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Samuel Pepys as a
Restoration Critic of Drama

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SAMUEL PEPYS
AS A RESTORATION CRITIC OF DRAMA

BY

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Samuel Pepys as a Restoration Critic of Drama.

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Samuel Pepys as a Restoration Critic of Drama.

Chapter I Introduction.

Who would not gladly journey backward to seventeenth century London, and of an afternoon drift into the theatre merely to see Samuel Pepys, dressed in his new gold-laced camelot coat-"very fine!"- seated in the pit where, seen himself, he could take in each happening from stage to royal box , now watching the entrance of the court and gazing at my Lady Castlemaine in her yellow dress and hat, now absorbing a witty combat between a lady in vizer and a poet nearby, now straining to overhear the latest bit of court gossip, or turning in disgust upon the extravagant prentices who had forced their company upon him'. Who would not love to watch Pepys as the play progressed, now listening to the wind music with soul ravished even to illness as when he had been in love, now gazing with rapt admiration on the magnificent scene of Roman senators revealed by the rising curtain, now laughing at some coarse joke until his portly frame shook, and his head ached, and the next moment glancing toward the royal box to discover the royal approval! And then, whose heart would not ache when he saw this ardent lover of the drama sitting up at night registering his vows denying him those intense pleasures, or wending his way to the theatre, turning again home, then theatre-ward, then homeward in vain hopes of keeping his vow and hence his forfeit of ten pounds from the box of the poor, or stealing into an upper , where , unseen by censorious eyes he was likewise deprived of the sight of fine ladies, of the court and my Lady

Castlemaine!

Samuel Pepys loved the theatre. Theatre-going was one of the regular social functions of the Restoration period. The theatre was directly under royal patronage and was regularly favored by the royal presence. It was the place of dress parade, the place of the parade of the latest favorite of the king. It was the centre of the gossip and social life of the upper class of the high society class. Not only did Pepys respond to this contemporary function of the theatre but it satisfied his personal interests which were highly characteristic of his day. Pepys was a masculine gossip - if the men will admit that there has ever been one; he had an overwhelming curiosity and this curiosity which extended from the scientific matters discussed at the Royal Society through the whole realm of human knowledge was most active in matters of personal human relations. Thus, not only the gossip and the sights at the theatre but the plays themselves, clever and unusual in the combination and inter-relation of characters, administered to his intense interest in his kind.

Outside of his internal criticism of the plays his interest in drama is clearly evidenced in a mathematical way by the fact that in the eight years of the diary he attended nearly three hundred and fifty performances of one hundred and forty various plays. When we remember that over half of this time he was bound by vows prohibiting attendance at the play-house, and that when he was free he attended as many as eighty-eight plays a year his interest is evidenced in no uncertain manner.

His vows are a further evidence of his "hot desire"

to see plays. When it was necessary to bind himself strictly by a harsh oath not to see a play from Michaelmas to Christmas and so on , and when he was willing , economical though he was, to forfeit ten pounds for one play, he certainly must have been anxious to go. In the earlier years he made these vows for economical reasons, in order that he might save a fortune. Thus, January 2, 1663-64 he made a vow " not to see above one in a month until the sum of 50s. be spent and then none before New Year's Day next unless I do become worth one thousand pounds sooner than then." Thus for financial reasons he was bound most of the time from 1663 to 1666. Then for a short time he allowed himself freedom but soon he was compelled to come to new vows for the sake of his business. He dreaded the censure of neglecting his official duties in the Navy department during that careless time when he alone of the public officials stayed at his routine duties and thus deserves praise.

The forfeit for breaking his vows went into a box for the poor, and it increased in amount with his growing prosperity from twenty shillings to ten pounds. He was enough self-disciplined in this respect, although perhaps lacking in others, to pay his forfeits without exception. Some of his struggles to keep his oath almost verge on pathos. Thus on December 26, 1662-"Broke up dinner as soon as I could, and away, with the greatest reluctance and dispute (two or three times my reason stopping my sense and I would go back again) within myself, to the Duke's house."

Many of his failures or successes in this matter as in others took a religious turn as¹:- "So against my judgment and conscience which God forgive, for my heart knows that I offend God in breaking my vows therein," and the following amusing comment,²" Hence, much against my nature and will, yet such is the power of the Devil over me that I could not refuse." One doubts if it were against his nature. Very often when he did yield to temptation, his conscience allowed him little enjoyment of the play. Thus on October 20, 1662 -"But something that made it less contenting was my conscience that I ought not to have gone by my vow.---- But however as soon as I came home I did pay my crown to the poor's box." The humanness of Pepys is revealed to us when we read how he gave thanks that he was saved from breaking his oath by arriving at the theatre too late, how he excused his breach of oath on account of the weakness of his eyes which prevented close confinement at his office, and how he justified himself in substituting a play at Court for one at the public play-house with an elaborate argument so that the letter of his oath should be kept .Listen as Pepys relates some of the subterfuges he employed to evade the letter of his oath : "I³ was much pleased with it, and it being given me ,I look upon it as no breach to my oath"; "So⁴ my wife and I abroad to the King's play-house , she giving me her time of the last month, she hav-

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1- Vol.II p.II6. Note- All references are to Henry B.Wheatley's edition of the Diary. 2- II, 102. 3-IV, 194. 4- IV, 197.

ing not seen any then; so my vow is not broke at all, it costing me no more money than it would have done upon her, had she gone both her times that were due her," but this is the most amusing - " And ^I so Mr. Creed dining with me I got him to give my wife and me a play this afternoon , lending him money to do it, which is a fallacy that I have found now once, to avoide my vowe with but never to be more practised I swear." How Pepysian, and yet how like human nature, too ! He thankfully recognized the benefits of abstinence from pleasure, and his very soul, as he said, was angry with itself at the "vanity" of these subterfuges.

Pepys was not only a lover of the drama on the stage but also in his study. In fact, he was a book-lover of varied interests as the "Bibliotheca Pepysiana" at Magdalene College witnesses. He spent much time in cataloguing , rearranging his books, and in having their covers beautifully decked but he also loved to read , and to read a variety of material , ranging from a scientific treatise to a romance. An interesting comment on his preference in reading is to be found in his difficulty in deciding what books to purchase :-"To ²my bookseller's I could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure , as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last , after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's History of Paul's Stow's London, Gesner, History of Trent besides Shakespeare,

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Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's Worthys, the Cabbala or Collections of Letters of State, and a little book, Delices de Hollande, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and Hudibras, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies." This passage indicates clearly that Pepys considered plays the most interesting reading matter. Later, July 7, 1664, besides Spillmans Whole Glossary, and Scapula's Lexicon he bought Shakespeare's plays. April 18, 20, 1666 he mentioned getting the list of all the new plays which he intended having bound together.

In the course of the diary he mentions specifically thirty plays ^I which he had read, many of them several times, besides the frequent notes such as "reading a play" without directly mentioning its particular title. In this manner he entertained himself on his business trips down the river to Deptford or Woolwich, or during his leisure on Sundays. On one "Lord's Day" he wrote, "spent ² all the afternoon with my wife within doors and getting a speech out of Hamlett, 'To be or not to be' without book."

It is interesting to note that two of the plays which he read are Latin plays and several French. There are over twice as many plays of Elizabethan times as of the Restoration period. On his reading list Dryden and Jonson stand highest in the number of plays, closely followed by Shakespeare and Fletcher. These facts are somewhat opposed to what we might infer from Pepys's character and from the general interests of the

period together with the Restoration attitude toward the Elizabethans.

In criticizing the plays that he read, he mentioned the elements we would naturally think of in reading of any kind, namely the thought and language. In only two cases did he mention the plot, once with depreciation as in the case of Aglaura, and the other with praise, in regard to Tuke's Adventures of Five Hours. The latter he esteemed so highly that he wrote of it in reference to Othello :- "Which¹ I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play, but having so lately read 'The Adventures of Five Hours', it seems a mean thing." He also wrote of the Adventures of Five Hours:- "Which² when all is done is the best play that ever I read in my life." Of Fletcher's Wife for a Month he said,³ "wherein no great wit or language." He wrote of the translation of Corneille's Pompey⁴ the Great:- "To me is but a mean play and the words and sense not very extraordinary."

It was this interest in intellectual content and classical purity of diction which explains his enjoyment in reading Ben Jonson's plays. He considered that in Every Man in his Humour⁵ was the greatest propriety of speech that ever he had read in his life. Catiline⁶ was an "excellent piece" when read, but when he saw it on the stage he made the following comment:-⁷ "The play of much good sense and words to read, but that do appear the worst upon the stage, I mean, the least

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I-V, 382. 2-V, 379. 3- II, 392. 4- V, 320. 5-VI, 158.
6- IV, 289. 7- VIII, 171.

diverting, that ever I saw any, though most fine in clothes; and the fine scene of the Senate and of a fight, that ever I saw in my life. But the play is only to be read, and therefore home, with no pleasure at all." One acquainted with Catiline understands this remark; the play was satisfying in thought, careful in classical diction but lacked the action which would appeal to the Restoration mind. The same applied to the translation of Corneille's Valient Cid concerning which he said, "A play^I I have read with great delight but it is the most dull thing acted, which I never understood before, there being no pleasure in it."

As regards technique he seemed to think most highly of Davenent's Siege of Rhodes and Dryden's Rival Ladies, both Restoration heroic plays. The latter he found "a² very innocent and most pretty witty play", on the stage, while in reading he was much pleased with it as a "most³ pleasant and fine writ play." But he had unlimited praise for the Siege of Rhodes⁴ "which is certainly (the more I read it I think so) the best poem that ever was wrote." He mentioned reading it four times. He set to music one of the songs in the play, beginning "Beauty Retire."⁵ During a discussion , his friend agreed with him that it was "as good as ever was writ."⁶ He was just as enthusiastic when he saw it represented on the stage.

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I-II, 381. 2-IV , 194. 3-V , 346. 4 - V, 93. 5 - V, 155.
6 -VI, 165.

In summary, the interesting points to note concerning Pepys' reading of plays is that the Elizabethan plays far predominate, that he enjoyed reading most the classical plays whose chief characteristics were intellectual content and purity of diction, and that very often these are the very plays which were most disappointing on the stage, and finally that, in his opinion, The Siege of Rhodes and The Rival Ladies excelled in technique.

It is still an open question as to whether Pepys intended his diary to be kept secret or not. There is some evidence that he did not, in the fact that he did not destroy the diary before his death, and that among his other works he left the key to the cipher in which the diary is written. On the other hand, it is a plausible argument that if he intended his diary for future generations, he would most certainly have omitted much material which it contained. However, anyone may consider the question for himself, no one can surely fail to notice that utter lack of self-consciousness or an attempt to embellish his thought or instruct the reader. There is absolutely no thought of a reader, at least to the eye of the unprejudiced.

It is essential to notice this tone because of its bearing upon his dramatic criticism, if one may so designate it. His criticism of the drama has not the slightest tone of dogmatism. It may not even be called impressionistic as it lacks the least strain of self-analysis. It consists merely of impress-

ions , jotted down as they occurred as he wrote.

Naturally, if his criticism is of this sort, he will be influenced by numerous external circumstances, wholly foreign to the play or performance, which at times will destroy the slight critical value of his impressions. One of these external influences, occurring most frequently is the size of the house. A small audience made displeasing a play which otherwise he liked. "Little¹ company there which made it very unpleasing." Vice versa , of a full house he said, "An² excellent play to my extraordinary content, and the more from the house being full and great company," or "The³ house full, and in all things of mighty content to me."

The presence of the Court or the sight of fine ladies often compensated for a poor play or added interest to an indifferent one. The following is quite characteristic: -"All⁴ the pleasure of the play was, the King and my Lady Castlemayne were there; and pretty witty Nell, and the younger Marshall sat next us; which pleased me mightily" or "The⁵ whole play pleases me well; and most of all, the sight of many fine ladies."

Pepys' aristocratic taste was offended by the presence of citizens or prentices whom he called " ordinary company " and who made the play less appetizing for him. The following shows his high -and-lofty contempt for their taste: -

"But⁶ the play⁷ is a very silly play , methinks; for I and others that sat by me were weary of it; but it will please the

I-VIII, 15. 2-VI, 152. 3-VII, 65. 4-IV , 362. 5-VI, 154.
6-VII, 105. 7-Greene's Tu Quoque.

II.

citizens."

Another very obvious influence was the state of his health on any particular day. If Pepys broke his vow to attend the play, conscienceless though he may seem in other things, he experienced little pleasure, no matter how pleasing such a play would be at another time. Near the close of the diary when he was constantly pursued by the censure for neglect of office which had fallen on the Navy department in general, and on Pepys as one of its members, and in his case quite undeservedly, his enjoyment of the play was often spoiled by the necessity of sitting in an obscure upper box where he was deprived of the gossip and sights in which he so much delighted.

When he went with too great expectations, human-like he was generally disappointed and vice versa often when he was prejudiced against a play he found it therefore the better. The following comments are characteristic :- "Indeed, it is good though wronged by my over great expectations as all things else are," or "Going with a prejudice the play appeared better to us."

Lastly, probably the most important influence on Pepys' own personal opinion was the approval or disapproval of the king or the pit. Comments such as the following are very frequent:- "The King I did not see laugh nor pleased the whole play from beginning to the end nor the company; insomuch that I have not been less pleased at a new play in my life." There were few

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1- I, 314. 2-Argalus and Parthenia. 3-VII,108. 4- VIII, 18.

cases when he disagreed with the general opinion and then the result was usually the same as in the following example :—"And to see the folly how the house do this day cry up the play more than yesterday! and I for that reason like it, I find, the better, too." All of these externals at times counteract Pepys' own opinions so that in attempting to arrive at his personal impressions these elements must be watched.

After this preliminary sketch of Pepys' love for the theatre and its relation to the social life of the time, of his love of reading plays, of the general tone of the diary and its relation to the kind of his criticism, and of a word of caution as to the elements likely to neutralize his comments, we are ready to take up Pepys' principles of dramatic criticism if it may be so designated.

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I- VIII,4.

Chapter II Dramatic Principles as Understood by Pepys.

The caution mentioned in the first chapter that Pepys' criticism is not in the least dogmatic or analytic, that it consists merely of impressions must be remembered here. If such is the case, then our method in attempting to draw generalizations must be a comparison of the plays that he liked with those that he did not like, together with various phrases here and there which indicate that he had some principle of judgment in mind.

Yet Pepys' criticism, in this respect, is not so indefinite as might be imagined. The dramatists of the Restoration, and chief among them, of course, Dryden did the public a great educational service by their critical prefaces to their plays. By this means, they familiarized the reading public with the general principles of contemporary French classicism which at that time were thought to originate in Aristotle and his Poetics but were afterwards shown to be pseudo-classical. Pepys as well as others of his social class, profitted from these prefaces and judged the plays which he read or saw on the stage according to their canons.

We have very definite indications as to his ideas of tragedy in general. Of the English Princess he said, "A most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good; but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedys are." By this "something eminent" Pepys seemed to have in mind the classical requisite for trag -

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edy - that of elevation of theme and height of character. This was one of the points on which Dryden and his contemporaries laid stress, and exemplified in their plays by the choice of great heroic characters, such as Alexander the Great , and by the constant use of the theme of Titanic love, played on by war and fate.

On Macbeth Pepys has this comment :- "Saw ¹Macbeth which, though I saw it lately, yet appears a most excellent play in all respects but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here and suitable." An explanation is necessary here before remarking on the significance of this criticism. The Macbeth which Pepys saw was probably the revision of Shakespeare's play by Davenant, although there is no definite evidence as to the time of the introduction of Davenant's revision on the stage. According to Downes ³Macbeth was "altered by Sir William Davenant, being drest in all its finery, as new cloaths , new scenes, machines, as flyings for the witches, with all the singing and dancing in it : the first composed by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Channell and Mr. Joseph Priest; it being all excellently performed, being in the nature of an opera." Probably the divertisement which Pepys liked was these additions by Davenant - music, dances, and flying machines but in theory it might apply also to the scenes for comic re -

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I-VI, II8. 2- See Appendix D. 3-Roscius Anglicanus, Edition 1789 ,page 42.

lief as the porter scene. But whatever Pepys meant by the divertisement it is sufficiently clear that he had in mind the classical canon of the one "genre" or "kind". This divertisement was a "strange perfection in a tragedy" yet nevertheless Pepys liked it. Davenant's revision was very popular although it did not agree with the classical canons. So in this point also Pepys shows the efficiency of his training by the Restoration dramatists who regarded Shakespeare, although a genius in portraying nature, as no artist because of his non-observance of the classical unities. Probably Pepys had something of the same thing in mind when he spoke of The Villain^I as "very good and pleasant, and yet a true and allowable tragedy."

The following incident shows Pepys' opinion on a much discussed and extremely interesting question concerning the nature of the theme in tragedy: - "In discourse at table a dispute² between Mr. Moore and Dr. Clerke, the former affirming that it was essential to a tragedy to have the argument of it true, which the Doctor denied, and left it to me to be judge, and the cause to be determined next Tuesday morning at the same place, upon the eating of the remains of the pastry and the loser to spend 10 s. " On Tuesday, "To the Bullhead where³ we had the remains of our pastry, where I did give my verdict against Mr. Moore in last Saturday's wager, where Dr. Fuller coming in do affirm my verdict." Pepys' decision showed that he did not consider truth an essential in the theme of tragedy.

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In summary, Pepys' ideas of tragedy agreed with the dramatic opinion of his age concerning the elevation of theme and character, and of the limitation of one "kind" in tragedy. In all these elements he favored the classical tragedy in preference to the romantic.

In comedy Pepys has highest praise for Adventures of Five Hours, Bartholomew Fair, Feign Innocence, Silent Woman, Scornful Lady, and The Wits. In number these are evenly divided between the Elizabethan and Restoration periods, and the same may be said of the comedies which he liked as a whole, while those which he disliked are largely Restoration. Any one who is familiar with the lesser Restoration dramas can easily see the reason. These comedies which he enjoyed belong either to the Elizabethan comedy of humors or the Restoration comedy of manners. Although some of these plays stand highest in these types yet these types do not represent the highest attainment of the poetic imagination and fancy. These were the plays which were the great successes at the time and Pepys in his enjoyment of them was merely following the tendency of public opinion. Pepys was interested in the varied comedies of manners and humours in real life around him, and took part in some of them, himself.

The fact that Pepys called one half of the total number of plays "the best" must be remembered here. Of the comedies mentioned above he called the first four respectively "the best that ever was wrote." Feign Innocence or Sir Martin Marr-
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all was "the fullest of the proper material for mirth that ever
I- VII, 244.

was writ ." Such high comedy scenes as the Feign Innocence contains would certainly appeal to Pepys but, however harsh on this play Scott and others may be, some critics justify it as the most uniformly comic play of Dryden's, in spite of its coarseness. Pepys liked especially the wit of Jonson's plays, holding that The Silent Woman contained "more^I wit than goes to ten new plays." The change of disguise in Epicoene would naturally recommend itself to Pepys.

On the whole, then one may say that Pepys enjoyed most the classical comedy or according to another classification, the comedy of manners and humours.

Of the separate dramatic characters which Pepys liked to see played there are only two serious characters, -Hamlet and Macbeth, and these were enjoyed because of Betterton's consummate acting. The other parts have only to be mentioned to show clearly Pepys' taste for the comical character. They are especially the Irish footman in The Committee, the dancing master in The French Dancing Master, the country fellow in Love in a Maze, "the country gentleman and the French doctor" in The Merry Wives of Windsor. Without doubt Pepys mentioned them because they were well acted but one who knows Pepys would feel that they truly represent his real liking in character types. There may also be another reason, in that Pepys, lacking in the deeper feelings would fail to appreciate the greater tragic characters unless played by such a consummate actor as Betterton who would force his personality on a man like Pepys. Further explanation may be found in the fact that in the real I-VI, 258.

decadence of the deeper and more tragic emotions during the Restoration period there was left only the sense of humor to keep men sane.

As in judging tragedy Pepys conformed to the pseudo-classicism in dramatic criticism of his period , so likewise in his interests in comedy he enjoyed only the plays which were the great successes of the day , and further by his preference for comical characters he illustrated the decadence of true depth of feeling and sincere emotion, so characteristic of the time . So much for his general principles as regards tragedy and comedy . In the next chapter we shall take up a peculiar classification of the elements of a drama which Pepys himself suggested and which includes all his dramatic criticism.

Chapter III The Elements of a Drama Discussed by Pepys.

In considering the elements of a play we will first take up the internal elements according to a classification which seemed to be in Pepys' mind and to which all of his criticism may be deduced. On one occasion he wrote, "Dr. Clerke^I fell to reading a new play, newly writ, of a friend of his ; but, by his discourse and confession afterwards, it was his own . Some thigs but very few, moderately good; but infinitely far from the conceit , wit, design, and language of very many plays that I know; and so that , but for compliment , I was tired with hearing it." After one has spent a smile on the ancient yet still practised habit of an author's presenting his work for criticism as a "little thing of a friend of mine," and after one has experienced a little thrill of sympathy for Pepys with whom we have shared the same experience, we notice those four words- conceit, wit, design, and language. Upon further investigation of Pepys' detailed criticism we find that these four terms will include all his internal criticism. Also by noticing more closely their application as Pepys employed them , we see that they coincide with the modern "thought, plot, wit, and style." We shall take up each of these elements in turn and discover what Pepys demanded of a play in each respect, and which plays he commended, and which he depreciated with reference to each of these qualities.

By conceit it seems that he meant the intellectual content of a play, outside of its plot or wit as such. He used interchangeably for conceit other terms such as matter, sense, I-VI , I66.

fancy, and invention. A frequent criticism is "great mirth therein but no great matter else," thus showing that although Pepys enjoyed the humor of a play he demanded something deeper to give body. As₁ to conceit he commended especially Lord Orrery's Henry V as:- "The whole play the most full of height, and raptures of wit and sense that ever I heard." But later when he saw Orrery 's The General , quite characteristically he wrote:-
₂"But Lord ! to see how no more either in words, sense, or design, it is to his Harry 5th is not imaginable." Still later when he saw The Black Prince and Tryphoon by the same author he was disgusted by the repetitions from the earlier plays. On Tryphon he has this:-
₃"The play, though admirable yet no pleasure almost in it, because just the same design, and words, and sense, and plot as every one of his plays have, any one of which alone would be held admirable whereas so many of the same design and fancy do but dull one another."

Other plays which he commended for conceit were Feign Innocence and Catiline, while he heartily disapproved of Pompey the Great, The Surprizal, and The Wild-Goose Chase as lacking in intellectual matter. It is somewhat satisfying to see that Pepys was not so light-headed as he might be ,considering his period, and to feel that although he was not a deep thinker at all, yet he was not satisfied with merely the superficial.

At first , one is somewhat doubtful as to whether Pepys intended wit to be limlted to its modern meaning or to in-

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clude all sorts of humor and wit, but several of the following passages seem to indicate his real meaning. Of Love in a Tub he said, "Which¹ is very merry but only so by gesture, not wit at all; which methinks is beneath the house." Here it seems that in his use of the term wit he meant solely verbal play. On one occasion he wrote of Feign Innocence, a play which was one of his favorites, the following:- "It is a most entire piece of mirth, a complete farce from one end to the other that certainly was ever writ. I never laughed so in all my life. I laughed till my head (ached) all the evening and night with the laughing; and at very good wit therein, not fooling." What he meant by fooling may perhaps be explained by his note on Davenant's Man Is the Master :- "But³ most of the mirth was sorry , poor stuffe, of eating sack posset and slabbering themselves, and mirth fit for clowns." On another occasion he said of the former play :- "Think it mighty witty, and full of the proper material for mirth that ever was writ."

He said further that the Old Troop had "a⁵ great deal of wit in it, more than in the common sort of plays," and that The Silent Woman had "more wit than goes to ten new plays." When we add to these plays others which Pepys commended for wit , such as Bartholomew Fair, Rival Ladies, The Wits, we see that the wit which he enjoyed was lively verbal play, generally enhanced by a plot dealing with humorous characters in humorous

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I-IV, 304. 2- VII, 65. 3-VII, 352. 4-VII, 244. 5-VIII, 69.
6- VI, 258.

situations. This conclusion is further verified by the plays which he did not like in this respect. He found a few sprinkles of wit in The German Princess, and The Impertinents, but none at all in Argalus and Parthenia, and Wife for a Month.

It seems that Pepys generally used the term design interchangeably with plot, with the exception of the following comment where he said of The Wild-Goose Chase that he "met with ^I nothing extraordinary at all but very dull inventions and designs." In this case by using the plural he meant the various intrigues of the feminine lovers to catch their geese, and in turn the counterplots of the pursued to escape from the traps set for them.

Pepys had well in mind the unity of plot and he was quite averse to the Restoration plays where as in the case of The Humorous Lieutenant :- "The Spirit in it grows very tall and ² then sinks again to nothing having two heads breeding upon one," that is , where there were two main threads to the plot from which one expected much and yet in the end they amounted to nothing.

Although he enjoyed unusual situations which had in themselves the capability of producing impressive and unusual sensations yet he did draw the line on the monstrously far-fetched plots, so characteristic of the dramatic decadence . For this reason he objected to The Labyrinth , a translation of Corneille's play :- "The ³ poorest play, methinks, that ever

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I saw there being nothing in it but the odd incidents that fell out by a lady's being bred up in man's apparel, and a man in a woman's." The Heiress, and Women Pleased had plots which were good in the first conception but were poorly worked out , so that they were indifferent plays as they were. There were a number of plays such as The Impertinents and Aglaura which he said had no design at all and there were numerous others whose plot he considered "silly", "insipid", "as no better than that of a puppet." He heartily approved of the plot of Love and Honor, of Mustapha, and especially of Adventures of Five Hours which impressed him "for the continuance of the plot with great vigor to the very end." He had, no doubt, grown weary of those plays which promised a great deal , and yet as soon as the secret was sprung , sank to nothing.

In the matter of language Pepys' view of the purity of classical diction has already been mentioned and his commendation of Every Man in his Humor for the greatest propriety of speech which he had ever read. Cataline and Mustapha are also commended for their language while a number of the lesser Restoration plays are criticized for their "silly words." It is an interesting fact that the criticism of plays as regards their language tallies with the criticism as concerns their wit , the two elements being naturally correlated. There is only one specific criticism of language, as in the case of The Wits :- "A medly of things , but some similes mighty good though ill mixed."

After this discussion of the internal elements of a

drama , we shall take up the external elements or, as we might say, Pepys' attitude to the stage properties.

Just as Pepys was foppish in personal dress and fond of fine decorations in his home so likewise on the stage he liked magnificent scenes like those in The Emperor of the East:-
 "The^I garments like Romans very well. But at the beginning, at the drawing up of the curtaine, there was the finest scene of the Emperor and his people about him standing in their fixed and different postures in their Roman habitts above all that ever I yet saw at any of the theatres." On December II, 1667 in a conversation with "Harris the player" and others, Pepys was told that the King had promised five hundred pounds for robes for the performance of Catiline, "there² being, as they say, sixteen scarlet robes." Later when Pepys saw it performed he thought it "most³ fine in clothes; and the fine scene of the Senate and of a fight that ever I saw in my life." He recorded as an unusual occurrence that he saw Orrery' Henry V :-
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 "Well done by the Duke's people, and in most excellent habits all new vests being put on this night," and according to the authorities it was unusual that the whole company should be thus newly clothed at once for the costumes for the actors were generally supplied from the cast-off finery of the king or the courtiers. Pepys' idea of the importance of fine costumes in relation to the success of a performance is indicated when he

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I-IV, 64. 2- VII, 221. 3-VIII, 171. 4- VI, 110.

wrote of The General :- "And so poorly acted, though in fine clothes , is strange."

His attitude toward the pastoral is clearly indicated by his opinion of Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess as :- "A most simple thing, and yet much thronged after , and often shown but it is only for the scene's sake which is very fine indeed and worth seeing." He enjoyed the scenery but he failed here as elsewhere to appreciate the beauty of lyrical poetry. It is also interesting to know that this pastoral by Fletcher was popular at this period when much was made of dress and trappings.

Pepys was quite musically inclined, being a performer on the lute, and a vocalist, at least at home, besides a composer of music to songs, particularly the songs in his favorite dramas. He set to music the song, "Beauty Retire," from The Siege of Rhodes, and according to a music-teacher of the period Pepys had reason to be proud of it as we are sure that he was . So we should expect that he would be very critical of the music in the performances at the theatres. Often "base singing" destroyed his enjoyment of a play which he had liked before while he would attend a play otherwise indifferent or inferior for the sake of its music.

He was interested in the unusual in this part of the performance as well as in others. He was surprised at the manner of presenting the epilogue in Davenant's Man Is the Master:³ - "And the epilogue little in it but the extraordinariness of it, it being sung by Harris and another (Sanford) in the form of a bal-
I-IV, 236. II-III, 157. 3-VII, 352.

let." He was greatly impressed by the echo-song in the Tempest which he described thus:- "The most innocent play that ever I saw; and a curious piece of musique in an echo of half sentences the echo repeating the former half, while the man goes on to the latter; which is mighty pretty." Later, "I did get him (Banister) to prick me down the notes of the Echo in The Tempest which pleases me mightily," and, "Between³ the acts, I went out to Mr. Harris, and got him to repeat to me the words of the Echo, while I writ them down, having tried in the play to have wrote them."

But the greatest pleasure and inspiration Pepys received from the music in The Virgin Martyr which he characteristically described:- "But⁴ that which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind-musique when the angel comes down, which is so sweet, that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife; that neither then, nor all the evening coming home, and at home, I was able to think of anything but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that ever any musick hath that real command over the soul of man as this did upon me; and makes me resolve to practise wind-music, and to make my wife do the like. " Such is Pepys on the heights!

Macbeth he commended as "one of the best plays for the stage, and variety of music and dancing that ever I saw." We must remember that this was Davenant's revision which introduced music, dancing, and machines for the witches. Pepys I-VII, 177. 2-VIII, 7. 3-VIII, 12. 4-VII, 320. 5-VI, 261.

was very much entertained by the variety of dances which were in vogue on the Restoration stage. The kinds of dances which he mentioned seem to foreshadow the dances in the modern musical comedy. Following are some of the most interesting passages on the subject:- "A silly play only Mis's (Davis's) dancing in a shepherd's clothes did please us mightily"; in The Humorous Lieutenant , "In³ the dance, the tall devil's actions was very pretty" ; and of Queen Elizabeth's Troubles, "Only I was pleased to see Knipp dance among the milkmaids , and hear her sing a song to Queen Elizabeth"; about The Storm, "But so-so , methinks; only there is a most admirable dance at the end, of the ladies in a military manner which did please me mightily"; and this curious admiration of Harris' manner of handling a pike during a dance:- "There⁶ being nothing in the world pleasing in it, but a good martial dance of pikemen where Harris and another do handle their pikes in a dance to admiration." Such naive accounts help us to appreciate Pepys' childlike love for the spectacular as well as informing us as to the manner of performance of Restoration plays.

There was another element in many of the Restoration plays which appealed to Pepys as well as to the majority of the theatre-goers of the day, and that was the change of disguise, which to satisfy this demand appeared frequently in the plays of the period. In The Slighted Maid he saw "little good in it

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I-VII, 54. 2-School of Compliments. 3-III, 108. 4-VII, 65.
5-VII, 117. 6-VIII, 223. 7-The Royal Shepherdess . 8-III, 47.

but was most pleased to see the little girl dance in boy's apparel." One can not refrain from smiling at the admiration expressed for Nell Gwyn because of her acting in Dryden's Maid-en Queen :- "And the truth is, there is a comical part done by Nell, which is Florimell, that I never can hope ever to see the like done again, by man or woman. But so great performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the world before as Nell do this, both as a mad girle, then most and best of all when she comes in like a young gallant; and hath the motions and carriage of a spark the most that ever I saw any man have. It makes me, I confess, admire her." As we might expect, the change of disguise in Epicoene pleased him, when Kinaston, the boy, appeared " first,² as a poor woman in ordinary clothes to please Morose; then in fine clothes, as a gallant, and in them was clearly the prettiest woman in the whole house, and lastly, as a man, and then likewise did appear the handsomest man in the house."

Pepys saw Bartholomew Fair acted several times with puppets and his attitude toward puppets is natural enough. "I do never a whit like it for the puppets but rather the worse,"³ and "I do not like the puppets at all but think it to be a lessening to it."⁴

Extraordinary additions in the performance of a play easily won support from Pepys' childlike curiosity and love of

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I-VI, 192. 2-I, 297. 3- II, 92. 4-II, 127.

the spectacular. He heartily approved of the scene of a town on fire in the performance of The Island Princess.¹ In July, 1668 at the presentation of Hyde Park he mentioned that horses were first brought on the stage.²

Thus in Pepys' attitude toward the externals or stage properties in the performance of plays he revealed the characteristics which are everywhere evident in other phases of his life- namely, his liking for variety through the unusual, the curious, and the spectacular.

After this discussion of the internal and external elements of the drama as Pepys considered them, we shall take up his attitude toward the two periods of drama with which he was connected, the Elizabethan and Restoration.

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I-VIII, 183. 2-VIII, 60.

Chapter IV Pepys' Attitude toward Elizabethan Drama.

Although Pepys saw the plays of more Restoration dramatists than of Elizabethan yet he saw more Elizabethan plays at more performances than Restoration . Any regular theatre-goer of any age generally experiences a similar relation between the old stock plays and the contemporary drama for the old stock plays are assured of a run whereas many new plays receive only a single night's performance . As on his reading-list the Elizabethans individually outnumber the Restoration dramatists so on the stage he saw more plays of Fletcher and Shakespeare respectively than of Davenant, and more of Shirley's and Jonson's than Dryden's, and so on down.

Among the individual plays favored by Pepys the Elizabethan predominate. Often it is difficult to determine exactly how Pepys would rank a play in any sort of scale for he divided them definitely into the sheep or the goats - a play was either the worst or the best that he had ever seen. Thus, when one superlative is used for half the plays ,and the other one for the other half, one can hardly say that this "best" is better liked than that "best". Then the only method is to determine from the criticisms at successive performances which really is "the best".

Pepys did not like an old drama simply because it was old; on the contrary, he enjoyed it in spite of its age-"though an old play". He seemed, moreover, to share the ignorant notion that seeing a play once is sufficient, for he often said, "the best tragedy though I saw it lately". His unexpected preference

for the Elizabethans , furthermore, is by no means exclusive; he had unqualified praise for some of the Restoration comedies such as Sir Martin Marr-all, and when we consider the type of Elizabethan plays that appealed to him, we notice that with few exceptions they are not the greatest achievements of Elizabethan art. They are Jonson's lesser comedy of humours and the plays of the late Elizabethan decadence. These are in short the plays of the period which are farthest removed from poetry and imagination and the nearest in tone and interests to the Restoration taste - the exaggerated comedy of humours or manners.

Pepys in his preference for the Elizabethan drama only represented the general opinion of the contemporary theatre-goers in spite of our misconceived idea that the Restoration audiences cared nothing for the Elizabethans. Such may have been true of the class, represented by John Evelyn who wrote on November 26, 1661 :- "I saw Hamlet, Prince of Denmark played; but now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his Majesty's being so long abroad." Our false notion may be based solely on the adverse criticism of the Elizabethans by the Restoration dramatists; yet however much they depreciated the Elizabethans for lack of art, they found in their works such a fine portrayal of human nature that they considered the old plays worthy of revision. It is also true that the Restoration public relished the Elizabethans when

dressed to suit their artificial tastes with the seasoning of music, dancing, and spectacular effects, and also that the plays which they liked did not represent the zenith of the poetic imagination of the Elizabethans. Thus, our idea that the Restoration public scorned the Elizabethans should be restricted. Furthermore, the Restoration public which is portrayed in Pepys' diary is that from the Restoration in 1660 to 1669, and is not the audience for which Congreve, Wycherley, and Farquhar write, but that of Davenant, Killigrew, and the earlier Dryden.

Whenever we think of the Elizabethan drama, its great towering figure, that world genius, always comes to mind and our next question naturally is, "What did Pepys think of Shakespeare?" As in the Christian religion a man's fate depends on his answer to the great question, likewise in dramatic criticism a critic stands or falls according to his reply to the question, "What think ye of Shakespeare?" Pepys thought just what is to be expected from his character. He recognized none of Shakespeare's genius, none of his poetic grandeur, his soaring imagination, but he relished a Shakespearian play only when forced upon him by the genius of an actor or when mangled by contemporary dramatists.

Of the criticism of individual plays we shall take up first those which Pepys undoubtedly saw in the original. Of the historical plays Pepys saw two - Henry IV and Henry VIII. Concerning the former when he saw it for the first time he thought that having a book and expecting too much spoiled the play. La-

ter he liked it but on the third occasion after an interval of six years he wrote:- "Contrary to expectation was pleased in nothing more than in Cartwright's speaking of Falstaffe's speech about 'What is Honour?' " This ^Ispeech by Falstaff identifies the play as Part I, and corresponds to the cast which Downes gives.³

Pepys wrote on December 10, 1663 :- "He tells me that Harris is come to the Duke's house again; and of a rare play to be acted this week of Sir William Davenant's: the story of Henry ⁵the Eighth with all his wives." However there is no evidence that Davenant tampered with the original play by Shakespeare and Fletcher. Some critics have thought Downes' expression somewhat vague when he says that "by order of Sir William Davenant ⁶it was all new cloathed in proper habits, " and with "new scenes." He adds that "the part of the king was so right and justly done by Mr. Betterton , he being instructed in it by Sir William who had it from Mr. Lowen, that had his instructions from Mr. Shakespear himself, that I dare and will aver, none can or ever will come near him in this age in the performance of that part; Mr. Harris's performance of Cardinal Wolsey was little inferior to that, he doing it with such state , port, and mien that I dare affirm none hitherto equalled him." When Pepys was at

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I-VII, 172. 2-See Appendix D. 3-Roscius Anglicanus, page 15.

4-Wotton , his shoemaker. 5-See Appendix D. 6-R.A. , page 34.

last free to attend, after two temptations resisted, he had no such glowing description of Betterton 's and Harris's acting. On the contrary, he said:- "Saw^I the so much cried-up play of Henry VIII; which, though I went with resolution to like it, is so simple a thing made up of a great many patches, that , besides the shows and processions in it, there is nothing in the world good or well done. Thence mightily dissatisfied. " Pepys had a distinct sense of the unity of plot which in this case led him true. Four years later he changed his opinion of it , and "was mightily pleased, better than ever I expected, with the history and shows of it." Truly, in spite of Betterton's and Harris's acting, Henry VIII was regarded merely as as a pageant by the Restoration public, in agreement with Pepys who by the later date had learned to content himself with the "shows" on the stage.

During the Commonwealth Midsummer Night's Dream was abridged into a droll called " The Merry Conceited Humours of Bottom the Weaver" but was restored in the original form at the Restoration.³ However, it was⁴ not a popular play and Pepys' mention of it is the only one which we have from the whole period.⁵ Evidently the public agreed with Pepys :- "Which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again for it is the most insipid ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life." Pepys was natural-

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I-IV, 2. 2-VIII, 178. 3- See Appendix D. 4- See the editor's note in Diary II, 326. 5- II, 326.

ly the man of common-sense who would entirely miss all the poetic beauty and idyllic dream quality of such a play. He was too realistic.

In regard to Romeo and Juliet we should like to correct a mistake. In the Irving Edition of Shakespeare's Works, Vol. I, page 181, occurs this:- "Pepys mentions it under the date of March 1, 1661-62, as an opera. It would appear, however from Genest's account that, on this date, Romeo and Juliet was revived at Lincoln's Inn Fields, when Betterton played Mercutio." What Pepys really says is :- "To the Opera, and there saw Romeo and Juliet," and Mr. Lee's statement in Shakespeare and the Modern Stage, page 87, that "The Opera and the Duke's House are merely Pepys' alternative designation of the Lincoln's Inn Theatre" straightens out the Irving Edition tangle.

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James Howard altered the original Romeo and Juliet, making a tragi-comedy "he² preserving Romeo and Juliet alive; 'twas played alternately tragically one day, and tragi-comical another for several days together." However the authorities agree that probably this alteration was not played until after the date at which Pepys saw it and that therefore he saw the original. Pepys gives March 1, 1661-62 as "the first time it was ever acted", after the Restoration. He considered the play as "of itself the worst that ever I heard in my life" and he was so disgusted with the acting that he resolved never to at-

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tend a first performance again. According to Downes,¹ Romeo was played by Harris, and Mercutio by Betterton, with Mary Saunderson as Juliet. Pepys was very often disgusted at the inadequate preparation at the first rehearsal of a play which he enjoyed later.

Downes says that Shakespeare's Twelfth Night "was got up on purpose to be acted on Twelfth Night " and Pepys was evidently because it was "related not at all to the name or the day." It was "acted well though it be but a silly play." He saw it again, January 20, 1668-69 when it was revived at Lincoln's Inn Fields but he thought it "one of the weakest plays " that he had ever seen.

Merry Wives of Windsor and especially the character of Falstaff one should naturally think would appeal to Pepys. However, when he first saw it, "the humours of the country gentleman and the French doctor very well done, but the rest very poorly and Sir J. Falstaffe as bad as any." Neither Genest nor Downes gives the names of the actors who played Justice Shallow and Dr. Caius, but Cartwright played Falstaff and that poorly, according to contemporary report. On the second occasion of Pepys' seeing it, he was in a disagreeable mood through having broken his oath against plays, so that "ill done" is his comment. Later "it did not please me at all, in no part of it".

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1- Page 31. 3- Page 32. 4- VIII, 193. 5- I, 278. 6- II, 102.
7- VII, 64.

These adverse criticisms may have been due to the acting which from all reports deserved such harshness.

Nevertheless there are two of Shakespeare's original plays which he seemed to like - Othello and Hamlet. But in both cases it was the acting which made the plays live for him. The first time that he saw Othello, it "was very well done. Burt acted the Moore; by the same token, a very pretty lady that sat by me, called out, to see Desdemona smothered." Next he mentioned this play as entertaining him on his trip down the river to Deptford and although he had "ever heretofore esteemed (it) a mighty good play" yet "having so lately read The Adventures of Five Hours" it seemed "a mean thing". In February 1668-69 he saw it again :- "But ill acted in most parts; Mohun which did a little surprise me, not acting Iago's part by much so well as Clun used to do; nor another Hart's which was Cassio's; nor indeed, Burt doing the Moor's so well as I once thought he did."

Hamlet is not a character who would naturally appeal to Pepys as would Falstaff, for instance; but Pepys saw it performed by a genius who was unequalled in the part during his own generation and even yet is acknowledged as one of its greatest interpreters. The character of Hamlet when played by such a consummate artist has always appealed to that something transcendental in every human heart, however feeble the intellect

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might be to grasp its philosophical depths. Pepys saw Betterton in the part five times and on every occasion he had unlimited praise for him as :- "Done with scenes very well but above all, Betterton did the prince's part beyond imagination, " or "giving us fresh reason never to think enough of Betterton," and "mightily pleased with it ; but, above all, with Betterton, the best part I believe, that ever man acted." In regard to Betterton's acting Downes said that "Sir William(Davenant) (having seen Mr. Taylor of the Black-Fryars Company act it; who being instructed by the author, Mr. Shakespear) taught Mr. Betterton in every particle of it." The play was so very popular during the Restoration that "no succeeding Tragedy for several years got more reputation or money to the company than this." Pepys' unqualified praise of Betterton's acting is only one of the frequent eulogies of the time, and illustrates how Hamlet as interpreted by a genius has always stirred all men of all sorts and conditions.

Pepys saw the alteration of The Taming of the Shrew called Sawny the Scot. It is attributed to Lacy on fairly good evidence. In the revision the dialogue is shortened and done into prose, Grumio is turned into Sawny the Scot, and the fifth act is entirely new, especially in the pocr addition of Petruchio's threat to bury Margaret because of her sullen silence.

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I- II, 82. 2- III, 138. 3- VIII, 90. 4-Page 29. 5- Ibid
6-See Appendix D. 7- Katherine in the original.

Such was The Taming of the Shrew which Pepys saw , and it is certainly to his credit that he called it "a silly ^I play and an old one." It "hath some very good pieces in it but generally is but a mean play; and after the best part, 'Sawny' done by Lacy hath not half its life by reason of the words, I suppose, not being understood at least by me." The dialect which Sawny spoke is supposed to have been Doncaster dialect and as little understood on the north side of the Tweed as the south.

Pepys liked Macbeth and The Tempest, the two of Shakespeare's plays which , during the Restoration, suffered the most from revision. From Pepys' criticism one is inclined to believe that he enjoyed the additions really more than the original portions themselves.

It is uncertain when Davenant's revision of Shakespeare's Macbeth was first introduced on the stage but Pepys' mention of the 'divertisement and variety' seems to show that he saw the revision. Davenant added music, dancing , scenery, machines for the witches, and in some passages he was guilty even of turning Shakespeare's superb blank verse into heroic couplets. Macbeth was seen by Pepys nine times, the largest number of performances for any one play on his list. At his first seeing it Betterton took the title role and it was "a pretty good play, but admirable acted." Later, during Betterton's illness Young took the part and Pepys "was vexed to see

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Young (who is but a bad actor at best) act Macbeth in the room of Betterton, who, poor man ! is sick; but Lord ! what a prejudice it wrought in me against the whole play, and everybody else agreed in disliking this fellow," and again Macbeth "which¹ we still like mightily though short of the content we used to have when Betterton acted who is still sick." As to the play itself it was "the most excellent play for variety", "one² of the best plays for the stage, and variety of music and dancing that ever I saw," "a excellent³ play in all respects but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here and suitable." From all of these remarks it would seem that Pepys liked the additions of Davenant rather than the original play itself.

In Dryden and Davenant's revision⁵ of The Tempest most of the characters are duplicated, Miranda being given a sister who likewise had never seen a man and who finds a lover in Hippolito who has never seen a woman, while Caliban's sister, Sycox, takes part in his coarse buffoonery, and Ariel is assisted by his sister, Milcha. This duplication of character tends to make the plot more intricate, thus appealing to the taste of the Restoration audience. Its taste was further considered in the introduction of coarse jokes, and in degrading the beautiful

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I-VII, 176. 2-VI, 110. 3-VI, 261. 4-VI, 118. 5- See Appendix D.

innocence of Shakespeare's characters such as Miranda. Davenant also introduced sea language which he had learned in the wild adventurous period of his own youth. The music, of which Pepys mentions particularly the Echo Song, was written by Bannister. In the stage directions it calls for "a band of twenty-four violins, with the harpicals and throrbos" and the scene is fully described. In the foreground is an arch, supported by Corinthian pillars on which are to be seen wreaths of roses, Cupids, Fame, and the Lion and the Unicorn. "Behind this is a scene, which represents a thick cloudy sky, a very rocky coast, and a tempestuous sea in perpetual agitation. This tempest (supposed to be raised by magic) has many dreadful objects in it, as several spirits in horrid shapes flying down amongst the sailors, then rising and crossing in the air. And when the ship is sinking, the whole house is darkened, and a shower of fire falls upon them. This is accompanied with lightning and several claps of thunder to the end of the storm." Such are the stage directions to the first scene. The whole play was produced with all the finished art of scenery of which Davenant was master. Such was The Tempest which Pepys saw. What did he say of it? "The most innocent play that ever I saw; and an envious piece of musique in an echo of half sentences-----which is mighty pretty. The play has no great wit but very good, above ordinary plays." "The Tempest² again, which is very pleasant, and full of so great variety that I can not be more pleased almost in a com-
I-VII, 177. 2-VII, 181.

edy, only the seamen's part a little too tedious." We are glad to notice that Pepys appreciated the lack of wit, which is certainly evident in the revision, and was bored by the seaman's part, but from his comments undoubtedly he was more interested in the scenery, music, and other "divertisement" introduced by the "play-vampers" as the Theatrical Pocket Magazine designates them.

We shall not take up here any other adaptations of Shakespeare's plays which Pepys saw, such as Davenant's revision of The Two Noble Kinsmen in The Rivals, or his mixture of Much Ado about Nothing, and Measure for Measure in The Law against Lovers. These adaptations are so far removed from Shakespeare that Pepys' comment on them can hardly be said to throw any light upon his attitude toward Shakespeare.

In general, of Pepys' attitude toward Shakespeare we may say that failing to appreciate Shakespeare at all in his highest flights of poetic fancy, he enjoyed him only when interpreted by the overpowering genius of an actor like Betterton, or when revised and presented with all the spectacular splendor of which the Restoration stage under Davenant was capable.

Of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays which Pepys saw he did not like The Knight of the Burning Pestle, The Coxcomb, or Cupid's Revenge. King and no King he saw very well performed although he made no comment on the play itself. The first time that he saw Philaster it fell far short of his expectations,

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 but later "it was pretty to see how I could remember almost all along, ever since I was a boy, Arethusa, the part which I was to have acted at Sir Robert Cooke's; and it was very pleasant to me, but more to think what a ridiculous thing it would have been for me to have acted a beautiful woman". Such naive interests made a play enjoyable for Pepys and make his criticism enjoyable for us. The Maid's Tragedy at its first appearance seemed ² "too sad and melancholy ", but on the three occasions when he saw it later he considered it a good play and well acted. The Scornful Lady was well acted but on the ³ second occasion he saw the title role "now done by a woman, which makes the play appear much better than ever it did to me." At the fourth performance in 1666 he thought that, with the exception of Abigail's part by Doll Common and the Widow's by Mrs. Knipp it was not so well done as by the old actors.

Of the plays by Fletcher alone, there are a few which he did not like, for example Women Pleased , The Wild-Goose Chase, and Wit without Money. The last of which he disliked so heartily that he left the theatre on learning it was to be the play of the afternoon. His praise for The Chances is so intermixed with his enjoyment of a song in the play and the sight of fine ladies that one wonders whether he liked it for anything more than those externals. The Loyal Subject he saw on August 18, 1660, and it is the first play mentioned in the diary. He

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seemed to be most interested in "one Kinaston , a boy, (who) acted the Duke's sister but made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life, only her voice not very good." At the first two performances of Fletcher's The Storm or Sea Voyage, which was based on Shakespeare's Tempest, he mentioned only the dance, while at the next two performances he was interested solely in Knipp's "part of grief " which she did very well. In The Humorous Lieutenant he approved neither of the plot because "the Spirit grows very tall and then sinks again into nothing", nor of the performance except "the tall devil's actions in the dance." Concerning The Mad Lover , and Rule a Wife and Have a Wife he changed his mind, in the first case for the worse and the second for the better. The change seems to have been due to the acting on various occasions. The Faithful Shepherdess, as we have remarked before, although popular at the time appealed to Pepys only for the "scene's sake" which indeed was very fine. Because they were well performed Pepys liked other plays of Fletcher such as The Little Thief, Tamer Tamed, - a sequel to The Taming of the Shrew- Maid in the Mill, and The Island Princess, the last having a fine scene of a town on fire.

In summary, Pepys' enjoyment of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays seemed to be determined by the quality of the acting, for he mentions little else in his criticism, and his liking or dislike varied directly as the acting. This conclusion is further verified by his criticism of these plays when he read

them.

We have already remarked Pepys' admiration for Jonson's wit and language when he read the plays, but often these very plays on the stage were the most disappointing for him. This was particularly true of Catiline which was "only¹ to be read" though acted "in most fine clothes." Pepys seemed to be very much impressed by Jonson's comedy of humours, having the highest praises for Volpone,² The Alchemist, Bartholomew Fair, and Epicoene. Volpone was "a most excellent play; the best I think I ever saw and well acted", while The Alchemist was "a³ most comparable play", and eight years later, "It is still a good play, having not been acted for two or three years before; but I do miss Clun for the Doctor."⁵ Bartholomew Fair he considered "a most admirable play and well acted", "the⁶ best comedy in the world, I believe,"⁷ but he disliked the humorous attack of the Puritans as "too much prophane and abusive." On September 4, 1667 he wrote:- "An excellent play; the more I see it, the more I love the wit of it; only the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale, and of no use, they being the people that, at last will be found the wisest." The Silent Woman pleased him by the change of disguise, and by its

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I-VIII, 171. 2- IV, 309. 3- II, 54. 4- VIII, 279. 5-After he had been murdered. 6- Subtle, the alchemist. 7-II, 47. 8- IV, 193. 9- II, 47. 10- VIII, 91.

wit. His conclusion that it was "the^I best comedy that ever was wrote" resembles that which he had made of several other plays.

From these remarks it is quite evident that Jonson is the author of the Elizabethan age whom Pepys enjoyed most as he was "big with admiration" for every one of his plays and at every performance, too, which is more than can be said of his attitude toward any other author, either Elizabethan or Restoration. In this respect he only resembled his age, which had a great respect for Jonson because of his belief in the classical canons and his scholarly observance of them in his plays.

Of the individual plays of the minor Elizabethan dramatists he liked best Massinger's The Bondman, and indeed his praise of it is hardly equalled by that of any other play in either period. He saw it seven times, besides often reading it,² and on each occasion his admiration was so great that, "There is nothing³ more taking in the world⁴ with me than that play," and "for Betterton he is called by us both the best actor in the world."

Of Shirley's plays he saw The Traitor well acted by Mr. Moone in the title role, and Love in a Maze which had little in it but Lacy's part of the country fellow, that being done to admiration. Heywood's Love Mistress he liked for its "humours, variety, and divertisement" although it contained no fancy, while Queen Elizabeth's Troubles by the same author,⁵ although Pepys had "sucked in so much of her sad story from his cradle" that he was "ready to weep for her sometimes; the play"

was" the most ridiculous that sure ever come upon the stage; and , indeed is merely a show---- merely a puppet play , acted by living puppets. Neither the design nor the language better; and one stands by and tells the meaning of things." He saw Habington's Queen of Arragon only once but he was so impressed by it that he wondered where such an admirable play could have lain asleep for so long a time. Pepys did not have a good opinion of Webster's works although he thought The Duchess of Malfy well performed on the first occasion but at the second "a sorry play."¹ His White Devil Pepys considered "a very ² poor play " and the next day thought it "good sport to hear how she^a talked of it with admiration like a fool;" the next performance he did not stay to see out, as it "pleased" him "worse than it did the ³ other day." Brome's plays,- Antipodes and The Jovial Crew, he enjoyed because of "their great mirth but no great matter else."

Thus in his great enjoyment of Elizabethan drama, on the whole he liked more the lesser plays of the later decadence rather than those which represent the Elizabethan poetic fancy and imagination at its zenith. Of the individual authors of the Elizabethan period he praised most unqualifiedly the great classical exponent of drama, Jonson, and even in his attitude toward the old plays he reflected the opinions of his generation.

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I-VIII, 155. 2-II, 107. a-Sir W. Batten's wife. 3-II , 108.

Chapter V Pepys' Attitude toward Restoration Drama.

More dramatists from the Restoration period are represented on Pepys' play-list although more plays and performances belong to the Elizabethans. Thus many of the minor Restoration plays are represented by only one performance while Davenant, Dryden, Orrery, and Newcastle are severally represented by fewer plays and performances than Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, Shirley, and other Elizabethans.

Pepys seemed to have been more favorably inclined by nature toward the contemporary plays yet his adverse criticism of the Restoration drama wherever it occurred was harsher than that toward the Elizabethans. Indeed from the degraded character of such plays it had the right to be, and really Pepys was something of a Puritan in his regard for ordinary morals. Thus Pepys was not unduly prejudiced in favor of the Restoration drama. One must also remember that Pepys' criticism only the earlier plays of the Restoration, those from 1660 to 1669, and comprised chiefly the works of Killigrew, Davenant, Orrery, Newcastle, and the earlier Dryden for Congreve, Wycherley, Farquhar, and the late dramatists of the decadence had not yet begun to write.

One of the great types of Restoration drama, the heroic play, was just beginning its vogue during the period of Pepys' diary. He saw a number of the earlier plays of this type before it was carried into the extreme by the late dramatists. Of this type he saw Dryden's Indian Emperor, Indian

Queen , Rival Ladies, Maiden Queen, Orrery's Black Prince, Mus-
tapha, Henry V, and Tryphoon besides Howard's Duke of Lerma,
 Caryl's English Princess, and Davenant's Siege of Rhodes. Pepys
 liked all of these plays and some of them were among his special
 favorites. Dryden's Maiden Queen he tells us was "mightily com-
 mended for the regularity of it, and the strain and wit." He
 has this curious note on the effect of rhyme in The Indian
Queen :-²"The play good but spoiled with the rhyme which breaks
 the sense". In all other cases he seemed to enjoy this sort of
 play immensely, and if he had a general dislike for the rhyme,
 it is to be expected that he would mention it elsewhere. After
 Pepys had seen and enjoyed Orrery's heroic plays, although crit-
 icising them for the repetition of the "same design, and words,
 and sense,³ and plot" he attended a performance of Guzman where
 "Shadwell the poet to my great wonder, do tell me that my lord
 of (Orrery) did write this play, trying what he could do in com-
 edy since his heroique plays could do no more wonders. This do
 trouble me; for it is as mean a thing." Evidently the audiences
 were of the same opinion as Pepys in regard to the monotony of
 the repetition in Orrery's earlier plays. Thus Pepys seems to
 have been favorably impressed with the heroic plays of his time;
 their fastidiousness on points of honor would naturally appeal
 to his own regard for the letter rather than the spirit, and
 and their grandiose subjects and characters would harmonize
 with his love for the spectacular.

Another type of drama was beginning in this period, to be later developed by Congreve, and that was the peculiar mixture of the comedy of manners and humours which is sometimes called the Restoration comedy of humours and instruction. This form did not develop so rapidly as the heroic play but it had a longer period of popularity. In this class Pepys saw Dryden's Evening Love, Etherege's She Would if She Could, Comical Revenge, Howard's Committee, and Sedly's Mulberry Garden. One should expect Pepys to enjoy this sort of play and indeed he did like some of the characters, but Evening's Love was "very smutty"¹, the wit in The Comical Revenge was "beneath² the house", the other play by Etherege "had nothing in the world good in it"³, and so on through the whole list. Even Pepys, with his none too sensitive morality, was shocked at the extent to which such plays could go. How we wish we had his criticism on the later plays in this class!

The French influence on the Restoration drama is probably the most widely known fact about the period. Not only did Pepys see plays which were borrowed from the French either in characters, plots, or separate scenes, but he saw a number of direct adaptations and translations from the French plays. From Corneille he saw the following translations:- The Labyrinth, Mistaken Beauty, Heraclius, Horace, and Valiant Cid. These plays with the exception of Heraclius were the poorest that he had ever seen. That one he liked for its fine setting and costuming. Davenant's Man Is the Master, Pepys said, was translated out I-VIII , 51. 2-IV, 304. 3- VII, 286.

of French and originated from a Spanish plot. There was nothing extraordinary at all in it; the king and his company thought "meanly of it" ; and the mirth was fit for clowns besides the epilogue and prologue were poor. He also saw "Ladys a la Mode,^I a translation out of French by Dryden----so mean a thing as , when they come to say it would be acted again to-morrow, both he that said it, Beeson, and the pit fell a-laughing, there being this day not a quarter of the pit full." Thus, With the exception of Heraclius, Pepys was disgusted with the translations of the French plays, so much in vogue at the time.

Among the individual Restoration dramatists, Davenant appeared on Pepys' play-list in more plays and at more performances than Dryden , who is followed by the Earl of Orrery and the Duke of Newcastle. This fact is easily explained because this was the period of Davenant's popularity through his play-house while Dryden was just beginning his dramatic work. Of the seven plays of Davenant's which Pepys saw on the stage he did not like The Rivals, nor The Unfortunate Lovers. The others he thought were very good but especially so The Siege of Rhodes and The Wits. The former he liked as well on the stage as in reading. He saw The Wits the first time that it was performed with scenes, "admirable scenes"². He praised it also for its wit and similes.

Dryden found an appreciative spectator for his plays in Samuel Pepys. Pepys did think Evening's Love too smutty but Dryden himself, Pepys was told, considered it only a fifth rate³

play. The Indian Emperor was a fine play but Pepys was disappointed in the performance as he always was when Nell Gwyn attempted a serious part. The Indian Queen was reported to exceed Henry^I₂ VIII in brilliance of performance was indeed a "pleasant show." The Maiden Queen, of which Dryden himself "in his preface seems to brag"³ pleased him "infinitely",⁴ and was "so done by Nell"⁵, her merry part, as cannot be better done by nature, I think". These plays of Dryden are nearly all heroic plays and appealed to Pepys by their "show" and their sensational situations, although he criticized Dryden's coarseness when it became too apparent.

Pepys' attitude toward the Earl of Orrery's plays has already been mentioned - his admiration for his plots, language, and wit but his disgust at the constant repetition from one play to another, and his disapproval of Orrery's comedy when he did attempt a change from the heroic type. However, there still remain some little delicious Pepysian comments on Orrery. Although Pepys extolled Henry V for "Height"⁶ and raptures of wit and sense that ever I heard "yet it had "one incongruity which did not please me, that is, King Harry promises to plead for Tudor to their Mistresse, the Princess Katherine of France, more than when it comes to it, he seems to do; and Tudor refused by her with some kind of indignity, not with a difficulty and honor that it ought to have been done in to him." Pepys was certain-

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I-IV, 23. 2-IV, 27. 3-VII, 267. 4-VI, 317. 5- VI, 225.
6-IV, 202.

ly impressed by this little point for in a discussion a few days later he argued his side so well that the company concluded that the play was "the best that ever was made but confessed" with him "that Tudor's being dismissed in the manner he is is a great blemish to the play". Such is Pepys' final criticism of a play "fullest of height and raptures of wit" !

But more curious still is the criticism of the long letter in The Black Prince which had "mightily pleased" the audience up to that point. The letter was so long, and its contents already so self-evident that the audience "frequently began to laugh and hiss twenty times, that had it not been for King's being there, they had certainly hissed it off the stage. I must confess, it is one of the most remarkable instances that ever I did or expect to meet within my life of a wise man's not being wise at all times. -----I could not forbear laughing almost all the way home, and all the evening to my going to bed, at the ridiculousness of the letter, and the more because my wife was angry with me, and the world for laughing, because the King was there, though she could not defend the length of the letter." At the performance of The General, Pepys sat near Sir Charles Sedly, then considered a great wit, who "did at every line take notice of the dulness of the poet, and the badness of the action."

As to the Duke of Newcastle's plays he disliked The Heiress and The Country Captain, the latter being the first

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play of which he was ever weary. He liked The French Dancing Master only because of Lacy's acting in the title role. He went to see The Humorous Lovers, a silly play, only that he might understand the Duchess of Newcastle who he thought was the author, though the Duke is in fact responsible for it. But as to Sir Martin Marr-all Pepys spoke in no uncertain terms. He saw it at eight performances, and on each occasion his praise became more enthusiastic. On the first occasion he said:- "I never¹ laughed so in all my life. I laughed till my head(ached) all the evening and night with laughing", and later, "the²more I see (it) the more I like it", and, "undoubtedly the best comedy ever was wrote."³

There remains yet to mention that one play of the Restoration, in which Pepys so much delighted- The Adventures of Five Hours. This play by Sir Samuel Tuke Pepys read and re-read, and went repeatedly to see it on the stage. It was a play "in one word, the best⁴, for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw, or think ever shall". Such was Pepys' first impression of the play and this opinion was only reenforced by later experiences with it.

In summary, Pepys' attitude toward Restoration drama was even more favorable in the beginning than toward the Elizabethan but he was enough unprejudiced to recognize the great-

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er superiority of the Elizabethans although their highest soarings of poetic imagination passed far above his head. He wanted their plays accompanied by the finest effects of contemporary stage setting and spectacular effects, and interpreted by the best actors of the day. Yet, however much these externals meant to him, they could not compensate for the absurdities of the contemporary dramas. When all is said, however, Pepys had no real poetic discrimination, in fact no more than the ordinary man of common sense during his own time, or of any age for that matter, to whom the beauties of a Midsummer Night's Dream or a Romeo and Juliet are nothing more than insipid and ridiculous.

Chapter VI Pepys' Comments on Restoration Actors.

The relation between the quality of the acting and Pepys' liking of a performance has already frequently been mentioned but there yet remain many interesting comments on individual actors. These comments are peculiarly valuable because of the dearth of any other such material during the period. Downes gives the important casts of the chief companies and plays, but he is very concise and rarely comments on any actor's individual merit. Thus Pepys together with a few dramatic miscellanies furnishes all the available material on the subject.

There was one actor in that period who may be mentioned for Shakespearian interpretation in the same breath with Garrick, Irving, Booth; and that was Betterton. Favorite as he was with Pepys and the Restoration audiences, even yet his representation of Hamlet is favorably compared with Garrick's Macbeth. Betterton did Shakespeare a great service during the Restoration period by presenting him with all the power of his own genius before the refined pseudo-classicists with their artificial taste. He was the one great exponent of Shakespeare in those days of decadence, and that by the most effective means - the means available only to the actor who could make the character live before one's very eyes. But great as Betterton was, he was forced to bend before the overwhelming public opinion of the day in submitting to such revisions of Shakespeare as Davenant's alteration of The Tempest.

Pepys saw Betterton in his masterpiece of roles five times and on each occasion it gave him "fresh reason never to

I think enough of Betterton." "But above² all, Betterton did the prince's part beyond imagination," and it was "the best part,³ I believe, that ever man acted." Pepys' complete satisfaction in Betterton's performance of Macbeth, and his vexation at Youngs' attempt to substitute for Betterton have already been remarked.

It was Betterton's acting that made Massinger's Bond-⁴man such a favorite with Pepys. He saw it often but "every time more and more pleased with Betterton's action".⁵ Pepys in his constant use of the superlative said that "above all that ever I saw, Betterton do the Bondman best," and "for Betterton he⁶ is called by us the best actor in the world."

On September 4, 1667 Pepys saw Mustapha⁷ "bravely acted" but he was disgusted because "Betterton and Harris could not contain from laughing in the midst of a most serious part from the ridiculous mistake of one of the men upon the stage." The next day he noticed the same negligence in laughing and being out in their parts, which he had never observed before.⁸ He finally explained it as being due, no doubt, to "their want of company in the pit, that they do not care how they act."

Pepys often sang Betterton's praises together with those of Ianthe, Pepys' fanciful name for Mary Saunderson (later Betterton's wife) because of her popularity in acting the part of Ianthe in The Siege of Rhodes. Pepys saw them in The Duchess of Malfy in which Betterton played Bosola, and Ianthe the Duch-

I-III, 138. 2-II, 82. 3-VIII, 90. 4-I, 336. 5-I, 329.

6-II, 122. 7-VII, 93. 8-VII, 93.

ess, and he considered the play "well¹ performed, but Betterton and Ianthe to admiration." In Orrery's Henry V "Betterton,² Harris, and Ianthe's parts are most incomparably wrote and done", their parts being respectively Owen Tudor, King Henry, and the Princess Katherine. In The Bondman "Betterton and my poor Ianthe³ outdo all the world. There is nothing more taking in the world with me than that play." Mustapha and The Valiant Cid were such horrid plays that even Betterton and Ianthe could not make their parts interesting, and their acting was all that saved The Ri-⁴vals from the harshest criticism. Love in a Tub "though done by the Duke's people yet having neither Betterton nor his wife" was "ill done".

The justness of Pepys' high praise for Betterton is vindicated by Betterton's succeeding fame, and his description of Mrs. Betterton's acting is further corroborated by Downes who was just as enthusiastic over the subject as Pepys was.

Pepys was an intimate friend of Harris, the actor. Often he dined with Pepys, or came to him after performances to discuss the plays. Pepys also told how he had gone behind the scenes between the acts to get Harris to prick down for him songs from the plays. Later, when Harris had risen in his profession, the wits of the time would go behind the scenes to discuss dramatic criticisms with him, or to arrange meetings for such discussions. Harris, as an instance of their intimacy,

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told Pepys after the performance of Guzman that he was glad that he did not have any part in it as it was a play that would not take. Pepys and Harris with others discussed the coming performance of Catiline at the King's house and all agreed that that house would not be able to perform the play successfully. However, for all of Pepys' acquaintance with Harris, he has little to say of Harris' acting, merely mentioning the admirable manner in which Harris held a pike during a dance, and the epilogue which he sang with Sanford. Pepys liked him in the title role of Henry V, and at the play Worse and Worse Pepys said that he had begun to admire him more than ever before. Etherege's She Would if She Could at its first performance was pronounced a failure by the audience, and Pepys tells us :- "There saw Etherege the poet who I did hear mightily find fault with the actors, that they were out of humour, and had not their parts perfect, and that Harris did do nothing nor could so much as sing a ketch in it ; and so was mightily concerned; while all the rest did, through the whole pit blame the play as a silly, dull thing." Thus, Etherege's criticism of Harris should not be given much weight, as it was undoubtedly uttered in a moment of anger due to personal mortification.

Lacy was Betterton's rival in Pepys' affections. Pepys was a lover of humor, and "the sad and melancholy" character had to be impressed on his feelings by a forceful personality like Betterton or he would greatly prefer the comic. Lacy was

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the comedian of the day, and his performances of the French Dancing Master was "the¹ best in the world", his clown in Love in a Maze "admirably² done", and his Irish footman in The Committee, "beyond³ imagination", "so well⁴ performed that it would set off anything." Such are Pepys' praises of this successful comedian which in fervor rival those eulogies which he bestowed on Betterton. The superiority of Betterton's acting is more than balanced by Pepys' natural preference for comedy, in the larger sense, as opposed to tragedy.

Pepys saw The Humorous Lieutenant May 8, 1663, "a play⁵ that hath little good in it, nor much in the very part which by the King's commands Lacy now acts instead of Clun". According to Downes this play was begun April 8 with Clun in the lieutenant's part, Lacy not being in the cast, and continued for twelve days. Downes does not mention the change, and the only reason for the King's command was probably his own preference for Lacy's acting. Pepys saw Lacy also as Sawny the Scot but as has been remarked, he could not enjoy the character for the unintelligible dialect.

In 1669 Pepys regretted that The Jovial Crew was "ill⁶ acted to what it was in Clun's time, and when Lacy could dance." Elsewhere he praised Lacy's dancing; apropos of this, and Lacy's playing the French Dancing Master, it is interesting to note

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I-II, 225. 2- II,226; VI, 282. 3-III, 115. 4-VII, 62.
5-III, 108. 6-VIII, 185.

that Lacy was first trained for a dancing teacher.

Of The Changes of Crowns Pepys wrote :- "A ^I great play and serious; only Lacy did act the country-gentleman come up to Court, who do abuse the Court with all imaginable wit and plainness about selling of places and doing everything for money. The play took very much." Not so with the king! He was so "angry at the liberty taken at Lacy's part to abuse him to his face" that he ordered them to act no more and sent Lacy to the porter's lodge. Moone however interceded and finally received permission for the company "to act again but not this play ."
 Pepys related in detail the quarrel upon Lacy's release between him and Howard, the author of the play. Ned Howard "congratu-²lated him on his release; upon which Lacy cursed him as that it was the fault of his nonsensical play that was the cause of his ill usage. Mr. Howard did give him some reply; to which Lacy (answered) him, that he was more of a fool than a poet; upon which Howard did give him a blow on the face with his glove; on which Lacy, having a cane in his hand, did give him a blow over the pate. Here Rolt and others that discoursed of it in the pit this afternoon did wonder that Howard did not run him through, he being too mean a fellow to fight with. But Howard did not do any thing but complain to the king of it; so the whole house is silenced, and the gentry seem to rejoice much at it, the house being become too insolent." This passage gives us a very interesting account of the attitude of the
 I-VI, 258. 2- VI, 262.

court and gentry toward the stage and the actors as seen by Pepys. Although Lacy was "too mean a fellow to fight with" yet Pepys considered him an actor capable of portraying comic characters "to admiration" or "beyond imagination".

In 1661 Pepys saw Clun as Subtle in The Alchemist,²
^I "a most comparable play". August 4, 1664 he heard "that Clun, one of their best actors, was last night, going out of towne (after he had acted the Alchymist, wherein was one of his best parts that he acts) to his country house, set upon and murdered. ----- The house will have great miss of him." Pepys himself did miss him for when he saw the play the next time he wrote:-
³ "It is still a good play, having not been acted for two or three years before; I do miss Clun for the Doctor."⁴ Pepys missed Clun also in Othello for "Mohun did a little surprise"⁵ him "not acting Iago's part by much so well as Clun used to do." Doubtless Pepys would have told us more of this actor if his dramatic career had been cut off so early as 1664.

At the first play after the Restoration that Pepys attended, as I have remarked, he saw Kinaston the boy play the duke's sister in The Loyal Subject. His high praise of Kinaston on that occasion was written only four days after Pepys had seen women on the stage which was on January 3, 1660-61. He was still appreciative of the old system of feminine roles being played by boys. On February 1, 1668-69 Pepys went to the

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I-II, 54. 2-IV, 195. 3-VIII, 279. 4-Subtle. 5-VIII, 207.

King's house, expecting to see The Heiress^I but on account of Kinaston's being unable to play, the performance was cancelled. Pepys thus explains the affair :- "Kinaston, that did act a part therein, in abuse to Sir Charles Sedly, being last night exceedingly beaten with sticks, by two or three that assaulted him, so as he is mightily bruised, and forced to keep his bed." The story goes that Kinaston, being vain of his personal resemblance to Sir C. Sedly, dressed exactly like him, and according to Pepys² it was in this very play. As a result "Sedly hired a bravo to chastise him in St. James' Park, under the pretext that he mistook him for the baronet." The next day The Heiress was repeated with Beeston's reading Kinaston's part from the book. Pepys reported that the king was angry for Sedly for Kinaston's being beaten but Sedly denied having any share in it. On February 9, Kinaston was again able to play, doing his part in The Island Princess³ "very well".

Moone or Mohun was the celebrated actor who came over with the king in 1660 and who, Pepys heard reported, was "to be the best actor in the world."⁴ November 20, 1660 Pepys saw him in Beggar's Bush which was well-acted but he did not mention Moone's individual acting. Two days later he saw him in the title role in The Traitor⁵ and thought that he did "very well". Pepys did not mention him again until 1669 when he was the in-

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- I- VIII, 204. 2-Diary, Editor's note, VIII, 204. 3- VIII, 209
4-I, 267. 5-VI, 258.

tercessor with the king for Lacy in his condemned acting in The Change of Crowns. In 1669 Pepys was disappointed with his Othello which did not approach Clun's representation of the part according to Pepys' estimation.

There are a number of miscellaneous actors whom Pepys mentioned only once or twice . Cartwright played Falstaff in both Henry IV and Merry Wives of Windsor. In the latter play^I Pepys thought "the humours of the country gentleman and the French doctor very well done but the rest very poorly and Sir J. Falstaff as bad as any." Contemporary opinion agreed with Pepys in the matter of Cartwright's performance of the character. In Henry IV however "contrary to expectation"² Pepys "was pleased in nothing more than in Cartwright's speaking of Falstaffe's speech about 'What is Honour?' " Pepys saw Burt³ act the title role in Othello and it was very well done. In Pepys' discussion with Harris and others they agreed that Burt could not act Cicero successfully in the play of Catiline "to be suddenly acted at the Duke's house."⁴ In Pepys' frequent use of the superlative he said that he "never"⁵ saw such good acting of any creature as Smith's part of Zanger" in Mustapha. Angell's part as Trinkilo in Albumazer⁶ was the only saving grace in the play as there was nothing "extraordinary" in it and all were weary before it was done but the king and "all of us pretty merry at the mimique tricks of Trinkilo". Wintersell as the

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I- I, 278. 2- VII, 172. 3-I, 241. 4-VII, 221. 5-VII, 294.
6- VII, 312.

country-knight in Love in a Maze, and Hanes for his dancing in The Spanish Gypsy came in for a little praise.

On January 3, 1660-61 in Beggar's Bush Pepys first saw women come on the stage. He seemed to have been somewhat skeptical of their success but later he thought that the women did quite well and confessed that they surpassed his expectations. We have already referred to Ianthe who was Mary Saunderson, later the wife of Thomas Betterton, and one of the greatest actresses of her age.

Next to Ianthe Pepys mentioned "Knepp" or Mrs. Knipp more than any other actress, probably because he was more intimately acquainted with her and hence more interested in her performances. Thus his frequent mention of her does not imply that he considered her a better actress than the others. She was often invited to Pepys' home for dances and dinners, and seems to have belonged to his circle of acquaintances. As with Harris, Pepys often talked with her at the theatre. From that source he learned stage news and gossip. She was the one who introduced him to Nell Gwyn; as he relates it:- "Knipp^I took us all in, and brought us to Nelly, a most pretty woman, who acted the great part of Coelia² to-day very fine and did it pretty well. I kissed her, and so did my wife; and a mighty pretty soul she is.---- Pleased with this sight also and specially³ kissing of Nell." In The Duke of Lerma these two actresses⁴ "spoke the prologue most excellently, especially Knepp, who spoke beyond any creature I ever heard." Pepys often mention-
I-VI, I37. 2-In The Humorous Lieutenant. 3-A dance. 4-VII, 309.

ed Knipp's singing or dancing as the only redeeming part of the play, as, for instance, in Queen Elizabeth's Troubles. Pepys mentioned her playing the following parts, all excellently—the widow in The Scornful Lady, Mrs. Weaver in Indian Emperor, the widow in The Custom of the Country, and the title role in Epicoe. In Fletcher's Sea Voyage on several occasions Pepys praised Knipp for doing "her part of grief very well". This was in contrast to Nell Gwyn who, Pepys thought, was unable to interpret a tragic role, though such an artist in a comic one.

Pepys' acquaintance with Nell Gwyn steadily became more intimate after Knepp introduced them. They often met at the theatre and frequently when she was not on the stage she sat with his company through out the play. Pepys gives us one especially intimate account of the life behind the scenes in day. "Met with Knepp, and she took us up into the tireing-rooms and to the woman's shift, where Nell was dressing herself, and was all unready, and is very pretty. --And so walked up and down the house above, and then below into the scene-room, and there sat down, and she gave us fruit: and here I read the questions to Knepp while she answered me, through all her part of Flora's Figarys which was acted to-day. But, Lord! to see how they were both painted would make a man mad, and did make me loath them; and what base company of men comes among them, and how lewdly they talk! and how poor the men are in clothes

and yet what a shew they make on the stage by candle-light is very observable. But to see how Nell cursed, for having so few people in the pit, was pretty." Such a graphic picture of the life behind the scenes at the time is quite valuable. Nell's cursing is quite in agreement with the other passages in Pepys' diary of her freedom of speech and quickness at repartee.

Pepys was always provoked when Nell Gwyn was assigned a serious part and she agreed with him as to her inability in a serious role. Of The Indian Emperor he wrote:- "But was^I most infinitely displeased with her being put to act the Emperor's daughter which is a great and serious part which she do most basely", and later of the same role:- "Nell's ill² speaking of a great part made me mad," and of The Surprizal:- "Did not please me to-day, the actors not pleasing me, and especially Nell's acting of a serious part which she spoils." Two days later he saw her in a comic part in The Mad Couple when "Nell's and Hart's mad parts are excellently done but especially her's; which makes it a miracle to me to think how ill she do any serious part, as the other day, just like a fool or a changeling; and in a mad part, do beyond all imitation almost." He praised her as highly for her part of Florimell in The Maiden Queen "so done by Nell, her merry part, as can not be better done in nature I think", "that I never can hope ever to see the like done by man or woman.---But so great performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the

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I- VII, 72. 2-VII, 180. 3-VII, 233. 4-VII, 236. 5-VI, 235.
6-VI, 192.

world before as Nell do this". Pepys' opinion of her differing ability in comedy and tragedy is supported by contemporary criticism and even by Nell herself for in several prologues, written expressly for her, she protested against playing tragedy.

Pepys mentioned the two Marshall girls but the acting of the elder one, Anne, did not seem to take so much with Pepys for he said in The Indian Queen "do not doat upon Nan Marshall's acting therein as the world talks of her excellence therein". However when he saw her again in the same play he wrote:- "But above my expectation most, the eldest Marshall did do her part most excellently well as I ever heard woman in my life ," but that was before he had seen Nell Gwyn and others of his favorite actresses. On the other hand , he was always well pleased with her younger sister, "Becke". Pepys saw her with great satisfaction in roles such as Evadne in The Maid's Tragedy, the Queen in Dryden's Secret Love, and Dorothea or the title role in The Virgin Martyr. He also liked her in Shirley's two plays, Hyde Park and The Cardinal, but there is no evidence as to which parts she played in them.

Roxalana is an actress mentioned by Pepys several times during 1661 and 1662. He referred to Mrs. Davenport who was so named because of her success in the character of Roxalana in The Siege of Rhodes, corresponding to Mrs. Betterton's part of Ianthe in the same play. Her tragic story is well known. After she left the stage to become, as she thought, I-VIII, 54. II-IV, 27.

the wife of the Lord of Oxford, Pepys for a time did not like The Siege of Rhodes nearly so well as when she had appeared, but at length he concluded, perhaps with a philosophical air, that the new Roxalana "do it rather better in all respects for person, voice, and judgment than the first Roxalana." It is thought that Mrs. Norton took Mrs. Davenport's place in the character, but Pepys tells us definitely that Ianthe or Mrs. Betterton succeeded Mrs. Davenport in the part of Cleora in The Bondman. On this occasion he said that he had never liked this play better, though he had often seen it before, "Ianthe acting Cleora's part very well now Roxalana is gone." ²

Gosnell was a lesser actress whom Pepys mentioned mainly because he knew her well. She had served as his wife's maid before going on the stage. He saw her act Pyramena in Stapylton's Slighted Maid, "a ³ great part, and did very well, and I believe will do it better and better and prove a good actor." Later in The Rivals, "Gosnell comes and sings and dances finely, but, for all that, fell out of the key so that the musique could not play to her afterwards and so did Harris also go out of the tune to agree with her." Still later in The Tempest he thought she did poorly in the place of Moll Davis.

Thus among the numerous actors of the period which Pepys saw he praised particularly Betterton, Lacy, Harris, together with Mrs. Betterton, Nell Gwyn, Mrs. Knipp. His comments are valuable because together with Downes they comprise about all of the extant material on the dramatic biography of the time.

VII Conclusion. Pepys as a Representative Dramatic Critic of the Restoration.

Pepys' criticism is always representative of the Restoration period. One of the greatest influences on his personal opinion was that of the court or the pit, and even when he himself disliked a "much cried-up play" he frankly admitted that at the next performance he for that reason liked it the better. Pepys gazed anxiously around at each performance to see whether the king or my Lady Castlemaine laughed at the jokes and when he did not see the king smile once through a performance he went home "mightily troubled thereof."

The plays which Pepys liked, such as Sir Martin Marrall, Adventures of Five Hours, The Bondman, are not considered great plays now. They have not lived; but they were the plays which were enjoying the greatest success then. They were the "cried-up" plays of the pit, the Court, or of the social gathering. Pepys in his intense enjoyment of them was only echoing the prevalent feeling of the day.

Taken from another standpoint, Pepys was essentially Restoration in his dramatic criticism; his ideas as to dramatic principles were the popular Restoration ideas. Dryden and the other Restoration critics in their revolt from the romantic school sought to educate their audiences in the principles which they deemed final, in order that their own plays might be intelligently received. They attempted to accomplish this through the critical prefaces to their published plays. Pepys was one of the most interested readers of these dramatic works

and gained accordingly a working basis for judging plays according to these pseudo-classical principles.

Because Pepys agreed so closely with the public opinion on the separate performances of varied plays he furnishes perfectly reliable information about the contemporary opinion of these plays, especially because in the rare cases when he disagreed with such opinion he clearly indicated such a variation. But Pepys' dramatic criticism is valuable for a still broader use because he represented the prevalent dramatic principles of the age. From these two standpoints Pepys' criticism merits consideration, but its charm is due to its frankness and impulsiveness, and although it is truly representative of the age it is Pepys himself.

Appendix A- Tables of Plays Seen.

*

A^I -a. Chronology of Plays Seen.

Date	Play	Total for month; year.	
I660 Aug.18	Loyal Subject	1	
Oct.11	Othello		
" 16	Wit without Money		
" 30	Tamer Tamed	3	
Nov.20	Beggar's Bush		
" 22	Traitor		
" 27	Scornful Lady	3	
Dec. 4	Silent Woman		
" 5	Merry Wives of Windsor		
I660 " 31	Henry IV	3	10
I661 Jan. 3	Beggar's Bush		
" 4	Scornful Lady		
" 7	Silent Woman		
" 8	Widow		
" 19	Lost Lady		
" 28	Lost Lady		
" 29	Maid in the Mill		
" 31	Argalus and Parthenia	8	
Feb. 5	Argalus and Parthenia		
" 9	Mad Lover		
" 12	Scornful Lady		
" 16	Virgin Martyr		
" 24	Changeling	5	

Date	Play	Total for month; year
1661 Mar. 1	Bondman	
" 2	Love's Mistress	
" 11	Love's Mistress	
" 14	King and no King	
" 16	Spanish Curate	
" 19	Bondman	
" 23	All's Lost by Lust	
" 25	Love's Mistress	
" 26	Bondman	
" 28	Rollo	10
Apr. 1	Rule a Wife and Have a Wife	
" 2	Little Thief	
" 6	Love's Quarrel	
" 20	Humorous Lieutenant	
" 27	Chances	5
May 16	Maid's Tragedy	
" 25	Silent Woman	2
June 4	Henry IV	
" 8	Bartholomew Fair	
" 22	Alchymist	
" 27	Bartholomew Fair	4
July 2	Siege of Rhodes	
" 4	Claracilla	
" 23	Brenoralt	
" 25	Jovial Crew	
" 31	Tamer Tamed	5

Date	Play	Total for month; year
1661 Aug. 10	Merry Devil of Edmonton	
" 14	Alchymist	
" 15	The Wits	
" 17	Wits	
" 23	Wits	
" 24	Hamlet	
" 26	Antipodes	
" 27	Jovial Crew	8
Sept. 6	Elder Brother	
" 7	Bartholomew Fair	
" 9	'Tis Pity She's a Whore	
" 11	Twelfth Night	
" 25	Merry Wives of Windsor	
" 26	King and no King	
" 28	Father's Own Son	7
Oct. 2	White Devil	
" 4	White Devil	
" 8	Beggar's Bush	
" 9	Chances	
" 10	Traitor	
" 21	Love and Honour	
" 23	Love and Honour	
" 25	Love and Honour	
" 26	Country Captain	
" 28	Argalus and Parthenia	10
Nov. 1	Jovial Crew	

Date	Play	Total for month; year		
1661	Nov. 4	Bondman		
	" 12	Bartholomew Fair		
	" 13	Father's Own Son		
	" 15	Siege of Rhodes		
	" 18	Philaster		
	" 25	Bondman		
		Country Captain		
	" 27	Hamlet		
	" 29	Love at First Sight	10	
Dec. 2		Mad Lover		
	" 5	Hamlet		
	" 16	Cutter of Coleman Street	3	77
1662	Jan. 1	Spanish Curate	1	
	Feb. 5	Rule a Wife and Have a Wife		
	" 18	Law against Lovers	2	
	Mar. 1	Romeo and Juliet		
	" 31	Little Thief	2	
	Apr. 1	Maid in the Mill		
	" 2	Bondman	2	
	May 7	Knight of the Burning Pestle		
	" 19	Little Thief		
	" 20	Siege of Rhodes		
	" 21	French Dancing Master		
	" 22	Love in a Maze		
	" 23	Wit in a Constable		
	" 26	Dr. Faustus	7	

Date	Play	Total for month; year	
I662 Sept29	Midsummer Night's Dream		
" 30	Duchess of Malfy	2	
Oct. 2	Cardinal		
" 20	Villain	2	
Nov. 17	Scornful Lady	1	
Dec. 1	Valiant Cid		
" 26	Villain		
" 27	Siege of Rhodes	3	22
I663 Jan. 1	Villain		
" 5	Claracilla		
" 6	Twelfth Night		
" 8	Adventures of Five Hours		
" 17	Adventures of Five Hours	5	
Feb.23	Slighted Maid		
	Wild Gallant	2	
Apr.22	Wit without Money	1	
May 8	Humorous Lieutenant		
" 28	Hamlet		
" 29	Slighted Maid	3	
June10	Love in a Maze		
" 12	Committee		
" 13	Faithful Shepherdess	3	14
I664 Jan. 1	Henry VIII		
" 2	Usurper	2	
Feb. 1	Indian Queen	1	
Mar. 7	Unfortunate Lovers		

Date	Play	Total for month; year	
1664 Mar. 8	Heraclius	2	
Apr. 15	German Princess	1	
May 2	Labyrinth	1	
June 1	Silent Woman	1	
July 20	Worse and Worse		
" 28	Bondman	2	
Aug. 2	Bartholomew Fair		
" 4	Rival Ladies		
" 8	Flora's Vagaries		
" 13	Henry V	4	
Sept 10	Rivals		
" 28	General	2	
Nov. 5	Macbeth	1	
Dec. 2	Rivals	1	18
1665 Jan. 4	Love in a Tub		
" 13	Traitor		
" 14	Volpone	3	
Apr. 3	Mustapha		
" 17	Ghosts	2	
May 15	Love's Mistress	1	6
1666 Oct. 4	General		
" 29	Love in a Tub	2	
Dec. 7	Maid's Tragedy		
" 8	English Monsieur		
" 27	Scornful Lady		
" 28	Henry V , Macbeth	5	7

Date	Play	Total for Month; year
1667 Jan.	2 Custom of Country	
"	5 Mustapha	
"	7 Macbeth	
"	23 Humorous Lieutenant	4
Feb.	4 Heraclius	
"	5 Chances	
"	18 Maid's Tragedy	3
Mar.	2 Maiden Queen	
"	7 English Princess	
"	21 Wedding Night	
"	25 Maiden Queen	
"	30 Humorous Lovers	5
Apr.	8 Surprisal	
"	9 Taming of a Shrew	
"	15 Change of Crowns	
"	16 Silent Woman	
"	17 Rollo	
"	18 Wits	
"	19 Macbeth	
"	20 Wits	8
May	1 Love in a Maze	
"	21 Siege of Rhodes	
"	22 Goblins	
"	24 Maiden Queen	4
Aug.	1 Custom of Country	
"	5 School of Compliments	

Date	Play	Total for month; year
1667 Aug. 12	Brenoralt	
"	13 Committee	
"	14 Country Captain	
"	15 Merry Wives of Windsor	
"	16 Feign Innocence	
"	17 Queen Elizabeth's Troubles	
"	19 Feign Innocence	
"	20 Feign Innocence	
"	22 Indian Emperor	
"	23 Maiden Queen	
"	24 Cardinal	
"	26 Surprisal	14
Sept. 4	Mustapha	
"	5 Heraclius	
"	11 Ungrateful Lovers	
"	12 Green's Tu Quoque	
"	14 Northern Castle	
"	16 Green's Tu Quoque	
	Scornful Lady	
"	20 Mad Couple	
"	25 Storm	
"	26 Storm	
"	28 Feign Innocence	11
Oct. 2	Traitor	
"	5 Coffee House	
	Flora's Vagaries	

Date	Play	Total for month; year	
1667 Sept	14 Feign Innocence		
"	15 Coffee House		
"	16 Macbeth		
"	18 Brenoralt		
"	19 Black Prince		
"	23 Black Prince		
"	28 Committee	10	
Nov.	1 Taming of a Shrew		
"	2 Henry IV		
"	6 Macbeth		
"	7 Tempest		
"	11 Indian Emperor		
"	13 Tempest		
"	28 Mistaken Beauty	7	
Dec.	12 Tempest		
"	26 Surprisal		
"	28 Mad Couple		
"	30 Love's Cruelty	4	70
1668 Jan.	1 Feign Innocence		
"	6 Tempest		
"	7 School of Compliments		
	Henry V		
"	10 Aglaura		
"	11 Wild Goose Chase		
"	24 Maiden Queen	7	
Feb.	3 Tempest		

Date	Play	Total for month; year
1668 Feb. 6	She Would if She Could	
"	7 Love in a Maze	
"	11 Mustapha	
"	18 Flora's Vagaries	
"	20 Duke of Lerma	
"	22 Albumazar	
"	24 Spanish Tragedy	
"	25 Faithful Shepherd	
"	27 Virgin Martyr	10
Mar. 2	Virgin Martyr	
"	5 Brenoralt	
"	7 Spanish Gypsy	
"	25 Storm	
"	26 Man Is the Master	
"	28 Indian Emperor	6
Apr. 1	Black Prince	
"	3 Man and the Master	
"	7 English Monsieur	
"	8 Unfortunate Lovers	
"	14 Love's Cruelty	
"	15 Maid's Tragedy	
"	17 Surprisal	
"	18 Duke of Lerma	
"	21 Indian Emperor	
"	24 Beggar's Bush	
"	25 Feign Innocence	

Date	Play	Total for month;year
1668 Apr. 27	Cardinal	
" 28	Love in a Maze	
" 29	Love in a Tub	
" 30	Tempest	15
May 1	Surprisal	
" 2	Impertinents	
" 4	Impertinents	
" 5	Impertinents	
" 6	Virgin Martyr	
" 7	Man Is the Master	
" 9	Maid's Tragedy	
" 11	Tempest	
" 14	Country Captain	
" 15	Committee	
" 16	Storm	
" 18	Mulberry Garden	
" 20	Mulberry Garden	
" 22	Feign Innocence	
" 30	Philaster	15
June 3	Scornful Lady	
" 20	Evening Love	
" 22	Evening Love	
" 24	Impertinents	
" 27	Indian Queen	
" 29	Mulberry Garden	6
July 6	Henry V	

Date	Play	Total for month; year
1668 JulyII	Hyde Park	
"	28 Slighted Maid	
"	29 Mad Couple	
"	31 Old Troop	5
Aug. I	Old Troop	
"	5 Cutter of Coleman Street	
"	12 Macbeth	
"	15 Love's Mistress	
"	17 Cupid'S Revenge	
"	31 Hamlet	6
Sept.4	Bartholomew Fair	
"	10 Maid in the Mill	
"	15 Ladies a la Mode	
"	17 Rollo	
"	18 Henry IV	
"	19 Silent Woman	
"	28 City Match	7
Oct.14	Faithful Shepherdess	
"	19 Queen of Arragon	2
Nov.25	Duchess of Malfy	1
Dec. 2	Usurper	
"	3 Unfortunate Lovers	
"	8 Tryphoon	
"	9 Tryphoon	
"	19 Catiline's Conspiracy	
"	21 Macbeth	

Date	Play	Total for month; year	
1668 Dec. 26	Women Pleas'd		
"	30 Henry VIII	8	88
1669 Jan. 1	Maiden Queen		
"	7 Island Princess		
"	11 Jovial Crew		
"	13 Maiden Queen		
"	15 Macbeth		
"	18 Wits		
"	19 Horace		
"	20 Twelfth Night		
"	21 Tempest		
"	27 Adventures of Five Hours	10	
Feb. 1	She Would if She Could		
"	2 Heiress		
"	6 Othello		
"	9 Island Princess		
"	15 Adventures of Five Hours		
"	18 Mad Lover		
"	20 Grateful Servant		
"	22 Bartholomew Fair		
"	25 Royal Shepherdess		
"	26 Faithful Shepherdess	10	
Mar. 3	Lady's Trial		
"	8 Evening Love		
"	9 Claracilla		
"	17 Coxcomb	4	

Date	Play	Total for month; year	
I669 Apr. 14	Impertinents		
" 16	Guzman		
" 17	Alchymist		
" 23	Island Princess		
" 24	General	5	
May 12	Roman Virgin		
" 17	Spanish Curate	2	31
	Grand Total		343.

I *
Appendix A -b. Summary by years.

I660-	(from August)	10
I661-		77
I662-		22
I663-		14
I664-		18
I665-		6
I666-		7
I667-		70
I668-		88
I669-	(to June)	31

*- Compare with Appendix C.

Appendix A² -Plays Which Pepys Saw Acted.*

- Adventures of Five Hours (Tuke), "Duke's", Jan. 8, 17, 1662-63;
 Jan. 27, 1668-69; "Court at Whitehall", Feb. 15, 1668-69.
- Aglaura (Suckling), "King's", Jan. 10, 1667-68.
- Albumazar (Tomkis), "Duke's", Feb. 22, 1667-68.
- Alchemist (Ben Jonson), "Theatre", June 22, Aug. 14, 1661;
 "King's", April 17, 1669.
- All's Lost by Lust (W. Rowley), "Red Bull", March 23, 1661.
- Antipodes (R. Brome), "Theatre", Aug. 26, 1661.
- Argalus and Parthenia (Glapthorne), "Theatre", Jan. 31, 1660-
 61; Feb. 5, 1660-61; Oct. 28, 1661.
- Bartholomew Fair (Ben Jonson), "Theatre", June 8, 27, Sept. 7,
 Nov. 12, 1661; "King's", Aug. 2, 1664; Sept. 4, 1668; "Court
 at Whitehall", Feb. 22, 1668-69.
- Beggar's Bush (Fletcher and Massinger), "Lincoln's Inn Fields";
 (King's Company), Nov. 20, 1660; "Theatre", Jan. 3, 1660-61;
 Oct. 8, 1661; "King's", April 24, 1668.
- Black Prince (Lord Orrery), "King's", Oct. 19, 23, 1667; April
 1, 1668.
- Bondman (Massinger), "Whitefriars", Mar. 1, 19, 1660-61; "Salis-
 bury Court", Mar. 26, 1661; "Opera", Nov. 4, 25, 1661; April
 2, 1662; July 28, 1664.

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* This list is according to the form followed in Henry B. Wheat-
 ley's plan in Appendix VII, page 289, in his book entitled "Sam-
 uel Pepys and the World He Lived In." However many corrections
 and additions have been made here on the authority of the Diary.

- Brenoralt (Suckling), "Theatre", July 23, 1661; "King's", Aug. 12, Oct. 18, 1667; Mar. 5, 1667-68.
- Cardinal (Shirley), "Cockpit" (Whitehall), Oct. 2, 1662; "King's" Aug. 24, 1667; April 27, 1668.
- Catiline (Ben Jonson), "King's", Dec. 19, 1668. (Wheatley assigns this play to Stephen Gosson but Geneste, Vol. I, p.84, says this is Jonson's play. Pepys' previous remarks on the play point to the same conclusion. See Diary, Dec. 11, 1667 and Jan. 11, 1667-68.)
- Chances (Fletcher), "Theatre", April 27, Oct. 9, 1661; "King's," Feb. 5, 1666-67.
- Changeling (Middleton and Rowley), "Whitefriars", Feb. 24, 1660-61.
- Change of Crowns (Edward Howard), "King's", April 15, 1667.
- City Match (Mayne), "King's", Sept. 28, 1668.
- Claracilla (Thomas Killigrew), "Theatre", July 4, 1661; "Cockpit", (Whitehall), Jan. 5, 1662-63; "King's", March 9, 1668-69.
- Coffee House (St. Serfe), "Duke's", Oct. 5, 15, 1667.
- Committee (Sir Robert Howard), "Royal Theatre", June 12, 1663; "King's", Aug. 13, Oct. 28, 1667; May 15, 1668.
- Country Captain (Duke of Newcastle), "Theatre", Oct. 26, Nov. 25, 1661; "King's", Aug. 14, 1667; May 14, 1668.

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Note- There are three theatres mentioned here-(1) Lincoln's Inn Field, called by Pepys "Opera", "Duke's House", (2) Drury Lane or "Theatre", "Theatre Royal", "King's House", (3) Whitehall, "Cockpit."

- Coxcomb (Beaumont and Fletcher), "King's", Mar. 17, 1668-69.
- Cupid's Revenge (Beaumont and Fletcher), "Duke's", Aug. 17, 1668.
- Custom of Country (Fletcher and Massinger), "King's", Jan. 2,
1666-67; Aug. 1, 1667.
- Cutter of Coleman Street (Cowley), "King's", Mar. 5, 1667-68;
"Duke's", Aug. 5, 1668.
- Discontented Colonel- See Brenoralt.
- Duchess of Malfy (Webster), "Duke's", Sept. 30, 1662; Nov. 25,
1668.
- Duke of Lerma (Sir Robert Howard), "King's", Feb. 20, 1667-68;
April 18, 1668.
- Elder Brother (Fletcher and Massinger), "Theatre", Sept. 6, 1661.
- English Monsieur (Hon. James Howard), "King's", Dec. 8, 1666;
April 7, 1668.
- English Princess, or Richard III (J. Caryl), "Duke's", Mar. 7,
1667.
- Evening Love (Dryden), "King's", June 20, 22, 1668; Mar. 8, 1668-
69.
- Faithful Shepherdess (Fletcher), "Royal Theatre", June 13, 1663;
"King's", Oct. 14, 1668; Feb. 26, 1668-69.
- Faithful Shepherd (D.D. gent., translator), Nursery, Feb. 25, 1667-
68.
- Father's Own Son, "Theatre", Sept. 28, Nov. 13, 1661.
- Faustus, (Marlowe), "Red Bull", May 26, 1662.
- Feign Innocence, or Sir Martin Marr-all (Duke of Newcastle, cor-
rected by Dryden), "Duke's", Aug. 16, 19, 20, Sept. 28, Oct.
14, 1667; Jan. 1, 1667-68; April 25, May 22, 1668.

Flora's Vagaries (Rhodes), "King's", Aug. 8, 1664; Oct. 5, 1667;
Feb. 18, 1667-68.

French Dancing Master (Droll from Duke of Newcastle's Variety),
"Theatre", May 21, 1662.

General (Orrery), "King's", Sept. 28, 1664; Oct. 4, 1666; April
23, 1669.

Generous Portugals,- See Island Princess.

German Princess (T.P.), "Duke's", April 15, 1664.

Ghosts (Holden), "Duke's", April 17, 1665.

Goblins (Suckling), "King's", May 22, 1667.

Grateful Servant (Shirley), "Duke's", Feb. 20, 1668-69.

Green's Tu Quoque- See Tu Quoque.

Guardian- See Cutter of Coleman Street.

Guzman (Lord Orrery), "Duke's", April 16, 1669.

Hamlet (Shakespeare), "Opera", Aug. 24, 1661; "Theatre", Nov.
27, 1661; "Opera", Dec. 5, 1661; "Duke's", May 28, 1663;
Aug. 31, 1668.

Heiress (Duke of Newcastle), "King's", Feb. 2, 1668-69.

Henry IV (Shakespeare), "Theatre", Dec. 31, 1660; June 4, 1661;
"King's", Nov. 2, 1667; Jan. 7, 1667-68; Sept. 18, 1668.

Henry V (Lord Orrery), "Duke's", Aug. 13, 1664; "Court at White-
hall", Dec. 28, 1666; "Duke's", July 6, 1668.

Henry VIII (Shakespeare and Fletcher), "Duke's", Jan. 1, 1663-
64; Dec. 30, 1668.

Heraclius (Corneille), "Duke's", Mar. 8, 1663-64; Feb. 4, 1666-
67; Sept. 5, 1667.

- Horace (Corneille, translated by Catherine Phillips), "King's",
Jan. 19, 1668-69.
- Humorous Lieutenant (Fletcher), "Cockpit" (Whitehall), April
20, 1661; "Theatre", May 8, 1663; "King's", Jan. 23, 1666-67.
- Humorous Lovers (Duke of Newcastle), "Duke's", Mar. 30, 1667.
- Hyde Park (Shirley), "King's", July 11, 1668.
- If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody- See Queen Elizabeth's Trou-
bles.
- Impertinents (Shadwell), "Duke's", May 2, 4, 5,; June 24, 1668;
April 14, 1669.
- Indian Emperor (Dryden), "King's", Aug. 22, 1667; Nov. 11, 1667;
Mar. 28, April 21, 1668.
- Indian Queen (Howard and Dryden), "King's", Feb. 1, 1663-64;
June 27, 1668.
- Island Princess (Fletcher), "King's", Jan. 7, Feb. 9, 1668-69;
Apr. 23, 1669.
- Jovial Crew (R. Brome), "Theatre", July 25, Aug. 27, Nov. 1, 1661;
"King's", Jan. 11, 1668-69.
- King and no King (Beaumont and Fletcher), "Theatre", Mar. 14,
1660-61; Sept. 26, 1661.
- Knight of the Burning Pestle (Beaumont and Fletcher), "Theatre",
May 7, 1662.
- Labyrinth (Corneille), "King's", May 2, 1664.
- Ladies a la-Mode (Dryden? translated from the French), "King's",
Sept. 15, 1668.
- Lady's Trial (Ford), "Duke's", Mar. 3, 1668-69.
- Law against Lovers (Davenant), "Opera", Feb. 18, 1661-62.

Liar- See Mistaken Beauty.

Little Thief (Fletcher and Shirley), "White Friars", Apr. 2, 1661;
"Theatre", Mar. 31, May 19, 1662.

Lost Lady (Berkeley, Sir Wm.), "Theatre", Jan. 19, 28, 1660-61 .

Love and Honour (Davenant), "Opera", Oct. 21, 23, 25, 1661.

Love at First Sight (Killigrew), "Theatre", Nov. 29, 1661.

Love Despised- See Cupid's Revenge.

Love in a Maze (Shirley), "Theatre", May 22, 1662; June 10, 1663;
"King's", May 1, 1667; Feb. 7, 1667-68; Apr. 28, 1668.

Love in a Tub (Etherege), "Lord of Oxford's"-Duke's Company,
Jan. 4, 1664-65; "Court at Whitehall", Oct. 29, 1666; "Duke's";
Apr. 29, 1668.

Love's Cruelty (Shirley), "King's", Dec. 30, 1667; Private house
in Drury Lane, Apr. 14, 1668.

Love's Mistress, or Queen's Masque (T. Heywood), "Theatre", Mar.
11, 1660-61; "Salisbury Court", Mar. 2, 25, 1660-61; "King's";
May 15, 1665; Aug. 15, 1668.

Love's Quarrel (Only mention extant), "Salisbury Court", April
6, 1661.

Love's Tricks- See School of Compliments.

Loyal Subject (Fletcher), "Cockpit", Aug. 18, 1660.

Macbeth (Shakespeare), "Duke's", Nov. 5, 1664; Dec. 28, 1666;
Jan. 7, 1666-67; Apr. 19, Oct. 16, Nov. 6, 1667; Aug. 12,
Dec. 21, 1668; Jan. 15, 1668-69.

Mad Couple (Hon. James Howard), "King's", Sept. 20, Dec. 28,
1667; July 29, 1668.

Mad Lover (Fletcher), "White Friars", Feb. 9, 1660-61; "Opera",

Dec. 2, 1661; "Duke's", Feb. 18, 1668-69.

Maid in the Mill (Fletcher and Rowley), "Blackfriars", Jan. 29, 1660-61; "Opera", Apr. 1, 1662; "Duke's", Sept. 10, 1668.

Maiden Queen (Dryden), "King's", Mar. 2, 25, 1666-67; May 24, Aug. 23, 1667; Jan. 24, 1667-68; Jan. 1, 13, 1668-69.

Maid's Tragedy (Beaumont and Fletcher), "Theatre", May 16, 1661; "King's", Dec. 7, 1666; Feb. 18, 1666-67; April 15, May 9, 1668.

Master and the Man, "Duke's", Apr. 3, 1668.

Man Is the Master (Davenant, translated from Scarron), "Duke's", Mar. 26, May 7, 1668.

Merry Devil of Edmonton, "Theatre", Aug. 10, 1661.

Merry Wives of Windsor (Shakespeare), "Theatre", Dec. 5, 1660; Sept. 25, 1661; "King's", Aug. 15, 1667.

Midsummer Night's Dream (Shakespeare), "King's", Sept. 29, 1662.

Mistaken Beauty (Corneille), "King's", Nov. 28, 1667.

Mock Astrologer- See Evening Love.

Monsieur Ragou - See Old Troop.

Moor of Venice- See Othello.

Mulberry Garden (Sedly), "King's", May 18, 20, June 29, 1668.

Mustapha (Lord Orrery), "Duke's", Apr. 3, 1665; Jan. 5, 1666-67; Sept. 4, 1667; Feb. 11, 1667-68.

Northern Castle (Only mention), "King's", Sept. 14, 1667.

Old Troop (Lacy), "King's", July 31, Aug. 1, 1668.

Othello (Shakespeare), "Cockpit", (Whitehall), Oct. 11, 1660; "King's", Feb. 6, 1668-69.

Philaster (Beaumont and Fletcher), "Theatre", Nov. 18, 1661; "King's", May 30, 1668.

- Queen Elizabeth's Troubles (T. Heywood), "King's", Aug. 17, 1667.
- Queen of Arragon (W. Habington), "Duke's", Oct. 19, 1668.
- Queen's Mask- See Love's Mistress.
- Rival Ladies (Dryden), "King's", Aug. 4, 1664.
- Rivals (Davenant, from "Two Noble Kinsmen"), "Duke's", Sept. 10,
Dec. 2, 1664.
- Rollo (Fletcher, Jonson, and Massinger), "Theatre", Mar. 28, 1661;
"King's", April 17, 1667; Sept. 17, 1668.
- Roman Virgin (Betterton's alteration of Webster's "Appius and
Virginia"), "Duke's", May 12, 1669.
- Romeo and Juliet (Shakespeare), "Opera", Mar. 1, 1661-62.
- Royal Shepherdess (alteration by Shadwell of Fountain's "Rewards
of Virtue"), "Duke's", Feb. 25, 1668-69.
- Rule a Wife and Have a Wife (J.Fletcher), "Whitefriars", Apr. 1,
1661; "Theatre", Feb. 5, 1661-62.
- School of Compliments (Shirley), "Duke's", Aug. 5, 1667; Jan. 7,
1667-68.
- Scornful Lady (Beaumont and Fletcher), Killirew's Company, Nov.
27, 1660; "Theatre", Jan. 4, 1660-61; "Salisbury Court", Feb.
12, 1660-61; "Cockpit", (Whitehall), Nov. 17, 1662; "King's",
Dec. 27, 1666; Sept. 16, 1667; June 3, 1668.
- Sea Voyage - See Storm.
- She Would if She Could (Etherege), "Duke's", Feb. 6, 1667-68; Feb.
1, 1668-69.
- Siege of Rhodes, Part 2, (Davenant), "Opera", July 2, Nov. 15,
1661; May 20, 1662; "Duke's", Dec. 27, 1662.
- Silent Woman (Ben Jonson), Dec. 4, 1660; "Theatre", Jan. 7, 1660-

CI; "Theatre", May 25, 1661; "King's", June 1, 1664; April 16, 1667; Sept. 19, 1668.

Sir Martin Marr-all , - See Feign Innocence.

Slighted Maid (Sir R. Stapylton), "Duke's", Feb. 23, 1662-63; May 29, 1663; July 28, 1668.

Spanish Curate (Fletcher and Massinger), "Whitefriars", Mar. 16, 1660-61; Jan. 1, 1661-62; "King's", May 17, 1669.

Spanish Gipsy (Middleton and Rowley), "King's", Mar. 7, 1667-68.

Spanish Tragedy (Kyd), "Nusery", Feb. 24, 1667-68.

Storm (Fletcher), "King's", Sept. 25, 26, 1667; Mar. 25, 1668; May 16, 1668.

Sullen Lovers - See Impertinents.

Surprisal (Sir Robert Howard), "King's", Apr. 8, Aug. 26, 1667; Dec. 26, 1667; Apr. 17, May 1, 1668.

Tamer Tamed (Fletcher), "Cockpit", Oct. 30, 1660; "Theatre", July 31, 1661.

Taming of a Shrew (Alteration from Shakespeare), "King's", Apr. 9, Nov. 1, 1667.

Tempest (Shakespeare), "Duke's", Nov. 7, 13, Dec. 12, 1667; Jan. 6, Feb. 3, 1667-68; Apr. 30, May 11, 1668; Jan. 21, 1668-69.

'Tis a Pity She's a Whore (Ford), "Salisbury Court", Sept. 9, 1661.

Traitor (Shirley), "New Playhouse", Nov. 22, 1660; "Theatre", Oct. 10, 1661; "King's", Jan. 13, 1664-65; Oct. 2, 1667.

Tryphon (Lord Orrery), "Duke's", Dec. 8, 9, 1668.

Tu Quoque, Green's (Cooke), "Duke's", Sept. 12, 16, 1667.

Twelfth Night (Shakespeare), "Opera", Sept. 11, 1661; "Duke's", Jan. 6, 1662-63; Jan. 20, 1668-69.

Unfortunate Lovers (Davenant), "Duke's", Mar. 7, 1663-64; Apr. 8,
Dec. 3, 1668.

Ungrateful Lovers (Query, same play as preceding one), "Duke's",
Sept. 11, 1667.

Usurper (E. Howard), "King's", Jan. 2, 1663-64; Dec. 2, 1668.

Valiant Cid (Translation from Corneille), "Cockpit", (Whitehall),
Dec. 1, 1662.

Victoria Corombona -See White Devil.

Villain (T. Porter), "Duke's", Oct. 20, Dec. 26, 1662; Jan. 1, 1662-
63.

Virgin Martyr (Massinger), "Theatre", Feb. 16, 1660-61; "King's",
Feb. 27, Mar. 2, 1667-68; May 6, 1668.

Vittoria Corombona -See White Devil.

Volpone (Ben Jonson), "King's", Jan. 14, 1664-65.

Wedding Night (Cary), "Duke's", Mar. 21, 1666-67.

White Devil (Webster), "Theatre", Oct. 2, 4, 1661.

"Widdow" (Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton), "Theatre", Jan. 8,
1660-61.

Wild Gallant (Dryden), "King's", Feb. 23, 1662-63.

Wild-goose Chase (Fletcher), "King's", Jan. 11, 1667-68.

Wit in a Constable (Glaphorne), "Opera", May 23, 1662.

Wits (Davenant), "Opera", Aug. 15, 17, 23, 1661; "Duke's", Apr.
18, 20, 1667; Jan. 18, 1668-69.

Wit without Money (Fletcher), "Cockpit", Oct. 16, 1660; "King's",
Apr. 22, 1663.

Women Pleas'd (Fletcher), "Duke's", Dec. 26, 1668.

Worse and Worse (G. Digby, Earl of Bristol), "Duke's", July 20, 1664.

Appendix A -Plays Classified by Authors.

Author	Play	Times Seen.	
Beaumont and Fletcher*			Total for
	1. Coxcomb	1	author.
	2. Cupid's Revenge	1	
	3. King and no King	2	
	4. Knight of Burning Pestle	1	
	5. Maid's Tragedy	5	
	6. Philaster	2	
	7. Scornful Lady	7	19
Fletcher			
	1. Chances	3	
	2. Faithful Shepherdess	3	
	3. Humorous Lieutenant	3	
	4. Island Princess	3	
(and Shirley)	5. Little Thief	3	
	6. Loyal Subject	1	
	7. Mad Lover	3	
(and Rowley)	8. Maid in the Mill	3	
	9. Rule a Wife and Have a Wife	2	
	10. Storm	4	
	11. Tamer Tamed	2	
	12. Wild-Goose Chase	1	
	13. Wit without M ^O ney	2	
	14. Women Pleased	1	34

* In assignment of authorship Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. VI, Page 155, ff. was generally followed.

Author	Play	Times Seen	Total for
Fletcher and Massinger			author
	1. Beggar's Bush	4	
	2. Custom of Country	2	
	3. Elder Brother	1	
(with Field and Jonson)	4. Rollo	3	
	5. Spanish Curate	3	13
Berkeley	1. Lost Lady	2	2
Brome	1. Antipodes	1	
	2. Jovial Crew	4	5
Caryl	1. English Princess	1	1
Cary			
	1. Wedding Night	1	1
Cooke			
	1. Tu Quoque, Green's	2	2
Corneille			
	1. Heraclius	3	
	2. Horace (translated by Catherine Phillips)	1	
	3. Labyrinth	1	
	4. Mistaken Beauty	1	
	5. Valiant Cid	1	7
Cowley			
	1. Cutter of Coleman Street	2	2
Davenant			
	1. Law against Lovers	1	
	2. Love and Honour	3	
	3. Man Is the Master	2	

Author	Play	Times Seen	
Davenant (continued)			Total for
	4. Rivals	2	Author.
	5. Siege of Rhodes	4	
	6. Unfortunate Lovers	4	
	7. Wits	6	22
Digby			
	1. Worse and worse	1	1
Dryden			
	1. Evening's Love	3	
	2. Indian Emperor	4	
(and Howard)	3. Indian Queen	2	
	4. Maiden Queen	7	
	5. Rival Ladies	1	
	6. Wild Gallant	1	18
Etherege			
	1. Love in a Tub	3	
	2. She Would if She Could	2	5
Ford			
	1. Lady's Trial	1	
	2. 'Tis Pity She's a Whore	1	2
Glapthorne			
	1. Argalus and Parthenia	3	
	2. Wit in a Constable	1	4
Habington, Wm.			
	1. Queen of Arragon	1	1

Author	Play	Times	Seen
Heywood			Total for
			author.
	1. Love's Mistress	5	
	2. Queen Elizabeth's Troubles	1	6
Holden	1. Ghosts	1	1
Howard, Edward			
	1. Change of Crowns	1	
	2. Usurper	2	3
Howard, Hon. James			
	1. English Monsieur	2	
	2. Mad Couple	3	5
Howard, Sir Robert			
	1. Committee	4	
	2. Duke of Lerma	2	
	3. Surprisal	5	11
Jonson			
	1. Alchymist	3	
	2. Bartholomew Fair	7	
	3. Catiline	1	
	4. Silent Woman	6	
	5. Volpone	1	
with Fletcher, and Middleton.	6. Widow	1	19
Killigrew, Thomas			
	1. Claracilla	3	
	2. Love at First Sight	1	4
Kyd	1. Spanish Tragedy	1	1

Author	Play	Times Seen	Total
Lacy	I. Old Troop	2 for author.	
Marlowe	I. Faustus	I	I
Massinger (see Fletcher and Massinger)			
	I. Bondman	7	
(with Dekker)	2. Virgin Martyr	4	II
Mayne	I. City Match	I	I
Middleton and Rowley			
	I. Changeling	I	
	2. Spanish Gypsy	I	2
Newcastle, Duke of			
	I. Country Captain	4	
	2. Feign Innocence (Dryden corrected)	8	
	3. French Dancing Master	I	
	4. Heiress	I	
	5. Humorous Lovers	I	I5
Orrery	I. Black Prince	3	
	2. General	3	
	3. Guzman	I	
	4. Henry V	3	
	5. Mustapha	4	
	6. Tryphon	2	I6
Porter, Thomas			
	I. Villain	3	3
Rhodes			
	I. Flora's Vagaries	3	3
Rowley	I. All's Lost by Lust	I	I

Author	Play	Times Seen	Total
Sedly	I. Mulberry Garden	3	for author.
Serfe, St.	I. Coffee House	2	2
Shadwell			
	I. Impertinents	5	
	2. Royal Shepherdess	1	6
Shakespeare			
	I. Hamlet	5	
	2. Henry IV	5	
(Fletcher)	3. Henry VIII	2	
	4. Macbeth	9	
	5. Merry Wives of Windsor	3	
	6. Midsummer Night's Dream	1	
	7. Othello	2	
	8. Romeo and Juliet	1	
	9. Taming of a Shrew (Altered)	2	
	10. Tempest	8	
	11. Twelfth Night	3	41
Shirley			
	1. Cardinal	3	
	2. Grateful Servant	1	
	3. Hyde Park	1	
	4. Love in a Maze	5	
	5. Love's Cruelty	2	
	6. School of Compliments	2	
	7. Traitor	4	18
Stapylton	I. Slighted Maid	3	3

Author	Plays	Times Seen	Total
Suckling			for author.
	1. Aglaura	1	
	2. Brenoralt	4	
	3. Goblins	1	6
Tomkis	1. Albumazar	1	1
Tuke	1. Adventures of Five Hours	4	4
Webster			
	1. Duchess of Malfy	2	
	2. Roman Virgin	1	
	3. White Devil	2	5
Miscellaneous- Authors Unknown.			
	1. Faithful Shepherd (D.D.trans.)	1	
	2. Father's Iwn Son	2	
	3. German Princess(T.P.)	1	
	4. Ladies a la Mode(from French)	1	
	5. Love's Quarrel	1	
	6. Master and the Man	1	
	7. Merry Devil of Edmonton(T.B.)	1	
	8. Northern Castle	1	

Appendix A⁴ -a. Authors according to Number of Plays Seen by Pepys

Fletcher	14
Shakespeare	11
Beaumont and Fletcher	7
Davenant	7
Shirley	7
Dryden	6
Jonson	6
Orrery	6
Fletcher and Massinger	5
Corneille	5
Newcastle	5

b. Authors according to Number of Performances.

Shakespeare	41
Fletcher	34
Davenant	22
Beaumont and Fletcher	19
Jonson	19
Dryden	18
Shirley	18
Orrery	16
Newcastle	15
Fletcher and Massinger	13

Appendix A⁵ - Plays In Order of Times Seen.

Number of performances .

- | | |
|---|--|
| 9 | Macbeth. |
| 8 | Feign Innocence, Tempest |
| 7 | Bartholomew Fair, Bondman, Maiden Queen, Scornful Lady |
| 6 | Silent Woman, Wits |
| 5 | Hamlet, Henry IV, Impertinents, Love in a Maze, Love's
Mistress, Maid's Tragedy, Surprisal |
| 4 | Adventures of Five Hours, Beggar's Bush, Brenoralt,
Committee, Country Captain, Indian Emperor, Jovial
Crew, Mustapha, Siege of Rhodes, Storm, Traitor, Vir-
gin Martyr |
| 3 | Alchymist, Argalus and Parthenia, Black Prince, Car-
dinal, Chances, Claracilla, Evening Love, Faithful
Shepherdess, Flora's Vagaries, General, Henry IV,
Heraclius, Humorous Lieutenant, Island Princess, Lit-
tle Thief, Love and Honour, Love in a Tub, Mad Coup-
le, Mad Lover, Maid in the Mill, Merry Wives of Wind-
sor, Mulberry Garden, Rollo, Spanish Curate, Twelfth
Night, Unfortunate Lovers, Villain. |

Appendix B Tables of Plays Read by Pepys.

B^I - List of Plays with Dates for Reference.

Adventures of Five Hours- May 31, June 1, 1663; Aug. 15, 17, 1666

Aglaura - Sept. 5, 1664.

Bondman -P.* May 25, 1661; Nov. 2, 1666.

Catiline- Dec. 18, 1664.

Cornelianum dolium- P. Nov. 13, 1660; Dec. 3, 1660.

Custom of Country- Sept. 25, 1664.

D'Ambois- Nov. 16, 1662.

Devil Is an Ass- July 22, 1663.

Duchess of Malfy- Nov. 2, 6, 1666.

(Evening Love ,plot of - in Illustre Bassa, June 20, 1668.)

Every Man in his Humour - Feb. 8, 1666-67.

Hamlet- memorized "To be" Nov. 13, 1664.

Indian Emperor- P. Oct. 28, 1667.

Love a la Mode- July 19, 1663.

Mad Lover- Sept. 25, 1664.

Maiden Queen- P. Jan. 18, 1667-68.

Mayor of Quinborough- June 16, 1666.

Mustapha- June 15, 16, 1666.

Naufragium Jocular- Feb. 19, 1660-61.

Othello- Aug. 20, 1660.

Politician Cheated- July 29, 1663.

Pompey the Great- June 23, 1666.

Queen of Arragon- P. Oct. 20, 1668.

Rival Ladies - July 18, Aug. 2, 1666.

Rump - Nov. 11, 1660.

P.* -purchased.

(Shakespeare's Plays- P. July 7, 1664.)

Siege of Rhodes- Sept. 23, 1664; Oct. 1, 1664; Aug. 5, 1666;

Dec. 19, 1668.

Spanish Gypsy - June 16, 1661.

Villain - Sept. 7, 1665.

Wife for a Month- Dec. 19, 1662.

B² - Plays Read Classified by Authors.

Jonson 3 Catiline, Devil Is an Ass, Every Man in His Humour,

Dryden 3 Indian Emperor, Maiden Queen, Rival Ladies

Shakespeare 2 Hamlet, Othello.

Fletcher 2 Mad Lover, Wife for a Month

Chapman D'Ambois

Corneille Pompey the Great (translated by Waller, Buckhurst,
Sedly, and Godolphin.)

Cowley Naufragium Jocularis

Davenant Siege of Rhodes

Green, Alexander Politician Cheated

Habington Queen of Arragon

Massinger and Fletcher Custom of Country

Massinger Bondman

Middleton Mayor of Quinborough

Middleton and Rowley Spanish Gypsy

Orrery Mustapha

Porter, Villain

Suckling Aglaura

Tatham Rump

T.R.	Cornelianum dolium
T.S.	Love a la Mode
Tuke	Adventures of Five Hours
Webster	Duchess of Malfy

Appendix C Chronology of Vows concerning Plays.

Dates of Diary- January 1, 1659-60 to May 31, 1669.

Aug. 18, 1660 First play seen after coming from sea.

Oct. 21, 1661 First mention of vows.

Dec. 31, 1661 Newly taken a vow.

May 26, 1662 Not see any more until Michaelmas.

Sept. 29, 1662 Oath going out, so went to a play.

Sept. 30, 1662 New oath until Christmas.

Oct. 20 Broke.

Dec. 26, 1662 Oath over, so went to a play.

Dec. 31, 1662 New vows same as last year.

Jan. 18, 1662-63 Definitely made

Feb. 23 Broke.

June 13, 1663 New vows until Christmas- no plays at all

Dec. 31, 1663 Vows over.

Jan. 1, 1663-64 Went to play.

Jan. 2, 1663-64 One a Month until 50S. be spent.

Aug. 3,8,13 Subterfuges to evade oath.

Sept. 30 Worth 1203 pounds.

Jan. 15, 1664-65 New Vow

(Compare with Appendix A.)

June 6, 1666	Vow until Christmas
Oct. 29, 1666	First play since Plague
Jan. 7, 1666-67	Only one every fortnight.
Sept. 7	Broke.
Nov. 13, 1667	Renewed until Christmas- only one every two weeks- Forfeit of 10 pounds for poor.
Feb. 1, 1667-68	Vow already made but not say when.

Appendix D References to Notes on the Alterations of Shakespeare
as Seen by Pepys.

- (Hamlet- Shakespeare's original. Stage account- Irving Edition
of Shakespeare's Works. F.A. Marshall, editor. Vol. vii,
page II; Downes Roscius Anglicanus p. 29.
Geneste Some Account of the English Stage Vol. I, p.41.)
- (Henry IV- no doubt, Part I, Shakespeare's own. See Irving Edi-
tion, III, 332, 420. Although for Betterton's revision
see Geneste I, 74.)
- (Henry VIII- Pepys says by Davenant, but no evidence. See Ir-
ving Edition, Vol. VIII, p. 165. Stage account in Downes
page 34, Geneste Vol. I, p. 51.)
- Macbeth- probably Davenant's revision. See:
Irving Edition Vol. V, pp. 348-352.
Biographia Dramatica Vol. III, P. 3.
Dramatic Miscellanies Thomas Davies Vol. II, p. 116-8.
Downes p.42.
Geneste I, 139.
Dramatic Works of William Davenant, Maidment and Logan
1872. Vol. V, P. 298.
- (Merry Wives of Windsor. Undoubtedly Shakespeare's . Only
other version 1702- "The Comical Gallant"- See Irving
Edition IV, 96.)
- (Midsummer Night's Dream Shakespeare's play- See Arden edi-
tion of this play, p.15.)
- (Othello Shakespeare's. For stage account see Irving Edition
VI, 9; Downes, P. 15.)

III.

(Romeo and Juliet Seems to be Shakespeare's original although Howard's travesty appeared; see Irving Edition, Vol. I, p. 181; Geneste I, p. 42; Biographia Dramatica III, P. 222; Downes, p. 31.)

Taming of a Shrew or Sawny the Scot by John Lacy. See:

Biographia Dramatica III, pp. 241, 320.

Irving Edition II, p. 251.

Dramatic Works of John Lacy. James Maidment and W.H. Logan, editors. 1875. Page 313ff.

Geneste Vol. II, p. 69, 139.

Tempest- alteration by Davenant and Dryden. See:

Genest Vol. I, p. 76.

Langbaine An Account of the English Dramatic Poets. 1691. Page 172.

Biographia Dramatica Vol. III, p. 325.

Works of John Dryden. Sir Walter Scott, editor. 1808. Vol. I, p. 106; III, p. 97 ff. Also Dryden's preface to the play, Vol. III, p. 100.

Davenant's Works, James Maidment and W.H. Logan, editors. Vol. V, pp. 397, 406, 411.

Irving Edition Vol. VII, p. 179.

See Theatrical Pocket Note-Book. T. & J. Elvery, Publishers. 1821 Vol. I, p. 47, where the author pathetically deplores the practice of alter-

ing divine Shakespeare.

(Twelfth Night- Shakespeare's. For stage account see Downes, p.
32, Geneste Vol. I, p. 43.)



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