, the latter appear to be a fairly logical and straightforward development from the former. Nonetheless, the many references in literature, theatrical and otherwise to the "latest French cringe" indicate that there was considerable variation in the execution of reverences between 1660 and 1710.

Thus, it would seem that the modern producer of Restoration comedy has ample historical justification for exercising the sound directorial practice of encouraging variety in the behavior of his characters. He should, however, use De Lauze as the beginning and Weaver-Essex-Tomlinson as the end of the continuum within which he works.

A. Covering and Uncovering

The first stage in the making of an honour is the removal of the hat. As Essex categorically states: "It is very necessary for everyone, in what situation of life soever he is, to know how to take off his hat as he ought, and to make a handsome bow...[and] nobody makes a bow before he takes off his hat." 6 Earlier writers merely speak of taking off one's hat "handsomely;" Essex' directions are the first specific ones we have:

If you would salute any one, the arm must be raised to the height of the shoulder, as this first figure (1) represents, having the hand open (2) then bend the elbow to take off the hat, which makes a half circle, according to these words, the bend of the elbow, which has its point from the elbow itself.

6Essex, pp. 13-14.
The elbow being bent, as you see by the second figure, and the hand open, as in the first figure, it must be carried to the head, which should not move; then place the thumb against the forehead, and the fingers on the brim of the hat cocked up, and closing the thumb and the four fingers, hold it so; then raising the arm a little higher, it lifts the hat off the head at once, and extending itself, falls by the side of the body, which is called the fall of the arm, as expressed by the figure.

This third figure represents the manner of holding the hat hanging down by the side, the crown downwards...it should not be understood by these different positions, that there should be any stop made at each time, for that would be ridiculous. What I mean is, that there should be no interval, and that these three motions should be so imperceptible, that they should seem as but one single action; which I thought proper to distinguish by each principal posture or attitude, for the better apprehension of them: Viz. to raise the arm from the side, bending the elbow; to lift it off, and let the arm fall by the side again.

And to put it on again, the same order is to be observed; that is, to raise the arm from the side to the height of the shoulder, and bending the elbow, put the hat on the head, pressing the cocked brim at the same time with the hand, to force it down with one action, and not to clap the hand on the crown, which would be ungenteel; for the head ought not to make any motion to receive it, but the hand and arm should put it on: Neither ought the hat to be pressed down too hard, by reason of the difficulty there would be to take it off again; its use being only for an ornament. One ought to observe also not to take it off formally, nor to advance the arm and hand too forwards, which would hide the face; nor ever to stopp with the head, and let the hat carelessly fall over the face, which would look very ill.

The most graceful manner of wearing it, in my opinion, is this: To clap it first on the forehead a little above the eyebrows, and pressing the cock moderately, force it down no further behind than a just proportion will admit; the fore-part to be lower a small matter
than the back-part...to wear it quite back gives an awkward, silly air, and too much pressed down gives a melancholy or angry look; whereas the manner of wearing it, as I have shown, seems both decent, modest, and agreeable. 7

The arm should not be lifted higher than shoulder height in raising the hand to the hat; this would take the behavior into a later period. Nivelon's instructions on taking hold of the hat, although they belong to this later period (1737), are probably valid for the earlier behavior also: "...The wrist must be straight, the hand turned and its palm shown, the fingers must be on the brim, and the fore-finger extended on the crown of the hat, and the thumb under the brim (near the forehead), which preserves the shape and fashion; and whilst taking it off, let the look and action be complaisantly addressed to the person to whom the compliment is intended...." 8

Before Essex' time there was probably considerable leeway in what was done with the hat after it was removed, during the ensuing bow and before it was returned to the head or positioned at the side. One stage-worthy variation is the gesture, symbolic of sweeping the ground at the lady's feet with the plumes of one's beaver, which would be consistent with the Cavalier flamboyance of the early part of the period. For this, after being poised over the shoulder as in a "demicoster," (Plate 38A), the hat makes a flowing over-hand arc across the front of the body (the back of the hand and the outside of the hat leading); it then makes an underhand arc back to the right side, during the slide and

7Essex, pp. 14-16.

8Nivelon, The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour (London, 1737), "2nd. Figure."
inclination stages of the forward bow. Another, a particularly Gallic variation, adds a circular motion to the fall of the arm, a kind of frou-frou spiral of plumes and wrist-lace which again is especially suited to the first part of the period with its larger and more heavily beplumed hats. There seems to be no documentary justification for these variants, other than frequent implications that a bit of originality, if accompanied with grace and style, was not amiss in the making of one's honours. If allowances are made for the changes in hat styles throughout the period, Essex' instructions on uncovering appear to be a practical starting point, or norm, for straight characters. After the actor has mastered the basic form of the behavior, he may work out variations to suit his character, just as the prototypes of Freeman, Valentine and Tuttle probably did for themselves.
The first Motion to take off the Hat.
The Second Figure of holding the Hat.

The Manner of holding the Hat by the Side.
B. The Early Bow

The bow itself begins when the hat is at shoulder height, unless the hat has been removed previously. De Lauze describes the correct reverence for a gentleman on entering an assembly of people of quality:

It is first necessary, as I have already said for the first bow, to remove the hat. After making some sedate steps, without affectation, and when that one comes near to him one wishes to salute, the right leg, well stretched, must slide before the left, and at the same time, in bending the knees, not forwards but outwards to each side, bend the waist also. Thus, without lowering the head except with the body, the right arm being well extended, lower all equally, as much or as little as the quality of whomsoever one wishes to salute obliges. And without stopping on this action, in rising, one must kiss the right hand, then, carrying it back to its place, separate the left foot at once to the side and slide the right behind, where it will be disengaged gently in bending just a little, and therefore stop to converse.

These same actions should be observed by a Gentleman in order to salute a lady, except that he should, in rising, after having kissed his hand, also kiss the lady. Then disengage the left foot and slide the right behind, which he must bring back by sliding it gently, as has been said above in saluting a Gentleman.9, 10

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9 De Lauze, p. 121.

10 (This recovery from the bow; the weight received on the front or right foot, then the disengaging of the left foot to the side, where it, in turn, receives the weight, and the sliding of the now disengaged right foot behind, is evidently the germ of the "bow backward" to be added to the "bow forward" in formal salutations of the later period.)
Figures A, B and C show three stages in the earlier bow forward.
C. Kisses of Salutation

The kissing of one's own hand, apparently omitted in the reverence to a group of people, is shown by contemporary graphic sources to be substantially the same gesture as that described by Coroso in the preceding century and paraphrased by Wildeblood and Brinson in *The Polite World*: "It was always the right hand, which should not touch the mouth, being kept 'somewhat distant, and bending it a little, not keeping it straight,' and the gesture was accompanied either by a bow or a courtsey. When raising the arm and bringing the hand towards the mouth, with the wrist and hand curving inwards, the index finger, (often the favorite finger for a ring in these times) was nearest the mouth."\(^{11}\)

Ward, at the turn of the century, speaks of "tipping the finger to the nose," which is a good verbalization of the action.\(^{12}\) His description is borne out by Plates which show three stages of the gesture in the correct order. The hand was not actually kissed, and by the end of the period, this suggested kissing had given way to a circular gesture in the direction of the mouth. By 1685 even the kiss of the lady might also be a mere indication: "if it be a lady of quality, you cannot address yourself to salute her with respect unless she vouchsafes to advance, and tender her cheek; in that case, too, you are only to pretend to salute her by putting your head to her hoods, but whether you kiss her or not, when you retreat, you must make a profound reverence with your

\(^{11}\)Wildeblood and Brinson, p. 170.

However, the kissing of ladies in salutation was still permissible in some circles as late as 1720 when Adam Petrie quotes Courtin but adds some notes of his own: "When [the lady to be kissed] advances, give her a low bow, and when you retreat give her another.... Note that in France they only salute ladies on the cheek, but in Britain and Ireland they salute them on the lips, but ladies give inferiors their cheek only... it is rudeness for a lady to give her cheek to her equal, for she should present her lips."  

Tastes in the salutatory kissing of ladies and men as well differed considerably, as is indicated by the following "letter" in the Spectator:

Mr. Spectator:

I am a footman in a little family; and one day some company was invited to dinner at our house: one gentleman came and he kissed both my mistresses, another came and kissed neither; and yet was made as welcome as the other: presently comes a gentleman and takes my master about the neck and kisses him first of one cheek, and then of the other.

I desire you to tell me why that gentleman did not kiss my mistresses, as well as the other, and why the gentleman kissed my master of both cheeks, as if one would not have done as well. Pray resolve me as soon as you can....

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I desire to know whether it be the custom in any other country in the world except France (from whence I am told we took it) for the men to kiss one another; and whether the remembrance of Judas's unparalleled villainy, covered under a kiss, should not be a sufficient reason for all Christian countries to detest the usage between man and man.15

Salutatory kissing between men of good breeding was permissible but not a requirement in 1676, as is evidenced by the Orange Woman's reaction to the behavior of Dorimant and Medley: "Lord, what a filthy trick these men have got of kissing one another." (Man of Mode I, i) By 1698 the custom was lapsing out of usage altogether among gentlemen of quality. Witwood says to Wilful, who would have kissed him, "You think you're in the country, where great lubberly brothers slabber and kiss one another when they meet like a call of sergeants--'tis not the fashion here; 'tis not indeed, dear brother." (Way of the World III, iii)

Embraces between men were used on formal or state occasions of greeting and were accompanied by the kissing of the superior's hand by the inferior. It was a mark of great civility and condescension for the superior to kiss one or both of the inferior's cheeks: "(King Charles) welcomed his Excellency with a most courteous embrace, a reception demonstrative of cordiality and especial regard, and not common to all persons of quality, but reserved only for great and allied princes; others being only admitted to kiss his hand."16


On another occasion in meeting with the king, Cosmo's description conveys the atmosphere as well as the particulars of the event: "Charles... taking hold of his Highness' hand, which he would have kissed but the prince, anticipating him, with the greatest promptitude and address, kissed that of His Majesty. The King, repeating his toast, wished to show the same courtesy to His Highness, but he, withdrawing his hand with the most delicate respect, would not permit it, which His Majesty perceiving, immediately kissed him on the face." (One senses that Cosmo took all this more seriously than did Charles!)

The director may find all this promiscuous kissing valuable for its evocation of local color. However, if he prefers, there are sensible compromises to be made. On the modern stage, the kissing and embracing of male characters tends to draw undue attention to itself. Hence, the director will be wise to use this form of salutation only on occasions when an extreme degree of warmth, (Plate 45) or formality, (Plate 46) or ostentatiousness (Plate 47A) is desired.

If a familiar quality is desired in the greeting of a lady, the actor may kiss her lips or cheek, whereas for a less familiar salutation, he may kiss her hand. In taking the lady's hand to kiss it, the gentleman's hand is below, palm upward, and the lady's hand is above, palm downward. Although the lady's wrist should not be flexed as if a kiss were demanded, her fingers should be relaxed and slightly curved, so that the gentleman's lips can make contact without ungraceful protrusion and without touching her hand with his nose.

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17 Cosmo III, p. 350.
Kissing one’s own hand, incidentally, was omitted from a reverence when, as happened more frequently as the period went on, the hat was kept in the right hand instead of being transferred to the left.
This and the following two plates show five steps in the kissing of the head.
MODE D'HOMMES DE QUALITÉ, 1571.

Guillaume, ancien de la maison des arts de la province de Lorraine, avait un art d'habiller et une attention particulière aux matières de ses vêtements. Les costumes qu'il portait étaient connus pour être de la meilleure qualité et pour refléter le statut social de leur propriétaire.

Les vêtements étaient élaborés à partir de tissus de coton, de laine et de soie, souvent teintés à la main avec des couleurs vives. Les costumes étaient souvent brodés avec de la dentelle ou des motifs floraux pour souligner leur élégance.

Guillaume était connu pour sa munificence envers ses amis et ses associés, et son influence sur la mode était conséquente. Sa passion pour l'art de l'habillement était partagée par d'autres membres de sa famille, et ils s'unirent pour promouvoir la qualité et l'élégance dans les vêtements.

En conclusion, le mode d'hommes de qualité était un symbole de statut et de richesse, et Guillaume en était un exemple parfait. Sa contribution à la mode était indéniable, et son influence a persisté jusqu'à nos jours.
This embrace seems to be one of genuine affection.
The lady's hand has just been kissed as the gentleman rises from a forward bow.

La Discrétion.

Ventre Discrétion m'assure du silence; Votre heureux amour, et qu'un moment si doux mon amour après loin n'exciter nos jalousie: Pays tous les chagrins que nous causer l'honneur

Note the wide-straddling flamboyance
LE BAISER RENDU.

GUILLOT paffoit avec fa mariée.

Qui t'a dit-il, donnée d'autant.

Bien volontiers, dit Guillot à l'instant.

Embrases, however enthusiastic, tended to maintain some distance between the parties concerned, so as not to disarrange or crumple clothing any more than necessary.

Un Gentilhomme à fon grâce la trouvant.
D. The Later Bow Forward

The De Lauze bow can be seen in the prints until the 80's, and it can be used by elderly or country people throughout the period. The later bow forward, which is its direct descendant, differs primarily in the extending as opposed to the flexing, of the forward knee and the slight lifting of the forward heel from the ground.

Tomlinson tells us that when a gentleman enters a room, he must make a graceful pause or stand on the foot that made the last step. \(^\text{18}\)
The further directions for the bow forward, as given by Essex, are much more clearly stated than Tomlinson's and do not materially differ from them:

...I shall now speak of every bow in particular... according to the different occasions that offer every day; and shall begin with that made forwards: The body being upright, slide either the right or left foot forwards to the common proportion, which is the fourth position, as represented by these two figures, which express, in their attitudes, the uprightness of the body, with one foot foremost, to remind you that the body ought not to incline or stoop 'til after you have moved the foot, because the body follows the legs; and what it ought to do afterwards, appears by the other two figures which are bent....

Move the foot gently forwards, leaving the weight of the body on the hinder leg, the knee of which is forced to bend by the weight of the body; whereas the foremost leg ought to be very much extended; but the inclination of the body is greater or less according to the quality of the person you salute: The head also inclines, which is one of the essential parts of the bow. And in bending the waist, extend not the hinder knee, because that would raise the hip,

\(^{18}\) Tomlinson, p. 126.
and make the body seem awry; whereas in the disposition I have given, all the parts are supported by their opposites: But when you rise again, let it be with the same ease you bowed; and in rising, leave the weight of the body on the foremost leg, which gives the other behind the liberty of advancing forwards, or stepping sideways to make another bow, which is commonly made behind....

Tomlinson prefers a bow in which the slide of the foot forward and the inclination of the body occur simultaneously, instead of in sequence. He suggests that a strict rhythm be followed in bowing as in walking; the slide of the foot and the inclination of the body are on the first count, the body is kept in "this respectful posture" for the second count, and the rise, in which the weight is received on the former foot, is the third count.

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19 Essex, pp. 17-18

20 Tomlinson, p. 126.
In the ameau original the front leg is pictured as being very much extended as called for in the text. In this adaptation of ameau's plates by George Alsop, the front leg is shown bent as in the earlier bow forward. I have included this inconsistency as evidence that Alsop thought the above plate was what Essex wanted. I can think of no other reason for such an obvious error on Alsop's part.
I have used the Rameau original here because the line of the back is easier to see in both versions. The forward leg is shown extended, instead of flexed as in the front view of the same attitude. One can only guess as to what may account for the latter discrepancy.

In both the Rameau and Alsbach side views of the second attitude of the bow forward, the left leg is shown forward, instead of the right as in the front views. The fact that right and left are often reversed in prints may account for the discrepancy.
This gentleman is at the depth of his bow and is about to kiss the lady's hand before he rises.

This gentleman appears to be just rising from a forward bow; whether of the earlier or later style is impossible to say.
The central gentlemen are in the second stage of a forward bow, and are probably about to engage in a formal embrace. Note that in the earlier part of the period the hat, instead of falling straight to the side, is held slightly in advance of the body at the depth of the bow.
Various stages of the forward bow are in evidence here.
A variant of the gesture of kissing one's hand was that of presenting one's heart to the person to whom the honour was paid. A large circular movement was made in the direction of the chest instead of the mouth, as if one were, with the tips of one's fingers, drawing a glancing line up the breastbone and then extending this curved line (palm upward) in the direction of the saluted person.
E. The Congee

The bow forward was usually preceded by motion and was employed on both social and formal occasions when a more or less moderate degree of reverence was required. In situations calling for a greater degree of reverence, the "congee" was used. Unfortunately, the only available directions for the congee are the following rather cryptic ones by Courtin:

> If you have not seen [the person of quality] for a long time, you must bow with more humility than ordinary, pulling off your glove, and putting your hand to the ground, and this congee is to be made soberly and deliberately, without haste or embarrassment; otherwise it may fall out, that the person of quality bowing civilly toward you, may have a blow in the face with your head for his pains.21

Courtin's various adapters are of little help either, although Petri adds that it is the back of the hand which is to be lowered to the ground.22

This putting of the hand to the ground cannot comfortably be accomplished as part of the earlier bow or of the later bow forward. Nor is it feasible as part of the bow backward. Fortunately, this pose occurs very frequently in the graphic sources, particularly those having to do with military victories and other dramatic state affairs. It does seem to have been more popular with the French, to whom attitudes of extreme subservience were apparently more palatable than to the English. Nevertheless, the presence of this congee in such graphic examples as Ricci's The Mall (Plate 133) indicates its correctness for certain characters and situations in Restoration comedy. It was very possibly this kind of

21 Courtin, Rules, p. 120.
22 Petrie, p. 25.
gesture which so disgusted Ward on his visit to the park and to which he refers in the *London Terrifilius*: "Now three slides tagged with two cringes and a low bow, and twice as many rural compliments for the flattering kiss of a town strumpet." The "cringes" were regular bows forward with a congee as the climax of the performance. The congee, as pictured, certainly befits Shadwell's description of Trim, who is "setting out his bum for a smart bout at compliment." (Bury Fair. II.)

To modern eyes, it is a rather undignified piece of behavior altogether, but it presents a director with various comic possibilities.

A congee is frequently depicted graphically in close proximity to a bow forward. This is obviously a useful compositional technique, but may also indicate that the first stages of the two reverences were the same. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, the prints suggest the following procedure for this reverence:

Slide forward on the right foot as for a bow forward. But instead of keeping the weight on the rear foot, or dividing it equally between the two, transfer the weight immediately to the forward foot and, bending both knees, continue the motion forward, as if to kneel. (Indeed, the congee appears to be something of a compromise between a kneel and a bow, combining the humility of the former with the flexibility of the latter.) (Plate 55) Instead of kneeling, bend at the hips, keeping the back and head quite straight. At the climax of the reverence, the weight is on the forward foot, both knees are bent, the rear heel is off the ground, and the

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right hand, which is perhaps holding the hat, is touching or near the ground, palm upward. The head may be erect enough to continue eye-contact with the person being saluted. In any case, the head and neck maintain a straight line with the back. In rising, the weight is kept on the forward foot while the rear foot is brought forward into a "graceful stand or rest." If the right hand is not encumbered with the hat, it is kissed or brought to the heart on the rise from the bow.
Note the bow forward and the kneel, between which reverences the congee was probably a compromise.
In this and the following plates are numerous examples of kneels, bows, and congées in various stages, the exact relationships between which can only be guessed at.
OPKOMTS, MIDDEN, EN GEEN EYNDE

VAN DEN DOORTRAPTE JAN LAUW.

...
His various modes, from various fathers
follow;
One taught the toss, and one the new
French wallow;

Man of Mode, Dryden’s Epilogue
The central grouping shows the various degrees of humility which could be displayed by the careful regulation of the kneel (between 3 and 4), the congée (2 and 3) and the bow (1).
The bow backward is not preceded by motion unless that motion consists of either a bow forward or an identical bow backward. Tomlinson's directions on this bow are included for the sake of their accompanying plates:

\[\text{...That taking leave in conversation consists in stepping aside, bowing, and leaving the disengaged foot pointed, sideways, in one entire motion to the first division of the bow, or counting of one (Plates 60A & B) during which it remains the respect or counting of two; and in the graceful raising of the body upon three, it is drawn pointed, with the knees straight, 'til it crosses behind the foot on which the poise rests, and stands erect on the foot that crosses behind, to be repeated as often as occasion requires; and it is to be noted, that the respect, if repeated, is always made to the same hand; if the leave be taken to the right, the stepping aside is always with the right foot and vice versa.}\]

In conversation with a gentleman or lady standing, the very same bow is made, as in leaving a room, the receiving the poise on the foot drawn behind excepted; but, instead thereof, it remains on conclusion of the bow, in the third position upon the point, without weight, behind the foremost foot which here supports the poise, in readiness to repeat the respect, if necessary (Plate 16B), because, in this bow of repetition, it always steps first to one hand, and then to the other: in order to preserve the same ground...and it is a very genteel and becoming bow, if the stepping aside, bow, and point of the disengaged foot be made at once, and a pause or counting of two is observed between the stepping aside and bowing, and the graceful rising up again from thence, in drawing of the pointed foot up, at the same time, into the above-mentioned position be also in one entire motion.\[25\]

\[\text{25Tomlinson, p. 8.}\]
The directions given by Essex are clearer, if not so detailed:

[Fews backward] are made quite different from [bows forward] as they are more respectful; and for this reason require more care, it being a pleasure to a man's self to be distinguished from the common people. Supposing then the hat in hand and the feet in the fourth position, and the body as the figure represents, the weight of the body on the left foot, and by consequence the right foot ready to move, or make a step, which it does on the same line; the heel is first set down in making this step, and the body rests the more easily thereon; then make the bow as this second figure represents, which is in the second position. The body being thus rested on the right foot and the left ready to move, you draw it easily behind the right foot in the third position, rising at the same time that you draw the foot behind, which brings the body upright, and is the extent of your honour.

I have seen many bow from the waist, and draw the leg at the same time; I think it very good; but, in my opinion, the manner I have described seems more graceful, and to have a much better air.

I have told you that this bow is different from that forwards, which is made by sliding the foot and bowing at the same time; whereas in this backwards, you first bow the body and head before you move the foot, but not at too great a distance of time, because these honours ought to be made together to avoid affectation.

But the way to bring one's self to a habit of doing them well, is to make several together, which will be the most easy, as the foot drawn behind having finished the extent of the step, you have the weight of the body upon it, and from thence move the foremost foot aside to make another, and so continue to make several together; for when you have the manner of making them with one foot, you make them easily with the contrary; and so, by practice, you make them equally with one foot as well as the other.26 (Plates 61A & B)

26 Essex, pp. 20-21.
Essex prefers the inclination to be between the two steps of the bow; Weaver, like Tomlinson, wishes the inclination to coincide with the first step. Otherwise, the directions of all three dancing masters are in agreement.

This latter bow was probably a variation from the recovery stage of the earlier bow forward. There is, of course, the possibility that the congee was a backward rather than a forward reverence and hence the ancestor of the bow backward. If so, it followed the bow forward and was used in situations in which greater respect was required. In a circumstance where a congee is called for, the director would be well-advised to try both forward and backward methods of executing it and choose the one most appropriate to the tone of the scene. Similarly, the use or non-use of the bow backward which, being a relatively late development and having a somewhat reserved and genteel air, is a matter of directorial preference.
Neither Rameau nor Alsop gives graphic indication that the weight at the depth of the bow backward is to be kept primarily on one foot, the one that stepped aside.
This is the only plate I found which clearly shows the weight on one foot at the depth of the bow backward, with the other about to be drawn behind it when the gentleman shall rise from the bow.
G. The Passing Bow

De Lauze's passing bow differs only slightly from his bow forward.

After having removed the hat with the right hand, which he will hold negligently...in front of the busk of the purpoint...by the left hand in order to leave the other free, he advances toward the company, looking at them with a smiling countenance, all be it with slow steps, without awkwardness. And when his discretion makes him judge the moment to make his bow, without bending his knees, he gently slides the right leg in front 'til (in passing) it nearly touches the left. Then, without stopping thereupon, except but a little, in gently bending both knees, the toes well turned out, he will disengage the left, as it were, insensibly, and will thus continue until he has joined those to whom he is indebted. Then if he finds, as is usual, several assemblies in the same place, he will make these same bows on one foot or the other, according as to how the people are placed, always without any gesture or posture of the body, in this the direction of the head is sufficient.27

The bow passing, described by Essex and Tomlinson, is the same as that of De Lauze except that the body does turn and, as in the bow forward, the front leg is extended and the heel lifted from the ground. Incidentally, lifting the heel from the ground is not the same thing as an extreme pointing of the toe. The latter attitude is associated with the exaggerated grace of the classical ballet which was, in the period under consideration, yet to be born.

Directions for the bow passing, as prescribed by Essex are:

In making a passing bow in walking, it is to be done as [the bow forward] except that you must turn your body half-sideways toward the person you bow to, sliding your leg before you

27De Lauze, pp. 86-87.
which is next them, bending the waist, and inclining the head at the same time, as I have endeavored to express in this figure....

But as bows are used in several places, I ought to distinguish those where they ought to be made with the greatest observance; for example, those in the streets may be made more carelessly; but in public walks, where persons of the best fashion resort, they must be made with more care and regard.

In walking in such public places, people generally wear their hats under their arms; therefore, if you meet a person of a superior rank, you must take your hat in your right hand, and afterwards make a very low bow, to show the greater respect.

It is also necessary to observe, when you bend the body, not to incline the head so much as to hide the face which is so much the more palpable fault, because you put the person in doubt whether or not it is to him you salute; therefore, before you begin the bow, look the person modestly in the face, which is what you call directing the bow before you make it.  

Tomlinson's instructions are much the same, except that he particularly emphasizes the "beautiful and agreeable twist or contrast sideways" made by the body. He also is very explicit as to the use of this bow in the various situations:

... if passing through a lane or road full of company we cannot... bow on both sides at once; and therefore, the rule is, to pay this respect to those that first fall in our way, and, if possible, conclude on that side, and then, by walking two steps or more, to make the like compliments on the other;... And if it should fall out, as in St. James' Park or

28 Essex, pp. 18-19.

29 Tomlinson, p. 15.
other public place: where you walk, perhaps, a considerable way, before you find an occasion for paying this respect, you are to note, that these bows...are never made before you can come equal to those you salute; and, if it be a person of nobility or extraordinary fashion, an additional bow, [backward] as when leaving a room, may be added with the contrary foot to that which made the scrape, turning full to the person to whom you pay this uncommon respect, in passing; nor must you forget that, in entering a room or meet-any one, it is always to be added to the bow forwards, as being of singular use, in paying respect to the company in general...by a cast of our...eye around the company, omitting none, for an omission may be esteemed an affront and ill manners.30

This last observation is of prime importance for both gentlemen and ladies. An honour cannot be truly made or returned without eye contact on the part of those concerned.

30 De Lauze, p. 131.
This and the following plates show the bow passing in various stages of execution.
Veuve et perspective des Cascades et du Bassin du Dragon à Versailles

Sud par Audon sur Privilege du Roy
H. Curtseys

All of the lady's reverences for this period are variations of the "deep knee bend," which may seem on first consideration to be the wrong psychological gesture to call forth a sense of refined elegance in the young actress. Will not the traditional stage curtsey, which is rather more easily executed, do just as well, if not better? As the dancing masters point out, what a lady's limbs do, whether visible or not, is certain to have an effect on her total bearing. Perhaps even more important is the fact that the robustness of the knee-bend is precisely the right psychological gesture to ward off any over-prettiness in stage behavior.

Following are the instructions for making the curtsey, spelled out for the ladies of the mid-seventeenth century by De Lauze:

When her discretion shall enable her to judge the occasion to salute the company which she is receiving or approaching, she must move one foot a little to the side, and at the same time gently slide the other almost joining [the first] with the toes outwards. Then, only pausing a little, and having the arms negligently extended to the side; she should, with the utmost smoothness that is possible, bend both knees equally, not in front as many do, who, by holding their toes together acquit themselves very badly, but out to each side. If she wishes to descend very low and remain there awhile, the body firm and erect, then she will raise her heels, supporting herself on her toes while she bends her knees.... When she begins...it is necessary to look at the company, but in order not to depart from modesty, in bending the knees, she must lower the eyes with the body, which, on finishing will be raised again, without stopping to regard any person fixedly, for that savors of effrontery.31

31De Lauze, p. 131.
There were backward and forward variations of the basic curtsey to be seen toward the end of the period. Each dancing master had preferences as to their correct execution, but the fundamental form of the behavior did not change very much during the century between De Lauze and Rameau-Rameau-Essex. The French master and his translator tend, in fact, to minimize the difficulties of the curtsey in comparison with those of the bow:

Women labor not under the same difficulties that the men do, to make their honours; it is enough for them to have a good presence, that they turn their feet out, slide them properly, sink equally on their knees, and hold up their heads, their bodies being steady and their arms well-placed, as this figure shows, which is most essential.

...I shall begin with those forwards: One foot must be slid gently before, to the fourth position, leaving the weight of the body on both legs; then sink easily with both knees, not bending at the waist, that ought to be most upright, without wavering, which often-times happens by the feet being ill-placed, either too close or too wide; but when you have sunk low enough, rise again with the same ease, which finishes the honour.32

As usual, Tomlinson is more detailed and less intelligible; however, his preliminary remarks on the curtsey are rich in period flavor:

.../The respect...which a lady pays to either sex, is by a graceful bending of the knees (Plates 2 & 4, Bk. 2) accompanied with a becoming and suitable disposition of the different parts of the body: As, having the hands before them, in some agreeable posture, supporting, as it were, the slanting or falling shoulders, which, at the same time lengthen and more gracefully expose a fine neck, as well as a beautiful

face composed of so many delicate and charming features, with which they are usually adorned by the bounty of nature...a modest look or direction of the eye, an agreeable smile or a lively and pleasant aspect, with a chin neither poked out nor curbed in, but the whole countenance erect and graceful, will add a luster to the whole where any of these are wanting, whether in one sex or the other; and together with the easy situation or posture of the whole head, neck and arms, with the handsome turn of the feet, they complete the entire fashion or agreeable disposition of a fine accomplished lady, as well...in conversation in general, as [in] the curtsey or walking...33

Tomlinson's curtsey forward is preceded by a pause on the last step. The backward foot is then brought up to first position (rather than fourth) for either curtseying in place or stepping aside. And as Tomlinson remarks, "There is no other difference between the honour...on leaving company and coming up to them, than that...the former proceeds from...standing, and the latter is introduced...by walking."34

For directions on the curtsey backward, Essex is the most readable source:

This curtsey is made by a step on either side, in the Second Position; the weight of the body resting on the moved foot, and the other drawn to it with both the heels close together in the First Position; then, sink on both...set very low, and rise again with the same ease: but if you are to make a second curtsey, you must rest the weight of the body on the foot you have drawn, and step the other foot aside, and do the same thing with the other foot...care should be taken not to draw the foot and sink at the same time which would disorder the body, put it out of its perpendicular position, and make it waver.

33 Tomlinson, p. 9.

34 Tomlinson, p. 12.
I have also said that the two heels should be close to one another; in which position, when you bend the knees, turning them outwards, neither is advanced before the other; whereas by drawing one foot behind the other, the knees must appear forwards and will more easily fall inwards, both which faults should be avoided.35, 36

On the curtsey backward, Tomlinson's convoluted three-page sentences become almost totally incomprehensible. He differs with Essex primarily in his emphasis on the graceful sway or wave of the body, which is accomplished by the transfer of weight at the lowest point of curtsey. Although the feet are in first position for the entire behavior, the weight is kept on one foot for the descent of the curtsey, transferred during the instant pause at the bottom and maintained on the contrary foot for the rise. Weaver advocates this transfer of the weight for all curtseys.

The latter's instructions are much clearer than those of the other two, but unfortunately for us, he limits his remarks to ballroom fashions. The only honours he considers are those preceding a formal dance. Of the two he discusses, the first is basically the curtsey forward and the other, the curtsey backward. He is particularly helpful on the manner in which the optional wave or sway of the body is to be executed:

The honour for a woman is commonly called a curtsey; a rule for making which, in general, will be best explained, by describing a regular method, and manner, of a young lady's making her honour before she begins to dance.

35 Essex, p. 25.

36 In this passage Essex shows sufficient reason why the traditional "stage curtsey" should not be used for plays set in the Restoration.
We will then present her to your view standing in the short second or short fourth position; her body erect; her head upright, and her arms falling naturally to her sides; not bearing upon the hips, but just freed from the body; the cubit and hand, together with the arm, extended obliquely downwards, the forefinger and thumb taking hold of the petticoat, the wrist even, and turned a little outwards, the palm of the hand toward the thigh; the whole arm unconstrained, neither pressing on her coat, nor displaying of it. The whole weight of her body being then supported on her left foot, the right just bears on the floor; from this graceful position she sinks, her knees bending outwards, the line of innexion still continuing on the same foot: Just at the conclusion of her sinking she transfer[her weight] by the motion of her body, from the left to the right foot; and then rises perpendicular, still preserving the weight on her right foot, which finishes her first curtsey.

I need not inform you that the gracefulness of this action arises from the motion of transferring the line of innexion; to which, a little turn of the hand towards the left shoulder, is no small addition.

The left foot now being at liberty, and bearing lightly on the floor, is ready to move; she then carries the left foot obliquely forwards to the inclosed fourth position, her body moving with it, and so transferring the line of innexion from the right to the left foot, she then moves the right foot circularly, at the same time turning her body a quarter turn towards the left, and brings her feet into the short second position, the weight of the body also, as in walking, transferred with it: The weight being now on the right foot, she sinks, transfers the line of innexion; and rises as before; the weight of her foot is now on her left foot, the right foot bearing only on the toe, is ready to move.37

37 Weaver, pp. 135-136.
The passing curtsey remained essentially the same from the time
of De Lauze through that of Tomlinson, its style merely lightening
slightly, as the quality of overall carriage lightened.

Tomlinson's 1724 prescription for the bow passing contains in-
valuable details as to its timing and ordering, and it also conveys a
rich sense of period atmosphere. Again, in the interests of intelligibility,
it is necessary to omit some of the superfluous phraseology, but the gist
of his circumlocutions is contained in the following extract:

If a lady makes an honour passing, either on
the right or on the left, or in meeting anyone,
in conversation, walking, or the like, at the
step preceding the complaisance...she turns
about half way toward the person, upon conclusion
of the said preparatory step or counting of one;
and upon counting of two, she lets the disengaged
or coming up foot touch the heel of that foot
which stepped, crossways, before the said coming
up which now attends the poise...and, upon three,
she sets it down, somewhat obliquely or slanting
off from the person to whom the respect is paid,
without weight and thus becomes duly prepared to
make the curtsey; I mean, when the head is
beautifully turned to...the side on which the
respect is made, in a graceful contrast of the
whole fashion; ...being so disposed, she makes
the honour by a smooth and easy bending of the
knees. The whole poise sinks during the counting
of one, rests during two and upon the third
division...it rises gracefully from the foot on
which it rested, all the while, in this becoming
twist...til it stands erect upon the foot which
was placed or advanced for that purpose by trans-
ferring the poise from the foot that made the
preparatory step...which, being now at liberty,
is ready to repeat the same, as often as occasion
requires; and from hence it becomes a kind of
walking curtsey, changing the poise from one
foot to the other. And it is to be noted, that
it must always be the foot next to the person,
...which makes the last step in walking, before
the respect...and directing the eye sideways
upon the person, to whom the respect is paid,
instead of right forwards, as when entering a
room, or meeting one, which is the only difference.
...Though this complaisance may be repeated, once or more, after passing a person it must never be made, before we come parallel to (him or her); and if occasion requires its being transferred to the other side, which often falls out, as when company are seated or standing, on both sides of a room or gallery...we continue walking on, 'til we arrive at the next occasion of paying this respect, as when company are scattered, at some distance, and then make the pause or stand at the end of the step next the persons, by turning etc. as before; or if the change or transferring may be soonest performed, as when company are thick on both sides, it must be divided by two steps made between the preceding curtseys, the second step preparing to pay the respect as I have already shown... And in these passing honours, it must be noted, that no regard is to be observed, with respect to the quality of the person, but only convenience, in relation to the right or left, as the company first present themselves, as we pass along; nor, indeed, can it well be otherwise, since they are all to receive it in their turns..." 38

Essex' directions for the same behavior are less detailed but considerably easier to follow:

As to the curtsey en passant, or passing by one, it is made after the same manner as the forward curtsey, except that when you meet any Person, you make two or three steps forward to begin your Honour, looking at the person you salute, to direct your curtsey, and at the same time turn half sideways toward the Person you salute, and slide forwards the foot that is nearest to them; then sink and rise again easy, observing to rest the weight of the Body on the foremost foot, to be able to move with the Hinder.

This second Figure is to represent and give a just idea of this Honour, which being made on the right side, the head is turned on the same side, and the right shoulder, as you see, falling back. But as these curtseys are most used in

38 Tomlinson, p. 11.
public walks, and other Places of Ceremony, it ought to be observed that when you salute any one above you, instead of making your passing curtsey, you should make one backwards, to show the greater Respect.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{39}Essex, p. 25.
I. Reverences and Station

As for the reverences and salutations made to each other by humbler people, Misson observes that: "The [common] people of England, when they meet, never salute one another otherwise than by giving one another their hands, and shaking them heartily; they no more dream of pulling off their hats than the women do pulling of their headcloths."[40]

Simple people were, of course, expected to bow or curtsey to their superiors when occasion offered, but in an unadorned, unobtrusive manner, a manner that did not call attention to themselves or presume to show breeding above their station in life.

The humbler a man was, the less noticeable he and his reverences were expected to be. He was supposed to refrain from any outward manifestations of respect for his superiors, which might detract from his efficiency in serving them. It would have been a piece of impertinence to proclaim one's self a very humble and obedient servant, when one was obviously and literally just that.

On the other hand, every person of quality up to the king himself was the more or less literal servant of someone who was, in turn, the servant of somebody else. The French placed much more importance on this hierarchy than did the English, but roughly the same principles held true for the aristocracies of both countries. The mystique was analogous to that of a modern officers' mess. Informally, at least in theory, they were all brother aristocrats, but on formal political and social occasions, true ladies and gentlemen were careful to measure out

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40 Misson, p. 283.
their reverences according to the comparative quality of those whom they encountered.

Well-bred servants of persons of quality were entitled to use the same reverences as their masters and were expected to contribute substantially to the elegant atmosphere of the latter's establishments. They did not attempt to compete with their betters in grace or flamboyance of manner, nor did they presume to pay honours to each other in the presence of people of superior quality. What these servants did among themselves and in the presence of their own inferiors was a different matter. However, for a person of inferior quality to ape the manners of his betters might be regarded as a piece of affectation among his equals and of impudence among his superiors. In short, the higher one's station in life, in actuality or in one's own eyes, the more respects one paid to equals and to superiors—and the less literally one meant them.

A final word from Josiah Dare may be helpful in determining the "golden mean" to be maintained by actors playing the "right" people in Restoration comedies. It may also suggest deviations from the norm, suitable for those who are playing the other sort of people:

Men have need to beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enemies will be sure to give them that attribute to the disadvantage of their greater virtues; yet, certainly there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use if a man can hit upon it. Amongst thy peers thou shalt be sure of familiarity, and therefore it is good a little to keep state, amongst thy
inferiors thou shalt be sure of reverence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar: too much of either will breed contempt: briefly let no behavior be like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured, but like thine apparel, not too straight, or point device, but free for exercise and motion: using ceremonies and compliments as a tailor doth clothes, which he doth so cut and join together, until at length he maketh them fit for the body; so thou must cut off superfluous ceremonies and compliments, and take only those that are decent for thee to use. 41

41Dare, p. 44.
J. Rehearsal Exercises

The importance of practicing, perfecting and particularizing these various reverences cannot be over-emphasized. After each member of the cast has learned the mechanics of the various reverences he is to use, the following exercises may be of use in making them second nature to him.

1. Have all the actors, in a widely and irregularly spaced line, trace the above pattern over the stage area, making passing bows on either side as they come abreast of each other. When they have mastered this exercise singly, let them perform it in couples, which, because of the synchronization involved, makes the exercise more difficult. Hats should be worn by the men and fans carried by the women. When the actors can execute the encounters smoothly, let them imagine the pattern of movement to take place, by turns, in a formal garden, an informal park and a busy and not very clean street. Let them pause occasionally for momentary conversations, then re-group and move on.

2. Have the actors form the following pattern on the stage area:

```
5  3
Couple 1
6
4  2
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inferiors thou shalt be sure of reverence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar: too much of either will breed contempt: briefly let no thy behavior be like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured, but like thine apparel, not too straight, or point device, but free for exercise and motion: using ceremonies and compliments as a tailor doth clothes, which he doth so cut and join together, until at length he maketh them fit for the body; so thou must cut off superfluous ceremonies and compliments, and take only those that are decent for thee to use.41

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```
6  
5   3
4   2
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Couple 1
Couple 1 enters stage left and makes the honours forward and backward, for entering an assembly of people of quality. This couple then crosses right, making Passing Honours to the couples on either side, who return them with Honours Forward or Backward. Couple 1 having reached Couple 6 makes congees to the latter (or very low curtseys in the case of the ladies), as if to royalty, upon which Couple 6 returns suitably perfunctory Honours Forward. Then, keeping time as in a dance (the whole exercise should be done to music), Couple 1 takes the place of Couple 6, which takes the place of Couple 5 and so forth. Couple 2 makes Honours Backward off left, to take the original place of Couple 1 and the exercise starts all over again.

3. For a certain number of rehearsals, after lines and blocking have been learned, have each member of the cast use every conceivable occasion for a reverence of some sort. There should be Bows Forward on every entrance, Bows Backward on every exit, both of these honours on important greetings, bows of repetition (alternating Bows Backward) on the least excuse in conversation, and Passing Honours on every cross. All participants should maintain their separate characters and motivations throughout all these exercises, and no reverence should be allowed to break up or slow down the rhythm of a particular scene. The technique will accustom the actors to thinking of bows and curtseys as the inescapable concomitants of all social actions, rather than as unrelated and self-conscious superfluities. Most of these reverences will be discarded before opening night, but their vestigal remains will flavor the entire physical performance; also, they will render a more integral part of the atmosphere and texture of the production, those reverences which remain.
"These hats, canes, swords and gloves are the ruin of all our designs," was Farquhar's lament. (Sir Harry Wildair, II. i. Plate 66A) And indeed, for many an untrained modern actor, these conspicuous and cumbersome hand and costume properties have been the ruin of all designs. However, when properly employed, they are extremely valuable since, among their other uses, they provide that ever necessary something to do with the hands.

In Restoration comedies, the call for the bringing in of chairs is not a matter of mere stage convention. There was not overmuch furniture in even the grandest of Stewart dwellings. The English, as well as the French plates of the period, show not only a noble size in living spaces but also a noble lack of clutter. Beds, chairs, tables and cabinets are large and few, and what the theatrical profession knows as trim and set properties are at the bare minimum necessary to sustain civilized life. Comfort, cosiness and the lived-in look were definitely not the most sought-after qualities in the Baroque mansion. Smoking and drinking paraphernalia, reading and writing materials and all such mainstays of modern drawing room comedy were kept closed away for practical uses and were not readily available for purpose of conversational toying and twiddling. Considering the great value then placed on conversational ease, did these elegant ladies and gentlemen never feel the need of a cocktail or cigarette to lessen
the strain of sustained civility, of a book or knickknack to take the tension out of the fingers?

They did, of course, understand the value of "stage business" only too well. And since their real-life stages of activity—-the fine chamber, the park, the street—did not provide the necessary articles, they came prepared by bringing their own. They came armed with hats, swords, canes and gloves, as well as fans, snuff-boxes, handkerchiefs and vizor-masks. Moreover, they had studied the uses of all of these articles as carefully as they had studied their academies of compliment.

These properties provided the person of quality with a means of expressing and extending his personality, of filling and dominating the space around him. They were to be used with grace and purpose; they were not to be fussed or fidgeted with. Then, as now, an individual who did not know how to control them would find himself at their mercy.
A. The Periwig And The Hat

There was no pretense that the periwig was a man's own hair. By 1675, to appear without one was considered as uncivil as to appear without one's shoes and for much the same reasons; in their emphasis on unpleasant odors, the writers of Restoration Comedies were second only to the script-writers of today's T.V. commercials. For example, in She Would if She Could, "A lover had better appear before his mistress with a bald pate [than without a full periwig]: 'twill make the ladies apprehend a savour, stop their noses, and avoid you: 'Slife, love in a cap is more ridiculous than love in a tub, or love in a pipkin." (Etherege, III. iii.)

In polite company, the peruke was not supposed to be plucked off, handed about or combed. However, at least in informal situations the properties were not always observed, as is illustrated by the following passages:

Rakehell. Here's a peruke, sir...tis the best in England. Pray Sir Joslin, take him in your hand and draw a comb through him; there is not such another frizz in Europe...do me the favor to grace it on your head a little.

Sir Oliver. To oblige you, sir.

Rakehell. You never wore anything became you half so well in all your life before. (Etherege, III. iii.)

In the meanwhile out comes their combs, to careen their periwigs, that is to order them...

First he with sim’pring does begin
In hopes the ladies’ smiles to win;
Next had his comb with’s wig about
And bussing that sets noodle out...2

‘Tis a pastime beyond jesting, to caress a man with
blows; to pluck off his periwig, to give him ill
names...3

Mr. Selfish is combing his perruke below stairs
and will be here instantly....(Enter Selfish, sets
his perruke, and bows to the glass) (A True
Widow I. i. p. 292)

From one playhouse to the other playhouse, and if
they like neither the play nor the women, they seldom
stay any longer than the combing of their periwigs,
or a whisper or two with a friend; and then they cock
their caps and out they strut again (Etherege, She
Would if She Could. I. ii. p. 103)

In Shadwell’s Bury Fair (III.), La Roche plucks off his
periwig for Mrs. Fantast to smell. In the same author’s The Volun-
teers (III. i.), Trim "struts and cocks setting his periwig and cravat-
string, admiring himself." And, of course there is the amusing combing
scene in Wycherley’s Love in a Wood. (III. i.)

Etiquette notwithstanding, periwigs were made of hair, and
hair tends to blow about and get in one’s eyes and, for that matter,
in one’s plate, "Our ancestors...would hardly have eaten a crumb had
they found but an hair in their dish, while we are curling and powdering
up ten thousand, that fly into our mouths all dinner, and cannot make a
meal in peace for ‘em.4

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2 Gallantry A-La-Mode: A Satyrical Poem in 3 Parts Presenting
the Vanities of Several Humours of this Present Age (London: T. R.
N. T., 1674), p. 79.

3 Bellegarde, p. 197.

4 Denton, English Vainity, p. 113.
As can well be imagined, it was no small task to keep one of these head-dresses in order; it required frequent combing; unruly locks had to be stroked and smoothed into position, and the low-hanging curls demanded tossing over the shoulder with just the right flick of the wrist. One of the greatest problems arose at the conclusion of a congee or "diving bow":

Which with a shag casts all his hair before
'Til he, with full decorum, brings it back,
And rises with a water spaniel's shake.

(Man of Mode. Dryden's Epilogue)

Modern actors are accustomed to working with "images," but that of a decorous water spaniel is likely to be a bit difficult to catch.

For the management of the hat, there was a whole set of rules, decreed as usual by the French and followed more or less by the English. The following is a literal translation from Courtin's New Treatise on French Civility:

Q. May a youth wear his hat far down over his eyes?
A. No, that is the sign of a rogue or a traiter who doesn't wish to be recognized.

Q. May he wear it far up on his forehead?
A. No, that looks like effrontery.

Q. May he wear it over one ear?
A. No, that is the custom of song-sellars.

Q. May he turn up the brims of his hat or wear plumes on it?
A. That depends on his station in life and on the fashion.

Q. May he wear flowers attached to his hat-band?
A. No, that is the custom of peasants.

Q. How should he remove his hat in salutation?
A. He will completely remove it with his right hand, and do so with a good grace.

Q. If he is standing and obliged to remain uncovered, how should he hold his hat?
A. After having modishly doffed it, he should turn the inside toward himself, he will place it under the left arm or in front of his left hip, and he will keep both hands still.

Q. What faults should he avoid concerning the hat, when he is standing uncovered?
A. 1. He will not turn it in his hands.
2. He will not play with it.
3. He will not put it in front of his mouth.
4. He will not carry it turned out like a beggar who asks alms.

Q. Being seated, if he is obliged to remain uncovered, how should he hold his hat?
A. He will place it on his knees, the inside toward himself, and he will keep his left hand upon it.

Q. When should a youth take off his hat?
A. He will uncover completely:
1. In entertaining a church or place where there are usually important people.
2. In placing himself at table.
3. In saluting.
4. In giving or receiving something.
5. When he hears the name of Jesus pronounced; but if he is uncovered at table, he will bow his head.
6. He will uncover before those to whom he owes this respect, as before ecclesiastics, magistrates and other important people.

Q. When should he uncover himself when he is with persons who are superior to him?
A. It is an incivility to cover himself without their order, and even then he will not cover himself until he has been asked two or three times.

Q. Should he uncover all the time, as at each word he says, at every response he makes?
A. No, to uncover incessantly is to render oneself troublesome.

Q. When should he not take off his hat?
A. He will not uncover at table unless he serves some one who merits extreme respect, if someone of great quality drinks to his health, or if such a person presents him with something.

Q. At table, if a person there of great quality has discarded his hat for convenience, should he give his own to a footman in order to remain uncovered during the repast?
A. No, this would be to act too familiarly. He should in this case, remain covered out of respect.
Q. Should a youth make those who speak to him bareheaded, cover themselves?
A. Yes, if they are his inferiors, provided they are not his dependents.

Q. How should he make his familiars or equals cover themselves?
A. He will give some sign for them to cover at the same time he does.

Q. In these encounters, should he use words of command, such as, "Cover yourself," "Be covered" etc.
A. No, that would be an incivility.

Q. What, politely, should he say to make his equals cover themselves?
A. He may use a circumlocution such as, "It is cold here" etc. or speak casually in saying for example, "Don't you think we ought to put our hats on?"  

Moralists, as well as courtiers, were very much concerned with the etiquette of the hat:

Likewise he who maketh too much haste to put on his hat, and he, who at the first entreaty putteth not on, or after some few entreaties do not well; and therefore one ought to be covered after the first or for the most part after the second time....True it is that equals at the instant, or immediately after, are wont to interchange a sign of covering themselves jointly....

He, who being inferior or held for such an one would put on his hat, his companion being uncovered, ought to demand leave of the other; then in good time let him do so upon condition that he may presume that nothing will offend the other.

In an English translation of another of Courtin's treatises on civility, further etiquette is spelled out vis-a-vis the hat:

If his lordship chances to sneeze, you are not to bawl out, "God bless you, Sir," but pulling off your hat, bow to him handsomely, and make that observation to yourself....

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5Antoine Courtin, Novueau Traite de la Civilitie Francaise, Paris, 1676.

6Hawkins, p. 8.
The person of quality having obliged you to be covered in a place where you ought not to have done it but by particular command, you must pull off your hat as often as, in the discourse, his Lordship's name be mentioned, the name of any of his relations or of any person of quality that is intimate with him; but if they happen to be named so often that your civility becomes troublesome, you may desist upon the least encouragement from his lordship.  

Petrie, the Scotsman, makes this differentiation between French and English custom:  

It is civil to be uncovered in all rooms of state and ante-chambers...  

In France, it is ordinary to be covered at meat, yet it is ordinary to discover, when a superior drinks to them, with a humble bow; yet this ceremony is not used with equals, a bow being sufficient.  

In Britain and Ireland, it is usual to be uncovered at table.  

This difference in table manners had apparently come about since the time of Pepys, who once got a strange cold in his head through flinging off his hat at a dinner.  

Such unwieldy headgear presented many of the same problems to its Restoration wearer as it does to the modern actor, "Here's a beaver, Sir Oliver, feel him; for fineness, substance, and for fashion, the court of France never saw a better; I have bred him but a fortnight and have him at command already. Clap him boldly, never a hat took the fore-cock and hind-cock so naturally." (Etherege. She Would if She Could. III. iii.) If it took the experienced Rakehell two

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7 Courtin, Rules of Civility, p. 64-67.  
8 Petrie, p. 27.  
9 Petrie, pp. 83-84.
weeks to break in a new hat, it goes without saying that the unpracticed actor of today must be allowed considerable more time to achieve mastery of the great plumed beaver.

Toward the end of the period, hats and periwiggs were somewhat at odds, since the higher, fuller perukes were bound to be disarranged by the frequent doffings required by dictates of etiquette. Hats were coming to be worn less and carried more, especially in the public walks and fashionable salons; obedience to the maxim, "Be indebted to no man for a hat" had resulted in such incessant covering and uncovering, that the rite was reaching the point of diminishing returns.

The usual absence of footlights on the modern stage presents a further problem, in that the wearing of a large hat shadows the face. Some compromise is evidently necessary, but if the hat is not worn, it must be carried; a Restoration gentleman would have felt as uncomfortable without his hat as a twentieth-century girl without her hand-bag or commuter without his briefcase.
Caudetier en Poche

Il est galant d'aimer
Le plus à l'honneur la Canne
S'il est chère à l'aronde
Fiancée ou bien à l'aronde.

Art galant déterminer
Le point à trouver la canne
S'il est chère à l'aronde
Fiancée ou bien à l'aronde.

Pour être doux en miroir,
Faire l'honneur à l'aronde
Pour être doux en miroir,
Faire l'honneur à l'aronde.
M. le Prince de Conti.

Hommé de qualité en habit de spect.

Se vend à Paris sur le quai de Béthuis à la porte d'or au troisième arrière.
The sword, like every other part of a gentleman's costume, was worn according to French fashions and rules:

Q. Should a youth carry a sword?
A. Yes, if he is a gentleman.

Q. May he keep his hand on his sword-hilt when he speaks to someone or promenades?
A. No, he should not lay his hand there except in order to draw to defend himself if someone offers to insult him.

Q. How should he place his sword when he seats himself?
A. He should place it at his side by putting his baldric or belt behind him as much as he can, so that the sword will advance less.

Q. May he turn the baldric or belt in front of himself and put the sword between his legs?
A. No, it is an incivility and it smacks of the village officer.

Q. Before placing himself at table, should he take off the sword and put it aside?
A. No, but he should place it behind him, or at least at his side, in such a way that it will not inconvenience anyone or disarrange the skirts or paniers of the women who are at table.

Q. When a person of great quality enters his lodgings, what should he do?
A. If he is wearing a sword, he should receive the person at the door, the sword at his side, his gloves and hat in his hand, and if he is not wearing a sword, he should receive the person at the door with his mantle squarely on his shoulders, and his gloves and hat in his hand.10

Note that when the sword was worn high at the beginning of the period, the rule for sitting was Coroso's directive as set down in 1600 and quoted by Wildeblood and Brinson in *The Polite World*:

On going to sit down, "It is your duty...to give a slight bow to those who are near," then with the hat

10Courtin, Traite, p. 63.
in the right hand, with your left you will put your sword [point] forward and sit down with every grace on your chair or bench; when settled, you will put on your gloves if you think fit.

When moving in a crowd...the hilt of the rapier is to be lifted so that the point hangs perpendicularly beside the left leg.\textsuperscript{11}

Later, this high carriage of the sword was derided, and a certain jaunty swing of the weapon was regarded as an essential part of a gentleman's gallant air. Ward ridicules the earlier, high-worn fashion in the following description of a "bluff blade, with a campaign wig on, the hairs of which, for want of combing once in a month, hung in as many tangled locks as if he had been flying, and a sword tied on as high as the waist band of his breeches, and \textsuperscript{12} had no more motion when he walked than a two-foot rule, stuck into the apron strings of a carpenter."\textsuperscript{12}

It was correct throughout the period for a gentleman to wear a sword at all times. There were a few grains of truth in the allegations of Denton and Ward that this handsome article was regarded more as an ornament than as a weapon by many of its wearers:

The ribbon at the hilt of our sword is security against his being drawn....Our swords lie dangling in our thighs with the same luxury as our wigs (of the same length) sport themselves on our breasts.\textsuperscript{13}

His sword, I may say, to my best of belief Was as long as a spit for a sirloin of beef:

\textsuperscript{11} Wildeblood and Brinson, p. 150.


\textsuperscript{13} Denton, \textit{England's Vanity}, p. 108.
Being graced with a ribbon of scarlet or blue
That hung from the hilt to the heel of his shoe.  

The fact remains that a well-dressed gentleman who ventured out of
doors without a sword, especially at night, was likely to regret the
indiscretion.

The first time he buckles it on, the sword will be regarded by
the inexperienced wearer not as a weapon or an ornament, but as a defi-
nite impediment. It clatters, it bangs into people and things, it
catches on doors and furniture, it gets tangled in his legs and clothes,
it takes up too much room. All of which is precisely the reason why the
sword should be worn from the earliest rehearsals, even if the play is
one of the few that does not require its ever being actually drawn. A
man moves differently, with more rhythmic smartness, when accustomed to
the swing of a sword at his thigh. He uses the space around him dif-
ferently; he uses, in fact, more space. The swing of the sword, like
the sweep of the hat, encourages the modern actor, accustomed as he may
be to introverted psychological gestures, to a more expansive attitude
toward movement of body and limb. A little rough-and-tumble sword play,
as an occasional pre-rehearsal improvisation, will help the actor keep
in mind that swordsmanship was very much a part of the well-educated
gentleman's life. It was his security against insult, bullying and am-
bush; it was the badge of his masculinity and station in life; it helped
him cut a more dashing figure whether walking, standing or sitting.

The sword was, however, except when actually drawn or about to
be drawn, essentially a part of the costume rather than an aid in the

making of gestures. This latter function was fulfilled by the small cane or walking stick whose use, at least in a negative sort of a way, is outlined by our polite Frenchman:

...One carries a walking stick only for appearance's sake, and a cane out of necessity, for support.

Q. Should a youth carry a walking stick?
A. That depends on circumstances and on the mode. It is contrary to politeness to carry a walking stock at the homes of great persons, but one may carry a cane there if one is lame or crippled.

Q. If he carries a walking stick, what faults must he avoid, principally?
A. He should not play with it, nor raise it as if to strike, still less in order actually to strike, when this merely in jest, because no one likes to be hit for any reason whatever.

Q. When standing erect, what faults should he avoid concerning the walking stick?
A. He should not treat his walking stick as if it were a third leg, holding it before him and leaning on it. That is the custom of peasants. Also, he should not hold it like a staff of authority or dignity, but he should keep it suspended in the air in a refined manner, or let it touch the ground without leaning on it very often.

Q. In walking, what faults should he avoid, concerning the walking stick?
A. He shouldn't carry it under his arm, because this could annoy the people who follow him, and even get him into trouble, if he should touch them with his walking-stick, especially if it's dirty.

He shouldn't trail it in the mud, as a blind man does his staff.

Also, he shouldn't lean upon it like an old person or a cripple.

He shouldn't hold it in the right hand when he must make gestures or anything else, for it is contrary to politeness to make gestures with a walking stick.\(^{15}\)

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\(^{15}\)Courtin, *Nouveau Traite*, p. 64.
We can assume that this last prohibition was merely the attempt of a conservative Frenchman to discourage the extravagance of gesture for which his countrymen had so often been derided. Gentlemen of the way did gesture with their walking sticks, did lean on them and did use them in playful bandinage, as is shown by Plates 72, 73 and 74.

Gay's interest in the cane was more practical:

If the strong cane support thy walking hand
Chairmen no longer shall the wall command;
Ev'n sturdy car-men shall thy nod obey
And rattling coaches stop to make thee way,
This shall direct thy cautious tread aright
Though not one glaring lamp enliven night.
Let Beaux their canes with amber tip't produce,
Be theirs for empty show, but thine for use.
In gilded chariots while they loll at ease,
And lazily insure a life's disease;
While softer chairs the tawdry load convey
To Court, to White's, assemblies or the play;
Rose-complexioned health thy steps attends,
And exercise thy lasting youth defends.

Impudent men Heaven's choicest gifts profane
Thus some beneath their arm support the cane;
The dirty point oft checks the careless pace,
And miry spots, thy clean cravat disgrace.
Oh! May I never such misfortune meet,
May no such vicious walkers crowd the street,
May Providence o'er shade me with her wings,
While the bold Muse experienc'd danger sings.16

I could find no graphic representation of the cane being carried under the arm. It must have been a rather frequent occurrence nevertheless, judging from the militant verbal opposition to the practice.

The plates indicate that the manner of walking with the cane was probably similar to the rather complicated half-time swing of the umbrella, which is still in use in England today. The tip of the umbrella or cane is set to the ground with the advancing foot, remains on the ground for the next two steps, swings very much forward on the fourth,

16John Gay, Trivia; or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London, (London, 1716), p. 5.
and is set to earth again with the first of the next four steps, thereby beginning the next routine. This action looks as simple as the natural swing of the arm, but is very difficult to execute smoothly, since half of the action is in harmony with that natural swing, and the other half is opposed to it.

With practice, a cane can be made to speak for its owner's personality and mood almost as eloquently as the fan may bespeak the temperament of the lady behind it. However, the individual twirls and flourishes defy verbal description, just as they seem to have defied graphic representation. They must be left to the imagination, discretion and adroitness of the director and the actor concerned. The walking-stick was in vogue with ladies as well as gentlemen. In the hands of an energetic and aggressive character, such as Mrs. Lovelit, Lady Fidget, Mrs. Marwood or Mrs. Sullen, it could be a particularly suitable and elegant prop.
This and the following plates show various fashionable positions and uses of the walking-stick.
Homme de qualité en habit d'espée
Jacques II, Roi d'Angleterre, d'Écosse et d'Irlande

Sur va peuple mutin, n'ai de bonté
Mais je dois ce royaume sans contrainte
Mon empire pourra souffrir quelque contrainte
Si la valeur faisoit la courtoisie.
Homme de qualité en habit d'Espée

Iacques II. Roi d'Angleterre, d'Écosse et d'Irlande.

Sur von peuplement, pai de lauthurite
Mon empire pourra souffrir quelque contrainte, mais je doisve ragez sans ceindre.

The Squire of Alsatia

Habitu de Londres

Précieux et Lindo.
Exposition des ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture par M. de l'Académie dans la Galerie du Louvre en 17...
C. Gloves

If the well-dressed gentleman’s hat was as indispensable to him as his shoes; his gloves were as indispensable as his stockings:

Q. When should a youth wear his gloves?
A. It is polite to wear one’s gloves when one walks in the streets, when one is in company, and when one goes to the country.

Q. When should he remove his gloves?
A. He should remove them primarily in order to pray to God and to set himself at the table.

Q. When is it sufficient to remove only the right glove?
A. It is sufficient to remove it before making a reverence and before giving or receiving anything.

Q. Should he remove, put on and pull his gloves incessantly?
A. This is uncivil in company, where it is necessary to remain quiet and listen to what is being said.

Q. What must he avoid concerning the gloves?
A. Carrying them to his mouth to chew and suck them. Carrying them together under the left arm or in the hand—that smacks of the village doctor. Wearing only the left glove and carrying in that hand, the right glove. Playing incessantly with one’s gloves. Carrying them in his pocket, except then he must have his hands in them. The gloves are made for the hands.17

Indispensable though they may have been, gloves were not quite as ubiquitous as this stylish French gentleman would have us believe. Nor were they quite so constantly worn, as Ward’s comments in a True Born Dutch Skipper would indicate: “Keeps hands in pockets, gloves beneath his arm/ A senseless fashion which our beaux think fine,/ Dull English calves to imitate Dutch swine.”18

17Courtin, Traité, p. 61.
18Ward, Legacy to the Ladies, p. 177.
Courtin's complicated gauntlet etiquette can help in setting an atmosphere of the very complex court protocol of the day. But, the actor must learn to manage his gloves so adroitly that the management of the gloves will not call attention to itself.

The following plates illustrate some of the ways in which these expensive and cumbersome accessories were carried when not being actually worn:
Homme de qualité en surtout d’hyuer

Affris chez Antoine sur St Jaques avec Privilege du Roy

Louis Alexandre de Bourbon
Comte de Toulouse.

Gloves and muff were often carried simultaneously.

second a Paris chez A.Trouin rue St Jaques au grand Monarque attestant les Mathurines avec pre du Roy
D. The Mantle

On all civil occasions the mantle was to be worn squarely on both shoulders. In other situations it might be worn as a disguise as in Plate 77, or in an informal fashion as in Plate 78, Figures A and B (which have about them a casual, jaunty air). It might even, on occasion, be worn for the utilitarian purpose of keeping warm, and be clutched to the person as in Plate 79A.

Plate 79B is the at-home variant—a Persian robe as used by a stylish gentleman for a lounging and dressing gown. In all the numerous plates in which it occurs, it is held and draped in essentially the same manner, presumably the only one which was considered truly elegant.
"I was so well muffled up in Brisiac's coat that I was taken for him."

Hamilton, Memoirs of the Count de Grammont, p. 61
E. The Pipe

The proper place for pipe-smoking, which was considered an aid to digestion, was at home or in the coffee-house. The length of the pipe-stem was in harmony with the scale of the period and obliged the smoker to hold his pipe well away from the body. Gestures made with such a pipe are, of necessity, large and flourishing, rather than the small intimate movements made with the modern pipe.
The snuff-box, perhaps more than any other hand property, is popularly associated with the Restoration period. According to John Lillie, the taking of snuff was not a widespread English habit before the turn of the eighteenth century:

"Before the year 1702...snuff-taking was very rare and, indeed, little known in England; it being chiefly a luxurious habit among foreigners residing here and a few of the English gentry who had travelled abroad. Among these, the mode of taking the snuff was with pipes the size of quills out of small spring boxes. These pipes let out a very small quantity of snuff upon the back of the hand, and this was snuffed up the nostrils with the intention of producing the effect of sneezing, which, I need not say, forms now no part of the design, or rather fashion of snuff-taking."

Since the literature with which we have to deal was written by, about and for those same few of the English gentry who had travelled abroad, Lillie's comment need not disturb the traditional idea about snuff-taking as valid stage business for this period. The gentleman in Plate 81A is apparently taking snuff in the manner described by Lillie; it is a cruder, bluffer way than that most frequently pictured, but for this very reason, an excellent choice of technique for such characters as Manly and Sir Wilful Witwood.

Among the beau monde in France, and therefore presumably among the beau monde in England, the more usual and, in most cases, more stage-worthy ritual was performed in the following manner:

First, extract the snuff-box from the pocket or muff with either hand, most likely the left.

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First, extract the snuff-box from the pocket or muff with either hand, most likely the left.

Next, tap the lid with the right hand as one might tap a cigarette or a cigarette package today. The tapping is to settle the fine snuff and keep it from blowing about when the box is opened but can also serve as a punctuation mark in conversation.

Next, release the spring-lid with the thumb of the left hand, and take a pinch of snuff with the right thumb and forefinger (Plate 82).

Then, according to the plates, the box is left open in the left hand, while the right applies the snuff first to the right nostril with the palm turned out, (Plate 83) and immediately thereafter to the left nostril with the palm turned in (Plate 84). The hands, during this period, received considerable attention and admiration. The taking of snuff was frequently utilized as an opportunity for showing off one's graceful wrist and fingers, one's jewelled ring or expensive cuff-lace.

Next, close the box neatly (precisely how will depend on its size) and with the right hand extract the handkerchief from the pocket or sleeve. Gracefully flick the nostrils with it and then deftly return both the handkerchief and the snuffbox to their proper places.

This outline of procedure should be altered to suit different characters, especially since the taking of snuff tended to be associated with foppishness in later periods, as well as in the modern mind:

Sir Plume of amber snuff-box justly vain
And the nice conduct of a clouded cane,
With earnest eyes, and round unthinking face
He first the snuff-box open'd, then the case
And thus broke out, "My lord, why what the devil
Z--ds! Damn the Lock! 'Fore God, you must be civil"
Plague on't! 'Tis past a jest--nay, prithee, pox,
Give her the hair," he spoke and rapped his box.

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Being unfamiliar to a modern audience and therefore likely to be distracting, the snuff-taking routine should be employed with care and restraint. But when tailored to fit the character, it is as valuable and valid a bit of realistic stage business as smoking a cigarette is for Eliot Chase in *Private Lives*. 
Officier du Roy

Ce n'est à Paris qu'on pousse les grandes épaules aux deux côtés de la grande chambre avec point du Roy.

Monsieur l'Abbé
Prenant du Tabac
The closer the fingers are curled to the palm, however, the more masculine the behavior appears.

This graduated curl of the fingers in snuff-taking is the norm of elegance most often seen.
The preceding plates have shown snuff being taken from the box and applied to the first nostril; in this plate the hand has turned and is about to apply the snuff to the second nostril.

Mockmode (of his dancing-master.) But suppose a lady speaks to me? What must I say?
Rigadoon. Nothin, sir,—you must take snuff, grin, and make her an humble cringe—thus: (he bows foppishly, and takes snuff. Mockmode imitates him awkwardly, and taking snuff, sneezes.)
Rigadoon. O Lord, Sir, you must never sneeze; 'tis as unbecoming after orangerie as Grace after meat.
Mockmode. I thought people took it to clear their brain.
Rigadoon. The beaux have no brains at all sir; their skull is a perfect snuffbox; and I heard a physician swear, who opened one of 'em, that the three divisions of his head were filled with orangerie, Bergamot, and Plain Spanish.

Farquahr, Love and a Bottle, I, ii.
Philippe de Vendôme, grand Prieur de France
en vant à Paris. 4, rue de Chaussée d’Antin.
Honoré Dumont, acteur et peintre du Roy.
G. The Handkerchief

A large, laced linen handkerchief was carried by people of quality at all times, but was more for show than use. The hand and the floor were considered quite adequate for normal purposes, except in circumstances requiring an ostentatious display of fastidiousness. Lace and linen were expensive at this point in the development of laundering techniques and were extremely difficult to keep clean. The flicking away of particles of dust or snuff seemed to be the principal practical use to which the handkerchief was put, and that, undoubtedly, because it provided an excellent opportunity for displaying the article to good advantage.

Today's young performers are apt to treat these elegant trifles as if they were dust-rags. An embarrassing but inescapable conclusion to be drawn from a study of the plates is that our courtly forbearers also handled their handkerchiefs like dust-rags. Any misguided urgings toward Georgian refinement should, of course, be withstood; still, the emphasis during the Restoration was on circular movements, illustrated in such gestures as the kissing of the hand, the taking of snuff and the giving or receiving of anything. The traditional stage technique for the handkerchief does not seem out of harmony with the period, and some of the plates are ambiguous enough not to deny its historical justification.

The technique consists in the transfer of the handkerchief into various positions about the hand through the use of a series of circular movements.

To pre-place the handkerchief, hold it by its center point with the corners hanging down evenly, then thrust it delicately but firmly into
the sleeve, pocket or bosom so that the center point remains readily accessible. To withdraw the handkerchief, grasp this point between the thumb and first and second fingers and pull the article from its place with an arched movement of the right elbow and wrist toward the right.

When the corners through centrifugal force are at the furthest point of their swing in that direction, quickly transfer the center point of the handkerchief held between thumb and forefinger to a similar position between any other two fingers, turning the palm of the hand upward. The point now protrudes upward between, let us say, the third and fourth fingers, while the corners fall straight down through them. This is a good position of the handkerchief for a flourishing gesture since it leaves the hand essentially free and expressive.

For actual of indicated utilitarian use of the article, another circular motion is needed: still holding the center point between the third and fourth fingers, flip the body of the handkerchief up over the side of the forefinger (the palm now being turned inward) and steady the material with the thumb, allowing the corners to hang easily against the heel of the hand. The Handkerchief is now gracefully but firmly in control, the corners being positioned for flicking, and the part looped over the forefinger being available for careful dabbing. (The precise nature of the action must excuse the foregoing cumbersome description.)

To replace the handkerchief, the process is reversed. The circular motions may be emphasized or minimized. In any case, the handkerchief must be made of a heavy fabric like linen; a light fabric, such as cambric or chiffon, would give the movement too airy and delicate a quality.
Damoiselle Conuress

L'une des vingt-quatre Demoiselles Connuess destinées à l'éducation des 25 Demoiselles entrées aux dépens de Sa Majeste dans la Maison Royale de 1641.

La Reine

Veuve mariez Mad. une gloire immortelle; Et l'on était en tous lieux, que voire Majesté...
H. The Vizor-Mask

Vizor-masks were an integral part of every fashionable lady’s equipment. A lady of reputation admitted to using one merely as a costume accessory, and perhaps for some of them, it was simply a hand prop like a fan or handkerchief. But the knowledge that in a mask she could go to the same places and see the same people (whether or not she did the same things) as could ladies without reputation must have been tempting. One wonders, indeed, why the fashion has not been revived in our day.

A mask could be pinned to cover the face. It could also be held in the hand and used for gesturing, or for temporary covering of all or part of the face.
Femme de qualité allant incognito par la Ville

Dame allant en visite
I. Giving and Receiving

There was a polite way of handing objects from one person to another:

Q. What should a youth do in receiving something except at table?
A. Before receiving anything he will make a reverence, remove his glove, and kiss his hand, and he will receive the thing as if kissing it.

Q. What should he do in giving something for which he has been asked?
A. He should present it promptly, lest it be waited for, and present it as if kissing it. Then, having presented it, kiss his hand and then make a reverence.

Q. Should he advance his hand in front of a person of quality in order to give or take anything?
A. No, he must give it or take it from behind.

Q. But if he cannot do otherwise than to give or take it from the front, what should he do?
A. Before giving or taking it, he should ask permission with some civility.

Q. What should he do, if by chance, a person of the company has let something fall?
A. He should pick it up promptly and give it back with civility.

Q. If he himself should let something fall, what should he do?
A. He should pick it up promptly and give it back with civility.

Q. If he himself should let something fall, what should he do?
A. He should pick it up promptly himself, without allowing anyone else to pick up what he let fall; if another has picked up what he let fall; he should thank him and receive it with civility. 21

Plate A

According to Act of Parliament.

E. D. Print.  
E. H. Bostard Sculp.

Plate B

According to Act of Parliament.

E. D. Print.  
E. H. Bostard Sculp.
J. The Fire Screen

A cold weather variation of the fan was the fire screen. It was used by both ladies and gentlemen to keep the direct heat of the fire away from the face. It, too, had a series of rules for its use, which are presented here along with the rules for proper fireside behavior. Fires were as common then as now in chilly England, and their lively but impersonal warmth would be a welcome addition to the decor and atmosphere of many a Restoration "fine room" or "chamber" scene.

Q. What should a youth avoid in warming himself in the presence of polite company?
A. 1. To bend so low as to crouch or sit on the ground.
    2. To turn his back to the fire.
    3. To amuse himself by playing with the tongs.
    4. To approach the fire more closely than others do that implies that he is the master.

Q. Should he mind the fire?
A. He will leave to the master or to him who has charge of the fire the care of poling it and of putting or taking off of wood.

Q. What should he do if someone presents him a fire screen above his rank?
A. He should not dispute with the person who presents it to him, nor tell him to give it to somebody else, but receive it civilly.

Q. If there is only one screen at the home of a titled person who presses him to take it, what should he do?
A. After having indicated his gratified reluctance to accept it, he should not refuse it, inconspicuously lay it aside, and not use it at all.

Q. May he have a footman present a screen in his own house?
A. No, he will present it himself, so that he to whom it is presented may take it correctly.22

22Courtin, Traité, pp. 135-6.
K. The Fan

The most well-known, expressive, and versatile personal prop of the period is, of course, the folding fan. The fan is also dangerous, because in the hands of an unskilled actress, its fluttering and twitching can be highly distracting as well as irritating. Like all the articles dealt with in this chapter, its skillful manipulation requires considerable practice. Until its expert use becomes second nature to the actress, all its movements should be precisely and conscientiously choreographed. Indeed, the modern director may do well to hold just such drill sessions as Addison humorously outlined in 1711:

Women are armed with fans as men with swords, and sometimes do more execution with them. ...To the end, therefore, that ladies may be entire mistresses of the weapon which they bear, I have erected up an academy for the training of young women in the EXERCISE OF THE FAN, according to the most fashionable airs and notions that are now practiced at court. The ladies who carry fans under me are drawn up twice a day in my great hall, where they are instructed in the use of their arms, and EXERCISED by the following words of command:

- Handle your fans,
- Unfurl your fans,
- Discharge your fans,
- Ground your fans,
- Recover your fans,
- Flutter your fans.

By the right observation of these few plain words of command, a woman of a tolerable genius who will apply herself diligently to her exercise for the space of but one-half year, shall be able to give her fan all the graces that can possibly enter that little modish machine.

But to the end that my readers may form to themselves a right notion of this exercise, I beg leave to explain it to them in all its parts. When my female regiment is drawn up in array, with every one her weapon in her hand, upon my word to Handle their fans, each of them shakes her fan at me with a smile, then gives her right-hand woman
a tap near the shoulders, then presses her lips with the extremity of her fan, then lets her arm fall in an easy motion, and stands in a readiness to receive the next word of command. All this is done with a close fan, and is generally learned in the first week.

The next motion is that of unfurling the fan, in which are comprehended several little flirts and vibrations, as also gradual and deliberate openings with many voluntary fallings asunder in the fan itself, that are seldom learned under a month's practice. This part of the exercise pleases the spectators more than any other, as it discovers on a sudden an infinite number of cupids, (garlands), altars, birds, beasts, rainbows, and the like agreeable figures that display themselves to view, whilst everyone in the regiment holds a picture in her hand.

Upon my giving the word to discharge their fans, they give one general crack that may be heard at a considerable distance when the wind sits fair. This is one of the most difficult parts of the exercise, but I have several ladies with me who at their first entrance could not give a pop loud enough to be heard at the further end of the room, who can now discharge a fan in such a manner as that it shall make a report like a pocket pistol. I have likewise taken care (in order to hinder young women from letting off their fans in wrong places or unsuitable occasions) to show upon what subject the crack of the fan may come in properly: I have likewise invented a fan, with which a girl of sixteen with the help of a little wind which is enclosed about one of the largest sticks, can make as loud a crack as a woman of fifty with an ordinary fan.

When the fans are thus discharged, the word of command in course, is to ground their fans. This teaches a lady to ground her fan gracefully when she throws it aside in order to take up a pack of cards, adjust a curl of hair, replace a falling pin, or apply herself to any other matter of importance. This part of the exercise, as it only consists in tossing a fan with an air upon a long table (which stands by for that purpose) may be learned in two days time as well as in a twelvemonth.

When my female regiment is thus disarmed, I generally let them walk about the room for some time; when on a
sudden (like ladies who look at their watches after a long visit), they all of them hasten to their arms, catch them up in a hurry, and place themselves in their proper stations upon my calling out recover your fans. This part of the exercise is not difficult, provided a woman devotes her thoughts to it.

The fluttering of the fan is the last, and indeed the masterpiece of the whole exercise; but if a lady does not misspend her time, she may make herself mistress of it in three months. I generally lay aside the dog days and the hot time of the summer for the teaching of this part of the exercise; for as soon as ever I pronounce flutter your fans, the place is filled with so many zephyrs and gentle breezes as are very refreshing that season of the year, though they might be dangerous to ladies of a tender constitution in any other.

There is an infinite variety of motions to be made use of in the flutter of the fan. There is the angry flutter, the modest flutter, the timorous flutter, the confused flutter, the merry flutter, and the amorous flutter. Not to be tedious, there is scarce any emotion in the mind which does not produce a suitable agitation in the fan; insomuch that I only see the fan of a disciplined lady, I know very well whether she laughs, frowns or blushes. I have seen a fan so very angry, that it would have been dangerous for the absent lover who provoked it to have come within the wind of it; and at other times so very languishing, that I have been glad for the lady’s sake that the lover was at a sufficient distance from it. I need not add that a fan is either a prude or a coquette, according to the nature of the person who bears it....

P.S. I teach young gentlemen the whole art of gallanting a fan.

N.B. I have several little plain fans made for this to avoid expense.23

Although there are innumerable references to the gallanting of ladies’ fans by gentlemen, the precise nature of this activity seems to

23 Spectator, June 27, 1711, p. 158.
be nowhere described and never very clearly pictured in the plates. An actor's motivation and taste must be his guide, but the possibilities are endless.

The wealth of graphic material on the lady's use of the fan luckily renders extensive verbalization on the subject unnecessary. A few general points, however, must be made before proceeding to the exercises. Fans were available then, as now, in many sizes and materials. The best type for stage use is one about ten inches long (for a "straight" character), preferably of wood and silk, and above all, well-made. A fan, like a beaver, requires considerable breaking in. It must be capable of opening and closing by its own weight; a stiff fan, or one that is disintegrating by the time it is loose enough to use, is a liability on stage.

During the Restoration period, the fan, as well as the hand and the arm that control it, was carried away from the body. This carriage will at first seem artificial and affected to the student actress. She should be provided, as soon as possible, with rehearsal sleeves and skirt; the wish to display them and the desire not to crumple them will help to motivate her to carry her arms properly.

Although the plates are very helpful in illustrating the positions of the fan in space, they often depict quite impossible positions of the fan in the hand and on this one count must be ignored. The closed fan, it is true, may be held in a variety of ways; but the open fan, or fan in play, can be held in only one way if the requisite control of it is to be maintained. With the thumb and forefinger of the right hand (if
one is right-handed), grasp the lower end of the right end-stick, as the open fan faces in toward the body. Allow the base of the fan to rest easily in the palm and support the back of it with one or more of the other fingers. Held in this manner, the fan can open, close, turn at any angle, or trace any shape in the air without adjustment of its position in the hand. This placement also makes it possible to stop the fan at any degree of openness desired, although the partial opening or closing of a fan produces a curious, staccato effect that should not be over used.

A fan in good working order can open or close by its own weight in any position about the body. No more than an imperceptible flick of the wrist, should ever be needed to impel the movement. The fan should open, turn and move through the air in smoothly connected but separate motions. The lead should be from the "flower" of the fan, rather than from its "stem." Or, a more vigorous image for its operation is that of the artist's paintbrush, as suggested earlier for the use of the hands, the lead obviously being from the bristles rather than from the handle. Besides practicing neat and graceful openings and closings of her fan, an actress should practice drawing imaginary circles, spirals and figure-eights in the air around her with a fan alternately open and closed.

Wildeblood's exercises for the fan are valuable and her summary of the language of the fan is useful in accustoming the actress to using the article with purpose. But no specific language of the fan was

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Wildeblood and Brinson, pp. 278-280.
current in seventeenth-century England nor, in that free and easy time, was any such secret language needed. The fan was a means of expressing character and emotion; it embellished and punctuated conversation, besides being a conversation piece; it provided lovers with intimate yet polite things to do with their hands; and in addition to all this, it was to its lady, cigarette, cocktail and worry-stone all in one. Neither her purpose, nor that of the modern director, could be served by the use of a specific set of gestures for a specific set of meanings.

The progression of positions in the following pages is, of course, conjectural, and the motivations that accompany it are arbitrary. They are presented only as hints by which to train the actress to think, feel and talk with her fan and to use it as an extension of her personality as well as of her arm.
This plate shows a variety of "at ease" positions for the hands and fan.
Sir Timothy. Lord, what a sight 'tis to see a pretty woman stand right up on end in the middle of a room, playing with her fan for want of something to keep her in countenance.

Behn, The Town Fop. I, ii.

Bellair.

...Lean against this wall and look down upon your fan...At one motion play with your fan, roll your eyes, and then settle a kind look upon me...Now spread your fan, look down upon it, and tell the sticks with your finger...Clasp your hand up to your bosom, hold down your gown, shrug a little, draw up your breasts, and let 'em fall again gently with a sigh or two, etc...Clap your fan then in both your hands, snatch it to your mouth, smile, and with a lively motion fling your body a little forwards. So--now, spread it, fall back on the sudden, cover your face with it, and break out in loud laughter--take up. Look grave and fall a-fanning of yourself....

Etherage, The Man of Mode (III, i)

The following is a hypothetical series of fan positions with accompanying hypothetical motivations. The sequence, or any segment of it, may be used as an exercise for the development of expressive fan deportment.
What a dull party.

I simply must do something to liven it up.

A Lady of quality in her court dress.

Dame de la Cour.
Dans le air noble de cette Dame, si pour elle on gaitad seuflamme
L'on croy de bonnes qualitez; il faut s'en prendre à sa beauté.
I must look at ease.

First I'll....
Open my fan...

And tell the sticks from the bottom upward...

Madame la Marquise de Grancey.

Marie Thérèse de Bourbon, Princesse de Conty.
And gesture gracefully toward my bosom...

And let the fan fall easily closed...
Now to stroll toward him contemplatively as if I were thinking of something else.

I think he noticed me.
Now to open the fan with great decision as if with a sudden thought.

And hurry past him as if on a happy errand.
He's watching me now. I clap the fan in both hands as if having thought better of the plan.

And seem to watch the party with amused sagacity.
And show my tolerant superiority
to these foppish goings-on....
He's going to speak to it
"What do you think of that!"
He wants to see me alone! I'll just wave nonchalantly to my friend across the room...

And let my fan fall shut over my shoulder as we leave...
And here we are! "Really, sir, you flatter me!"
"But, sir, we've hardly met..."

"That's what I think of your odious proposals!"
He's gone. Now to look unconcerned.

"I say dear, do sit down; I've something to tell you!"

Femme de Qualité aux Tuileries.

S. Arnaud, 1647.

Aux Beaux-Arts, by order of the Queen of France, Issued by the Ministry of Fine Arts.

Femme de Qualité aux Tuileries.

Le Viel & Levasseur, Éditeur.

Se vend à Paris par le quai de la Tournelle, à la première et au premier et au deuxième étage.
"You agree I'm handling him the right way?"

I thought so. Now, what's the next step?
I think it's time to leave.

"Yes, it's been a lovely party, but I really must go."

A. *Fille de qualité habilée pour le Printemps*

*Le vend à Paris chez M. Amouroux de la Gremesser, à l'image et modèle, sous haute privilège du Roy.*

B. *Dame Consultant Son Advo...*

*Elle aura gain de cause Le repose de la Chose*
Marie Anne Christine Victoire de Bavière
Madame la Dauphine

Marie Adelaide de Savoie Duchesse de Bourgogne
Ville ânée du Roi Victor Amé, Duc de Savoie et d'Anne Marie d'Orléans, née à Turin le 6 x 1726. Elle a épousé le Duc de Bourgogne le 21 x 1697.
Women are gained by little, taking wiles;  
Play with her fan, and ask her why she smiles  
Soon may that toy, thus used, inflame her more  
Than e'er it cooled her, with its blasts before.
The following plates show business with miscellaneous hand properties, and Bulwer's complete series of rhetorical gestures from the Chirologia and Chironomia, London, 1644.

The Bulwer plates are a bit early for the period under consideration, and such meanings of the particular gestures as are not archetypal have no particular use for the modern actor. But an actor who has mastered Bulwer hand positions will find himself in amazing control of these highly expressive members of the body.

Thomas Betterton quotes Quintilian:

...the other parts may be said to help a man when he speaks, but the hands, (as I may say) speak themselves. Do we not by the hands desire a thing? Do we not by these promise? call? dismiss? threaten? act the suppliant? express our abominations or abhorrence? our fear? By these do we not ask questions? deny? shew our joy, grief, doubt, confession, penitence, moderation, plenty, number and time? Do not the same hands provoke, forbid, make supplication, approve, admire, and express shame? Do they not in shewing of places and persons, supply the place of adverbs and pronouns? Insomuch that in so great a variety or diversity of the tongues of all nations, this seems to remain the universal language common to all.

It were to be wished that this art were a little reviv'd in our age, when such useful members, which of old contributed so much to the expression of words, should now puzzle our players what to do with them, when they seldom or never add any grace to the action of the body, and never almost anything to the explanation or fuller expression of the words and passions.

p. 47-8
Madame la Marquise de Belfont
fille de Monsieur le Duc de Mazarin
A Audientiam facit.
B QUIBUSDEM orditur.
C Exordium accomodat.
D Instabit.
E Approbat.
F ENTHYMEMA tendit.
G Distinguet.
H Disputabit.
I Irius Argumentatur.
K Demonstrat.
L Magnanimitatem ostendit.
M Indigitat.
N Attentionem poscit.
O Colligit.
P Utgeb.
Q Splendidiora explicat.
R Ironiam ostendit.
S Leviter tangit.
T Subtiliora explicat.
V Exprobabit.
W Arguebit.
X Memb.: orat: distribuit.
Y Amplitudinem denotat.
Z Contraria distinguat.
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A. Muncro.
B. Auxilium seco.
C. Irascor.
D. Demonstror non-habere.
E. Castigo.
F. Puigne.
G. Confido.
H. Impedio.
I. Recommendo.
J. Officium duco.
K. Impatienia prodob.
L. Sollicito cogito.
M. Pudet.
N. Adero.
O. Conscienter affirmo.
P. Penitentia gramine.
Q. Indignatione tineo.
R. Datam fide promitto.
S. Reconcileo.
T. Suspicione et odium noto.
U. Honorifico.
V. Reizatione saluto.
W. Furtuatem noto.
X. Benedico.
The development of a realistic style for Restoration comic acting, will consist only partially in the mastery of specific techniques for movement and gesture. The actor must also catch and communicate to his audience the smell, taste and feel of everyday Restoration life. An actor can do much to stimulate his own belief (and presumably, that of his audience) in his character and its behavior by studying the typical ways and places in which the models for Bellmour and Belinda spent their time.

A. The Toilette, the Visit, the Conversation

Almost every popular Restoration comedy contains at least one dressing-room scene, or scene which, by the nature of its dialogue, might well be accompanied by the business of dressing. Whatever philosophical conclusions may be drawn from this emphasis on the adornment of the person, it is extremely fortunate from the actor's point of view. The intimate physical realities of dressing are a favorite modern device for the stimulation of inner belief in external stage action on the part of actors. Indeed, for certain devotees of the "method", dressing, along with eating, is regarded as something of a universal panacea. In scenes which are not distorted by these hyper-naturalistic activities, it must be confessed that their effect on the relaxation and concentration of actors is remarkable. The stage business of dressing is in most Restoration
comedies not only accurate and permissible, but distinctly advisablenot only accurate and permissible, but distinctly advisable from a theatrical point of view.

Although dressing was probably never so all-engrossing to the English aristocracy as it was to the French, the attacks of contemporary moralists and satirists indicate the amount of time and attention dressing monopolized:

I shall first commence with what we call a nice, affected beau; one who from ten til twelve, receives visits in bed, where he lies most magnificently with a long periwig neatly laid over the sheets, extravagantly powdered and exactly curled. . . . When the clock has struck twelve, that his two hours have expired, he begins to rise, and with much ado, about three is dressed, which we must allow to be but a very short time, considering how many little piddling insignificant things he has to adorn himself with; as perfuming his clothes, using washing to make his hands white, beautifying his face, putting on two or three little patches, soaking his handkerchief in rose-water, powdering his linen which he pretends to stink of soap, he's not able to bear it; and chiefly tying on his cravat, which perhaps is done and undone a dozen times, before it sets with an air according to his mind.  

Dorimant's refusal of scent (Men of Mode. I. i.), in the presence of others, suggests that in their absence he might not refuse it; the dressing habits of a man of affairs and those of a beau were doubtless less a matter of interest taken than of interest admitted. The very nature of the garments worn indicates the care required for their proper deployment; and Loveby's objection to taking a smaller room shows the precedence, in a gentleman's mind, of the necessities of dressing over those of nourishment and elimination:

1The Character of the Beaux in Five Parts, p. 11-12.
I sweat to think of that garret...why 'tis a kind of little-case to cramp thy rebellious prentices in; I have seen an usurer's iron chest would hold two on't; a penny looking-glass cannot stand upright in the window, that and the brush fills it; the hat-case must be disposed under the bed, and the comb-case will hang down from the ceiling to the floor. If I chance to dine in my chamber, I must stay til I empty, before I can get out; and if I chance to spill the chamber-pot, it will overflow it from top to bottom.2

The scenting of the periwig and eyebrows, the tying of the muff-ribbon, the mathematical poising of the tortoise-shell comb in one pocket to balance the exact amount of lace-bordered handkerchief allowed to fall out of the opposite pocket, the padding of stockings to improve the line of the claf are other activities employed in the dressing room of Sir Courtly Nice, and to a lesser extent, in that of Valentine or Dorimant. Even military men were often smitten with dressing fever, judging by Bellegarde's expostulation: "Why that profusion of ribbons, that wonderful care of your dress? You spend more time at your toilet than the merest coquette in London. You laugh at serious matters only to show your white teeth. Did you e'er read in the Greek or Roman History, that Alexander's or Caesar's officers wore patches? Either quit your martial profession, or behave yourself more suitably to your employ."3

Evidently, Shadwell's Sir Nicholas is not so far-fetched a character as he first appears:

Major General Blunt. Ounds! What say'st young fellow, points and laces for camps?


3Bellegarde, p. 194.
Sir Nicholas. Yes, points and laces; why I carry two laundresses on purpose: Damme, would you have a gentleman go undressed in a camp? Do you think I would see a camp, if there were no dressing? Why, I have two campaign suits, one trimmed with Flanders-lace and the other with rich point. (The Volunteers, II. 1. p. 183, Vol. 5)

For the seventeenth-century nobility, dressing was not a matter of mere frivolity or vanity. Not only wealth and station were displayed on the person, but hereditary quality and conferred honor. Enough remained of the medieval concept of an ordered society to cause sumptuary laws to be passed for the prevention of anyone's presuming to dress above his condition. The ceremony surrounding the royal levee indicates the symbolic importance of dressing in the court of the Sun King, and to a lesser extent in that of his English contemporaries.

The increasingly rapid flux of fashion was not yet wholly accepted by the more conservative Britons. They tended to be less concerned with the modish aspects and more with the philosophical connotations than their Continental neighbors. Evelyn considered the integrity of national dress to be a matter of patriotism as well as national pride: "We deride the Spaniard for his odd shape, not for his constancy to it; let it be considered, that those who seldom change the mode of their country, have as seldom altered their affections to the prince." But in spite of the attempted reforms of Evelyn and others, English fashion went on dancing to French tunes, although it was usually a beat or two behind:

—Evelyn,
Some ladies with scabs and pimples on their faces invented patches, and those that have none must follow; just as our young fellows imitate the French; their summer fashion of going open-breasted came to us at Michaelmas, and we wore it all winter; and their winter fashion of buttoning close their straight-long-waisted coats, that made them look like monkeys, came not to us till March, and our coxcombs wore it all summer. (The Virtuoso, I. p. 115, Vol. 5)

A gentleman's concern with his costume did not end with his emergence from his chamber each day. He carried a comb and a looking glass, the latter perhaps in the lid of his snuff-box, which turned the use of that article into something like that of the modern woman's compact. The vulnerability of ribbons, laces and periwig-hair to the disturbing effects of wind and activity made large looking glasses an important part of the furnishings of most fine chambers. The public adjusting of clothing, the plying of comb, glass or scent-bottle were incorrect on principle. But the beau, at least, did whatever was necessary as a means to his end of always being the center of attention; and so his day went on:

Between three and four he dines...About four he bids his dog call a chair, and way he marches to the chocolate house, where he affirms himself to be a wit; and is frequently cringing into company, though he knows himself not in the least acceptable....Later/ 'tis almost time for the play, and having put himself in order, adjusted his cravat and wig, and daubed his face with snuff, he very soberly enters the house, first in one side box, then in t'other; next in the pit, and sometimes in the galleries, that the vulgar sort may as well behold and admire the magnificence of his apparel, as those of quality: Before the play's half done, whip he's at t'other house, and being in the pit, between every act, leaps upon the benches to show his shape, his leg, his scarlet stockings, his mien and air; then out comes a snuff-box, as big as an alderman's tobacco-box, lined with a bawdy picture, and the length of its fingers, its whiteness, its delicacy, and the diamond ring; and having played a few monkey tricks, the music ceases, and the gentleman descends, bowing this way, that way, and t'other way,
that the ladies in the boxes may take notice of him... then while the play's acting, he turns his back to the stage as disregarding such nonsense... when an hour or two's spent there, he goes to the park, and, creeping to a lady, Oh, Madam, I'm almost suffocated; stop my vitals! the smoke of London is insufferable: how does your ladyship find it? Yet, not permitting her to answer; Oh, Madam, renounce me, if I am not ready to expire; your ladyship's most humble servant: Then the same stuff to another... Finally he walks to some lady's lodging in Pall-Mall, or St. James' Square, where he spends three or four hours at ombre or tick-tack, and so home again.5

Dressing was, needless to say, even more important to the female contingent than to the male, and its graphic documentation is considerably more extensive. Unlike the more sensible of the men, the ladies made no attempt to dissemble the endless time and effort required for the maintenance of a fashionable appearance. There was no striving after anything like a natural look; a lady's "total effect" when she emerged from her chamber in the afternoon was expected to be very clear evidence of the success with which she had spent the morning at her toilette:

...What is the grand occupation of the day? Between eight and nine in comes my lady's woman to range in order and method all the little trinkets of the toilet. She chuckles together a whole covey of essences and perfumes, she commands combs to their posts, pomatums to theirs.... I have seen a corps de reserve upon a side-board ready for sudden occasions. A French glass a-la-mode commands the corps de bataille; at his beck the patch-boxes march, powders and essences advance, combs enter upon duty... and now my lady brandishes the combs, and the powders rise in white clouds in the apartment. She trims up the commode, she places it ten times, un-places it as often without being so fortunate as to hit upon the critical point. She models it to all systems, but is pleased with none. For you must know some ladies fancy a vertical, others a horizontal situation; others dress it by the northern latitude, and others lower its

point to forty-five degrees. At length she comes to the patches: Here is place for fancy, and room for invention, no wonder then if the operation takes up time, and calls for study and reflection: it's hard to resolve upon the number, harder upon the size, and much more easy to billet an army, than to assign each patch to its proper station. Twelve strikes before her cheeks are inlaid, and her face be checkered a-la-mode.6

The fashion of multiple-patching afforded travellers to England considerable amusement. According to Muralt: "They delight in covering their faces with patches, which they don't want....I have seen patches on an old woman's face through her spectacles."7 On this subject Misson observes: "The use of patches is not unknown to the French ladies, but she that wears them must be young and handsome. In England, young, old, handsome, ugly, all are bepatched till they are bed-ridden. I have counted fifteen patches or more upon the swarthy wrinkled phiz of an old hag three-score and ten, and upwards."8

The comic possibilities of patching in a modern rendition of a Restoration dressing-room scene are obvious enough. As for the painting of "inlaying" of the cheeks, the popular snuff and cosmetic maker, John Lillie, describes the process:

...The red powders above described, are best put on by a fine camel-hair pencil. The colours in the dishes, wools, and green papers, are commonly laid on by the tip of the little finger, previously wetted....As all these have some gum used in their composition, they are apt to leave a shining appearance on the cheek, which too plainly shows that artificial beauty has been resorted to....These paints are all wetted previous to being used....9

6The Gentleman Instructed in the Conduct of a Virtuous and Happy Life...To Which is Added, a Word to the Ladies, 6th ed., London: E. Smith, 1716), p. 117-118.
7Muralt, p. 11.
8Misson, p. 214.
Evidently when Lady Wishfort frowns a little too rashly, and some cracks become discernable in the white varnish, she does not very much exaggerate the case when she complains that she looks like an old, peeled wall. (Way of the World III, i) (The facial immobility encouraged by a lady's mask of white lead make-up, however, is one piece of period decor which a modern director will be well-advised to forgo.)

Along with glasses, washes, perfumes, powders, combs, brushes, pins, curl papers, headdresses, artificial hair and paints in dish, wool and paper form, a lady's dressing-box might contain such notions as scented lozenges to improve the breath and "Plumpers, certain very thin, round, and light balls, to plump out, and fill up the cavities of the cheeks, much used by old court-countesses."10

Perhaps the most disenchanted and disenchanting summary of a lady's morning activities is provided in Rochester's "Portsmouth's Looking Glass":

Methinks I see you newly risen
From your embroidered bed and p--g;
With studied mien and much grimace
Present yourself before your glass,
To varnish, and rub o'er those graces
You rubbed off in your night embraces;
To set your hair, your eyes, your teeth,
And all those powers you conquer with;
Lay trains of love and state intrigues,
In powders, trimmings and curl'd wigs;

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10John and Mary Evelyn, Mundus Muliebris; or, The Ladies Dressing Room Unlocked and Her Toilette Opened in Burlesque, together with the Fop Dictionary, Compiled for the Use of the Fair Sex (London: A. Bentley, 1690), p. 19.
And nicely choose, and neatly spread
Upon your cheeks the best French Red...11

It is Rochester, too, who presents the following catalogue of female charms in his *Dictionary of Love*. Modern actresses will, of course, adapt these "capital points" to current notions of attractiveness, but the consonance of these qualities with those emphasized in the fashion plates indicates the adherence of the latter, in however stylized a manner, to the visual ideals of the age.

### Beauty: Capital Points

| Youth                  | Stature neither too high nor too low. |
|                       | Neither too fat nor too lean.         |
|                       | The symmetry and proportion of all parts. |
|                       | Long hair, or prettily curled, fine, and silky-soft. |
|                       | The skin smooth, delicate, and of a fine grain. |
|                       | Lively white and red.                 |
|                       | A smooth, high forehead.              |
|                       | The temples not sunk in.              |
|                       | The eyebrows in arcade, like two lines. |
|                       | The eyes blue, their orbits well-fashioned, and turned to sweetness. |
|                       | The nose rather long than short.      |
|                       | The cheeks rounding away in softened profiles, and dimpled. |
|                       | An agreeable smile.                   |
|                       | Two lips, pouting, of the coral hue.  |
|                       | A small mouth.                        |
|                       | Teeth, pearly-white, even and well-set. |
|                       | The chin rather round, plump, and ending with a dimple. |
|                       | The ears small, and close to the head. |
|                       | A neck of ivory,                      |
|                       | A breast of alabaster.                |
|                       | Two balls of snow, firm, self-sustained and deliciously distanced. |
|                       | A white hand, plump and long.         |
|                       | Fingers tapering.                     |
|                       | Nails of mother-of-pearl, and oval formed. |

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A sweet breath.
An agreeable voice.
A free, unaffected air and carriage.
The shape, noble, easy and disengaged.
A modest gait and deportment.12

Not only the face itself but its use required careful study in the glass, and the practicing of various expressions is excellent and valid stage business for the beau as well as for any female character who is, or imagines herself to be, alone. Even Lady Brute and Belinda, who are "women of honour and sense," indulge in this solitary pastime:

Lady Brute. Some people do give strange agreeable airs to their faces in speaking. Tell me true!—Did you ever practice in the glass?

Bellinda. ...I own it, both how to speak myself, and how to look when others speak. (Van Brugh, The Provoked Wife, III, ii.)

After a lady's toilette, her day proceeded somewhat as follows:

And when she has baited the chamber-maid, and stroked her lap-dog, in comes dinner; down she sits, not to eat, but to fret...and now Miss leaves the nursery, to ply at the dancing school and to finger the guitar or the virginals; and when she has mastered a minuet and an air Alamode, when she can practice a brace of grimaces, and wave a fan, good God! how Mamma titters; she is now fledged for the world, and sets out for company.13,14

It is a jaundiced picture but, one assumes, it is reasonable accurate.

12John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, The Dictionary of Love, in which is contained the Explanations of Most of the Terms used in that Language (London), p. 11.

13Gentlemen Instructed, p. 118.

14Gentlemen Instructed, p. 129.
One obvious conclusion to be drawn from all this is that Restoration ladies and gentlemen prepared themselves to be seen by the world in very much the same ways that modern actors and actresses prepare themselves to be seen by the audience. Hence, the very act of donning one's costume and putting on one's make-up is the best possible subjective preparation for a Restoration part. The backstage excitement before the rise of the curtain is exactly the spirit an actor should catch before making his first entrance. If the actor is to play a dressing-room scene in the course of the play, he should use its immediate physical realities to strengthen his belief in the stage action, but he should also admit to his consciousness its backstage associations: the combined scents of perspiration and cosmetic perfumes, the combined auras of squalor and luxury, the combined sensations of physical discomfort and physical glorification. More than anything else, he should recall the dressing-room sense of self merging with non-self, in order to sustain the peculiar theatrical exuberance with which much Restoration life seems to have been lived, and with which all Restoration comedy should be played.

When the seventeenth-century lady or gentleman had finished the arduous task of dressing for the day, the next large segment of time was usually spent in the paying and receiving of visits, although visits might already have been received while dressing, or even while still in bed. Beds, incidentally, were by no means such private places as they are today. They were the only really comfortable pieces of furniture in a dwelling of that period; they were used for relaxing, visiting, the transaction of matters of business and sometimes even affairs of state (no double entendre intended).
Formal visits, however, were paid and received by the aristocracy "entirely after the French fashion." Muralt's account neatly sums up the whole practice and mystique of what is likely to seem to us, with our reliance on casual telephone communication, a very curious custom indeed:

I don't speak of visits which friends make to one another, to pass away some hours together, and enjoy the sweetness of friendship. I believe the same thing is done in all countries. But the French have established visits of another kind, which are more general. These are the frequent visits which they make every day, as work to be done, or as if there were sick people to be visited. All people of education, and that dress genteelly, make and receive visits, of which they keep accounts as of an affair in trade; and among the exact duties becoming a gentleman, they reckon that which regards visits as one. They must be made after a handsome and genteel manner, and free from all trouble and perplexity; such as would embarrass ordinary people, if they happened to be in any place where they had nothing to do, and among people to whom they had nothing to say.

Those that understand the world, that is, those that know what is essential in it, are out of the case, and that they may never be in it, they have agreed among themselves to make short visits; they do no more than show themselves to the person they came to see, and as soon as they are seen (especially if others happen to come in), they retire. The conversation, during the minute the visit continues, must be kept up, as much as if they had something to say to each other, and it generally is, tho' we don't see what 'tis that supports it, there being nothing, properly speaking, that can be called a subject for conversation, and in this lies all the cunning. There people show themselves on their best side, that is their wit if they have any...for visits have their proper style, which is as much owing to rote, as what is free or natural, and the first seldom fails here.... Silence is allowed on these occasions, while anyone is speaking, and a man is always sure to find somebody speaking at the visiting hours; that is, a man may be a spectator if he pleases, and that this theatrical way of acting is allowed in France....There are some French that adopt it...and please themselves with the show, whether they really find any satisfaction in it,
which is not impossible, or that silence at a visit
looks like a mark of distinction, which they take
a great deal of pride in...

Some people appear at visits to show their finery,
which is properly the thing to be shown, being
essential to the Beau Monde; and 'tis to this they
chiefly owe their title....This is the reason that
dressing is their chief employment, they refine upon
it above anything I can say...dressing for visits,
and visiting to show their dress, are the common
employments of all the people called, in France,
the Beau Monde.¹⁵

As patches on English faces were more numerous than on French
ones, so English visits were longer and a little less impeccably
regulated than those of the French. But the theory was the same.
There was a whole canon of rules for visiting, the most useful of
which for stage purposes have been extracted and quoted below:

If anyone far surpassing others, either in age or
desert, would give place to a meaner than himself,
in his own lodging or elsewhere; even as he
ought not to accept of it, so he on the other part
should not use much earnestness nor offer it unto
him more than once or twice; to the end he be not
suspected of incivility.

But to him who is one's peer, or almost the same,
one ought to give the chiefest place in one's own
lodging, and he ought gently to refuse it, then at
the second offer, to accept it, with thanksgiving
and recognizance.¹⁶

What constituted the "chiefest place" was a question of
position in the room and proximity to bed, door, window, or fire-
place. The prime consideration, of course, was the type of seat,
and for stage purposes only the last distinction need be recognized.
Reasonably enough, the armchair was the best place, a chair with a

¹⁵Muralt, p. 112-116.

¹⁶Hawkins, Youth's Behavior, p. 9-10.
back and a backless stool follow in that order. Cushions, used for minors or attendants were, literally and figuratively, lowest.

If his lordship be set by the fire, you must be careful how you spit into the chimney, much less must you play with the tongs or temper with the fire.¹⁷

Rise and salute even an inferior if others do, and the footman of a man to whom you owe respect.¹⁸

The inferior salutes first, out of duty, and so does the visitant.¹⁹

Some think it rude to sit with their back towards a picture of an eminent person: For my part I see no reason for that fancy; for there are some rooms that are surrounded with such pictures, so as there would be no sitting in them.²⁰

When visitants are ready to depart, the patron makes a noise with his foot or chair, that the attendant may understand to lift up the portiers; but he ought not to command him, or to do anything which may show superiority in his own house. But if there be need of anything, to ask leave of the visitant to call for it. But visited by inferiors, he may call or do what he pleaseth.²¹

There were complex rules for reverences; the visitor saluted the entire company upon his entrance and then each person or group as he came in contact with them. These returned his reverence according to their sex, and as deeply as was warranted by his quality in comparison with theirs. The same procedure was followed for the quitting of an individual, a small group or the entire company. In

¹⁷Courtin, Rules of Civility, p. 61.
¹⁸Ibid., p. 51.
¹⁹Walker, p. 227.
²⁰Petrie, p. 27.
²¹Walker, p. 225.
theory, everyone knew exactly what degree of courtesy was expected from him in any particular circumstance. In practice, there was considerable confusion and misunderstanding not only about who was to salute whom and how deeply, but about who was to sit where and when, and how far the visitant was to be accompanied on his departure by the person visited. Courtesy had its competitive aspects, and the civility matches between Ladies Brute and Fanciful in *The Provoked Wife* (III. i.), or between Wildish and Trim in *Bury-Fair* (I.), certainly had real-life counterparts. Indeed, these courtesy tournaments were nothing in comparison to one held between Cosmo III and Charles II, when Cosmo refused to return to his lodging until Charles had driven away, and Charles refused to drive away until Cosmo had returned to his lodging. Perhaps Charles had a previous engagement, but the upshot was an unqualified victory for Cosmo; he succeeded not only in persuading Charles to drive away first, but in following the royal coach on foot halfway back to the palace.22

By Addison's time this type of punctiliousness was considered old-fashioned, but the country manners next described had been town manners up to the turn of the century:

> I have known my friend Sir Roger's dinner almost cold before the company could adjust the ceremonial and be prevailed upon to sit down... Honest Will Wimble...will not help himself at dinner until I am served. When we are going out of the hall, he runs behind me; and last night as we were walking in the fields, stopped short at a stile 'til I came up to it, and upon my

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22 *Travels of Cosmo III*, p. 194.
making signs to him to get over, told me with a serious smile that sure I believed they had no manners in the country.23 Courtin's pragmatic justification for all this civility was that "'Tis natural to all mankind to love and to desire to be loved, as the prime method to obtain other benefits and ensuing advantages that we aim at."24 Such baldly stated opportunism is a little appalling, until one calls to mind the title of a famous modern treatise by Dale Carnegie.

In the age-old struggle to win friends and influence people, a beau might, as Shadwell says, aim at "nothing but to make a figure in the drawing-room, set his periwig in the glass, smile, whisper and make legs and foolish faces for an hour or two, without one word of sense" (Virtuoso, II.). During a whole visit, he might do nothing but repeat the airs of the opera, loll in an elbow-chair, swear brutishly before women, whine to them his amorous nonsense and talk of the wines and liquors he drank at his last debauch.25 The beau might pass most of his time in ogling himself in the glass, priming his figure and caressing his curls and toupee. He might do little but, as Etherege says, "play with a lady's fan, smell to her gloves, and commend her hair, taking notice how 'tis cut and shaded after the new way." (Man of Mode, IV. 1.) But a man of real parts was expected, especially at a formal visit, to distinguish himself as a conversationalist.

23Spectator, July 17, 1711, p. 181.
24Courtin, Rules of Civility, p. 284.
Conversation was an art in which style, rather than sincerity, was definitely the important thing. Except for constant and rather gratuitous compliments, it was not supposed to be personal. Railing at others was considered entertaining but dangerous and was not recommended to any but experts in that field. The first person singular was quite banished from good conversation:

We shall make ourselves ridiculous in displaying the good qualities we possess. And can we have the imprudence to publish our defects? Or shall we deaden the entertainment in speaking indifferent and ordinary things of ourselves? Extend this rule, if you please to domestics: An husband must speak little and modestly of his wife; a mother would little divert, should she give an account of the cryings of her children, and the care which the nurses take of them.26

Anything smacking of unusual erudition was frowned upon:

"The learned unless they are cautious...often act a foolish part, and are put upon by persons inferior to them in learning, who with a good grace, and lively air, speak plain and easy things, which are much more affecting, than the sublime discourses of the learned."27

A man whose education went beyond polite learning, that which consisted in "the knowledge of history, mathematics, geography, chronology, languages, heraldry, genealogy, and the beauties of poetry," or who forgot that "the best of all books, is not to be compared with the knowledge of the world,"28 was likely to find himself the butt of considerable humor. Bruce, the hero of Shadwell's

26Richlieu, p. 9.
27Bellegarde, p. 193.
Virtuoso, dismisses the then whole of natural science with enviable ease, succinctness and finality: "What does it concern a man, to know the nature of an ant?" (III.)

Anyone who ventured to grow serious was "in great danger of being dull" (Old Bachelor II.ii); but only certain forms of wit were considered proper for polite persons to use. As Bellegarde points out, with smug disdain for Shakespeare's verbal milieu: "We live not in the age of buffoonery, quibbles and puns, and words with a double meaning; that nonsense, and foolish way of jesting, is banished from the conversation of well-bred men: The country people, and tradesmen, who think they have wit, still make it their chief pastime: They ought not to be envied that pleasure; but genteel people would no more make use of it, than old fashions."29 Ideas, not words, were to be played with, put together in unusual ways and explored to the limit of polite possibility. Nor was it enough to speak well oneself, since conversation, like part-singing, was a group art and pastime.

Conversation is not of the nature of harangues and speeches. Everyone ought to listen and speak in his turn. It ought neither to be too eloquent and florid, nor too starched and studied; it must be managed by hazard; everyone must paint himself in his discourse; in a word, it must be natural.

It ought likewise, as much as possible, to turn upon indifferent matters, especially amongst courtiers, who are commonly the spies of one another.30

29Bellegarde, p. 208.

30Chetarde, pp. 22-23.
In short, polite conversation consisted primarily of scintillating but light wit, of effortlessly elegant compliments and, in certain situations, of casually graceful lovemaking. Luckily the modern actor is not put to the task of making up his own polite conversation.

Wycherley, in *Love in a Wood* (I.), provides a helpful summary of the most usual types of wit and their motivation:

**Dapperwit.** First your court-wit is a fashionable, innovating, flattering, cringing, grimacing fellow; and has wit enough to solicit a suit of love; and if he fail, he has malice enough to ruin the woman with a dull lampoon, but he rails still at the man that is absent, for you must know all wits rail; and his wit properly lies in combing perruques, matching ribbands, and being severe as they call it upon other people's clothes.../a coffee-wit/ is a lying, censorious gossiping quibbling wretch, and sets people together by the ears over that sober drink coffee; he is a wit, as he is a commentator upon *The Gazette*.../Your chamber or scribble wit/ is a poring, melancholy, modest sot, ashamed of the world; he searches all the records of wit, to complete a breviate of them for the use of players, printers, booksellers, and sometimes cooks /and/ tobacconers; he employs his railing against the ignorance of the age, and all that have more money than he....

Your Judge-Wit or critic is all these together, and yet has the wit to be none of them; he can think, speak, write, as well as all the rest but scorns, (himself a judge) to be judged by posterity; he rails at all the other classes of wits, and his wit lies in damning all but himself; he is your true wit.

Lovemaking, light or otherwise, will be treated under a separate heading. The compliments which sound to us so studied and artificial were just that. Courtin presents the following example of the right and wrong way to express appreciation:
Bad Compliment:

Sir, I am come to give you thanks for your friendship in recommending my cause, and to assure you, that whenever I can give you the same testimony of mine, you shall find I was not altogether unworthy of that kindness.

Ammended:

Sir, you have expressed so much favour to me, in recommending my cause, that I hope you will not take it ill that I have waited upon you to return my most humble thanks, and assure you of my zeal and impatience of meriting the honour of your recommendation by my service and alacrity, when I shall be so happy to receive your commands.31

Not everyone could be expected to talk like Mirabell, but everyone who aspired to breeding was expected to talk like Courtin. Even gifted conversationalists were provided with models in various published "Academies of Compliment." People too lazy, stupid, or self-effacing to compose their own simply learned by rote such useful examples as:

Sir, your goodness is as boundless as my desires to serve you.32

Sir, I should be entirely happy, should I find an occasion to imprint the characters of your virtues in my breast by a more firm acquaintance.33

31Courtin, p. 93. Rules.


33Ibid., p. 5.
Sir, the pleasure I have in your love, and the assurance of mine own innocency, hath caused me to give this new remembrance of my being wholly yours.34

Madam, this kiss to your fair hand.35

Madam, you are the queen of beauties; your virtues give a commanding power to every mortal.36

Most Divine Lady, I could live an age upon those lips.37

Madam, 'tis true you are handsome, but remember, faces are like books, they that study them do but know them, and the truth is, they are liked only as they please the courteous reader.38

Sir, your suit is an impertinent trouble to us both, for be assured it is as possible for the stars to forget their courses, as for me to love you.39

Scornful Girl, can you imagine I ever did intend to dote, especially on that small stock of beauty of yours, which serves only to convince me, you are not extremely ugly.40

By comparison with the actual content of these compliment books, passages like the following are, if anything, understated:

Mrs. Fantast. Sweet Madam Gatty, I have some minutes impatiently expected your arrival, that I might do myself the great honour to kiss your hands, and enjoy the favor of your company into the Fair, which I see, out of my window, begins to fill space.

34Tbid., p. 5.
36Tbid., p. 17.
37Tbid., p. 19.
38Tbid., p. 17.
39Tbid., p. 6.
40Tbid., p. 18.
Mrs. Gertrude. I got ready as soon as e'er I could, and am now ready to come and wait on you.

Lady Fantast. Oh, fye, daughter! Will you never attain, by mine and my dear daughter's examples to a more polite way of expression, and a nicer form of breeding? You should have said: I assure you Madam, the honour is all on my side, and I cannot be ambitious of a greater, than the enjoyment of the sweet society of so excellent a person. This is Breeding.... (Bury-Fair, II.)

Sir Joseph Wittol. ...Sir, I most submissively implore your pardon for my transgression of ingratitude and omission; having my entire dependence sir, upon the superfluity of your goodness, which, like an inundation, will, I hope, totally immerge the recollection of my error, and leaves me floating in your sight upon the full-blown bladders of repentance, by the help of which I shall once more hope to swim into your favor. (Old Bachelor, II, I.)

The rules and principles for carriage, deportment, reverences and the use of objects, are especially applicable to formal visits and to all situations requiring polite conversation. But the following prohibitions suggest excellent deviations from perfect breeding, for use by such characters as Ben, Manly, and various servants and go-betweens:

Approach not your mouth so near in discoursing, as to offend or bedew any one with your breath, for all men's breaths are offensive.41

It is unbecoming to make faces, to roll your tongue in your mouth, to bite your lips, to turn up your moustaches, to play with your locks, to wink with your eyes, to rub your hands, crack your fingers, scratch your head, or shrug up your shoulders.42

It is not becoming a person of quality, when in the company of ladies, to handle them roughly; to put his hand in their necks, or their bosoms, to kiss

42Courtin, Rules of Civility, p. 63.
them by surprise; to pull off their hoods, to snatch away their handkerchiefs, to rob them of their ribbands and put them into his hat, to force their letters or books from them, to look into their papers etc. You must be very familiar to use them at that rate; and unless you be so, nothing can be more indecent, or render you more odious.

'Tis no less disrespectful to bite the nail of your thumb by way of scorn and disdain...and the same rudeness may be committed with a fillip.43

...In conference with a person of quality, it would be saucy and ridiculous to pull him by the buttons, bandstrings, or belt, and most of all to punch him on the stomach. "Tis a pleasant spectacle sometimes to see persons so handed retreating from one place to another."44

Today, such prohibitions would be taken for granted. The fact that Courtin and Walker felt the need to make them indicates that Restoration behavior was inclined to be rather more bumptious than we ordinarily suppose.

Polite conversation was the order of the day not only during formal visits, but whenever or wherever polite people were on their good behavior. It was an art, a pastime, an index of breeding and a prime technique of courtship and social advancement. Artificial as it tended to be, trivial as it often was, this major occupation of all people of quality was studied with the same assiduity as the other major occupations of dressing, dancing, gaming and the like. To say that "In Congreve...the whole duty of man is to talk, when he can, like Mirabell,"45 is distinctly to support the proposition

43Courtin, p. 45.
44Tbid., p. 62.
45Palmer, p. 191.
that Congreve was depicting realistically the life he saw around
him. The actor of Restoration comedy will do well, like Gatty, to
look over his academy of compliments. In improvisations of visits
and other seventeenth-century social encounters, he should learn to
talk like Mirabell as much as, and whenever, he can.


**A**

*Fille de qualité, recevant visite à sa toilette.*

Vie bruyée et noble, une douce amitié.

Pour couramment notre beaucoup d'amusé.

Enlèver avec nostre de belle émancipe et son

*Que au château de la belle.*

**B**

*Dame de qualité à sa toilette.*

Je m'adopte, belle fille, pour belle.

Et si leur passion devenait criminelle.

S'en ajustement pour se plaire aux humains.

Pour moi, je m'en lave les mains.
July 12, 1665 I stood with great pleasure an hour or two by my Lady Sandwich's bedside, talking to her (she lying prettily in bed).
Bellegarde describes boorish behavior at a visit:

It is to... make himself acceptable, that... he throws about others’ gloves and hats, that going to speak to anybody, he salutes him with a knock of his elbow, to quicken him as a signal that he has something to say to him....

For their comforts let [old women] reflect that wit can compensate for the loss of beauty, and that they may still retain the crowd as much about them, by their fine carriage, complaisance, and well-bred discourse, as they did formerly by their charms.

Bellegarde, p. 245
We see here three stages in a suspicious and surreptitious-looking conversation.

*À Paris chez I. Malati rue St. Jacques*  
*aux Colonnes d'Hercules avec Pril du Roi*
B. Parks and Promenading

Visits, of course, were not the only occasions of formal conversation. Balls, dinners, collations, concerts, salons and the various other diversions of the upper classes provided other courts for the peripatetic mental badminton matches. One of the most popular of these pastimes was the promenade. This was an activity particularly conducive to refined conversation and having little in common with what we moderns call "going for a walk." It was done with as much sense of form as if it were a dance and in gardens that were often like fine chambers translated into vegetation and stone-work.

A French formal garden was the landscape architect's expression of the neo-classical anthropocentricity that dominated the intellectual life of the period. As a Gothic cathedral had tended to perpetuate the ideals which had inspired it, so the formal garden must have influenced, at least subliminally, the ladies and gentlemen who walked in it. Even today, it is hard to withstand the atmosphere created by the intricately symmetrical flower-beds, the geometrically pruned trees, the mathematically spaced statues and the miles-long one-point perspective vistas. Amid such surroundings, it is amazingly easy to believe that existence is ordered and rational, that nature must be ruled by reason and that a daily constitutional should be as patterned as a work of art.
(Plates 129-132) show clearly the environmental factors which helped to cause a pace "so staid and grave," with "encounters so regular and decent."\(^{46}\) A careless gait or an offhand greeting must have felt as out of place in the Jardin des Tuileries as in Notre Dame de Paris.

There were rules for maintaining the requisite stateliness of deportment, and many of these have already been treated in the chapters on carriage and reverences. Of the other principles, only the following excerpt from Courtin is likely to be of much use to the stage director:

> This is a general rule, whenever we are walking two together and no more, we must be sure when we turn at the end of the walk, to turn inwards with our face toward our friend, but if there be three together, and all of a quality, the best way would be to change places alternatively, and let him in the midst take one of the sides at the end of the alley, and one of the others come in.\(^ {47}\)

The same rule, incidentally, held true for indoor promenading in the great chambers and galleries that so delighted Louis' heart.

In England there were many imitations of the outdoor, as well as indoor splendors of Versailles and the Louvre. Still, something English there was that didn't love the regularity of Plate 132, that preferred the more relaxed atmosphere of Plate 133. The story is that the French landscape architect hired to transform Hyde Park into an approximation of the Tuileries persuaded Charles to alter

\(^{46}\)A Character of England, as it was Lately Presented in a Letter to a Nobleman of France (London: Jo Crooke, 1699), p. 186.

\(^{47}\)Courtin, p. 188, Rules.
the original demands. And it is well known with what reluctance Christopher Wren undertook the remodeling of Hampton Court. Muralt frequently comments on the failure of the British to adapt themselves completely to French forms of deportment. Farquhar presents an amusing picture of English spontaneity fretting under the bonds of French politeness and finally breaking quite away from them:

Worthy. The walk is as free for me as you, Madam, and broad enough for both. (They walk by one another, he with his hat cocked, she fretting and tearing her fan.) Will you please to take snuff, Madam? (He offers her his box, she strikes it out of his hand, while he is gathering it up, enter Breeze who takes Melinda about the middle, she cuffs him.) (Recruiting Officer, IV. I. p. 83)

The atmosphere of the English public parks seems to have been rather more lively than that of the French formal walks. "The company walk in [St. James' Park] at such a rate as you would think all the ladies were so many Atalantas contending with their wooers. But as fast as they run, they stay there so long as if they wanted not time to finish the race; for it is usual here to find some of the young company 'til midnight."48 A park was more generally accessible than a private garden. It provided an excellent place for interested parties of both sexes to see and be seen by each other. Hopkins gives detailed instructions for the "chance" encounter:

...[At] the Park, the Mall, where the fond sparks repair; You, seen at distance, known, yet still she asks, Cries, is that he? and ere she's answered, masks.... As you pass by, the subtle fair shall turn, She hopes you know her noted garments worn. Seen not to know, let no salute be paid, But rally, mildly sharp, the masking maid.

Perhaps the kind attendant shall display
Her waving handkerchief, to court your stay.
If the white flag flies waving to the field,
The warrior knows the charming for in will yield.
The maid, perchance, with an alluring grace,
Grants some quick sketches of her simp'ring face,
Whilst her spread fan, held cunningly, is born,
(That very fan you had so lately torn) in a quarrel
Becks with her hand, and now turns short, now stands;
Do you return her beckons with your hands..."

Etherege and Wycherley make some amusing observations on other behavior typical of these salubrious haunts:

Dorimant. I observed...the several forms you put your face into; then to make yourself more agreeable, how wantonly you played with your head, flung back your locks, and looked smilingly over your shoulder at 'em.

Harriet. I do not go begging the man's, as you do the ladies' good liking, with a sly softness in your looks, and a gentle slowness in your bows, as you pass by 'em—as thus, Sir—(acts him). Is this not like you? (Man of Mode, III. iii. vol. 236)

At night in St. James' Park

Dapperwit. And now the brisk repartee ruins the complaisant cringe, or wise grimace. (Love in A Wood, I.i. p. 88)

It is unfortunate for our purposes that these playwrights considered the behavior they satirized to be so familiar to audiences and actors. "Acts him" or "Your visit-leg, thus" is not of much help in determining the exact nature of the business intended. This perfunctoriness of stage direction does help to prove, however, that the mannerisms of Restoration society and those used on the comic stage of that period were virtually the same.

Hopkins, Act of Love, p. 77.
Année 1687.

Cité des Plantes et Parc

311
...I think there is no more illustrious sight in the world, than the divinities of the French court marching up the long walk in the Tuilleries, where the pace is so staid and grave, the encounters so regular and decent.

A Character of England, p. 186
At Versailles more than in any place of the world...you will meet with perfections of all airs which we have discoursed of. It is here that you will find more politeness and less affectation, than in any court in the world. Most here have the air gallant, and there's scarcely any one but has a certain easy air, which makes all the agreeableness in conversation.

Richieu, p. 274
THE MALL, BY MARCO RICCI. (P. 315.)

(From the painting in the possession of the Right Hon. the Earl of Galway.)
Here, waiting for gallant, young damsel stood,
Leaning on cane and muffled up in hood:
The would-be wit, whose business is to woo,
With hat removed, and solemn scrape of shoe,
Advances bowing, then genteely shrugs,
And ruffled foretop into order tugs.
...With mouth screwed up, conceited, winking eyes,
And breast thrust forward, "Lord, Sir, she replies.
He puzzled bites his nails, both to display
The sparkling ring, and think what's next to say.

Wilmot, "Satire on Tunbridge-Wells"
Works of the Earls of Rochester,
Roscommon, Dorset, etc., p. 290
C. Aristocratic Surroundings and Outlook

The following series of plates shows the Restoration Aristocracy in certain other of its native habitats; the state chambers, the great halls, the Royal Exchange. This "Exchange," so frequently used as a setting in the comedies of the time, was both a stylish promenade and an arcade of fancy shops. The quality went there to look for paramours as well as finery, and similar quests often led them into the middle-class shops of the city. While intercourse between the classes (sexual and otherwise) was probably freer in England than in any European country of the time, Bellegarde's unconcealed contempt for citizens who presumed beyond their station was shared by most people of quality.

The cits, who have wealth above their condition, when they have a little vanity, disdain their equals, and will converse with none but quality, who find the art of ruining them by the absurd expenses they engage them in: They caress them, and embrace them, and put themselves upon a level; which condescension turns the head of a citizen, already misguided by his vanity: But he pays dearly for his interested caress, and when he is exhausted, he is sent back to his counter.50

In the dressing room, along with his sweater and sneakers, the modern actor should discard many of the ideals of his democratic heritage. Sympathy for the underdog, for instance, was not a prime Restoration virtue. In cases of deception the onus most frequently fell upon the deceived rather than on the deceiver. The exploited citizen, the cuckolded husband, the lady who lost her reputation, all elicited amusement or contempt rather than compassion. In Rochester's

50Bellegarde, p. 208.
circles, fools of all kinds were considered the fair game of their intellectual superiors, and an audience would instinctively empathize with Angelica's cleverness rather than with Sir Sampson's disappointment. A sense of easy superiority must be encouraged in the modern actor, a tolerant disdain for underlings and cullies. These attributes will protect his character and his audience from any qualms of pity over citizens cheated and mistresses discarded.

Consciously or unconsciously, everyone wants to be a member of a superior group: to be unusually gifted, intelligent, attractive, perceptive or moral; to be, literally, "a person of quality." Theoretically, to be a seventeenth-century person of quality was to possess, in addition to wealth and title, superior amounts of wit, beauty and honor; and therefore to be entitled to their concomitant privileges. It was a social and theatrical convention that a person who did not meet these requirements was to receive no sympathy from the superior people in the play. Nor was a character like Sir Sampson or Lady Wishfort to receive sympathy from the superior persons who, also by convention, constituted the entire audience.

The problem is that the last thing the usual modern democratically-oriented actor will admit to is any sense of innate superiority. There are ways, however, to stimulate the aristocratic outlook. For example, every prospective Dorimant or Valentine should take a proprietary stroll through Versailles or the Baroque section of Hampton Court in imagination, if not in person. Just as the beholder of the nave of Notre Dame experiences a sense of insignificance in the awesome temple he is suffered to enter, so the beholder of the great hall of the Paris Opéra experiences a sense of his own glorious
importance in this infinitely luxurious apartment, which is presented for his diversion. This next series of plates, like the preceding one devoted to gardens and walks, is offered as a substitute for the Baroque architectural experience. Directors and actors should note particularly the scale and form of the architectural features, their spatial relationships to the figures and the figures' spatial relationships to each other.
The Peau Honde put themselves forward and keep the vulgar at a great distance; not only on account of the rank that nature gives them, but also for the eminent figure they make in the world, and their great expenses, which must not be calculated with too much exactness; and for the diversions they procure for themselves from day to day, which they enjoy with more delicacy than the crowd.
Vue intérieure du grand escalier de Versailles; gravé par Surugue, d’après J. M. Chevotet.
La Cour : les appartements.

Le jeu du trou madame

Le jeu de cartes

Le jeu de billard.

Le concert.

La chambre de la collation.
Le Roi après avoir examiné dans son Conseil les importantes affaires de la succession du royaume de Chambly,
ordre nommé son estat, fils le 30e. d'années.
These plates demonstrate the amusing incongruity between the surroundings and the behavior of the seventeenth-century aristocracy.
D. Less Aristocratic Surroundings
The Street, The Coffee House

The milieu of the Restoration aristocracy was not entirely composed of spacious apartments, noble prospects, objects d'art, and the companionable elegance of other aristocrats. The nicest beau spent a great deal of his time amid rougher surroundings, of which perhaps the roughest was the street. Gay's Trivia, in its entirety, is required reading for all prospective directors of Restoration comedy, but the following extracts are particularly suggestive of stage business:

...when the bully, with assuming pace,
Cocks his broad hat, edg'd round with tarnished lace;
Yield not the way; defy his strutting pride,
And thrust him to the muddy kennel's side.51

The walker is especially advised to "keep the wall" in a rain storm.
The perils of English weather can be easily appreciated upon consideration of the materials which clothing was then made and the non-existence of modern dry-cleaning techniques:

Yet rather bear the shower and toils of mud
Than in the doubtful quarrel risk thy blood.
O think on Oedipus' detested state,
And by his woes he warn'd to shun thy fate.52

One piece of business is a bit strong for stage use, but indicates the absence of modern reticence in Restoration movement and gesture:

The thoughtless wits shall frequent forfeits pay.
Who 'gainst the sentry's box discharge their tea.53

52Gay, p. 67.
53Gay, p. 32.
The incidents described in the following passage might serve to enliven the staging of a Restoration crowd scene:

Where the mob gathers, swiftly shoot along,
Nor idly mingle in the noisy throng.
Lured by the silver hilt, amid the swarm,
The subtle artist will thy side disarm.
Nor is thy flaxen wig with safety worn;
High on the shoulder, in the basket born,
Lurks the sly boy; whose hand to rapine bred,
Plucks off the curling honours of the head.
Here dives the skulking thief, with practiced slight
And unfelt fingers make thy pocket light.
Where's now thy watch, with all its trinkets, flown?
And thy late snuff-box is no more thy own.
But lo! his bolder thefts some tradesman spies,
Swift from his prey the scudding lurcher flies;
Dextr'ous he scapes the coach with nimble bounds
While ev'ry honest tongue Stop Thief resounds...
Let not the ballad-singers' shrilling strain
To aid the labors of the diving hand....

Gay decries the fastidiousness of the fine lady:

This was of old Britannia's city bless'd;
E'er pride and luxury her sons professed;
Coaches and chariots yet unfashion'd lay,
Nor late invented chairs perplex'd the way:
Then the proud lady trip'd along the town,
And tuck's up Petticoats secured her gown;
But since in braided gold her foot is bound,
And a long trailing manteau sweeps the ground,
Her shoe disdains the street, the lazy fair,
With narrow step, affects a limping air.

He also decries the slovenliness of the prostitutes:

54Gay, p. 57.
55Ibid., p. 62.
56Ibid., p. 7.
...is she who nightly strolls with saunt'ring pace,
No stubborn stays her yielding shape embrace;
Beneath the lamp her tawdry ribbons glare,
The new-scour'd manteau, and the slattern air;
High-draggled petticoats her travels show,
And hollow cheeks with artful blushes glow. 57

In spite of its numerous hazards, evidently John Gay thought comparatively well of his city:

Happy Angusta! Law-defended town!
Here no dark lanthorns shade the villain's frown;
No Spanish jealousies thy lanes infest,
Nor Roman vengeance stabs th' unwary breast;
Here Tyranny ne'er lifts her purple hand.
But liberty and justice guard the land;
No bravos here profess the bloody trade,
Nor is the church the murd'rer's refuge made. 58

The aristocrats were condescending enough toward the citizens, but in their way had respect and affection for the "lower classes."

There was rather more shoulder-rubbing between the denizens of the East End and those of Pall-Mall than there is today between the inhabitants of New York's East Sixty's and those of its Lower East Side.

In the second act of Bury-Fair, the setting itself is a striking instance of Restoration stage realism: "The Fair, with a great many shops and shows, and all sorts of people walking up and down. Cries of wares, etc." (II.) In a scuffle during the scene between peasants and roistering gentlemen, the French barber-turned-Count offers to draw his sword, and the following passage ensues:

LaRoche. Insolent Peasant! Begar me will kill two,
Tree thousand Peasant. Strike de gentilman! Sire
morbleau, me will helpe you to kille de damn Peasant.

57Gay, p. 70.
58Ibid., p. 63.
...is she who nightly strolls with sauntering pace,
No stubborn stays her yielding shape embrace;
Beneath the lamp her tawdry ribbons glare,
The new-scur’d manteau, and the slattern air;
High-draggled petticoats her travels show,
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\textsuperscript{57}Gay, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{58}Ibid., p. 63.
Bellamy. But, Monsieur le Comte, our peasants have quarter-staves, and if gentlemen go to run 'em through, they will knock 'em down; and we command 'em for't.

LaRoche. De peasant! begar, de peasant be de slave, de dog, morbleu.

Bellamy. Our peasants wear shoes and stockins, and lie warm; and have good meat and drink in their houses....

Wildish. Your king is a king of dogs, then, but how much greater is ours, who is a king of men, and free men! Ours governs the willing, he the unwilling.

LaRoche. Your king great as our king! Jermy, your king can do nothing, dere is de law, de Parliament, I don know vat begar; my king can send for my head ven he please; yes, indeed, hum. (Bury-Fair II.1.p. 327)

Naturally, the aristocrat felt more affection for the peasants, who in no way threatened him, than for the middle-class citizens, who perhaps did. Still, Bellamy's rudimentary tolerance should somewhat endear him and his peers to the modern actor, at least in comparison with the continental aristocrats of the period. And in any production in which it is feasible, the color and bustle of a street scene is likely to endear a Restoration comedy to its audience.

Another of the less elegant haunts of the seventeenth-century gallant, and one frequently depicted in Restoration comedy, is the coffee-house. Muralt notes the extreme popularity of these dens of sociability:

These coffee-houses are the constant rendezvous for men of business as well as the idle people, so that a man is sooner ask'd about his coffee-house than his lodging....They smoke, game and read the Gazette, and sometimes make them, too. Here they treat of matters of state, the interests of princes, and the honour of husbands, etc....The Coffee-houses...are, in my opinion, very proper places to find people that a man hath business with, or to pass away the
time a little more agreeably, perhaps, than he can
do at home; but in other respects they are loath-
some, full of smoke like a guardroom, and as much
crowded.59

Petrie, the moral Scotsman, disapproved not only of dancing and
playgoing, but also of coffee-drinking:

There is an irreligious and irregular tippling
of coffee, tea and chocolate. I call it irreligious,
because I observe in coffee-houses not one of a
hundred either seeks a blessing to it, as if it
needed no blessing; nor gives thanks for it....
I call it irregular, because that the common
rules of civility in other tipplings are not ob-
served; for they do not drink to others, and they
may sip or make several draughts of it, or drink
it at one breath as they please.60

It was probably just this "irregularity" and general informality that
made coffee-houses so popular. One was on stage at Will's as much
as at a salon, but the role one played was a little more relaxed and
relaxing. Ward's delightful description, as well as yielding further
information on the "beau" syndrome, should provide the director and
actor with sufficient background on the playing of coffee-house
scenes:

By this time we were come to the door of the
most eminent Coffee-House at this end of the
town, which my friend had before proposed to
give me a sight of. Accordingly, we blundered
through a dark entry. At the end we ascended
a pair of stairs, which brought us into an old-
fashioned tenement, were a very gaudy crowd of
fellows, were walking backwards and forwards
with their hats in their hands, not daring to
convert them to their intended use, lest it
should put the foretops of their wigs into some
disorder.

59Muralt, p. 82.
60Petrie, p. 97.
We squeezed through the fluttering assembly of snufflers 'til we got to the end of the room, where, at a small table, we sat down, and observed that though there was abundance of guests, there was very little to do, for it was as great a rarity to hear anybody call for a dish of Politician's porridge or any other liquor, as it is to hear a sponger in a company ask what's to pay. Their whole exercise was to charge and discharge their nostrils, and keep the curls of their periwigs in their proper order. The clashing of their snuff-box lids, in opening and shutting, made more noise than their tongues, and sounded as terrible in my ears as the melancholy ticks of so many Death-watches.

Bows and cringes of the newest mode were here exchanged 'twixt friend and friend with the most wonderful exactness. They made a humming like so many hornets in a country chimney, not with their talking, but with their whispering over their new minuets and bories, with their hands in their pockets, if freed from their snuff-boxes, by which you might understand they had most of them been travellers into the seven provinces.

Amongst them were an abundance of officers, or men who by their habit appeared to be such, though they looked as tender as if they carried their down bed with them into the camp. At the end of the principal room were other apartments, where, I suppose, the Beau-politicians retired upon extraordinary occasions to talk nonsense by themselves about state affairs.

Having sat all this while looking about us, like a couple of Minerva's birds among so many of Juno's peacocks, admiring their gaiety, we began to be wishful of a pipe of tobacco which we were not assured we could have the liberty of smoking lest we should offend those sweet-breathed gentle- men, who were always running their noses into a civet box. But we ventured to call for some instruments of evaporation, which were accordingly brought us, but with such kind of unwillingness, as if they would much rather have been rid of our company, for their tables were so very neat and shone with rubbing, being as nut brown in colour as the top of a country house-wife's cupboard.
The floor was clean-swept, which made us look round to see if there were no orders hung up to impose the forfeiture of mop-money upon any person that should spit out of the chimney corner. Notwithstanding we wanted an example to encourage us in our rudeness, we ordered 'em to light the wax candle, by which we lit our pipes, and blew about our whiffs with so little concern as if we had been in the company of so many car men.

At this, several Sir Poplines that were near us, drew their faces into many peevish wrinkles. But regardless of their grimaces, by which they expressed their displeasure, we puffed on our unsavory weed, till we had cleared one corner of the room and separated the beaus from the more sociable party, and made 'em fly to a great window next to the street, where there was such shifting and snuffing that the rest of the company could scarce keep their countenances.

Just at this juncture, whilst the gaudy knot were looking into the street, who should chance to come by, on the other side of the way, but old Father Redcap, the dumb Merry-Andrew, who casting up his eyes, and espying such a parcel of elegant figures standing at the window, made a full stop over against the coffeehouse and began, according to his custom, to show his antic postures and buffoonery actions, dancing the soldier's dance and playing abundance of fool's antic pranks, to engage passengers to tarry and behold his apish gestures.

When he had collected a promiscuous multitude of tradesmen, and soldiers, porters, chimney-sweepers and footmen, round about him, he fronts his flaxen-wigged spectators at the coffee-house who were stroking down their straggling hairs, and began to mimic the beaus, rendering himself immediately so intelligible to the rabble by his apt signs and ridiculous postures that the crowd set up a laugh, and the eyes of the whole mob were directed to our squeamish tobacco-haters. Perceiving that mob well-pleased, the poor deaf comedian persisted in his whim and buffooned with excellent humours the strut and toss of the wig, the carriage of the hat, the snuff-box, the fingering of the foretop, the hanging of the sword and to each action formed so suitable a face that the most grave spectator could not forbear laughing.
This put our sparks to blush, and made them retire from their casements, by which time our smoking had given encouragement to others to pluck out their boxes and betake themselves to the like liberty so that we smoked out the beaus till they sneaked off one by one, and left behind 'em more agreeable company.61

61Ward, London Spy, pp. 155-158.
C. Gentlemen, I Whoso Van Cottswaib, a High German Doctor, Cynamal & Denitificatory, Native of Andus Deles, Citizen and Burgomaster of the City of Bologna, Seventh Son of a Seventh Son, Unborn Doctor, of above 30 Years Experience, having Studied over Gaia, Hypocras, Ablutanea & Farinaceous, and now become the Euphoriap of this Age, Having been born at 12 Universities, and Travelled through 53 Kingdoms, and born Council to the Councils of several Monarchs, Natural Son of the World, working frighten in the Signior Handing, lately arrived from the farthest Part of Upstas, Faustus throughout all Asia, Africa and Dendera, from the Sun's Oriental Exhalation to his Occidental Destination: One of the most sagacious, Discerning, and Good Morals, have by the earnest Prayers and Interests of several Lords, Earl, Duke and Honourable Person, or, been at last prevail'd upon to oblige the World with this Notice.

That all Persons, Young or Old, Blind or Lone, Deaf or Deaf, Curable or Incurable, may know where to repair for Cures, in all Cephalic, Patellar, Psoriasis, Pneumonia, Pneumatisation of the Pericardium, Spermata & Synopoea Nucleus, arising from either a Pliesy or a Caseoseuse, Vertigo, Pyrastes, Pyrastia, Fracture, Fractura, the Sun, the Moon, the Hot Pex, the Windy Pex, and the Small Pex, the Alcyone Transmitter, Anthara, and the entire Regem of Labyrinthial Disease, especially, Gravitana, I have a never failing Syrup, Cephalus, Excidens, Anodynes, Benefits of the Tripple Kingdom, Faf, Cogito, and Gorgio; which insomuch as Horses Loath in the Trench, Rides Dehriatic, and in the Eclipse of the Sun, with the woman of the Carin, Camomile, or the Sickles of the Tripple Kingdom, my never failing Intelligence, being the Torrure of the Sun, denying Vigor, having none from the Sun, It ceases all Complaints to laugh or sing, at the very Time of Taft's: 57 Years in perfect, and being complaisant, Beausouk Anachy.

by Fermentation, Cetabolation, Cetillation, Ambulation, Fixation, Hyaluration, Circulation and Qualification, in Relins Mariae, Crucis and Thaum, the Athana, Crucibles and Hieroglyphs, is the only Sovereign Medicine in the World.

This is Natures Patham, Health, Magazine. It Works in manner of Words, in order to Nature any soul, in order to its true operation which is required, for it seems to be confined to any particular way of Operation, so that it effects the Cure, either Hypothermically, Hydrially, Catarically, Popphabeticaly, Hydraulically, Psychicaly, or by Synchromatics. It annulles the Hypertension, wipes off acidity, this turn was composed by a certain Society adhere to the Doctrine of the Venerable P. Sixtus amongst all Supernatural Fermentation, Polution, &c as far Asylum; all Natural and Salutary Rice of the Corporate Company.

A Dream of it of a Battle of March, Doll: For it was a clear day to have his Regent out or his Head chased off, 2 Deep Gentlemen, (especially apply it well recall it) especially reject any notions of an Armor, Conceive it to be an interest of a Regent, which in reality carry no thing to it, and have all Fax of Greatness, to the 56 Minutes where the Thirteenth Trump to all the living EE 6, Vital Natural to Amuse: so this believe me, Gentlemen, truly only Sovereigns in the World. There is no instance in the whole world, no instance in the life, which in reality carry no thing to it, and have all Fax of Greatness, to the 56 Minutes where the Thirteenth Trump to all the living EE 6, Vital Natural to Amuse: so this believe me, Gentlemen, truly only Sovereigns in the World.

I have the Phaenomenon of German-Philosophy, an instance of the same, in the Mound of the Moon, which it carry all Intelligence and the possession of a German. I have the Phaenomenon of German-Philosophy, an instance of the same, in the Mound of the Moon, which it carry all Intelligence and the possession of a German. I have

away Worms by Huma long as the May-Flug in the Strand, when it found itself in its Primitive Province, too I could not altogether for them.

Look to: GENTLEMEN, I have it under the Hands and Seals of all the Greatest Saints, Soter, Bata, Viterbo, Chama, Sentiments, and Judgments, &c. in Christendom, to evidence the Truth of my Operations, that I have actually performed, and that Curs as are really beyond human Abilities.

I have predicted God's Secret to the great Admiration of all the Court, of a Grand Duke about the Os Sacrum, so that the great Old Lady really found the Pieces of her Hookee Ee; I did it by warming her Potatoes, with a memory of Nature, and call it Filicine Salve, and up with the Spots of Mort, tartarized, thrown at Alambic of Christ and Reform of Swift, in the News, and in my Speech.

There was I first to the Seant Gibson, Def poete of India, who was violently affliated with the Spider. He came to meet me 300 Leagues in a Go Cart; but I gave him to speedy an Acquaintance of my Duke, that the next Night I called him to dance a Saraband, with Triphias and Somercotes.

I beheld Vanity and the Comforts of Generation, to shew two Rodea of the Grand Queen's Sengage, and by a Fare of Tribus Pinc, lately caused a Vignier Violett, who had been known all her Days, to conceive of a Blue Child, with Fervid Laughter of her Age, without the Help of her Husband.

I cured likewise the Dutchese of Bemaquy, of a Crampe in her Heart, and sent me a Card, which showeth the Redomestication Correct with an Blue Potion, contrived by eating bitter Earlams.

I also Cured an Alderman of Grand Cairo, who had been sick 7 Years of the Pogan, in the Mens. And by the same Tampered Render, I lately Cured Duke of Blooms, of a Splity, of which he Dy'd.

Erect a Merly, Donna with your Duke. Pray, pray, Sir. No Crow, no Money. Quotidie Remittente, Damn! He is not sick too, only a little weak.

These are the only under the Hands and Seals of all the Greatest Saints, Soter, Bata, Viterbo, Chama, Sentiments, and Judgments, &c. in Christendom, to evidence the Truth of my Operations, that I have actually performed, and that Curs as are really beyond human Abilities.
This and the following plates show typical and colorful supernumeraries for the Restoration comedy crowd scene.
Buy a fine Tobbe Basket
Une bonne Paniere
(£. (or £. £.)

Delicate Cucumbers to pickle
Concombres a confire
Cucumbers to mettere in compota
The London Quaker

Madam Crauford
Das Magnetische
Divina Veritas
COMPANY AT A COFFEE HOUSE.

E. Eating and Drinking

Petrie speaks of coffee and tea drinking as being irregular. The "regular" manner of eating and drinking in public, which he prefers, often bears little resemblance to the table manners of today. Seventeenth-century rules of politeness often emphasize what we would consider superficial punctiliousness and minimize what we would consider rudimentary decency. For such reasons, the incorporation of these rules into stage behavior can be particularly helpful in setting period tone for both actor and audience. Dining scenes are rare in Restoration Comedies, so a complete catalogue of table etiquette would be of little theatrical value. Drinking scenes, however, are not rare, and some attention to "regular" drinking will not be amiss.

"To drink at table without drinking to somebody's health, especially among middling people, would be like drinking in a corner, and be reckoned a very rude action."62 But although one did not imbibe without drinking someone's health, one was required to drink everybody's health. "'Tis here so the custom to drink to every one at the table, that by the time a gentleman has done his duty by the whole company, he is ready to fall asleep,"63 or fall to sword-brawling over the table.

As a carry-over from the days when a single glass was used by the whole company, and when elementary fastidiousness had required that one drink out of one's glass so that others might not have one's blown drink, slow or even moderate drinking was precluded by politeness.

62Misson, p. 71.
"It savors too much of familiarity to sip your wine at the table and to make three or four draughts before you come at the bottom: 'tis better to drink it off at once, not rambling up and down the room with your eyes, but keeping them fixed at the bottom of the glass."64 For similar reasons of nicety, one was not supposed to cloud one's glass by breathing as one drained it. At this rate it was no wonder that drunkenness was something of a national disease.

One did not talk to people who were drinking healths, since their attention was required to be on their liquor. Moreover, "If a person of quality drinks a health to you, you must be uncovered and bend a little forwards with your body over the table."65 The obvious problems frequently arose, as Misson rather amusingly points out:

...The person whose health is drunk, if an inferior or even an equal, must remain as still as a statue while the drinker is drinking...after which, the second grimace is to make him a low bow, to the great hazard of dipping your periuk in the sauce upon your plate...nothing can be more pleasant than to see a man that is just going to chew a mouthful of victuals, cut a piece of bread, wipe his fingers, or any thing of that nature, in a moment put on a grave serious face, keep his eyes fixed upon the person that drinks his health, and grow as motionless as if he were taken with an universal palsy, or struck with an thunderbolt. As civility absolutely requires this respectful immobility in the patient, so there is some caution to be used on the part of the agent: When you would drink a man's health, you should first keep your eye upon him for a moment, and give him time, if possible to swallow his mouthful, that you may not reduce him to the perplexity and uneasy necessity of putting a sudden stop to his mill, and so sitting a good while with his mouth crammed with a huge load of victuals, which commonly getting all to

64 Courtin, *Rules*, p. 139.
65 Ibid., p. 139.
one side, raises his cheek as high as an egg, so forming a large kind of men, often shining with grease, equally distorted and unseemly. The usual trick is for the men to drink the women's health, and the women, the men's.66

One was not supposed to grip the glass with one's whole hand, the thumb and one or two fingers being considered more polite.67 Similarly, in regard to eating, Petrie directs: "Put not both your hands to your mouth at once. Be sure to throw nothing on the floor."68 Courtin, from whose books on civility most of Petrie's precepts are frankly adapted, was also given to what seem to us rather abrupt transitions from fine points to amusingly obvious ones. For instance, in The Rules of Civility he says, "If the person to whom you present the plate be...much above your quality, you may put off your hat the first time you present him, but afterwards you may forbear, for fear of being troublesome. When you are served by anyone, you must take it uncovered."69 Without transition he goes on: "If you help anybody with anything, and there happens to be ashes upon the plate, you must strike them off with your knife, and not blow them off with your mouth, as some do, with great disgust to the company."70 To which is added an amusing indication of the atmosphere of a seventeenth-century dinner; formal in some ways though that atmosphere was, the manner in which food was actually consumed seems to have been more enthusiastic than dainty: "If you happen to burn your mouth, you must endure it if

66Hisson, pp. 69-70.
67Petrie, p. 87.
68Petrie, p. 85.
69Petrie, p. 128.
70Courtin, p. 129.
possible; if not, you must convey what you have in your mouth privately upon your plate, and give it away to the footman; for though civility obliges you to be neat, there is no necessity you should burn out your guts.\textsuperscript{71}

Petrie, too, interspersed the dictates of etiquette with those of hardy common sense, not to mention those of morality. Etiquette, common sense and religion were considered more closely related in Petrie's day than in ours; witness the following passage:

> Gluttony is not only uncivil but very sinful; God hath discharged it (a). It is unbecoming a Christian (b). It is introductive to very pernicious sins, as atheism and forgetfulness of God (c), idolatry (d), uncleanness, adultery (e), forgetfulness of God's people (f). It renders people unprepared for the day of Judgment (g). Gluttony hath many penal evils attending it, such as disgrace to the persons and their relations (h), and poverty (i). It proves unhealthful to the body (j). It is a sin that's rarely pardoned (k). There are not only woes denounced against such sinners but judgments executed (l). It is one of the lusts of the flesh which excludes, from the Kingdom of Heaven (m).

> Do not answer a person of quality with a full mouth.\textsuperscript{72}

Petrie and Courtin were intelligent and sophisticated men, and if they found nothing incongruous in such passages, the implication to be drawn is that, in their world, the passages were not incongruous. Such changes in outlook might be called to the attention of actors who find it unfitting for a sympathetic leading man to take snuff, flourish a handkerchief or be proud of the muscularity of his calves.

\textsuperscript{71}Courtin, p. 132.

\textsuperscript{72}Petrie, p. 92.
The director will find scenes of Restoration-style eating and drinking to be of considerable use in establishing the more earthy qualities of Restoration life. He may incorporate such scenes into the actual stage action, or use them as rehearsal improvisations. In either case he will find them especially valuable as antidotes to any over-refinement which may have crept into the manners of his actors.
le Roi et la Reine de France, en train de manger dans leur tente, avec leurs soldats et leur cortège d'officiers.
F. Danger and Violence

One aspect of Restoration life too frequently overlooked by modern directors is its constant proximity to physical violence, disease and death. A woman who raised three of fifteen children to maturity was an outstanding maternal success. Plague and smallpox were philosophically accepted hazards of city living, and to worry about them was considered to increase one's susceptibility. For that matter, the cures for most diseases were worse than the diseases themselves. (Knocking the patient's teeth out, for instance, was believed to be a good way to bring him out of a coma.) Not the least remarkable feature of the widespread sexual promiscuity was the courage it took, since venereal disease was its almost inevitable result. And there were no tests or effective cures for this disease, any more than for smallpox or the plague. Anesthetics for tooth extraction, surgery and amputation were primitive or non-existent, and most doctors were quacks anyway. (See Plate 162 and accompanying quotation).

Major devastation by fire and sword was fresh in everyone's mind and likely to recur. Travelers were practically at the mercy of highwaymen, and townsfolk who ventured outside after dark stood a good chance of being set upon by ruffian thieves or the sometimes more dangerous gentlemen "scourers."

Now is the time that rakes their revels keep;
Kindlers of riot, enemies of sleep.
His scatter'd pence the flying nicker flings,
And with the copper show'r the casement rings.
Who has not heard the scourer's midnight fame?
Who has not trembled at the Mohock's name?
Was there a watchman took his hourly rounds,
Safe from their blows, or new-invented wounds?
I pass their desperate deeds in mischief spun,
When from Snow-Hill black sleepy torrents run:
How matrons, humped within the hogshead's womb,
Were tumbled furious thence, the rolling tomb
O'er the stones thunders, bounds from side to side;
So Regulus to save his country died.\(^73\)

Torture, which was an integral part of the judicial systems of most European countries of the time, had been largely discontinued in England. Almost everything from petty theft on up, was a capital offense, however, and executions were a regular and accepted form of popular entertainment. For a political crime, a man might be drawn on a hurdle before he was hanged and disembowelled, and quartered afterwards. Travelers remarked on the uncommon humaneness of English executions for treason, since the entrail-burning stage of the gruesome business was not usually undertaken until after the victim was dead, or, at least, unconscious. Perhaps because of this extraordinary humanitarianism, a good time seems usually to have been had by all— including the condemned man, who might be applauded for a particularly gallant death.

I believe that the execution of criminals may be put in the same rank with their fierce diversions. This returns every six weeks regularly with the Sessions. The criminals pass through the city in carts, dress'd in their best clothes, with white gloves and nose-gays if it be the season. Those that die merrily, or that don't at least show any great fear of death, are said to die like gentlemen; and to merit this encomium, most of them die like beasts, without any concern, or like fools, for having no other view than to divert the crowd.\(^74\)

Muralt tells of one thief who told two citizens in the crowd that he could not die without their forgiveness for the great injustice

\(^73\)Gay, p. 74.
\(^74\)Muralt, p. 42.
he had done them: he had seduced both their wives. Other thieves entertained themselves even more light-heartedly on their last journeys:

The condemned man made the cart stop before a tavern door, and ask'd the man of the house whether he had not lost a silver ewer: The man told him he had been robb'd of one very lately. Make us drink, then said the thief, and I'll tell you where 'tis. The tavern-man being transported with the news, made a great deal of haste to treat him, and he treats his companions, and before the cart mov'd away, he told the tavern-man very calmly, 'Twas I took away your ewer, and you shall have it again when I come back.

They have been observ'd to put their white gloves into their pockets on the way, lest they should be injur'd by the rain, and made unfit to appear at Tyburn. Something of this kind happens at most executions, and four or five thieves are generally honour'd with eulogies....I believe indeed that the frequent executions, the great numbers that suffer together, and the applauses of the crowd, may contribute (to the stoicism of the executed). I am assur'd that 'tis usual to see their parents or friends pull them by the feet while they are hanging, in order to put a speedy end to their pain, which is very extraordinary.75

Seventeenth-century Britishers delighted in any display of physical courage. "Anything that looks like fighting is delicious to an Englishman. If two boys quarrel in the street, the passengers stop, make a ring around them in a moment, and set them against one another that they may come to fisticuffs...and never part them while they fight according to the rules."76 The tormenting of horses or dogs by their owners, or of small animals by children, was also considered a diverting spectacle. There was nothing especially cruel seen in the baiting of bulls or bears by dogs, particularly since the

75Maurat, p. 43.
76Misson, p. 304.
dogs often got the worst of it, and a very brave bull might be
rewarded with his life. By comparison, cock-fighting was almost a
parlor-game.

Cock-fighting is diverting enough; the anger, and
eagerness of these little creatures, and the trium-
phant crowing of a cock when he struts haughtily
on the body of his enemy, has something in't
singularly pleasant....

Grammont tells of courtly debauches ending in wanton murders by both
sexes. A fatal duel was the quite possible consequence of a chance
insult. Life and death were colorful, gallant and cheap.

With all these examples of major violence in the atmosphere, it
is understandable that general rowdiness was the normal order of the day:

Another great diversion is, to see either men or
beasts fighting, where there's always bloodshed.
There's another very troublesome and insolent;
there is football, where they take a great deal of
pleasure in breaking windows, and coach glasses
if they meet any; or when there's any public re-
joicing, they make a lane, and toss people,
passing by, to and again.

Many of these diversions are proof of their happy
condition, since even some of the grandees partake
of them. You may see Blue Carters pass the time
at bowls with tradesmen, without any distinction,
which shows not only that greatness among the
English is no hindrance to amusements, but like-
wise that it does not consist in the contempt of
the populace, or keeping them at a distance, as
'tis in other nations....

For the actor, the point to be made is that the psychological
makeup of any Restoration character includes an acceptance of daily
physical danger and frequent physical violence witnessed or exper-
enced, all of which is to be taken casually in stride.

77Muralt, p. 41.
78Muralt, p. 38.
His sagacity is remarkable, for he hath found out an art both to conceal his own ignorance, and impose on that of other folks to his own advantage; his prime care and greatest concern is, to get the names of diseases without book, and a bead-roll of rattling terms of art, which he desires only to remember, not to understand; so that he has more hard words than a juggler and uses them to the same purpose, viz, to amuse and beguile the mobile, first of their senses, and next of their pence. Thus when people acquaint him with their grief, and their ails, though he know what the disease is no more than a horse, he tells them 'tis a scortutick humor caused by a defluxion from the sacrum afflicting the diaphragm and cricoarythenoidal muscles, proceeding from heats and colds, with which the poor souls are abundantly satisfied and wonder he should hit upon their distemper so exactly. He undertakes to spy out diseases whilst they are yet lurking in their remotest causes; he's an excellent talent in persuading well people they are sick, and by giving them his trash verifies the prediction, and is sure to make them so. When he walks the streets (which is with a Spanish gravity,) if he light upon a well-dressed woman, with a child in her arms, he stops on a sudden, and clapping his hand on his breast to witness his sincerity, cries, "Ah, sweet babe, what pity 'tis it should be lost for want of looking after!" The good dame, being frighted, a confederate that follows comes up, and asks what the gentleman said? Tells her he knows him by sight and that he is one of the ablest doctors in the kingdom, especially for women and children; and with all acquaints her with his lodging: away troops she next morning, and purchases no: only a dose for her child, but for herself too; for I never yet met a female but ailed something when she came in presence of a doctor.

"Hippocrates Ridens," May 17, 1686
in Malcolm, Anecdodes, p. 197
Le véritable vainqueur de Valenciennes, avec Vauban, qui fortifia la ville aussitôt après sa reddition, fut le maréchal de Luxembourg,  

digne élève du grand Condé, dont il avait la fougue nerveuse et le rapide coup d'œil. Tableau de Jean Alaux - Musée de Versailles.
This morning Mr. Carew was hanged and quartered at Charing Cross; but his quarters, by a great favour, are not to be hanged up.

Pepys, Oct. 13, 1660

INCIDENTS IN THE REBELLION OF THE FIFTH MONARCHY MEN UNDER THOMAS VENNER, AND THE EXECUTION OF THEIR LEADERS

F. Gardner's Collect.
G. Fencing

Living as he did in such an atmosphere, it is no wonder that the Restoration gentleman made it his business to know how to fight, and fight well. Even Locke included fencing in his treatise on education, although he questioned the practical value of that skill since: "A man of courage who cannot fence at all, and therefore will put all upon one thrust, and not stand parrying, has the odds against a moderate fencer, especially if he has skill in wrestling." Locke did not suggest that a gentleman should necessarily avoid fighting, but merely that he should fight to win.

The mention of wrestling introduces a point that the modern producer should bear in mind when planning fight scenes. "Classical" fencing, like classical ballet, dates from well after the period with which we are dealing. Restoration sword-play was considerably more rough-and-ready in tone than the sword-play we see at a modern fencing match. For instance, the left hand was not only used in parrying, but might grasp the blade, hilt or arm of one's opponent. And wrestling, too, was considered fair play, as the above quotation indicates.

A thorough examination of the technical and aesthetic aspects of Restoration fencing is a topic for another study. The following plates are intended merely to serve as a warning to directors, who usually leave their fight scenes to the coaching of modern fencing instructors. That is, whoever is to choreograph the sword encounters in a Restoration comedy should be thoroughly versed in the

79 Locke, p. 234.
teachings of William Hope and the engravings of Laroon and de Liancourt. All male members of the cast should be taught the rudiments of drawing, guarding, thrusting and parrying, and encouraged to warm up, before going on stage, with a round of elementary sword-play mixed with wrestling. This preparation should add robustness to the actors' psychological sets, as well as vigor and masculinity to the elegance of their movements.
A Disarme in 'art

A fierce cut off (in time) by a 'Second.
A Thrust in the Plancenade

with advancing the left foot the swords of the offending party is put by and the defender makes as point of adjudication.
Voltement de corps.

Saisissement de corps et de l'épée.
H. Dancing

As in the case of fencing, the social dancing we are inclined to associate with the seventeenth-century actually dates from the eighteenth. This type of dancing was developed during a period when breeches were tight, paniers were wide, light and bouncy, heels were low, headdresses were small and graceful, and the emphasis, in polite behavior, was on delicacy and sensitivity of movement and feeling. In the Restoration period — with its bulky breeches, heavily swinging skirts, extravagant head fashions and, high, squarish heels — the ideals, in movement as in feeling, were more solid, vigorous and flamboyant than they later became. The greatest change seems to have occurred in the 'thirties; observe the difference in attitudes, physical and presumably mental, between Figures A and B of Plate 174. The comparative robustness of the 1725 engraving belongs to the earlier period; the genteel refinement of the 1737 engraving to the latter. The following series of plates, chosen at random from Essex' and Tomlinson's treatises on dancing, is offered to the director as a guide to any dancing he plans to incorporate either into rehearsals or actual performance. Dance is, in either case, an excellent atmosphere-setter and kinesthetic guide to further movement. But it must be the right sort of dance. There is as much difference between the minuet of 1670 and that of 1750, as there is between the movement of a "great old fat slovenly water dog" and that of a modern French poodle.

Dancing and dancing masters were a very integral part of seventeenth-century upper-class life. The family which aspired to gentility, but could not afford a private tutor, sent its children to
dancing classes and boarding schools to learn the social skills so necessary to the maintenance of a dignified station in life. According to Locke: "Manners are rather to be learnt by examples than rules...but if by a little negligence in this part, the boy should not put off his hat, nor make legs very gracefully, a dancing-master would cure that defect, and wipe off all that plainness of nature, which the a-la-mode people call clownishness." Siris, a contemporary dancing master, agreed: "The deportment and courtly manner of saluting which a man of quality ought to have, depend altogether on the good principles instilled into him in his youth by his dancing-master.

Louis XIV had a dancing lesson almost every day of his life, and no one ever attempted to dance the minuet in public without at least three months' prior study. The chances of a modern cast's being able to perform a polished minuet by the end of a normal rehearsal period are, obviously, limited, but as long as the right quality of movement is maintained, the individual steps and figures can be altered to suit the capabilities of the cast. Besides, the circumstances of the original dancing of the minuet were especially exacting. At a formal ball, one couple danced alone in the center of the ballroom while the entire assembly looked on, to enjoy or criticize the performance. Like the man with a weak head for liquor, the man with little disposition to dance was at a serious social

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80 Locke, p. 67.

81 P. Siris, The Art of Dancing, Demonstrated by Character and
disadvantage. Essex' encouraging remarks to those so handicapped by nature serve to emphasize the closeness of the relationship between dancing and other polite behavior:

If it is observed that a person has not a disposition to that I answer; we have always one when we have a good will... for don't we walk and make bows? Therefore there needs nothing further to be done, than to apply ourselves to make them well, and to walk handsomely; for when you can make a bow with a good grace, you are drawn insensibly to have a taste for dancing.\textsuperscript{82}

In dancing, as in other aspects of life, the English were inclined to be a bit less exclusive in their behavior than their models across the channel. "Likewise in their dances, which require a great number of people, I am told, that in the country, when there's not company enough, the make use of their servants, without any difficulty, to make up the set."\textsuperscript{83} Muralt is speaking of round, or country dances, which were less demanding than the French imports and perhaps more practical for inclusion in modern productions of Restoration comedies. The following series of plates, like the series on fencing, is presented as a guide to atmosphere rather than for specific instruction on particular steps or dances.

\textsuperscript{82}Essex, p. 11.  
\textsuperscript{83}Muralt, p. 38.
The Dancing-Master:

Or, Directions for dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin.

The 7th Edition, with Addition of several new Dances, and Tunes of Dances, never before printed.

LONDON, Printed by J. P. and sold by John Playford, at his Shop near the Temple Church, 1686.
LOUIS XIV, DANSEUR DE BALLET
(dans le ballet de "la Nuit", 1663).
The First Figure of the Half Coupee.

The third Attitude of the Arms in the Menuet.
The third Figure of the half Coupee.

The Second Figure of the Half Coupee.
The regular Order of the Maneu-Maneu.

The Conclusion or Presenting of Both Arms.

Finis.

To the Hon. Mr. de Curuy, and the Hon. Mr. Mary Elizabeth de Curuy, Daughter to the 1st Kingsale, this Plate is, with great Respect, inscribed by their very much obliged Servant.

William Tomlinson.
To my ever respected Scholar Thomas Gresley Esq. son and heir to Sir Thomas Gresley of Fearwood, in the County of Derby, and to his brother, this plate is most humbly presented by their much obliged servant, J. Hemmingsen.
La Salle de bal dans les Jardins de Versailles.
I. Gaming

For the Restoration aristocracy, gambling was more a consuming passion than a mere pastime. The frequency with which this activity is depicted or mentioned in the plays is paralleled by the frequency with which it occurs in the engravings of the time. For one thing, gambling was the only way in which a person of quality could, by his own efforts, substantially increase his assets. He was just as likely to decrease them, of course; witness Valentine's plight in Love for Love. But a true gentleman was expected to demonstrate his noble unconcern for money in sumptuous entertaining, lavish dress and deep play, whether or not he had enough capital to justify this noble unconcern. Financial prudence was a middle-class virtue, associated with Puritanism, and was held in self-righteous contempt by every loyal courtier. The impracticality of this attitude was often rationalized by the wits:

Marrot. When did you know a wit thrive, or indeed keep his own?

Carlos. They part with their money for pleasure, and fools part with their pleasure for money; the one will make a better last will and testament, but the other leads a happier life. (True Widow, I. p. 298)

Like breeding money was, in theory, the natural endowment of the woman of honor and the man of affairs; they were supposed to have it but be indifferent to it. Needless to say, one of the most effective, if most dangerous, ways of demonstrating this indifference was deep play. Serious gaming was not without its critics, of which the Evelyns, father and daughter, are perhaps the best known. Their criticisms of the sport are particularly evocative of its usual atmosphere:
I am never to forget the inexpressible luxury, and profaneness, gaming, and all dissolution, and as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day sennight, I was witness of; the King, sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland and Mazzarins; a French boy singing love songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset around a large table, a bank of at least 2000 in gold before them upon which two gentlemen that were with me made reflexions with astonishment, it being a scene of utmost vanity; and surely as they thought would never have an end six days after all was in the dust.\textsuperscript{84}

To play at ombre or basset,
She a rich pulvil purse must get
With guinee's fill'd on cards to lay
With which she fancies most to play....
Pensive and mute behind her shoulder
He stands, till by her loss grown bolder
Into her lap rouleau conveys, *
The softest thing a lover says....\textsuperscript{85}

Everything from cock-fighting to billiards served for betting, and dozens of card games were utilized for demonstrating aristocratic disregard for the whims of fortune. The figure he cut in company, however, was one thing no aristocrat ever disregarded. Even at gaming "we must have a care of odd and ridiculous postures with our bodies."\textsuperscript{86}
The postures displayed in the following plates are presumably acceptable in modern productions of such comedies as contain scenes of gambling, or into which the director sees fit to incorporate such scenes.

\* Miss Evelyn defines "rouleau" as "49 guineas done up in a paper roll." p. 19.


\textsuperscript{85}Evelyn, Mundus Muliebris, pp. 4-5.

\textsuperscript{86}Courtin, Ruler, p. 152.
Dames jouant au Jeu des Portiques

Dans cette noble compagnie
Et ce jeu rare et charmant
Laisse ce divertissement
Chassez bien la mélancolie.

Je Vends a Paris chez François LeBlain a la Ville de Cologne
Oui, en bord de ce tapis de couleur de pelouse
les billes que tu vois se noyent

Il n'est que souvent l'esprit humain
Lors que tout du milieu il est agité en troupeaux.

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Jeu de Cartes et de Dest
Combien veut-on de gens que le jeu seul coupe
Cependant cet employ n'est honnête ni bon
On commence par être juge
On finit par être juge.

À Paris, chez Memecan, sur le Pont St. Louis aux belles Étampes.
Jeu, c'est il jeu, ou si c'est une Rage.
Soy il est jeu, pour l'Homme sage.
Mais pour ces jins, qui jine ce prennent feu,
Il est bien plus Rage que jeu.

Toute femme qui joue du jeu du trictrac
Et qui contre un joueur bien se se barricade,
Sera selon mon almanach
Souvent sujette à l'ensilade.
Le Gallant Duppé.
The art of Wheeling Enlarged

Well Plead'd Maners
J. Love-Making

Unquestionably, the most frequently depicted activity in Restoration comedy is love-making -- love-making in which romantic passion plays a curiously small part. There are, in these plays, unashamed and sometimes unpretending sex-hunters of both genders; there are deceived and discarded mistresses, exploited or cuckolded fops and old men, as well as a few conventional and comparatively colorless young courting couples. There are, most notably, the much-discussed "gay couples." Almost all the characters in Restoration comedy treat or attempt to treat love more as an intellectual exercise than as an emotional or physical fulfillment. But we need not, therefore, assume that seventeenth-century ladies and gentlemen were lacking in emotional or physical drives.

Then as now, there were fashions in love-making, and these were constantly changing. Then as now, love-making and its changing fashions provided theatrical satirists with widely applicable and politically safe subjects. But at least one principle held true for all the sophisticated modes of love-making on and off stage during the period under consideration. The unrestrained expression of spontaneous emotion had no place in serious or casual courtship.

The following passages by Shadwell summarize the various styles of love-making which were in use at this time:

Bruce. Ah, Madam, change your cruel intentions, or I shall become the most desolate lover, that ever yet, with arms across, sighed to a murmuring grove or to a purling stream complained. Savage! I'll wander up and down the woods, and carve my passion on the bark of trees and vent my grief to winds that as they fly shall sigh and pity me.
Clarinda. How now! What foolish fustian’s this? You talk like an heroic poet.

Bruce. Since the common downright way of speaking sense would not please you, I had a mind to try what the romantic way of whining love could do.

Clarinda. No more of this, why I had rather hear the tat'tling of gossips...nay, a fanatic sermon, or, which is worse, than all, a dull rhyming play with nothing in’t but lewd hero’s huffing against the gods.

Bruce. Why, I’ll try any sort of love to please you, Madam. I’ll show you that of a gay coxcomb; with his full plumes, strut ting and rustling about his mistress like a turkey-cock, baiting her with brisk, airy motion, and fashionable nonsense, thinking to carry her by dint of periwig and garniture, or by chanting some pretty, foolish sonnet of Phyllis or Celia; or at best treating her with nothing but ends of plays, or second-hand jests. (Virtuoso, III.)

Woodby. I guessed you would not care for a whining lover.

Caroline. Nor do I care for one in your extremity the other way.

Woodby. Take your choice. I can make love from the stiff, formal way of the year 42, to the gay, brisk way of this present day and hour....

Caroline. ...Since I suppose it is for diversion, pray let me see how that is.

Woodby. Look you, thus (Sings, dances and combs his periukle.)

Caroline. Is this it? Why, you don’t mind me.

Woodby. I mind myself though, and make you fall in love with me, after a careless way, by the bye. (Epsom Wells, II.I.)

Woodby’s actions seem to bear out Muralt’s observation, "Generally when they go after the fair ladies, they take but little pains, to let them understand that they will not be indebted to them for their
favours. They are lazy even in love; and never look further than at
easy pleasures. A good fortune with them is that which is got without
trouble...."87

Muralt does point out that, at least compared to the approved
French attitude toward the softer emotions, "Love with (the English) is not a weakness to be ashamed of; 'tis an affair of seriousness and
importance.88 This is a point which Holland, Fujimura, Bateson and
others have emphasized in regard to Dorimant-Harriet, Mirabell-
Millamant, Valentine-Angelica and their lesser cousins.

But the Restoration aristocracy was in spiritual rebellion
against an age in which sexual matters of seriousness and importance
had been treated with Cavalier romanticism or Commonwealth moralism.
In Rochester's circles, romanticism was associated with adolescence
and moralism with rank hypocrisy. To express extreme emotion of any
kind was to open oneself to the charge of sham or, at best, triviality.
Too great an admiration was a symptom of foolishness and too great a
love was a symptom of folly. This was the age of reason and enlight-
enment, of emotion guided and controlled by intellect, and anyone who
gave way to irrational sexual urges deserved what he got. Man was
still the wooer and woman the wooed, so he might express more passion
than she. He was permitted to sigh before his mistress, for instance,
but advised to "use much caution lest he be suspected of artifice."89

87 Muralt, p. 36.
88 Ibid., p. 36.
89 The Art of Making Love; or, Rules for the Conduct of Ladies
He might "haunt her, pelt her with billet-doux, hand her into the boxes, squire her to the gardens, pick up her glove when she dropped it on purpose." and gallant her fan." But he knew and she knew that these were merely the "monkey tricks of the led lover" which were not necessarily of any meaning whatever.

The lady, like her modern counterpart, was advised to play hard-to-get, but not too hard. "Love should have Mod'rate fule, 'tis like fires/ Which too much, damps; yet slighted, it expires." Hopkins' amusing Art of Love seems on first reading to be a veritable handbook of artifice and counter-artifice. It will be found upon consideration, however, that courtship rituals vary less in the amount of artifice employed than in the amount of artifice admitted. In Hopkins' age the artifice was not only admitted, but thoroughly enjoyed as part of the game. In our age the artifice is sometimes deplored, sometimes called tact or "technique." But a glance at Playboy Magazine of Sex and the Single Girl will show how little, after all, the basic methods have changed.

The fashionable ideal of courtship behavior was not the alternate whining and huffing of would-be Almanzors, nor was it the other extreme of dressing and tying cravats at a lady, strutting like a turkey-cock and preening oneself. (Bury-Fair, III.I.) Both these approaches were evidently used, but both were scorned by the courtwits who patronized and wrote for the Restoration comic stage. The ideal of love, experienced by the heroes of the comedies, is a strong

91 Hopkins, p. 42.
but reasonable and controllable attraction for a suitable object with financial and social charms, as well as physical and spiritual ones. This attraction, after being subjected to tests for sincerity, intensity and likelihood of endurance, was only to be yielded to with considerable common-sense reservation. The famous compact scene in The Way of the World is merely the best known of many such scenes, and the disconcerting sagacity of Isabella in Shadwell's True Widow sums up the Restoration ideal of wifely wisdom. "If you ever loved, you can never hate, and I can be content, where I have had the best to keep the rest, and if you love me less, shall lay the fault on nature not on you." (III)

Restoration women were certainly more emancipated than their grandmothers or granddaughters. According to Muralt, ladies of the town did not suffer very much in their reputations, and a man's mistress was sometimes seen in company with his wife. But the principles of the age-old double standard were never really abandoned. A "woman of honor" was expected to maintain that quality in herself in its strictly physical sense. True, a woman so foolish, scheming or uncontrolled as to love outside of the legal limits did not deserve degradation, discovery or even serious distress. She did, at least according to Restoration comic conventions, deserve something less than a first-rate husband. Mirabell's explanation for his choice of Fainall as husband for his cast-off mistress is that: "a better man should not have been sacrificed to the occasion, and a worse would not have answered to the purpose." (Way of the World, II, ii) This

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92 Muralt, p. 38.
satisfies even the lady herself, a fact which is not without comic possibilities in a modern production of the play. Loose behavior was tolerated, but the conventional ideal, then as now, was a matrimonial partnership between a man who has already sowed his wild oats and a woman who has been pursued by many but persuaded by none.

The following series of engravings show postures and activities suitable to various stages of the love-duel between the sexes, which the fashionable Restoration set liked best to regard as "a friendly trial of skill, with the winnings to be laid out in an entertainment." (Double Dealer, II,i.)
Love to this Temple all true lovers! and all the Charming paths of love,
Where they with Lascivious and Matrimonial love,
Love always happy and renowned.
"These," says my friend, "are a pious sort of creature that are much given to go to church, and may be seen there every day at prayers, as constantly as the bell rings; and if you were to walk the other way, you might meet as many young gentlemen from the Temple and Gray's Inn, going to join with them in their devotions. We'll take a turn into the sanctuary among the rest, and you shall see how they behave themselves."

Accordingly we stepped into the rank, amongst the lambs of grace, and entered the tabernacle with the rest of the Saints, where we found as handsome, cleanly, well-dressed Christians of both sexes as a man would desire to communicate with, who stood ogling one another with as much zeal and sincerity as if they worshipped the Creator in the creature, and whispering to their next neighbors, as if, according to the Liturgy, they were confessing their sins to one another. This I afterwards understood by my friend, was only to make assignations, and the chief of their prayers, says he, are that Providence will favour their intrigues.

Ward, London Spy, p. 164
The following plates might be considered the consecutive stages in a love affair and its subsequent developments.

The Visit.
Receive the visit, which the youth shall make,  
Be seen, as if by chance, or by mistake.  
Play with your fan, call for your coach, your chair,  
Be just a-going out to take the air.  
Pretend some visits which must needs be made,  
And his you can't receive till these be paid. 
Business pretend, or sickness, seem in haste,  
Have many things to do, some minutes past.  
'Tis late you know, you may do none at last.  
You think the weather dull, 'tis cold, if not,  
But you would change it spite of heave,--'tis hot...  
Enquire the news; he answers you, 'tis love.  
Say anything impertinence can move.  
Hear all he says, sit in some distant place,  
Whilst his eyes fasten on your charming face.  

Hopkins, p. 17, Book II

Seem proud, yet humble too...  
Be near at distance, modestly be proud.  

Hopkins, p. 14, Book II

Let indif'rance act the part of pride,  
The easy grant the price of bliss destroys,  
Man ever least esteems what he enjoys.  

Hopkins, p. 15, Book II
Nouvelle L.

[Text in French]

Contes et Nouvelles
Reading, perhaps, in the securest grove
The fair one sits....
With folded arms, pass melancholy by,
Now softly murmur, and now softly sigh...
Pass back again, and yet again return,
And seem the loss of some dear friend to mourn,
Your languid arms cross your sad breast be thrown,
You press her heart, whilst thus you press your own,
Enter at last, made by your passion fleet,
And throw yourself beneath the charmer's feet.
Your struggling lips abortive accents break,
Seem much to strive, but do not, do not speak
As frighted, out she rushes like the wind....

--Hopkins, P. 79
When a lover has done all that I have directed, and yet his mistress does not declare herself, because of her too great modesty, I permit him to sigh before her, for a true passion cannot be better expressed than by a sigh, when it escapes from the bottom of the heart.... Therefore, when he has the opportunity to entertain her alone, let him not be too profuse of his talk, but let a few signs supply the vacancies of discourse. But let him use much caution, lest he be suspected of artifice: let him seem fearful to let 'em escape, and sometimes break 'em in their passage, shewing it is some pain and violence to him to suppress them.... This language is sweet in love, and the best interpreter for an amorous desire.

The Act of Making Love, p. 121

Kneeling...is an attitude intended to prove respect, and which is often very commodious for the breaking it.

Wilmot, Dictionary, p. 45
LE MAGNIFIQUE.
Observe, even in these scenes of passionate violence, the extended knees and out-turned feet.
Observe, even in these scenes of casual intimacy, the disengaged carriage of the arms.

LA COURTISANNE

LA COURTISANNE AMOUREUSE.
Bear jest:...Be seen once a quarter, or so with you...where we loll two several ways...like Janus, or a spread-eagle.

Behn, The Lucky Chance, II, ii

Constraint: Love endures none; it dies the minute it feels it. A necessity of loving, or living together as if one did, produces necessarily and inevitably the contrary. Freedom is the very life-blood of pleasure; the moment it becomes a duty, it loses its name, and becomes an oppression.

Wilmot, Dictionary, p. 19
Now pleased, now vex'd, now aery and then sad,
Now very thoughtful, and now very mad.
A thousand humours move a thousand ways,
For most of all, variety must please.

Hopkins, p. 29, Book II

L'attouchement
Heartwell. I am for having everybody be what they pretend to be; a whoremaster be a whoremaster, and not like Vainlove, kiss a lapdog with passion, when it would disgust him from the lady's own lips.

Bellmour. That only happens sometimes, when the dog has the sweeter breath, for the more cleanly conveyance. But...who would refuse to kiss a lapdog, if it were preliminary to the lips of his lady?

Sharper. Or omit playing with her fan and cooling her when she were hot, when it might enable him to the office of warming her when she should be cold?....

Heartwell. I confess, you that are women's asses...are forced to undergo dressing, dancing, singing, sighing, whining, rhyming, flattering, lying, grinning, cringing....
Husband:—a snarling, crusty, sullem, testy, froward, cross, gruff, moody, crabbed, snappish, tart, splenitic, surly, brutish, fierce, dry, morose, waspish, currish, boorish, fretful, peevish, huffish, sulky, touchy, fractious, rigid, blustering, captious, ill-natured, rusty, churlish, growling, maundering, apish, stern, grating, frumpish, humourous, envious dog in the manger, who neither eats himself nor lets others eat.

Wilmot, Dictionary. p. 42
K. The Playhouse Audience

One of the favored environments for the first stages of courtship, and the first stages of adultery, was the playhouse. The current study will, as it were, come full circle and close with a look at the audience of the Restoration theatre.

There was nothing Brechtian in the mirror which Congreve and his cohorts held up to their audience. This was a coterie theatre, and the coterie was eminently satisfied with itself. Its members could enjoy watching a theatrical distillation of their neighbors' antics, perhaps even of their own antics, as long as they could identify with the hero and heroine, and not with the beau and squire, nor the whore and chambermaid. (*Love and a Bottle*, IV, ii)

Dryden's epilogue to *The Man of Mode* is perhaps the definitive statement of the relationship between the characters on and off stage in a Restoration theatre:

Most modern wits such monstrous fools have shown,  
They seemed not of Heaven's making, but their own.  
Those nauseous harlequins in farce may pass,  
But there goes more to a substantial ass.  
Something of man must be exposed to view,  
That, Gallants, they may more resemble you.  
Sir Fopling is a fool so nicely writ,  
The ladies would mistake him for a wit.  
And when he sings, talks loud, and cocks, would cry,  
"I vow, methinks he's pretty company!"  
So brisk, so gay, so travelled, so refined,  
True fops help nature's work, and go to school  
To file and finish God-Almighty's Fool.  
Yet none Sir Fopling him, or him can call;  
He's knight o' th' Shire and represents ye all.  
From each he meets, he culls whate'er he can;  
Legion's his name, a people in a man.  
His bulky folly gathers as it goes,  
And rolling o'er you, like a snowball grows.  
Yet every man is safe from what he feared,  
And no one man is haunted from the herd.
Like most successful theatrical satirists, Etherege and Congreve in implying "if the shoe fits, wear it," did not offer shoes that were too individually fitted, or too uncomfortable (Wycherley's shoes, it is true, sometimes pinched a little). Their audience went to the theatre not to be edified or instructed, but to be entertained, and this entertainment was by no means limited to that provided by the stage action. Mrs. Brittle, in Betterton's Amorous Widow, has a variety of reasons for wanting to go to the theatre:

I'll go to the play, where there's all sorts of company and diversion; where the actors represent all the briskness and gaiety of life and pleasure; where one is entertained with airy beaux and fine gallants, which ogle, sigh and talk the prettiest things in the world. Methinks 'tis rare to hear a young, brisk fellow court a handsome young lass, and she all the while making such pretty dumb signs: first turns aside to see who observes, then spreads her fan before her face, heaves up her breasts, and sighs.... (Amorous Widow, I. ii, p. 29)

"Side-boxing" was a pastime not confined to the intermissions, and a gallant lucky enough to obtain a place in the same box as the lady he was courting had little leisure to attend to the play. According to Hopkins:

...theatres remain
Renown'd for killing eyes and lovers slain.
Place yourself there, close nigh the charming maid
To her let all your services be paid,
With transient words you may begin discourse.
Obliging always, offer naught by force.
If the dust chance to fall upon her gown,
Be sure, be ready, still, to shake it down.
Perhaps she thanks you, and returns a smile....
Such little offices must needs be done,
Pretend dust fall'n, tho' well you know there's none.
Or if her train fall loosely to the floor,  
Do thou the train to her fair hands restore.  
Be careful too, and your best service lend  
Lest ruder knees her tender sides offend....  
Rally the masks, who nigh the chairman sit,  
And so, divert her with satiric wit.  
Be cautious here, for theatres are full  
Of empty fops, conceited, loud and dull  
If with quick wit you can't the hours beguile,  
At least, show humour, and when silent, smile,  
With a mild air, an awful homage show,  
Look fondly at her, and then smile anew.  
Submit to her, still in submission brave;  
Maids hate the low, obsequious, cringing knave.  

Mind not the action nor the author's strain,  
Slight gaudy shows, and make her face thy scene.  
Raise no ill-natur'd hiss to damn the play,  
But criticize of what dull critics say.  
Let those who bite the poet, so be bit.  
Thus, whilst you show good nature, show your wit.  
Alike with you, the author's scene they hear,  
Alike th...h you who did not see nor bear.  
The modest fop daubs his nice nose with snuff,  
Dam me then cries, 'tis wretched, wretched stuff.  
Glance on such fops with a disdainful eye,  
And let a fleering smile give such proud fools the lie.  

Even ladies with no serious romantic or adulterous inclinations often used the play as an excuse for seeing and being seen to best ad-

Lady Brute. I watch with impatience for the next jest in the play, that I might laugh and show my white teeth. If the poet has been dull, and the jest be long in coming, I pretend to whisper one to my friend, and from thence fall into a little short discourse in which I take occasion to show my face in all humours, brisk, pleased, serious, melancholy, languishing -- Not that what we say to one another causes any of these alterations. (The Provoked Wife, II. p. 149)  

93Hopkins, pp. 6-8.  
94Ibid., pp. 95-96.
The usual behavior of would-be wits and men-about-town has been previously described in detail, while the theatre scenes in Shadwell's *True Widow* provide an only slightly exaggerated overall picture of the atmosphere of Drury Lane circa 1675:

**Scene, the Play-house....**

Several young coxcombs fool with the orange-women.

Selfish. I for my part will throw myself at a lady's feet, play with her fan, and fan her gently with it .... Pretty rogue! Let me repose my head in thy soft bosom....

Man sits down, and sits in the orange-wench's lap.

Prig. You shall see what tricks I'll play faith, I love to be merry. (Raps people on the backs, and twirls their hats, and then looks demurely, as if he did not do it.)

Later in the act, there is a stage-fight in which the audience gets involved: "They scuffle under the table, rise with it on their backs; the table falls down; they draw their swords and fight. Prig strikes a bully over the back, he takes it to be another and strikes him. They fight; Bell, Stan, Car, beat the bullies out of the house, the actors run off, ladies run off shrieking.... The scene changes to the stage and scenes...." where the quality disport themselves with the machines; send each other up in chairs, etc., until a carpenter is sent for, who "lets 'em down and presently they sink down and roar out."

This scene might serve as a model period frame for a modern production of another Restoration comedy, should the director decide that an induction of this kind might help to set the tone for an uninhibited audience. Or, such a scene might be improvised by one group of actors, while another group was rehearsing a scene from the play in progress. If nothing else, this exercise will help to convince the actors that the chasteness of style traditionally associated with Restoration comedy would never have held an audience in its own time and probably will not do so in ours.
Wildish. I am resolved to haunt you like any beau, and pelt you with billets doux some fifteen times a day.

Gertrude. What, like one of those odious creatures, will you dress at me? And tye cravats at me? and strut like a turkey-cock and prune yourself?

Wildish. Even so; and stare, and goggle at you; and never have my eyes off you, while I side-box you in the play-house.

Shadwell, Bury Fair, III, i.

Jan. 2, 1661...I saw again The Lost Lady, which do now please me better than before, and here I sitting behind in a dark place, a lady spit backward upon me by mistake, not seeing me, but after seeing her to be a very pretty lady, I was not troubled at it at all.
Représentation théâtrale vers 1670 ; d’après une gravure en taille-douce de Lepautre (1617-1683). On remarquera la présence sur le théâtre de spectateurs assis et debout.
A FINAL WORD

In the introduction to this study, I promised not to add my pebble to the critical mountain on Restoration comedy. But I cannot leave the subject of Restoration comic acting style without a warning, a question and a plea.

Style, as applied to performance, determines which levels or aspects of human experience are emphasized in a particular play, or kind of play, and which levels or aspects are suppressed or excluded. I have attempted in the course of the preceding chapters to demonstrate the consonance of the comedies with other popular literature of the period, and the consonance of both with period graphic sources. I hope that I have convinced the prospective director that the basic quality to be emphasized in the acting of Restoration comedy is the sense of external, physical reality. Mirabell and Dorimant are not puppets, ballet dancers or musical comedy lovers, but rather, in terms of Restoration values and presentational conventions, real people. They eat, eliminate, think, itch; and if they act as if they are on stage all the time, it is because there was a theatrical quality in the way that seventeenth-century gallants lived their lives, or liked to think of themselves as living them.

Still, emphatically realistic in tone though these plays are, one realistic facet of human experience has emphatically been excluded. Moreover, it is this exclusion which has caused the plays of Etherege, Wycherley, Congreve, Shadwell and the rest to be regarded as cold,
brittle, two-dimensional and artificial. What is excluded is depth of human emotion, or to be more precise, depth of painful human emotion. In eighteenth-century sentimental comedy, nobody is intentionally wicked and yet almost everyone suffers tremendously up until the last scene of the last act. Whereas in seventeenth-century manners comedy almost everyone is, by some standard or other, intentionally wicked; yet nobody suffers more than momentarily, if at all. Mrs. Loveit revels in her own fury; Bellinda is rueful at her peccadillo but relieved to get off so lightly; Sylvia in The Old Bachelor gets a husband she is glad to make do with. Tattle and Frail, linked for eternity, will evidently make the most of their condition, as a source of wit in themselves and as an occasion for wit in each other. Ben and Sir Wilful go back to their travels wiser but not sadder, while Prue and Mrs. Pinchwife seem eminently capable of finding means to satisfy their newly awakened appetites. Snarl takes a razzing from the other characters in Shadwell's The Virtuoso, but matter-of-factly dismisses his sexual anomaly as something he just happened to get used to at Westminster School.

In The Humourists, Crazy's nose is on the point of falling level with his face, but he still "loves most women and images most women to be in love with him." He is really quite pleased to trump his new wife's ace, by announcing that he is very considerably visited by the pox. As for all the cuckolds and disappointed lechers of both sexes, they simply get what is coming to them, and they know it. "You're an illiterate old fool, and I'm another," in the last scene of Love for Love is Sir Sampson's definitive comment on the matter.
The philosophical implications of this absence of suffering in Restoration comedy have not yet, to my knowledge, been sufficiently investigated or satisfactorily dealt with and are a subject for another study. But the practical implications include this warning for performers: Whatever inner justifications and psycho-techniques the actor uses, he must never allow the audience to pity him, or to empathize in any painful way with his character's lot, whether temporary or final. An audience which is allowed to worry seriously about Valentine's bastards, Lady Wishfort's menopause, Bellinda's lost virginity or Foresight's flagging virility is likely to leave the theatre feeling uncomfortable and dissatisfied. The question is: How can one maintain the audience empathy that is an absolute requisite for theatrical success?

The answer involves a basic stylistic decision. The director must impose patterns which, although realistic in a material sense, exclude all cognizance of anguish and its accompanying pity, anxiety and remorse. A performance style which sacrifices one possible appeal to an audience's empathy must compensate for it by energetically stressing another. In this case, what should be suppressed is any appeal to the compassionate and altruistic instincts of an audience. What must be emphasized instead, is an appeal to the audience's "hedonic and libertine instincts," if Mr. Fujimura's somewhat felicitous phrase may be used. Through what qualities then, in the acting style, is this appeal to be made? The answer again is to be found in the period sources.
One can see it in the bonfires, blanket-tossings, feasting and dobaucherises that attended Charles' restoration, in the prankish exhibitionism of seventeenth-century thieves on their way to Tyburn, in the violent roistering, in the conspicuous consumption, and in the abandonment to aesthetic, sensual and intellectual delights, which people of quality regarded almost as patriotic duties. If the painful side of all these facts of social history is suppressed, what have we left? The answer is, the pure animal exaltation that permeates the atmosphere of almost every Restoration comedy.

Herein lies my closing plea. Critical interpretation is obviously a major part of the director's job, but whatever his stance toward the moral and philosophical content of these plays, let him not lose sight of their essential ebullience of mood. The actors must take physical delight in the speaking of brilliant prose and the manipulation of magnificent clothing and accessories. They must take an aesthetic delight in the outraging of convention and the pricking of moral and emotional balloons. They must be vigorous in affectation, dazzling in fury and delicious in wickedness.

There is cynicism in the plays, there is satire, criticism and downright bitterness. But even the bitterness is robust, unsentimental, aggressively rational, and it carries no overtones of metaphysical despair. We who live in the twilight of the age of reason must remember that these plays, however modern in intellectual content, were written in the dawn of that age. I do not mean that we should weave romantic fantasies around them, as some critics accuse Lamb of having done. Nevertheless, it would be a shame to burden the bawdy, vital, morning
freshness of Restoration comedy with the sentient, preciousness, aesthetic vulgarity of moral pretentiousness of succeeding generations. The Restoration comedies may be as serious a business as the director pleases, but his insights will fall on perceptions deadened by boredom, if the impression his productions make on the audience is not first, last and always, one of earthy joie de vivre. In performance our first business, like Bellmoues, is pleasure.
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