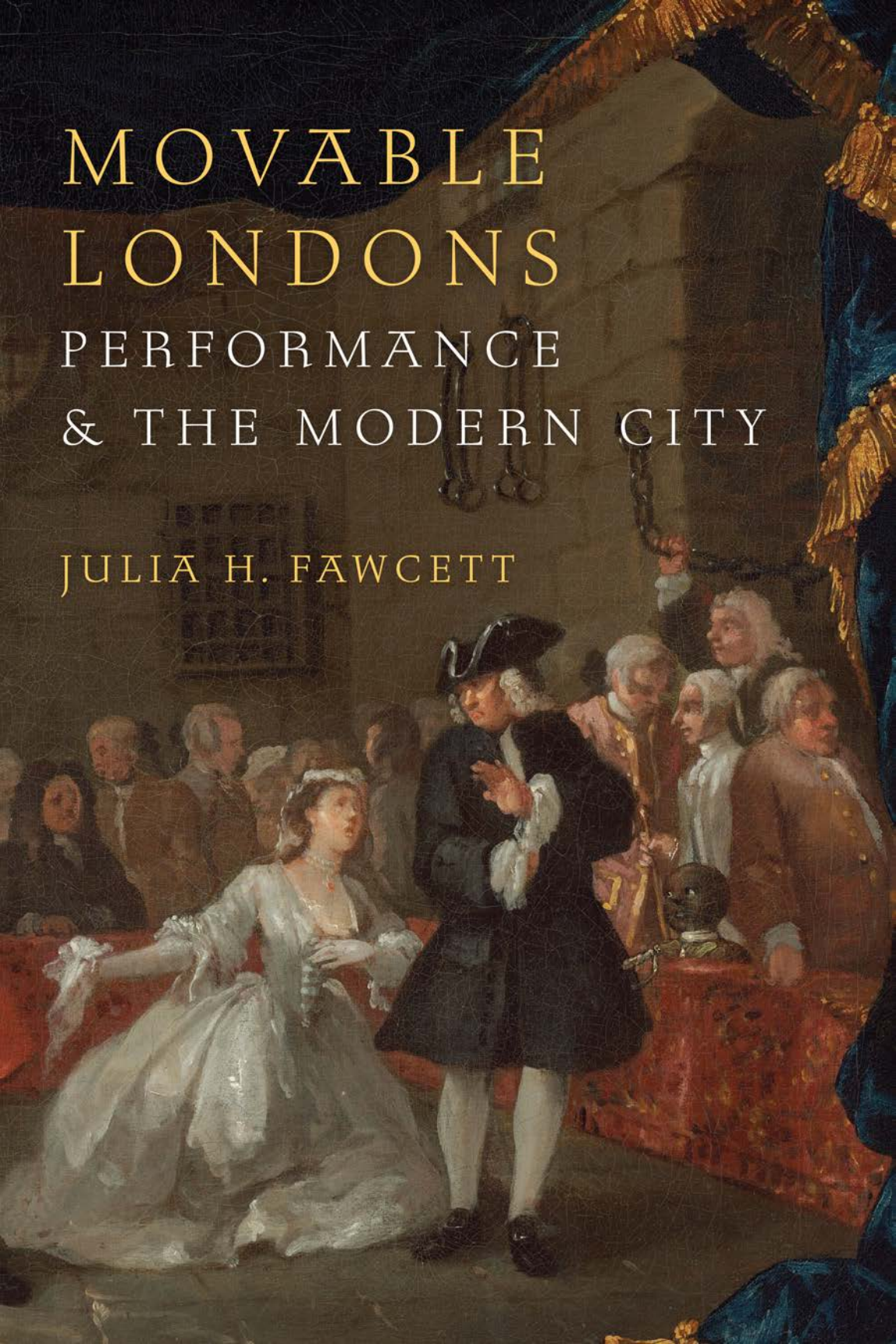
MOVABLE LONDONS

PERFORMANCE & THE MODERN CITY

JULIA H. FAWCETT



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Performance and the Modern City

JULIA H. FAWCETT

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Contents

List of Illustrations vii
Acknowledgments ix

Introduction 1

Chapter 1
Plotting (Dryden's Servants) 34

Chapter 2
Personal Space (Behn's Women) 66

Chapter 3
Nonconformity (Vanbrugh's Puritans) 95

Chapter 4
Migration (Farquhar's Irish) 131

Chapter 5
Cosmopolitanism (Wycherley's Dancing-Master, Bickerstaffe's Mungo, and the Legacies of Restoration London) 168

Epilogue: London Moving 210

Notes 221
Bibliography 275
Index 311

Digital materials related to this title can be found on the Fulcrum platform via the following citable URL: https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14472416

Illustrations

3 **Figure 1.** Edward Rooker (after Christopher Wren), *A Plan for Rebuilding the City of London after the Great Fire of 1666*

18 **Figure 2.** Illustration from *The Empress of Morocco*

43 **Figure 3.** Robert J.D. Page, *The Duke's Theatre in Dorset Gardens*

61 **Figure 4.** "Le Rigaudon," from Raoul-Auger Feuillet, *Recueil de Dances*

96 **Figure 5.** Canaletto, *The River Thames with St. Paul's Cathedral on Lord Mayor's Day*

103 **Figure 6.** Wenceslaus Hollar, *A Map or Groundplott of the City of London*

136 **Figure 7.** William Petty, *A General Mapp of Ireland*

176 **Figure 8.** Pierre Mignard, *Louise de Kéroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth with an Unknown Female Attendant*

191 **Figure 9.** "De Stadt Benin," from John Ogilby, *Africa*

193 **Figure 10.** Detail from William Gerard De Brahm, *Map of the Coast of South Caroline and Part of Georgia*

194 **Figure 11.** "Guinea" from John Ogilby, *Africa*

200 **Figure 12.** Butler Clowes, *Charles Dibdin as Mungo in The Padlock*

205 **Figure 13.** William Austin, *The D———of [. . .]—Playing at Foils with Her Favorite Lap Dog Mungo*

205 **Figure 14.** Illustration from Domenico Angelo, *The School of Fencing*

212 **Figure 15.** William Blake (after William Hogarth), *The Beggar's Opera Act III*

218 **Figure 16.** Michael Hay, *Plan of Kingston, Jamaica*

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I began writing this book with a dog curled up beside me. As I complete it, the dog has passed on and a baby sleeps in the next room (or is meant to be sleeping . . .). The years in between have seen moves across continents and across national borders; shifts in scenery (and in presidential administrations); and a global pandemic that at once separated us ("social distancing") and brought us closer (Zoom). And they have seen, too, a sustaining community of friends, family, teachers, students, colleagues, helpers, and pets who made these travails an adventure and these travels a joy.

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"Plotting the Modern City: John Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar-All* on the Dorset Garden Stage," *Theatre Survey* 62.1 (2021): 5–24. I would also like to thank the archivists, curators, and staffs of the libraries where I conducted much of the research for this project—the British Library, the New York Public Library, UC Berkeley Libraries, TMU Libraries, and the University of Toronto Libraries.

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This book is in memory of Scout, who was there at the beginning. But it is for and because of Duncan and Nora, always and of course.

Introduction

Oh, the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as haply the world had not seen since the foundation of it, nor can be outdone till the universal conflagration thereof. All the skie was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seene above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shreiking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of Towers, Houses, and Churches, was like an hideous storme; and the aire all about so hot and inflam'd, that at the last one was not able to approch it, so that they were forc'd to stand still, and let the flames burn on, which they did for neere two miles in length and one in bredth. The clowds also of smoke were dismall, and reach'd upon computation neere 56 miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoone burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly call'd to my mind that passage—*non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem*; the ruines resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more!

—John Evelyn, *Diary*, 3 September 1666[1]

"While I behold this town of London," said our contemplative traveler, "I fancy I behold a prodigious animal. The streets are so many veins, wherein the people circulate. With what hurry and swiftness is the circulation of London performed?" "You behold," cried I to him, "the circulation that is made in the heart of London, but it moves more briskly in the blood of the citizens; they are always in motion and activity."

—Tom Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical*, 1700[2]

But enter my Muse, the Stage survey,
And all its Pomps and Pageantry display;
Trap-doors and Pit-falls from th' unfaithful ground,
And Magick Walls encompass it around.
On either side maim'd Temples fill our Eyes,
And intermix'd with Brothel-Houses rise.

—"A Description of the Play-House in Dorset Garden," 1706[3]

Over the course of four days in September 1666, the Great Fire turned four-fifths of central London to dust.[4] Of the cities that rose in its place, two might be posited as the first "modern" Londons, a descriptor that this book will explore and extend to different special practices—and less privileged populations—than have been part of the city's story in the past. Both Londons were imaginary.

The first was a city on paper, and its dimensions are well-known. Sir Christopher Wren's *Plans for Rebuilding the City of London after the Dreadfull Conflagration* (Figure 1), submitted to King Charles II on 11 September 1666, drew on emergent Continental principles of urban planning to imagine a London of geometric patterns and rational design, of arrow-straight boulevards converging on three pivotal nodes that historians have described as representing the centers of the new city's power. In the center of the drawing lies St. Paul's Cathedral, the symbolic seat of London's Anglican majority. Its prominence dooms to invisibility both the Nonconformist sects that had driven government policy under Oliver Cromwell two decades prior and the Catholic minority that would influence James II two decades on. The cathedral is dwarfed in Wren's rendering, however, by two plazas situated just to its northeast and southwest. The one to the southwest sutures the petit bourgeoisie of the City to the increasingly fashionable districts of the Town, where an emergent class of wealthy capitalists might stroll past courtiers along the leafy promenades of St. James Park. The ascension of these capitalists to rival the landed elites that had long dominated English society has been well documented by both political theorists and literary scholars such as Perry Anderson, J.G.A. Pocock, Lawrence Manley, and Jean-Christophe Agnew; it is less my concern here.[5] The plaza to the northeast of St. Paul's points to the source of these capitalists' newfound wealth: a circle of buildings housing the nation's financial institutions (the bank, the mint, the Goldsmiths' Guild) hugs the Royal Exchange, the "*Emporium*" (to echo Mr. Spectator's famous description in a popular London periodical), where merchants from all over the globe converged to trade their wares—and which would soon become a symbol of England's imperial ambitions.[6]

In the long vistas promised by its straight avenues and spoked plazas, Wren's imagined London resembles what Lewis Mumford has called the "royal capital," a city plan in which roads converge on a single point that represents the centralized power of an absolutist monarch.[7] Yet Wren's decision to point his roads toward marketplaces rather than palaces acknowledges absolutism's fragility in a city where, only seventeen years before the Fire struck and just around the corner from Wren's southwestern "Piazza," on a

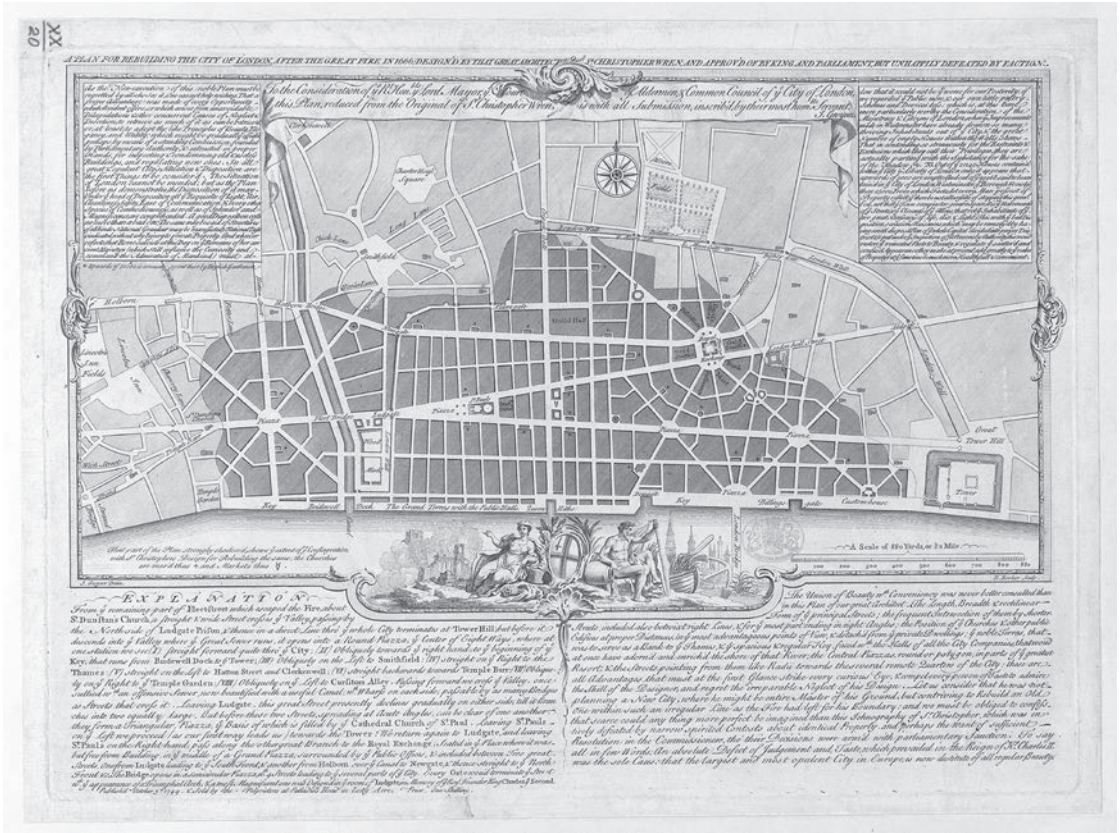


Figure 1. Edward Rooker (after Christopher Wren), *A Plan for Rebuilding the City of London after the Great Fire of 1666* (1749). From the British Library Archive.

scaffold outside Whitehall, Charles II's father and predecessor lost his head. The regicide served as synecdoche for a century of upheavals in which English citizens disagreed heatedly—and clashed violently—over the obligations the subject owed to the sovereign (and the obligations the sovereign owed to the subject), in which communities of Nonconformists and of Catholics challenged the hegemony of the Anglican Church, and in which some of the nation's wealthiest aristocrats had had their landed properties seized to be redistributed among the rising bourgeoisie. When an epidemic of bubonic plague struck the city in 1665, killing close to 15 percent of its population,[8] some Londoners saw the visitation as divine judgment for the violence and factionalism of the preceding years. "Three of Gods sharpest Arrows are / and have been at us lately shot," wrote the anonymous author of *The Londoners Lamentation*, published in 1666: "Civil War, Pestilence and Fire, for Pride and Gain."[9]

At the same time, the slow shift from an agricultural to a mercantile economy across Europe, but especially across England, was transforming the very notion of what constituted "Gain" in the first place. Eventually such shifts would prompt the jurist William Blackstone, looking back on the century that had passed, to include in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769) a new category of laws that recognized people's rights not only to "real" property (the land that formed the basis of aristocratic wealth) but also to "personal" or *movable* property—the goods, chattels, and capital that might accompany their persons as they moved about the globe.[10] Hunger for this movable property (and the means to move it) drove Londoners further and further from London: the East India Company began to exploit the resources of Asia in 1600, colonization efforts in Ireland stepped up after 1641, and the Royal African Company renewed its charter (and shifted its focus from the trade in gold to the trade in humans) in 1672. Not only property but people as well were becoming movable, and by the time the Fire razed the city's dwellings, London was already home to growing populations of dispossessed migrants who—chased, displaced, or stolen from their homelands—struggled to make space for themselves in a place that did not welcome them even as it depended on their labor.[11]

Amid these changes, the Fire itself begins to seem less a singular event than a symbol of the many ways that England's (and its capital's) politics, religions, economics—even the borders of the nation itself—were in these years constantly and dizzyingly in flux. And Wren's wide boulevards and geometric patterns come to seem part of what Cynthia Wall describes as a sometimes desperate attempt to impose order and stability on a city that

had so far refused them.[12] For the optimistic among these writers, architects, and thinkers, the Fire was not a disaster that turned London into "a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day" (in diarist John Evelyn's words) but a new beginning, an opportunity to bury the turbulence of the preceding half century under a capital that was better—more rational, more habitable, more unified—than what they had known before.[13] "Me-thinks already, from this Chymick flame," wrote John Dryden two months after the smoke cleared, "I see a city of more precious mold: / Rich as the town which gives the *Indies* name, / With Silver pav'd, and all divine with Gold."[14]

In the end, of course, this vision of a city arranged around Wren's geometric shapes, crisscrossed by Dryden's silver streets, came to naught. "Scarce could any thing more perfect be imagined than this Ichnography of Sr Christopher," lauds the publisher of a 1749 reproduction of Wren's plan, now held in the British Library. But his commendations quickly turn to lamentations when he notes that the plan

> was entirely defeated by narrow spirited Contests about identical Property and perhaps the want of sufficient Resolution in the Commissioners. . . . To say all in a few Words: An absolute Defect of Judgement and Taste, which prevailed in the Reign of Kg Charles II, was the sole Cause that the largest and most opulent City in Europe is now destitute of all regular Beauty.[15]

In a city governed as much by "narrow spirited" property owners as by a monarch with a central vision, "regular Beauty" is difficult to come by. And as the Crown and Commons debated how best to implement Wren's agreed-upon plan, those Londoners left homeless by the Fire began, by necessity, to rebuild. Many followed the labyrinthine streets of the pre-Fire city as they remembered it; others tacked together temporary residences using materials salvaged from the rubble; some wandered the streets seeking shelter wherever they could find it. They did, in other words, what any community does in the aftermath of a catastrophe that has failed to make way in its destruction for a promised utopia: they made do.

Movable Londons details the spatial practices that Londoners improvised to navigate and to shape their modern metropolis in the wake of such failures and in the face of "narrow spirited" property owners reluctant to conform to the centrally enforced plan for Wren's "royal city." I argue that their struggles to orient themselves within a city that was ungeometric, irrational, and in flux led privileged Londoners—the petit bourgeois City, the haute bourgeois Town, and the aristocratic Court—to turn to another

population who had long had to navigate shifting spaces and insecure housing and who had thus developed sophisticated schemes for making do: the unpropertied. In the late seventeenth century, unpropertied Londoners included servants and the working poor (whose spatial practices are the primary focus of chapter 1), women (chapter 2), religious minorities policed under the strictures of the Clarendon Code (chapter 3), immigrants and refugees of the colonial wars in Ireland (chapter 4), and enslaved people transported from Africa or the American colonies (chapter 5). They included, in other words, the vast majority of people living in London in the wake of the Great Fire.[16] Between 1666 and 1711 (the date that historians often use to mark the completion of the rebuilding efforts, as it marked the completion of St. Paul's), the knowledge of the unpropertied about how to move through and make a home within spaces they had not planned became suddenly and significantly valuable. And in aping and attempting to appropriate this knowledge, propertied Londoners incorporated it—or their interpretation of it—into their literatures, their cultures, and their definitions of what made a city modern, where it continues to reverberate not only around London but throughout the many cities built, amid the ravages of colonialism, in London's image.

The first word of this book's title points, then, to both its argument and its method. *Movable* (or *moveable*) entered the English lexicon in the fourteenth century, when it meant "capable of being moved; not fixed in one place, time, or posture."[17] At around the same time, the word held a second meaning (now obsolete) that implied agency: *movable* could describe objects or people who were "capable of movement," "accustomed to move or travel; active, agile"—or, in a less positive connotation, "changeable, fickle, inconstant," transient, fleeting.[18] It could describe, in other words, the people whose histories are difficult to trace because they have learned to travel light, to jettison the documents, goods, and objects that make up the historical archive. ("We tend to think of freedom as it relates to mobility as meaning the freedom to go where one wants, as *freedom of movement*," as Charlotte Sussman explains. "During most of the eighteenth century, however, liberty more often meant the freedom to stay put."[19])

Yet in the years in which this book takes place, movability—especially when it referred to property rather than to people—had begun to take on value. In works like Blackstone's *Commentaries*, *movable* was used to distinguish the wealth originating in chattel or capital as distinguished from that tied to the land; the word thus named the kind of wealth becoming more and more central to the English economy with the growing dominance of capi-

talism.[20] The *London Gazette*'s report on the Great Fire in the issue of 3–10 September 1666 (immediately after the flames subsided) makes quite literal the importance of movable property in an unpredictable world:

> It must be observed, that this fire was [initially] in a part of the Town, where tho the Commodities were not very rich, yet they were so bulky that they could not well be *removed*; so that the Inhabitants of that part where it first began have sustained very great loss, but by the best enquiry vve can make, the other parts of the Town, where the Commodities were of greater value, took the Alarum so early, that they saved most of their Goods of value.[21]

Those "Commodities" too "bulky" to be "removed" are lost in the Fire, while those that are movable are "saved." Interestingly, the reporter associates these movable "Commodities" with the richer "part of town" rather than the poorer, in what seems at first to be a reversal of the associations between movable lives and transient populations present in previous definitions. But this reversal is precisely the trajectory this book traces, as the improvisatory and agile spatial practices of the poor acquire value in an increasingly capitalist and global economy, only to be co-opted by the wealthy and powerful. As I show, privileged classes would eventually claim as their own the agential meanings of movable, celebrating themselves as "active, agile" and cosmopolitan, while attempting to represent the people from whom they had appropriated these spatial practices as passive victims or even as human chattel—a representation made horrifyingly literal in the case of the Afro-diasporic people they enslaved.

In seeking to understand the movements of people and of their spatial practices amid the stillness of the archive, *Movable Londons* turns away from the maps and plans of Wren and his cronies and toward a second imaginary city that Londoners constructed in the wake of the Fire and the cataclysmic shifts that it punctuated, this one made not of paper but of moving bodies and ephemeral gestures—and of wood and paint and pulleys and ropes and the labors required to operate them as well. It turns, too, to another meaning of *movable*. In 1671, Dorset Garden Theater opened near the charred City's western edge, on the tenemented ruins of a once-aristocratic home—and only feet from the third node of Wren's plan, the southwestern "Piazza" envisioned but never built. It was, at the time, the most elaborate public theater the city had yet seen, boasting an auditorium "infinitely more beautiful and functional than" its French counterparts, according to François Brunet, who visited in 1676.[22] Its greatest claim to fame, however, was its expansive capac-

ity for the machines, trapdoors, and particularly the movable scenery—which stagehands slid into and out of the wings via grooves in the stage floor—that William Davenant, patentee of the Duke's Company, had introduced to London's public theaters only a decade before.[23]

Theater historians have tended to view movable scenery as an aristocratic trapping, with origins in the French and Italian court theaters. This book argues, however, that these same spectacles took on different meanings in their move to London's public theaters. Especially in the years following the Fire, they reminded Londoners of the fragility and even the futility—in a city reduced to ashes, in a state just emerging from civil war, on a continent heaving itself from the land-based economies of feudalism to the trade- and travel-based economies of capitalism—of all their best-laid plans. As Deborah C. Payne has recently shown, the patentees' attempts to establish their theaters as sites of wealth and exclusivity were quickly foiled by economic realities.[24] It may be true, in other words, that "with the restoration of the monarchy, 'theatre' became real again . . . in the way real estate is real [as] a location, a building, a *possession*," in Odai Johnson's words.[25] But it also, and at the same time, became movable. What better technology for grappling with the shifts in city spaces and in social relations introduced by the turn to movable property than the movable scenery capable of representing a capital that was constantly changing? What better tool for privileged Londoners struggling to orient themselves to this brave new world than a theater in which the perfectly planned and geometrically produced illusions of the perspective scenes were repeatedly interrupted, over the course of the live performance, by the moving bodies of poor players and of laboring stagehands darting in and out of the wings, navigating their ever-shifting spaces, grunting and sweating and pushing the flats aside so that the same square foot of stage that appeared a hovel in one moment could become a palace in the next?

The movability of movable scenery and of the city it mimed impressed at least one Londoner, who published their thoughts as "A Description of the Play-House in Dorset Garden" in the broadside of 1706 that serves as the third epigraph to this introduction. The passage begins by addressing the reader as a person of privilege, inviting them to "survey" the "Pomps and Pageantry" of the playhouse from the lofty vantage point of Foucault's "royal spectator"—that "one commanding eye" that alone enjoys "a view of the totality," in David Wiles's useful summary—or of the King's "Survey[or]," the post that Sir Christopher Wren held from 1669 until 1718.[26] By the third line, however, the poet suggests the falseness of such a perspective on a stage

marked by "Trap-doors and Pit-falls," "Magick Walls" that shift to reveal a "Brothel-House" within a "Temple." This is a stage, the author implies, made to represent a city that was built on decidedly "unfaithful ground."

Movable Londons follows this anonymous poet in turning away from Wren's unrealized plans and from the city on paper that has informed so many previous studies to navigate these twinned cities of "unfaithful ground"—post-Fire London and its onstage representation—and to follow in the footsteps of the unpropertied Londoners who modeled for their recently displaced neighbors how to shape and how to survive it.

The Dispossessed Eighteenth Century

"The transformation of London from a medieval half-timbered warren into a Renaissance city of paved streets and brick buildings," Spiro Kostof writes, "began in a baker's house in Pudding Lane at around 1 a.m. Sunday, 2 September 1666," when the spark that would become the Great Fire ignited.[27] By the time the flames were extinguished on Thursday, 6 September, much of the buildings in the city's center, within the old medieval walls, lay in ashes. Still more buildings had been torn down deliberately in a desperate (and ultimately effective) attempt to create a firewall. All told, an estimated 13,200 homes and 87 churches crumbled, leaving countless Londoners homeless and countless more desperate, disoriented, dazed.[28]

Though Kostof perhaps exaggerates the orderliness of the "Renaissance city" that would replace the "half-timbered warren," historians agree that the Fire altered the capital more than any other event in its history until the Blitz of the 1940s, paving the way for what at least one scholar has termed "the birth of modern London."[29] But more than transforming how they moved through the ever-shifting cityscape, the Fire also transformed how Londoners imagined it. "The aftermath of the Fire," writes Wall, "produced a shift in the cultural perception of space from that of setting to that of enabling context; when the city was destroyed, its whole abstract network of associative meaning disappeared and a new relational context for living had to be constructed."[30] Lee Morrissey notes a boom around this time in the "interest of the British reader" in architecture and urban planning: "Between 1556 and 1700 only fifty-six new architectural titles were published in England—only one new book every three years," he explains. "In the eighteenth century, however, all that changed: . . . Fifty-six new architectural titles were published during just the first three decades of the eighteenth century; where it had previously taken an average of three years for one title to appear, the

early eighteenth century saw two new architecture books every year."[31] The Fire changed not only the built environment but also how Londoners understood their ability to shape it—and how they understood its role in shaping them as well.

This burgeoning interest in the city's spaces might also have arisen from the burgeoning populations inhabiting those spaces: though the number of people living in London dipped in the years after the Fire (and during the deadly plague that struck just before it), this dip was a brief interlude in a century of unprecedented growth. Between 1650 and 1750, London ballooned in both size and significance, surpassing Paris to become the most populous city in Europe by the beginning of the eighteenth century.[32] But the city's dominance extended far beyond Europe: because this period of growth within London happened simultaneously with—indeed, depended upon—the unprecedented expansion of England's empire, it is not uncommon to find the Restoration metropole's shapes and patterns popping up in cities across the globe, from Dublin and Kingston to Charleston and Mumbai, where colonial forces implanted and imposed them. "Landing in London is landing in the familiar," writes Trinidadian-Canadian poet Dionne Brand in a recent book. "The British must have built every place they settled according to the same city plans as London. How else would I know that walking down each main street I would come to a roundabout, that streets would angle and twist into an inner square, that the width of streets would summon in me a particular stride, that Charing Cross Road would be right where it was?"[33] Seventeenth-century London demands our attention not only as an important site of modern urban planning and its failures but also as the model that left its mark on cities across an empire on which the sun never set.

In her *Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London*, published in 1998, Cynthia Wall notes the significance of Restoration London in emergent forms of city life but suggests the objective of these forms was largely conservative: Londoners wrote about and represented the city in the wake of the Fire to "reinvest" its streets and structures "with comprehensible meaning," to re-impose on the now-unrecognizable city a familiar sense of home.[34] Though it touches briefly on the Restoration playhouse as "a psychological refuge to an audience apparently interested in distancing itself from topographic unfamiliarity"—and though it follows the pathways of the unhoused in poems and surveys—the book culminates with a turn away from the city's public spaces to the interior crevices of Daniel Defoe's novels, with their exhaustive descriptions of domestic settings that influenced generations of novelists (Wall argues) in their attempts to render space

"narratively *lived and known*."[35] Wall's focus on domestic space and on the rise of the novel as the antidote to urban incomprehensibility makes sense within the field of eighteenth century studies, which has long claimed the emergence of the middling classes, of modern ideas of privacy and domesticity, and of the novel (a technology uniquely suited to expressing privacy and domesticity) as its chief contributions to histories of European literatures and cultures.[36]

In the past decade, however, a growing number of scholars who have come of age in the shadow of the global financial crisis of 2008, amid the ongoing housing inequities that it highlighted, and surrounded by growing wealth disparities and a rapidly deteriorating middle class, have begun to question the field's emphasis on bourgeois culture and domestic space, pointing out that this focus has often led scholars to ignore communities of people whose impoverishment or identities excluded them from domesticity as earlier studies have defined it. Against previous descriptions of the long eighteenth century as a period defined by middle-class Europeans and their attempts to narrativize private spaces—or to map global spaces—as "*lived and known*," these scholars have turned our attention instead to the many populations for whom the eighteenth-century world was one of mobility (and not always by choice). Such populations include the unhoused, impoverished, or otherwise itinerant peoples exploited for their labor as economic migrants or under the strictures of expanding vagrancy laws (Lisa Lowe, Charlotte Sussman, Sal Nicolazzo);[37] enslaved African and Afro-diasporic peoples stolen from their homes and transported across oceans, where they established new strategies of space-making that (in Stephanie M.H. Camp's term) "rival[ed]"[38] the geographies of their captors (Katherine McKittrick, Marisa J. Fuentes, Tiffany Lethabo King, Jennifer L. Morgan);[39] colonial subjects or foreign visitors whose superior knowledge of their own homelands informed and sometimes directly challenged the maps and texts through which their colonizers and competitors attempted to represent them (Adam Sills, Humberto Garcia, Rebekah Mitsein);[40] and even "strolling players" charged with imposing English geographies and ways of life on peoples across the globe (Elizabeth Maddock Dillon, Kathleen Wilson).[41] As Jordana Rosenberg and Chi-ming Yang put it in "The Dispossessed Eighteenth-Century," a special issue of *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* that they co-edited in 2014, "The redoubled attacks on the poor and working classes, and the intensification of state violence that has been waged under the cover of claims to restore economic 'stability' call out for a sustained inquiry into the historical dimensions of capitalist production—with its attendant crises and

violent consolidations of power and resources—as well as the mediations of these phenomena in aesthetic form."[42]

In the years since Rosenberg and Yang wrote these words, the calls for histories of the unhoused and dispossessed have only increased. *Movable Londons* heeds these calls first by shifting from the imagined Londons of Christopher Wren and John Evelyn to the imagined Londons of Aphra Behn and John Vanbrugh—and then by setting them in motion. When we attend to motion rather than searching for settledness, it becomes easier to follow in the footsteps of mobile populations and dispossessed lives, of people whose existence depends on "routes" rather than on "roots," in James Clifford's phrasing.[43] At the same time, repopulating the Restoration stage with moving bodies and movable sets brings into focus the ways that race, gender, religion, and colonialism, and their spatial practices, shaped the public theaters and the modern city from its beginnings.

The book thus moves beyond work that examines how the habits of the aristocracy were imposed on the bourgeoisie or how the habits of the bourgeoisie were passed down to the poor.[44] While useful for thinking about how social mobility was enacted (and resisted) in the eighteenth century, such studies risk discounting the crucial knowledge that originated with London's least privileged populations—from servants and enslaved people, who understood better than their employers or enslavers the buried passageways and back staircases that represented the quickest route from one end of an aristocrat's home to another; to women who shared with knowing glances and choreographed gestures secrets for avoiding known assaulters; to immigrants whose adaptability to new spaces and habits offered native Londoners important lessons for moving through and making a home within an increasingly global city and an increasingly mobile world. As Robert B. Shoemaker's research into eighteenth-century court documents reveals, the Londoners who had traveled the most widely through the city—and who arguably possessed the greatest knowledge of its geographies—were not its most privileged residents but rather some of its poorest: the men and especially the women whose errands for employers or whose search for work or for poor relief took them all across the capital and beyond.[45]

What Shoemaker discovers in the historical record Michel de Certeau has outlined in his influential theories, which were first formulated in the "spatial turn" of the 1970s and 1980s but which have enjoyed a resurgence—a spatial *re*turn—in the past two decades. In his essay "Walking in the City," de Certeau describes two vantage points from which one might understand

urban space. The first belongs to the privileged "voyeur" able to clamber up from the streets and look out across the city from above. From here the land resembles a map or (in de Certeau's words) a "text": neat, orderly, the throngs of bodies that pass and trespass its spaces made invisible or at least irrelevant by the viewer's distance from the ground.[46] This view is that promised by Wren's plans and Foucault's "royal spectator," by an anonymous poet's invitation to "survey" the "Pomps and Pageantry" of the Dorset Garden stage, or by other Wren buildings like St. Paul's Cathedral or the Monument to the Great Fire—which, when it opened in 1677, offered its visitors the highest viewpoint in the city, 160 feet from the earth.

But in the excerpt from his *Amusements Serious and Comical* that serves as my second epigraph, the humorist Tom Brown describes his London of 1700 not as a static text but as a moving body, its streets, like "so many veins" throbbing with "activity" and "motion" and "blood."[47] Brown's metaphor calls up the second view of the city that de Certeau describes: that of its walkers, those who feel their way with their bodies and who understand its buildings from the ground up. These walkers have little sense of the panoramic views that their more privileged neighbors enjoy, but they boast a more intimate understanding of the city's movements and of the bodies pushing through its crowded streets. They know that the rules of and the rights to the city set out by its maps, the structures of power laid out in its plans, can be and are broken every day by bodies making their way.[48] The poems, ballads, broadsides, and prose works of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England—from Brown's *Amusements* to Ned Ward's *London Spy* (1698–1700) to John Gay's *Trivia, or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London* (1716) to Daniel Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722)—betray a growing fascination with the perspective of the city's walkers. But it is in the dancing bodies and the shifting spaces of the stage, this book will argue, where we see this perspective in motion.

De Certeau waffles on the social class to which his mobile walkers belong.[49] Most often he uses the language of bourgeois consumerism: while lacking the assumed omnipotence of the voyeur, that "solar Eye, looking down like a god" and seeming to direct the actions of those below, the walker possesses the means to purchase spaces for "dwelling," food for "cooking," and products the walker will procure if only to "re-use" in defiance of the "marketing structures" that the powerful have attempted to dictate.[50] At such moments de Certeau's walker resembles Walter Benjamin's *flaneur* or (reaching further back in time) Joseph Addison's Mr. Spectator, that

observant-but-never-observed urban wanderer who distinguishes himself from the libertine rover in deriving his rights to the city from his middle-class purchasing power rather than from his aristocratic pedigree.[51]

At other times, however, de Certeau's walker seems less a bourgeois "consumer" (*consummateur*) than an unpropertied revolutionary, one who seizes their corner of city space not by purchasing but by "*poaching* [*braconnage*] in countless ways on the property" of the privileged and powerful—a practice de Certeau refers to as a "tactic."[52] "The space of a tactic," he explains, "is the space of the other. It does not have the means to *keep to itself*, at a distance, in a position of withdrawal, foresight, and self-collection"—the position of Benjamin's *flaneur* or of the domesticated personae of the bourgeois novel. What the tactic "wins," de Certeau continues, "it cannot keep. This nowhere [in which tactics take place] gives a tactic mobility, to be sure, but a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment."[53] Here de Certeau's walkers have more in common with the unpropertied Londoners whose meandering paths and improvised motions took on new relevance in a post-Fire, post-plague, post–civil war city where everyone shared—to a greater or lesser extent—in precarity, and where the "unfaithful ground" rewarded the efforts of those who understood how to "seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment."

Throughout his work, de Certeau portrays tactics as reactions to and thus following from the plans and structures already put in place by the city's powerful voyeurs, plans and structures he refers to as "strategies" (*stratégies*). The term is striking for its resonance on the English stage in the eighteenth century, a period bookended by George Farquhar's London comedy *The Beaux' Stratagem* in 1707 and Hannah Cowley's *The Belle's Stratagem* in 1780 and populated in between by countless uses of the word to describe the twists and turns of the comedic plot. In both Farquhar and Cowley, however, the association of the strategy with the powerful, so clear-cut in de Certeau, is complex. For Cowley, the word denotes the tricks not of a wealthy voyeur but of a young woman determined to oppose her arranged marriage in order to control her fate; for Farquhar, it is a plan cooked up by two high-born but cash-poor aristocrats who pose as a man and his servant to attract well-off wives. On the eighteenth-century stage, in other words, *stratagem* suggests a series of improvisations that allow both the disempowered *and* the privileged to navigate the shift from the old world of landed wealth and arranged marriage to the new one in which property is movable and women's consent is desirable (if rarely secured). This usage suggests the ease with which the

same spatial practices might be traded between the unpropertied and the powerful. But it also serves as a reminder that the improvisations that de Certeau terms "tactics" might just as well precede and inspire as follow from the strategies of the well-to-do, who appropriated them from their unpropertied neighbors much as Farquhar's Archer appropriates the dress and the movements of a servant to serve his own ends.

Like the subjects of this book, de Certeau was living in and trying to make sense of a city in the wake of a failed revolution: in his case, Paris after the *Mai 68* protests, which achieved some labor gains and (arguably) some cultural shifts but little change to the city's or the nation's political structures. Some commentators have seen in de Certeau's tactics an attempt to assert the significance of the protests despite their disappointing political achievements.[54] De Certeau himself suggests this aim in his discussion of the work of his sometime-collaborator Michel Foucault as exaggerating the pervasiveness of disciplinary power and the impossibility of the "ordinary man" to resist it. His own theories, de Certeau explains, "pose questions . . . contrary to those dealt with in Foucault's book" in that

> the goal is not to make clearer how the violence of order is transmuted into a disciplinary technology, but rather to bring to light the clandestine forms taken by the dispersed, tactical, and makeshift creativity of groups or individuals already caught in the nets of discipline.[55]

If, as de Certeau writes a few lines earlier, Foucault's "discipline" operates "from the wings as it were" rather than (like older forms of "punishment") through "institutional stage directions" delivered from on high, "it is all the more urgent to discover" how communities and individuals "manipulate the mechanisms of discipline" through "tactics" that also operate "from the wings," through small and sometimes imperceptible acts of resistance and diversion (like the 1968 protests) rather than grand gestures or direct attacks.[56]

I am drawn to this passage in part because of its hopefulness, its suggestion that even in the midst of disciplinary powers that seem at once invisible and inescapable and in the wake of revolutionary upheavals that have failed to produce true change, there is still space for resistance, "clandestine" and "dispersed" though it may be. But I am drawn to it, too, because of the ways it takes up the language of the theater—and of theatrical scenery in particular—to contrast the "institutional stage directions" of punishment with both the disciplinary technologies and the counter-disciplinary tactics capable of interrupting or "short-circuit[ing]" those stage directions "from the wings."[57]

As Kim Solga, D.J. Hopkins, and Shelley Orr point out, theatrical language pervades de Certeau's theory, which posits the "planned and readable city" of the voyeur as a text, a plan, a script of written "stage directions" that are constantly being diverted, disregarded, improvised upon by walkers whose own patterns of movement constitute what de Certeau terms elsewhere as "a spatial *acting-out* of place."[58] Or to put it another way: if de Certeau's voyeur (or if the King's Surveyor) resembles the playwrights, scenic designers, and royal spectators who script, stage, and censor a city's structures, his walkers recall the city's performers: the poor players whose quick-witted improvisations save the show when the contingencies of live performance throw everyone off-book; the supernumeraries whose impertinent movements at once disrupt and make possible the perspectival illusions that the scenic designers have envisioned; the stagehands who through a combination of muscle and moxie make the scenery *move*. *Movable Londons* invites these walkers and performers out "from the wings" of the scenic stage to ask how their innovations shaped both the London theater and the modern city that this theater represented.

Moving Scenes on London's Public Stages

Movable scenery arrived in London's public playhouses just in time to address the new conceptions of urban space, movable property, and colonial power that were emerging in the wake of the Great Fire and amid the cataclysmic economic and political shifts that it punctuated. Edward A. Langhans provides a helpful explanation of how the new scenic technologies worked. "Wings and shutters" painted in perspective to give the illusion of depth, he writes,

> slid onstage and off in grooves on the stage floor, with steadying grooves suspended from above. There were at least two complete sets of grooves, just an inch or so apart, at each wing and shutter position so that when one stage setting was slid offstage on each side, a second setting was revealed, already standing in the second grooves. When a third setting was required, the first would be pulled completely offstage, out of its grooves, and replaced by a third set. . . . It was such a marvelous scene-shifting system that it lasted until near the end of the nineteenth century.[59]

The "marvelous" system was, admittedly, an imported one: invented in the court theaters of Renaissance Italy, it had first arrived in England in the

masques and spectacles of Inigo Jones, a man whose visions for an impeccably and geometrically laid-out London predated Wren's. (Jones is perhaps best known as the urban planner responsible for designing Covent Garden Square at the behest of his patron, the Earl of Bedford, in 1630.)[60] Prior to Charles II's reopening the theaters upon his restoration to the throne in 1660, however, the moving spectacles of this scenery were available exclusively to aristocrats with the connections necessary to gain entry to the private theatricals or royal halls where they appeared.

With the dissolution of Cromwell's government in the late 1650s, the sanctions on theatrical performance that had persisted throughout the Interregnum were lifted, and Charles II selected two courtiers—Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant—to establish the two theater companies that would enjoy a monopoly in the capital under his reign. Killigrew quickly claimed the most experienced actors and the most popular scripts as the property of his King's Company. To compete, the Duke's Company set about outfitting Lisle's Tennis Court in Lincoln's Inn Fields with the movable scenery and machinery that Davenant knew from court performances. The ploy worked, and when, upon the theater's opening in 1661, the London public caught their first glimpse of the changeable scenery long known to their wealthier neighbors, the Duke's Company began to give Killigrew's players a run for their money. Finding the former public houses and tennis courts that both companies had converted into makeshift stages cramped quarters for building, setting, and storing the spectacular scenes, Killigrew opened his Theatre Royal in Bridges Street—the first public playhouse purpose-built for movable scenes—in 1663. Not to be outdone by their own devices, the Duke's Company countered eight years later with their Dorset Garden, featuring some of the English public theater's most elaborate scenic technologies yet (Figure 2).

In his "Proposition for Advancement of Morality, by a New Way of Entertainment to the People," published in late 1653, Davenant describes the changeable scenery that he would bring to the public stage only a few years later in language that recalls Wren's 1666 *Plans*. Like the imaginary city documented in Wren's drawing, the imaginary city built on Davenant's stage will serve as a tool for imposing the civic unity that (Davenant feared) Restoration London lacked. "If the peoples senses were charm'd and entertain'd with things familiar to them," he writes, "they would easily follow the voices of their shepherds," the king and his courtiers. This entertainment, Davenant continues, should "subdu[e]" the people's "Eyes . . . with *Heroicall Pictures* and change of *Scenes*, their Eares . . . with Musick and wholesome discourses," presenting in sum an "*Academie*" that would "not only divert the people

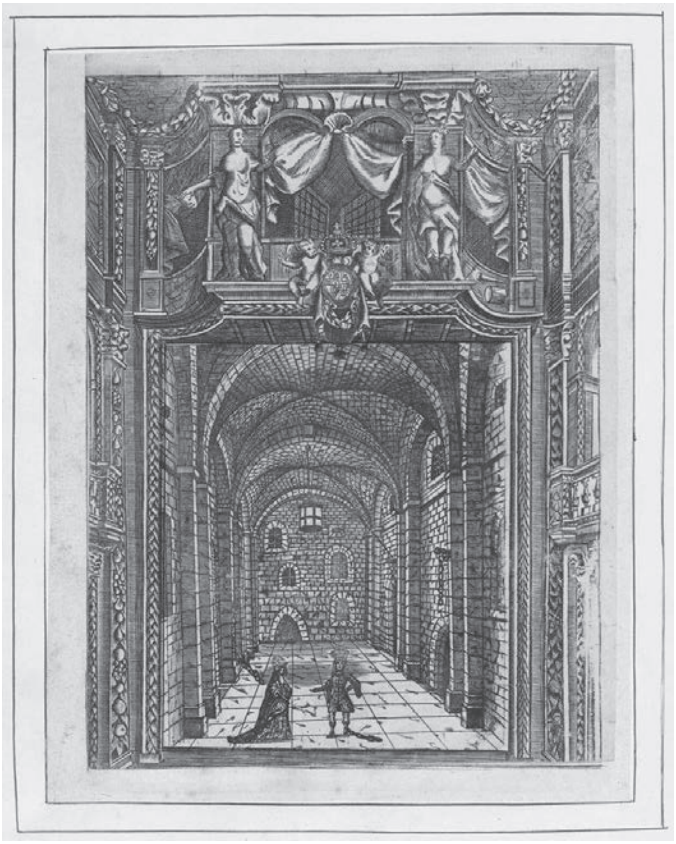


Figure 2. Illustration from *The Empress of Morocco. A Tragedy. With Sculptures. As It Is Acted at the Duke's Theatre. Written by Elkanah Settle.* (London: Printed for William Cademan, 1673.) Courtesy of Beinecke Library, Yale University.

from disorder, but by degrees enamour them with consideration of the conveniences and protections of the Government."[61]

Noting both movable scenery's origins in the absolutist courts and Davenant's stated goal to "enamour" the people with "the conveniences and protections of Government," theater historians have described the seventeenth-century scenic stage as a celebration of aristocratic privilege and imperial power. They have attributed its growing popularity to the same totalizing impulse that guided Wren's vision of a geometrically regular "royal city" and that produced the landscape paintings and panoramas that, in their

expansive vistas, offered the viewer the illusion of possession and control prized by de Certeau's voyeur.[62] Marvin Carlson writes that when perspective scenery was introduced in the court theaters of Renaissance Italy, it reproduced urban plans that "emphasized the order imposed upon space by the political master of that space, the centrality of that master's vision, and the increasing insignificance of objects as they were located at greater distance from the position of power."[63] Wiles, focusing primarily on Paris, echoes Carlson in noting the similarities between the "immense vistas" of perspective scenery and those of baroque urban planning, which "turned the city street into a space that bespoke royal power . . . laid out in accordance with the principles of perspectival art which required that one commanding eye—that of the ruler—should have a view of the totality."[64] Joseph Roach and Bridget Orr have seen changeable scenery as a tool for proclaiming not only civic but imperial power, "functioning analogously," in Orr's words, "to verbal accounts of the exotic or 'new' territories, in which the representation of landscape encourages the viewer to take imaginative possession of the prospect."[65]

Regardless of the intentions of Davenant's "*Heroicall Pictures*" or of designers' grand visions, however, the reality on London's first scenic stages rarely resembled these plans; and the control over people and spaces documented in such propositions proved as elusive in the public playhouse as did the unity and rationality Wren imagined in his city map. Partly the problem lay with the auditoria themselves, which—especially in the converted tennis courts of the early years—were crowded, chaotic, and offering very few seats (beyond the royal box) from which spectators could appreciate the perspectival illusions meant to "subdu[e]" their "Eyes" and "Eares." Samuel Pepys complained, for instance, that although he arrived at Lincoln's Inn Fields in plenty of time for a performance of *She Would If She Could* on 6 February 1668,

> there was 1000 people put back that could not have room in the pit; and I at last, because my wife was there, made shift to get into the 18*d* box—and there saw; but Lord, how full was the house and how silly the play, there being nothing in the world good in it and few people pleased in it. The King was there; but I sat mightily behind, and could see but little and hear not at all.[66]

Even Dorset Garden, purpose-built with Davenant's "Proposition" in mind, fell short of expectations. By the time that laborers broke ground on the new theater, Davenant was dead; and the neighborhood where the the-

ater stood—within the once-lush gardens of an aristocratic home owned by the Earl of Dorset—was in steep decline. The Fire had razed Dorset House, and enterprising landlords and their desperate tenants, cowed by the city's housing shortage, had constructed crowded and makeshift tenements in its ruins. Just across Fleet Street from the new theater lay the debtors' sanctuary of Whitefriars, nicknamed Alsatia (after the then-contested region between France and Germany) for the violence and disorder that wealthier Londoners associated with it. Nearer still was Bridewell, the workhouse for prostitutes and debtors. "The site of the Dorset Garden theatre," notes Harold K. Love, "was not prepossessing. The 1694 marriage assessment returns place St Bride's among the poorer city parishes with only 11.9 per cent substantial householders."[67] Even those wealthier Londoners who took advantage of the theater's Thames-side entrance to float past the nearby slums, arriving for performances by boat, could not completely avoid or ignore their impoverished neighbors, who lingered outside—and sometimes passed through—the theater's doors. William Wycherley drew attention to their proximity in his prologue to his London comedy *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (discussed in more detail in chapter 5), performed a few months after Dorset Garden's opening and dedicated "To the City: Newly after the Removal of the Dukes Company from *Lincoln-Inn-fields* to their new Theatre." Though the prologue seems to celebrate (somewhat facetiously) the union between the "*flouting, ticking Gentry*" and the bourgeois "*Citizen[s]*" haunting the "*[Royal Ex] Change*" that the theater's location on the city's western edge allowed, it also reminds its audience of their proximity to less fortunate neighbors, "*since* Bridewel," Wycherley writes, "*is so near*."[68]

The public playhouses of the Restoration may have imported the movable scenery and spectacles from the court theaters of Charles I, in other words, but they could not import their exclusivity—or the sense of control over the other spectators that such exclusivity guaranteed. In recent years, scholars such as Lisa A. Freeman (*Antitheatricality and the Body Public*, 2017) and Elizabeth Maddock Dillon (*New World Drama*, 2014) have challenged older work by Allardyce Nicoll, Odai Johnson, and J. Douglas Canfield, who have seen the Restoration playhouses as exclusively "ultramonarchist" spaces staging only plays guaranteed, in Canfield's words, to "underwrite the . . . natural right of the English aristocracy . . . to rule."[69] Instead, argue Freeman and Dillon, any illusion of control that the assembled aristocrats might have imagined upon entering the theater was quickly dispersed by the "riotous performances" of less privileged audience members, who often

interrupted the proceedings to shout, launch projectiles, or otherwise assert themselves as a vocal part of the theatrical public sphere.[70] As Dillon notes, the inability of lower-class Londoners to afford the full price of admission to the playhouse did not mean they were not there. Many servants and enslaved Londoners entered before the play began to save seats for their employers or enslavers, and they refused to leave after the curtain opened; others were admitted after the third act, when they could pay half price to see the end of the show; and still others snuck in without paying or listened (and protested) from just outside.[71] Such trespasses were common enough in the London playhouses to necessitate frequent decrees (in 1668, 1672, 1674, and 1689) stipulating that (in the words of the 1672 order) "no person of what degree or quality soever do enter into Our Play-house without having first paid the price usually demanded & taken for such place."[72] Courtiers may have imagined or even designed the public playhouses as an extension of their court theaters, "psychological refuge[s]" that barred the city's crowds; and Davenant may have envisioned his "*Heroicall Pictures*" as "subdu[ing]" such crowds into calm compliance with the "natural right of the aristocracy . . . to rule." But the crowds themselves refused to be so excluded or so "subdu'd."[73]

Even those aristocrats capable of ignoring the unpropertied Londoners voicing their protests from the back of the auditorium or weaving in and out of the crowds at the theater's entrance could not have denied their presence once the curtain opened. The bodies that had danced before the changeable scenery of the pre-war court masques were aristocratic ones like those of Queen Henrietta Maria and her ladies-in-waiting, who had blackened their faces to perform *The Masque of Blackness*, a collaboration between Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson, in 1605.[74] The companies of actors that Killigrew and Davenant gathered under the auspices of "the King's Servants" and "the Duke's Servants," however, lacked such distinguished pedigrees. "How lewdly they talk," Pepys complains of actresses Elizabeth Knepp and Nell Gwyn, whom he visited backstage on 5 October, 1667, "—and how poor the men are in clothes."[75] The shuttering of the theaters during the Interregnum and, more recently, the plague, meant that many of the actors who appeared onstage had living memories of traveling—and sometimes being apprehended—as itinerants or "rogues" (as a 1648 order, later echoed in the more famous Licensing Act of 1737, would label them).[76] Several of the era's most famous actresses—like Elizabeth Barry at the Duke's or Nell Gwyn at the King's—had begun their careers as courtesans; and the actor Jo Haines had lived for some years as an itinerant, according to the anonymous rogue's

biography that detailed his life.[77] All, by virtue of joining one of the two licensed companies, had been deemed "Servants" of either the "King" or the "Duke" and were assigned livery to signal this status.

Now, these same unpropertied Londoners had assumed command not only of the stage but of the theaters built around it. In the aftermath of Davenant's death in 1668, oversight of Dorset Garden's construction fell to his widow, Mary Davenant, and two chief actors of the company who did not share Davenant's aristocratic pedigree: Thomas Betterton (son of an undercook in the household of Charles I) and Henry Harris, a former engraver and scene painter later known for his comic roles. Tom Brown chastises the "high mightiness" of Betterton and his fellow actors, commoners who "have revolted, like the Dutch, from their once lords and masters, and are now set up for sovereigns themselves."[78] The company they led was less the distinguished "*Academie*" of courtiers that Davenant had imagined guiding lower-class Londoners in lessons of comportment and social deference than a motley crew of rogues and former prostitutes ill-disguised in the cast-off robes of kings.

One of the still-unsettled debates about Restoration staging revolves around where, exactly, these "Servants'" bodies appeared in relation to the scenic stage. Did actors invariably declaim their lines from the jutting forestage, with the scenery serving as a decorative backdrop to their words? Or did they move around and speak from within the scenery, behind the proscenium arch? As several theater historians have pointed out, the foreshortening necessary for maintaining the perspectival illusion of depth would make an actor of average proportions appear to tower over trees and buildings painted onto a backdrop as soon as that actor stepped back from the forestage into the scenery; and actor Colley Cibber's declamation against manager Christopher Rich's decision to shrink the apron of the Drury Lane stage suggests that the most important speeches were delivered from the forestage.[79] But as Tim Keenan has recently pointed out, several plays from the period include prompts directing actors to move among the scenes and even perform between them, suggesting that if the practice was not ubiquitous it was also not uncommon.[80] Viewing the scenic stage not as a frame through which aristocrats asserted their control over the city's spaces but rather as a tool for them to accustom themselves to and navigate within London's increasingly contested geographies helps us to understand why Restoration theatergoers might not be bothered by actors' stepping among and disturbing the illusion of the perspectival scenes in these moments. The spectacle of performing bodies too big for the spaces they moved through

was one way that the theater helped Londoners to articulate the confrontations between buildings and bodies, between maps and walkers, within a city that seemed never to live up to its plans.

The actors were not the only onstage bodies disrupting the scenic illusions—or the only ones largely absent from the many works of scholarship that read the scenic stage as a static text. Consider, for instance, Langhans's description (quoted above) of movable scenery that was "slid onstage and off in grooves on the stage floor." His use of the passive voice implies that each setting "would be pulled completely offstage" and "replaced by a third set" as if by magic. It deletes from the scene not only the shifting bodies of actors like Haines, carrying in his motions the muscle memory of itinerancy, and of patrons like Pepys, clambering for a view of the stage, but also the stagehands so necessary for the new scenic technologies' operations: those laborers who pulled those settings at the edges of the stage, who replaced the flats, who operated the elaborate system of ropes, pulleys, and sliding scenes that allowed the show to go on. The introduction of movable scenery brought greater numbers of these laborers to the public playhouses, which required stagehands as well as workers skilled in constructing, repairing, and moving the scenery into storage. It also made them an important part of the performance. "The changing of the scenes was intended to be visible," Richard Southern writes; "it was part of the show; it came into existence purely to be watched."[81] For this reason the curtains remained open on the London stage between acts; and by the early eighteenth century, the royal box had moved from the center of the auditorium to the side boxes along and upon the stage, from which spectators could glimpse the preparation and changing of the scenes.[82] When Restoration Londoners gazed at the first public English stages to be adorned with changeable scenery, they did not see a stilled and ordered spectacle of baroque proportions, fit for king, capitalist, or cartographer. They saw, instead, a crowd of laboring, sweating artists and technicians climbing over or crawling between shifting scenes that mirrored the shifting city just outside the stage doors.

Descriptions of the new playhouses and their perspective scenery as reinforcing "the order imposed upon space by the political master of that space" (to return to Marvin Carlson) assume that Davenant's ambitious "Proposition" became a reality, or that the static drawings of Dorset Garden's earliest productions—depicting the proscenium cut off from its spectators, with its scenes and performers frozen in tableaux—present the stage precisely as it appeared to its first audiences. Yet evidence of the performances themselves suggests that such propositions and renderings

of the perspectival stage are as distant from the spectacle of scenes and bodies in motion as the view of de Certeau's perched voyeur is from the surging city far below him—or as Wren's property-lined and geometrically precise "Plans" were from the crowded and irregular pathways of Restoration London. The scenic stage offered propertied Londoners an especially resonant chamber for making sense of these failures—a space where they might gaze upon and learn from the movements of their humbler neighbors, who had long understood the contradictions between written plans and moving bodies, between voyeurs and walkers, in a city where nothing had gone according to the script.

Such contradictions between the plans laid out in a script (or a set design) and the unpredictable contingencies that shape a live performance make the theater into what Joanne Tompkins has called an "unsettled space"[83]—one in which the words and actions demanded by a script and repeated in rehearsal might be diverted or derailed at any moment by the whim of a capricious performer, the interruption of a spectator, or the failure of a special effect to come off as planned. The field of performance studies has made much of this unsettledness in proclaiming performance's uniqueness among art forms, but seventeenth-century playwrights were also (often painfully) aware of this quality, if the complaints peppering their printed prefaces are to be believed.[84] While such contingencies of live performance have often been theorized in terms of time—live performance as that which restores but can never exactly replicate the behaviors that have come before—we might also consider them in terms of space: live performance is a medium, like city-making, in which moving bodies and three-dimensional spaces are forever attempting to realize but can never exactly reproduce the utopias that their designers have imagined. It is for this reason that de Certeau's sometime interlocutor, the urban theorist Henri Lefebvre, uses the theater as his primary example of the "non-verbal signifying sets" that, like space itself, cannot be fully encompassed in plans, maps, texts. Like the city, the theater, he writes, is "characterized by a spatiality which is in fact irreducible to the mental realm" and thus impossible to capture fully—or to control completely—in the "*Heroicall Pictures*" or the "Plans for Rebuilding" that have influenced so many scholarly depictions of the Restoration stage and the post-Fire cityscape but that never came to be.[85] The stage is a space for creating new worlds, giving forms and shapes to hopes and desires for the future, as Jill Dolan has argued.[86] But it is equally a space for representing the failure of those hopes, the impossibility of that future, and for learning—in the wake of failed revolutions, of unrealized plans, of "Chymick flames" that

did not in all their destruction produce "a city of more precious mold"—how to make do.

In the pages that follow, I exit the domestic spaces of the middle-class home or the eighteenth-century novel, seeking the "unsettled spaces" and "unfaithful ground" of the scenic stage. I do so to learn how Londoners, recently reminded by the Fire of their inability to control space, managed to make do—and how they used this stage to frame and to follow the spatial practices of their less privileged neighbors, who by the late seventeenth century had significant expertise in how to make a home on shifting ground. If the scenic stages of the public playhouses offered "*Academies*" for learning how to live within the rapidly shifting cityscape of a post-civil war and a post-Fire London, their pupils were not the common "people" likely to be skeptical of the "conveniences and protections of the Government." They were instead the aristocrats, gentry, and haute bourgeoisie, who would use the theaters to display and to appropriate the knowledge of the city's unsettled and unpropertied populations—servants, women, religious minorities, immigrants, and the enslaved, as well as the itinerant actors and laboring stagehands called upon to represent them—to improvise upon and adapt to a changed world. This interest in navigating a city so contrary to that they had planned helps to explain why London audiences praised the new scenic systems, despite their failure to pull off, in performance, the perspectival illusions and geometric perfections that their designers had in mind. But it also explains why, in 1671, the Duke's Company chose to open their newly built Dorset Garden Theater not with a grand tragedy or an Orientalist fantasy certain to showcase the "*Heroicall Pictures*" of Davenant's dreamed-of "*Academie*," but rather with *Sir Martin Mar-All*, a London comedy in which a man dressed in servant's livery (and played by an actor known as a former scene painter) leads a bumbling landowner across an incomprehensible cityscape, teaching him how to find his way.

Movable Londons

The five chapters of this book proceed from this opening production at Dorset Garden Theater, moving in roughly chronological order through several performances staged at Dorset Garden or its rival theaters between 1666 and 1711. All were chosen for their attention to the unpropertied populations whose spatial practices they attempt to mimic. Though each chapter foregrounds a different quality—race, gender, class, religion—shared by certain members of the unpropertied population, it is crucial that we understand the

intersections between these populations and these qualities. The discussion of gender in chapter 2 necessarily dovetails with the discussion of race in chapter 5, for instance, and the Irish Catholic laborers at the center of chapter 4 might as easily be described in terms of their working-class status (chapter 1) or as members of a religious minority (chapter 3). I concentrate specifically on London city comedy, which Jean Howard defines as a genre in which "the focus is on the defined space of London and its environs and on the lives and values of those groups—merchants, artisans, gallants, foreign traders and domestic consumers, both men and women—who populated the urban landscape."[87] As Howard notes, city comedy arose before the civil wars (in, for instance, the work of Ben Jonson), and its tropes have long been central to how scholars of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century literatures and cultures have studied the early modern capital.[88] It has been much less prominent in studies of the post-Fire city, however, which have largely described it as recycling the characters and tropes of these early modern predecessors, if occasionally moving them to new neighborhoods.[89] Yet it is my contention here that the introduction of movable scenery necessarily transformed the genre, allowing players to represent the city in more dimensions and with more movement than was previously possible and to challenge in new ways the notion of London or its populations as clearly or as immovably "defined."

At the same time, my focus on comedy aims to complicate narratives of movable scenery as a technology exclusive to the wealthy imposing civic and imperial power on the poor. While it is true that the only extant drawings of movable scenery onstage at Dorset Garden depict those of a heroic tragedy (Elkanah Settle's *The Empress of Morocco*; Figure 2), we should not conclude from this lone example that movable scenery's contributions to city comedy were any less profound. Samuel Pepys offers his most elaborate description of the scenic stage after forgoing attendance at one comedy, Thomas St. Serfe's *The Coffee House*, to help Elizabeth Knepp run lines behind the scenes for another, Richard Rhodes's *Flora's Vagaries*.[90] And in an earlier entry, he suggests the comic valences of a movable set that makes a spectacle out of the everyday: visiting the "King's play-house" in Drury Lane under construction, Pepys is struck by the collection of ordinary or even "poor things"—"here a wooden leg, there a ruff, here a hobby-horse, there a Crowne"—that can appear so "fine . . . on the stage by candle-light" but that, lying "all in dirt," "would make a man split himself to see with laughing."[91] The same scenic technologies that, in heroic tragedy, brought distant lands near enough to touch could also be deployed, Pepys's laughter suggests, to transform the quotidian into the spectacular. One of the contributions that

Movable Londons makes to the field of theater history, in other words, is to ask how the introduction of movable scenery onto the English public stage shaped not just the genre of heroic tragedy but also the comedies of everyday London life.

Answering such questions means skirting the head-on views of Settle's scenic drawings and the bird's-eye views of Wren's urban plans to glimpse the live performances taking place in the theaters' margins: behind the scenes, within the wings, among the names of supporting characters and bit parts that appear last in the *dramatis personae* (and sometimes do not appear at all). As Christin Essin's recent work on the lives and labors of backstage workers emphasizes, such performances are crucial to the work that the theater does and the meanings it makes—an assertion no less true between the changeable scenes of William Davenant's Restoration London than amid the even more elaborate backstages of Essin's twenty-first-century New York.[92] Attending to the contributions of supporting players and supernumeraries, however, requires more sustained attention than that afforded by so many of the books that have been most influential in addressing the shifting spaces and social hierarchies of the Restoration and the early eighteenth-century stage. These include J. Douglas Canfield's *Tricksters and Estates* as well as Robert D. Hume's *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century*; Laura Brown's *English Dramatic Form, 1660–1760*; Brian Corman's *Genre and Generic Change in English Comedy, 1660–1710*; and Derek Hughes's *English Drama, 1660–1700*, none of which spend more than a page or two on any one play.[93] While these books have informed my understanding of Restoration comedy and politics, I take a different approach here, choosing rather to wander among a few London characters and within a few London comedies, as a walker might among the bodies and streets of the seething city, rather than attempting to sketch general principles of Restoration comedy from a more distanced, bird's-eye view. This method, like that of de Certeau's walkers, occludes certain perspectives, and readers craving a grand tour of Restoration comedy's greatest hits—George Etherege's *Man of Mode*, Wycherley's *The Country Wife*, William Congreve's *Way of the World*—will find little to satisfy them in the chapters that follow. But my hope is that in diverting from the well-trod pathways of the Restoration stage's landowning libertines and capital-seizing fops, its Court rakes and Town wits, we might discover new spaces and new narratives amid the shifting scenes of the post-Fire stage—and of the city it represented.

Chapter 1 begins with the performance that opened Dorset Garden Theater: a revival of John Dryden's London comedy *Sir Martin Mar-All* (1667),

starring the actor-manager and former scene painter Henry Harris as Warner, servant to the title character. Harris's appearance in servants' livery in the play's opening moments, I argue, makes visible the labors of the "Scenekeepers," "Machenist[s]," and "house servants"—many of whom also appeared in livery while carrying out their tasks—upon which the gleaming new spaces of the Restoration playhouse and its scenic stage depended.[94] Through Warner along with his co-conspirator and fellow servant Rose, Dryden links the labors required to manage and to maintain the shifting spaces of the theater to those required to navigate the shifting cityscape—and presents those dressed in servants' livery as both sites' most skillful spatial practitioners. The play turns, then, on two understandings of the word *plot* that introduce the confrontation between voyeurs and walkers explored throughout this book. Sir Martin, bumbling into London from his small estate in the country, understands *plot* as a noun—the plot of points on a map—and thus cannot comprehend or navigate the shifting, unpredictable, and unmappable spaces of post-Fire city or of scenic stage. Warner and Rose repeatedly come to his rescue, tutoring him in the tactics of servants who, without lands of their own, have learned to treat *plot* as a verb—and to scheme their way through a city built on unstable ground. When Warner reveals, late in the play, that he is in fact an aristocrat dispossessed by the civil wars, he points to the subsumption of tactics into strategies, the appropriation of unpropertied people's geographical knowledge by their privileged neighbors, that I trace throughout the book. In this (largely overlooked) play as in his more canonical *Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, also written in the year after the Fire, Dryden thus presents the scenic stage as an important site in which propertied Londoners learned how to adapt to the shifting geographies of the ruined city by following the lead of their working-class neighbors.

While chapter 1 links servants and stagehands through the liveries that identified both, chapter 2 turns to women, another unpropertied population modeling new methods for moving their bodies through London's public spaces at the end of a turbulent century. The changes to English property law in this period included a redefinition of rape not as a property crime (perpetrated against the husband or father whose property of his wife's or daughter's body was devalued by this violation) but rather as a sexual crime, victimizing the woman herself. While such changes seemed to acknowledge women as the possessors of their persons and of the personal space they claimed in their movements through the city, the new laws also shifted the responsibility for protecting those persons and that personal space solely to the women's shoulders. The result was a substantial archive of court

transcripts that attempt to detail, in as precise language as possible, where and how rape victims moved through the city to determine whether their movements somehow signaled consent. I read these transcripts alongside the uniquely detailed stage directions and the use of changeable scenery in two plays by Aphra Behn, the first woman to write professionally for the English stage. In *The Rover* (1677) and especially in her London comedy *The Luckey Chance* (1686), I argue, Behn presents the spectacle of the first English actresses navigating the scenic stage as an opportunity for women spectators to practice performing—and for men to practice interpreting—the difference between movements that demarcate the boundaries of their personal space and those that invite closeness by implying consent. But she also hints at the limitations of such movements for non-white subjects—the Roma and enslaved Afro-diasporic women whom she portrays less as persons than as personae put on by her white protagonists to enable their own spatial practices through a choreography I take up in more depth in chapter 5. These limitations serve as a reminder that personal space, too, could be colonized—often by the very same people whose gender barred them from claiming other kinds of property.

Chapter 3 examines the scenic stage in relation to another site with which it seems at first glance to have little in common: the Nonconformist meetinghouses that proliferated after the Fire in strict violation of the Clarendon Code (which limited the rights of non-Anglicans to gather in the city's public spaces) and of Wren's plans for a city unified in the shadow of St. Paul's. Scholars have more readily associated Nonconformity with the novel (a literary form linked to the spiritual autobiography) than with the theater, and leaders of Nonconformist congregations often preached vociferously against the sins of the playhouses.[95] Yet, as I will show, Nonconformist congregations often deployed the techniques of the Restoration scenic stage to disguise the purposes of their buildings (and the location of their leaders) at a moment's notice, should an officer of the law happen by. Conversely, the Restoration theater often cast Nonconforming characters as lightning rods for the conflicts over the uses of urban space that the plays staged again and again. After a discussion of the many Restoration prologues and epilogues that compare the movable spaces of the scenic stage to the mutable spaces of the Nonconformist meetinghouses, I turn at the end of the chapter to the late Restoration plays of John Vanbrugh, widely celebrated as one of the period's most preeminent playwrights as well as one of its most important architects. He was also, less famously, the son of a sometime Nonconformist. I read Vanbrugh's 1697 play *The*

Provok'd Wife as contesting Wren's vision of a London gathered under uniform buildings and a single (Anglican) religion. Instead, Vanbrugh advocates toleration—both religious and architectural—despite the riotousness that such toleration necessarily invites. Vanbrugh's play at the end of the century thus returns us not only to Wren's "Plan" but also to Davenant's "Proposition" four decades before, declaring the failure of the scenic stage to "subdu[e]" the people even as it celebrates what the artist Joshua Reynolds (in praising Vanbrugh's architecture) would call the "variety and intricacy" of London's unplanned and ever-shifting streets.[96]

In yoking the plays of the immediately post-Fire city in the 1670s and 1680s to those of Vanbrugh nearer the end of the century, chapter 3 also marks a shift in city culture and in the city comedy in the wake of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the "Financial Revolution" of the 1690s. As Pocock has written influentially, "The century that followed the Financial Revolution witnessed the rise in Western thought . . . of an ideology and a perception of history which depicted political society and social personality as founded upon commerce: upon the exchange of forms of mobile property and upon modes of consciousness suited to a world of moving objects."[97] This interest in exchange arose in part from the passing of the English throne to a foreign king, William of Orange, from the Netherlands, a state that had arguably invented and had certainly influenced the economic structures and the global trade networks upon which England would come increasingly to depend. The 1690s thus marked England's turning outward, toward its Continental trading partners—and toward the products and the people that it had begun to extract and import in greater and greater numbers from its growing colonies in Ireland, in Africa, and in the Americas. These years marked the English capital's turning outward as well, as Londoners began to understand the instability of their city's spaces less in terms of the Fire and the rebuilding efforts that followed and more in terms of the migrants and enslaved people who began to arrive in greater numbers in the city to supply the labor on which those rebuilding efforts—and the ongoing growth and prosperity of the metropolis—depended.

The final two chapters of the book explicate Londoners' use of the public playhouse both to articulate and to appropriate the spatial practices of these new arrivals. Chapter 4 examines the trope of the Stage Irishman in the work of George Farquhar, a writer perhaps best known for plays set outside the capital (*The Recruiting Officer* and *The Beaux' Stratagem*) but who also wrote several London comedies—including *Love and a Bottle* (1698 or 1699) and *The Twin Rivals* (1702). These plays did not invent the stock character

of the Stage Irishman, but, importantly, Farquhar's Stage Irishmen were the first to speak dialogue written by a playwright who was himself an Irish immigrant to the city. The chapter traces these characters' journeys across the scenic stage and through the shifting cityscape as comedic counterpoints to the work of William Petty, whom Oliver Cromwell hired to map Ireland and to survey its inhabitants as part of the colonial wars of the 1640s and 1650s. Thinkers from Karl Marx to Mary Poovey have linked Petty to later efforts of population control that, in their attempts to "rationalize" the modern state, are not unrelated to Wren's efforts to "rationalize" the modern cityscape. Yet like Wren's plans, Petty's, too, were doomed to failure, his attempts to count and to categorize the Irish populations in his texts repeatedly interrupted and derailed by emendations, equivocations, and lamentations about a population that refuses to stay put. Farquhar's plays as well as his brief "Discourse on Comedy" (1701), I argue, celebrate such refusals as crucial to Irish migrants' survival as they move—or are moved—from Ireland to London as well as throughout the city's unsettled spaces. Farquhar remakes the tropes of the Stage Irishman to point to the dependence of the metropole on the land, labor, and spatial practices of its colonial migrants—a dependence that must have seemed particularly pronounced on a scenic stage built and operated in part, I suggest, by Irish laborers. In making such laborers visible, chapter 4 hearkens back to the discussions of the stagehands at the heart of chapter 1; but it also expands the definition of the "scenic stage" to include the portable props and moving bodies becoming more and more crucial to the bourgeois playhouse and the "world of moving objects" emerging at the century's end.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Stage Irishman would be eclipsed onstage by another character who was known for his wheeling jigs and his subaltern status—and whose exaggerated accents were often voiced by the same actors who had cut their teeth on the Stage Irish brogue: the Stage African. Afro-diasporic people are often absent from scholarly discussions of Restoration London, in part because of assumptions that the racialism that marked them as different emerged only with the "race science" of the later Enlightenment. This chapter argues that Afro-diasporic Londoners were visible not only on the streets but also on the stage much earlier, and it does so by tracing the plot of Isaac Bickerstaffe's comic opera *The Padlock* (1768), often cited as popularizing the role of the Stage African on Anglo-American stages, to William Wycherley's post-Fire London comedy, *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (1672). In these plays as well as in the Lord Mayor's pageants that presented Afro-diasporic peoples and products as constitutive of Lon-

don's newfound cosmopolitanism, Black (or blackened) performers come to stand in for the worldliness that white Londoners sought to claim as their own—and thus become extensions of the movable scenery of faraway places and exotic locales that framed their performances.[98] Yet as they moved—surviving cruel transports across oceans, walking the streets of the English capital, and stepping lithely across English stages—Afro-diasporic Londoners also posited the "rival geograph[ies]" that challenged their enslavers' claims to mastery.[99] The spatial practices of enslaved people and the attempts by their enslavers to appropriate and to denigrate them shaped modern London from its very beginnings, I argue, in the shifting spaces that the Great Fire and the Financial Revolution left behind.

This final chapter thus returns us to the site where the book begins—to the elaborate scenic stage of Dorset Garden Theater in the months after its opening. But it also catapults us over 3,000 miles to the west and nearly 175 years into the future (when Bickerstaffe's Mungo left his mark on another Stage African, Jim Crow) to ask how British colonialism continued to imagine new cities "according to the same city plans as London"—and how the stage continued to capitalize on the geographical knowledge and spatial practices of unpropertied peoples who modeled how to survive those cities when these plans inevitably failed.

A brief epilogue traces the legacy of these London comedies in the most popular play of the eighteenth-century English stage, John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), along with its censored sequel, *Polly* (1729). Like the other plays that the book explores, *The Beggar's Opera* relies on shifting scenes and shifting (and shifty) characters to portray a metropole whose politicians and power brokers follow in the footsteps of the unpropertied (here, the beggars and thieves of the London underworld). *Polly* transports these same characters from the metropole to a colony resembling (I suggest) Kingston, Jamaica, where formerly enslaved maroons, Indigenous Americans, and pirates join the list of unpropertied wanderers whose spatial practices held value for English colonizers. Noting the similarities between the urban plans of post-Fire London and those of colonial Kingston, the epilogue gestures toward the global implications of the spatial practices I trace throughout the book and the long legacy of a Restoration theater that taught the modern city how to move.

Each chapter, then, engages with the ways that movable scenery transformed the spaces of the public stage, though the precise nature of these transformations differs in every case: chapter 2, drawing on Behn's detailed stage directions to examine her innovative use of the discovery scene, dis-

cusses the sets themselves, while chapter 3 is more focused on the real-world spaces with which they were in conversation; chapters 1 and 4 examine the personnel the sets drew to the stage; and chapter 5, the gestures and choreographies this scenery inspired. The choice to focus my attention on Londoners who were legally or financially barred from property ownership means that this book has less to say about other communities—such as Londoners with disabilities and those with non-normative genders and sexualities—whose alternative modes of place-making have shaped both the geographies of modern London and its playhouses, as well as theories of place-making more broadly. The experiences and spatial practices of such communities are important to the history of London, and where they intersect with the spatial practices of laborers, women, Nonconformists, and enslaved and economic migrants, I include their stories here. As we shall see, playwrights often used signs of physical disability—a limp, a crutch—as "narrative prostheses" for characters they want to portray as somehow ill-equipped or unfit to navigate London's increasingly mobile geographies.[100] Understanding the complex array of experiences and of spatial practices within such communities, however, would take me beyond this book's focus on the unpropertied; I leave that important work to other scholars who can do it full justice.

My interest is, instead, in how a lifetime spent walking the streets of the city, the byways of the nation, or the corners of the globe gave the unpropertied wanderers born or washed ashore in London the skills that would become essential to navigating and to shaping an ever-shifting metropolis. And my interest is, more narrowly, on the emergent technologies of movable scenery that the patrons of the Restoration playhouse harnessed to seize upon, display, and disseminate those skills to the privileged Londoners also trying to make their way through a city whose landmarks were suddenly absent, whose properties were suddenly movable, whose populations and pathways and geographies were changed utterly from what they had been before. While the story ends far from this Restoration metropolis, in the colonized cities built in London's mold, then, it begins before the newbuilt scenes of Dorset Garden with a former scene painter in servant's livery stepping forth to ask the question that must have been on everyone's minds: "Where?"

CHAPTER 1

Plotting (Dryden's Servants)

When Henry Harris emerged from the newly constructed scenes onto the forestage of Dorset Garden Theater on 9 November 1671, the theater's spectators may not, at first, have noticed. The new theater was spectacular enough to draw their attention upward—to the elegantly painted flats from which Harris had just emerged, to the proscenium that framed the flats with sculptures of dancing nymphs, toward the largest and grandest auditorium London's public playhouses had yet seen—and even to distract them from the devastation that lay just beyond the stage doors. Situated along the western border of the Fire's blackened footprint, Dorset Garden at its opening performance seemed to affirm John Dryden's description of London, in the dedication to his 1667 poem *Annus Mirabilis*, as "a *Phoenix* in her ashes."[1]

Yet the London that the liveried actor evoked in this opening speech—a speech also authored by Dryden—seemed more labyrinth than phoenix, a warren navigable only by those who knew how to appear unobtrusive. It was this unobtrusiveness that the actor's costume seemed to signify above all else: when worn on the street or in the drawing room, livery marked its wearers as those who should be seen but not heard, those whose familiarity with the back stairs and the back streets of the city gave them a geographical knowledge few others held.[2] The uniform had similar connotations on the scenic stage. When William Davenant introduced changeable scenery to the public theater a decade earlier, he often used livery to disguise the stagehands required to move the painted flats and furnishings: in their servants' costumes they appeared not as functionaries but as set pieces, another part of the *mise-en-scène*. Now that his Duke's Company had finally opened their dreamed-of theater (albeit three years after Davenant's death), the performer chosen to speak its first lines was not only dressed in the uniform of a stagehand but also acquainted with the spaces between the scenes. Though he

would star that afternoon as Warner in Dryden's London comedy *Sir Martin Mar-All* within a theater of which he was part owner, Henry Harris began his theatrical career backstage as a scene painter. Spectators might have been forgiven for seeing him as part of the set dressing in the opening moments of the play, then—until he stepped from the scenery and began to speak.

This chapter uses the Dorset Garden's production of *Sir Martin Mar-All* to explore the significance of servant characters on the Restoration stage, and to ask what their presence suggests about the geographical knowledge servants held in the growing city that the stage would represent. As its opening question of "where" indicates, the play's innovative use of the new theater's scenic technologies—what Laura Brown has called its "vivid use of city settings"—presented a post-Fire London left disoriented and disorienting.[3] Guiding us through this labyrinth is Harris's Warner, a man whose livery grants him the tactical understanding of the city's geographies that his landowning employer, Sir Martin, lacks. We will learn in the play's final act that Warner is an aristocrat who, dispossessed by the civil wars, has taken on the guise of a servant to navigate a changed London. Portrayed by a man whose livery marks him as the property of a theater in which he is in fact part owner, Warner thus offers a model for Sir Martin—as well as the wealthier Londoners gathered in Dorset Garden's auditorium—to follow: a gentleman who has learned to move like a servant, a strategist who has adopted the tactics of the city's walkers as his own. Tellingly, the schemes he invents rely again and again on the quick-wittedness of the play's only "true" servant (and ostensible hero), the lady's maid Rose, barred from property by her gender as well as her class. (No record survives of who played Rose in the Dorset Garden production.) The play concludes with a stunning *coup de théâtre* that marries (quite literally) servants and landowners, tactics and strategies—and in doing so rewards those high-born Londoners like Warner willing to stoop low enough to assume the improvised performances, mobile lifestyles, and unobtrusive maneuverings that their unpropertied neighbors had developed to survive.

Though servant characters like Warner and Rose were not unknown to the London comedies that debuted before the civil wars, scholars such as Kristina Straub have suggested that they became more active agents of the plot in plays (and other literary works) of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; and Derek Hughes describes the "confusion of master-servant roles" as "a significantly prominent theme in the [plays of the] 1660s."[4] Such a theme was perhaps unsurprising given the reshuffling of lands and of property that characterized the decade surrounding the Great

Fire, a time when many Londoners shared in the precarity usually limited to the most vulnerable populations and thus a time when, I argue, the tactics of walkers in navigating the city took on a new cultural and social value. In unraveling the threads that bound the livery of actual London servants to the costumes of actors playing them on the stage, however, I want to be careful not to mistake the representation of working-class life for its reality. Bruce Robbins points out that bourgeois literature can aestheticize and anaesthetize its servant characters to the point that—as John Richetti has argued—they strain the eighteenth-century novel's claims to realism.[5] Yet the Restoration's scenic stages had one claim to working-class representation that the bourgeois novels examined by Robbins and Richetti lacked: the physical presence of intermittently itinerant actors and, in particular, of backstage laborers, many of them drawn from the same socioeconomic class that supplied London's servants. The first moments of *Sir Martin Mar-All* draw attention to these laborers: a man whose livery suggests that spectators should ignore him as servant, supernumerary, or stagehand suddenly steps forth from the scenery and begins to speak. His actions demand that his spectators attend to a person they might otherwise have ignored, implicitly admonishing them for reading his livery as a sign that he is part of the scenery rather than a city dweller with knowledge to impart.

Sir Martin Mar-All is, then, a London comedy that is deeply invested not only in the knowledges and movements of servants and other London laborers throughout the growing city, but also in the scenic innovations that made those servants and laborers visible, for the first time, on the public stage. Significant here is the timing of the play's composition. The 1671 production in Dorset Garden was a revival; the play originally premiered at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1667, just shy of the Great Fire's first anniversary. This chronology suggests that Dryden had composed at least parts of the play while in exile from the plague graves and ash heaps of London, at the same time that he was writing not only *Annus Mirabilis* but also the *Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, "often considered the pioneering instance of modern literary criticism" according to Laura Brown.[6] Despite their near contemporaneity, these works are rarely read together.[7] In the pages that follow, I examine *Sir Martin Mar-All* alongside the *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* and the history of the Dorset Garden stage to explore how each presents movable scenery as a tool for teaching Londoners how to adapt to and improvise their way within an ever-shifting cityscape.

While this chapter opens and closes with Harris's performance as Warner in *Sir Martin Mar-All*, then, I use this performance to tell a larger story

about the histories, geographies, and economic realities of the backstage workers—from stagehands and "house servants" at the lower end of the social scale to scene painters and set designers at the upper—whom changeable scenery introduced to the public theaters. These laborers are crucial, I argue, to how Dryden justifies the uses of the theater in the *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* and to how he presents the changing scenes of London in his most popular city comedy. They are also crucial to how the city's theaters staged—and to how audiences learned to navigate—the shifting landscape of post-Fire London through the shifting scenery of Dorset Garden Theater.

London, 1671

"Where the Devil is this Master of mine?" Warner addresses the audience, standing alone onstage in the first line of the play:

> [H]e is ever out of the way when he should do himself good. This 'tis to serve a Coxcomb, one that has no more brains than just those I carry for him. Well! of all Fopps commend me to him for the greatest; he's so opinion'd of his own Abilities, that he is ever designing somewhat, and yet he sows his Stratagems so shallow, that every Daw can pick 'em up: from a Plotting Fool the Lord deliver me.[8]

As several critics have noted, Dryden borrowed elements of the plot for *Sir Martin Mar-All* from two French sources: Philippe Quinault's *L'Amant Indiscret* (1654) and Molière's *L'Étourdi* (1655).[9] Both plays derive from a *commedia dell'arte* tradition in which clever (and sometimes not-so-clever) servants drive the action—a provenance that offers one possible explanation for Warner's and Rose's significance to the plot. But Dryden heightens this significance beyond that of his source material in allowing Warner the opening speech—a decision that situates the audience's sympathies, from the beginning of the play, with the servant rather than the master. The difference between the two, Dryden suggests, depends on the definition of the word *plot* in the final line—a word that signifies the changing definition of space in Dryden's London and that appears no less than twenty-eight times throughout the play.

To plot is, of course, a verb, meaning to plan or to scheme (or to script a play, a definition to which I shall return later in this chapter). But as Warner's description of Sir Martin as a man who "sows his Stratagems so shallow" suggests, *plot* is also a noun marking space: a plot of ground one might "sow" or map or own. The struggles between Sir Martin and Warner that occupy

the next five acts of the play involve their divergent understandings of this word—and the divergent understandings of city space that it engenders. Sir Martin, lately arrived in London from the country, is of uncertain pedigree: J. Douglas Canfield refers to him as "an upstart parvenu," though from the title the character shares with his rival, Sir John Swallow, who declares himself the owner of "a small Estate," we might assume he possesses at least a small plot of ground (*Sir Martin*, I.i.179).[10] He longs to increase his prospects by marriage to Rose's mistress, Mrs. Millisent, a wealthy young woman also visiting London from Canterbury and accompanied (alas) by her landowning father, Old Moody, and Sir John, the suitor Old Moody prefers over Sir Martin. Lusting after the daughter of a landowner—and a likely landowner himself—Sir Martin thus understands *plot* as a noun and space as fixed, a stable property to be acquired through a suitable marriage.

Yet any attempt by Sir Martin to render London comprehensible—to apply to it his conservative and countrified understanding of land as stable and *plot* as a noun—soon proves foolhardy in the shifting urban spaces he now inhabits. Instead, he must rely on the schemes of two quick-witted and improvising servants to pursue his mistress and to carve out a space to court and marry her, away from Old Moody's and Sir John's prying eyes. Instructing Sir Martin is Warner, a man who lacks the landed estates that his employer so values, as Rose underlines when she addresses him as "Mr. Littleplot" in the fourth act of the play (IV.i.240). And instructing Warner is Rose, who teaches her co-conspirator how to survive his own newfound precarity after "his Father's sufferings in the late times" have forced him to mortgage his estate (V.ii.121).

Canfield interprets Warner's aristocratic origins as evidence of the play's conservative ideology: "Thus another banished cavalier is restored to his proper place and estate. The loyalist symbolically remarries the land."[11] Yet such a reading discounts the crucial role that Rose plays in aiding and often inventing the schemes that Warner will deploy. (Indeed Rose's admonishment of Warner as Mr. Littleplot may suggest the inferiority of his schemes in comparison with her own as much as it suggests the inferiority of his landholdings in comparison with his employer's. "[I am] studying to deserve thee, *Rose*," Warner responds to her address [IV.i.241].) In Warner, Dryden presents not just a dispossessed aristocrat, in other words, but an aristocrat who has already learned from the servants he imitates how to move through the shifting cityscape—and one who, from these servants, has come to understand *plot* as a verb. It is a lesson that he will continue to perfect under Rose's guidance. And it is one that he will

patiently teach to Sir Martin—as well as to the theater's audience—over the five acts of the play.

In privileging mobility and adaptability over landed stability Warner thus aligns himself with the class of "masterless men" and masterless women who had come to represent a growing proportion of London's population in the decades surrounding the Great Fire.[12] As historians such as Christopher Hill, E.P. Thompson, A.L. Beier, and Paul Slack (following Karl Marx) have documented in detail, the century before Dryden's play debuted saw a series of significant economic shifts that resulted in the displacement of thousands of people across England.[13] English land had traditionally been farmed by smallholders—growers whose few acres were enough to sustain (but not to enrich) their families while they lived and who passed these few acres down to the next generation when they died. Like the peasants who lived among them, these smallholders depended on common lands for the hunting, herding, and foraging that supplemented the crops they could produce on their meager properties. Beginning in the late medieval period, however, changes to farming technology made small farms less profitable even as populations grew, and smallholders began to face immense pressure to turn their lands over to larger commercialized agricultural operations. At the same time, a series of Enclosure Acts allowed larger landholders to convert common lands into private property. "The rise in population led to greater competition for holdings, rising rents, and the proliferation of uneconomic smallholdings," Beier explains:

> By 1600 it barely paid to farm less than 30 acres of arable. Yet even in good times in Elizabeth I's reign few smallholders held more than 4 acres. Under the early Stuarts there was still further fragmentation of holdings and recourse to wage-work to make ends meet. The rising corn prices of the period were unfavourable, because most smallholders kept livestock and bought their corn in the market. Far better placed were the lords and big peasants, who engrossed the smallholder's lands and enclosed the commons he used for grazing.[14]

Suddenly bereft of land that had sustained their family for generations, former smallholders joined the similarly displaced peasantry as wage laborers, passing from one parish to another in search of work. Their search took many to London, where by 1700 approximately 8,000 new immigrants were arriving per year.[15] Most of them came from the English countryside, and many found employment in service; as J. Jean Hecht notes, servants were in increasing demand from wealthier Londoners eager to acquire status symbols to set them

off from their neighbors amid the anonymity of the growing city.[16] D.A. Kent estimates that servants made up approximately 10 percent of the city's population by the mid-eighteenth century, though the seventeenth-century demographer Gregory King put their number closer to 68,000, nearly 13 percent of the London population in 1695.[17]

At a time when travel was always uncomfortable and often treacherous, these displaced persons and servants were often the most widely traveled of London's residents, with knowledge of spaces both across and beyond the city. Servants tended to switch employers (and thus households) annually on average, according to Peter Earle; many occupied a single post for no more than six months (though London servants often stayed at their posts longer than those in the countryside).[18] Lawrence Stone has examined muster rolls and census returns over the seventeenth century to estimate that some villages may have seen a population "turnover as high as 50% to 60% in ten years" as individuals moved into and out of the area in search of work. "This mobility," he writes, "can partly be explained by the high proportion of the community who worked as living-in servants. These would move away from home to take service and move again to change employers or get married."[19] Robert B. Shoemaker has reached similar conclusions about the mobility of the lower classes by comparing the residential addresses of people named in court documents to the addresses where they were involved in crimes—as witnesses, victims, or suspects. The poor moved further and more often than the wealthy in this period, and women traversed the city more widely than men. "Because they did not own property, or have secure accommodation, lower-class men were more mobile than their middle-class counterparts," Shoemaker explains. "The poorest Londoners of both sexes needed to travel most, in search of employment, sources of poor relief, or new accommodation (since their lodgings could be as insecure as their jobs)."[20] Lower-class women like Rose traveled most widely of all. Their precarity ensured that servants and laborers knew intimately more parts of the city—and, in many cases, of the nation—than their well-heeled employers. It also accustomed them to frequent travel, lending them what Patricia Fumerton calls an "'at-home' unsettledness."[21]

This same unsettledness also forced the poorest Londoners to develop skills for improvising and adapting inadequate shelters to serve their housing needs; and Amanda Flather has suggested that servants' and laborers' strategies for constituting, contesting, and reconstructing urban space had a significant impact on the city's geography.[22] Even before the Fire struck, mid-seventeenth-century London was experiencing a housing crisis brought on

by a combination of rapid population growth and restrictions on new building. The resulting shortage forced the "lesser sort" as well as many members of the "mechanic class" to convert barns, sheds, lean-tos, and even (in some cases) former outhouses into makeshift shelters.[23] These converted buildings included the once palatial rooms of Dorset House, the London seat of the Earl of Dorset, upon whose grounds the theater would rise. Long before the theater company laid its cornerstone, Dorset House had been divided and subdivided by impoverished Londoners looking for shelter in an increasingly crowded city.[24] The theater that would open its doors with a performance of *Sir Martin Mar-All*, in other words, stood on ground already marked and remade by the geographies of impoverished Londoners.

The knowledge of these Londoners about surviving such makeshift shelters would prove invaluable after the Fire leveled so many of the city's purpose-built homes. While the city's wealthiest residents absconded to the countryside, the poorest, "with more Expedition than can be conceived, set up little Sheds of Brick and Timber upon the Ruins of their own Houses," complained the Earl of Clarendon in his *Life* (written in the 1660s but not published until 1759).[25] Yet as T.F. Reddaway notes in his authoritative *The Rebuilding of London After the Great Fire*, "the pages of the *London Gazette* were filled with notices of the temporary lodgings acquired by Courts, officials, and important men" as well as by the classes whose poverty had forced them to take up such lodgings years before.[26]

Peasants and former smallholders were not, then, the only displaced persons arriving in the city in the mid-seventeenth century. By 1641, those frustrated by the slow seizure of common lands and the dispossession of common people joined with those who dissented to certain precepts of the Anglican Church to overthrow the English monarchy in favor of the Parliamentary government of Oliver Cromwell. One of Cromwell's first acts as prime minister was to establish Sequestration Committees, charged with seizing the estates of wealthy landowners who had fought against him in the civil wars. Royalists could reclaim their lands only after paying a hefty fine that in effect dispossessed many of them. Among these dispossessed Royalists was the fifth Earl of Dorset. A supporter of Charles I during the civil wars, he had been heavily fined by the Sequestration Committees, though the land he would lease to the Duke's Company (like most lands seized by Cromwell's government) was returned to him upon Charles II's restoration. By the time the players arrived, the once lush gardens from which their theater took its name were reduced to cinders in the Great Fire that had destroyed the last remnants of the aristocratic buildings—along

with the homes of the many impoverished Londoners who had taken up residence there in the earl's absence.

The grounds of Dorset Garden Theater itself, in other words, bore the scars of those years of war, of fire, of forced migration; and all those who passed by or lingered outside the theater on its opening day—from courtiers to commoners—shared, to greater or lesser extent, in this precarity. In recent years, theater historians have corrected earlier scholarship that downplayed this social mixing or that described the theater as offering respite from this precarity to a largely aristocratic audience.[27] These earlier studies, focusing less on Dorset Garden than on the West End, relied on Restoration prologues and epilogues that purported to cater to "the Town," an increasingly fashionable crowd of haute bourgeoisie occupying the geographical and metaphorical space between the aristocratic "Court" of Whitehall Palace and the petit bourgeois shops of the "City."[28] Yet the tripartite division between City, Court, and Town upon which these prologues and epilogues (as well as the scholarship that follows them) rely forgets the impoverished Londoners displaced by this development—and still lingering in the Town's alleyways and interstices as the displaced linger in the alleyways and interstices of the rapidly gentrifying cities of today.[29] Like the West End, Dorset Garden did not materialize out of empty space; it was built on top of small farms and working-class homes in what Harold K. Love has called "an act of colonization, by the gentry, of a metropolis that until that time had been the preserve of the manufacturing and mercantile classes."[30] Many of those Londoners from the manufacturing and mercantile classes traveled elsewhere in the city when their land was developed into fashionable homes and theaters; some, though, remained. A few may even have been present among the ranks of spectators clamoring for a space on the backless benches of the playhouse auditorium.

Journeying from their country estates with new awareness of the precarity of their property to "colonize" the urban spaces formerly occupied by the working classes, the wealthier spectators who made up portions of the audience at Dorset Garden Theater at its opening performance may not have seen the playhouse as a respite from the city's social diversity. It is just as likely that they arrived at the theater—passing through the streets around Bridewell workhouse to the north, or the reputed lawlessness of Whitefriars lying west along the Thames, or the slums St. Giles and St. Martin's just a bit further on—having studied with curiosity the working-class neighbors who had once occupied these lands unharrassed and who knew better than the aristocrats how to survive a shifting cityscape. A trip to the theater allowed

Figure 3. Robert J. D. Page, *The Duke's Theatre in Dorset Gardens* [*sic*] (1825). The engraving dates from 1825, though the image is much earlier; the theater was dismantled in 1709. Courtesy of New York Public Library Digital Collections.

such aristocrats proximity to their poorer neighbors as those neighbors lingered outside the theater's doors before the show began, hurried past the grand façade on their way to other errands, saved seats for their employers in the parts of the auditorium closest to the stage—or registered their own opinions on the performance from the Footmen's Gallery, a space at the back of the auditorium opened after the third act.[31]

The archives offer brief but significant glimpses of the poorer Londoners included in the theaters' crowds. It was after a performance of *Sir Martin Mar-All* at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1668, for instance, that seasoned theatergoer Samuel Pepys noticed the diversity of his fellow spectators, "a mighty

company of citizens, prentices, and others; and it makes me observe that when I begin first to be able to bestow a play on myself, I do not remember that I saw so many by half of the ordinary prentices and mean people in the pit, at *2s-6d* apiece, as now."[32] Despite the Thames-side entrance that promised its wealthier patrons could bypass the slums of St. Giles in arriving at the stage (Figure 3), Dorset Garden Theater—built on the grounds once occupied by tenements, adjacent to Bridewell workhouse, crowded with servants and "mean people"—seems to invite its spectators to stare at their impoverished neighbors, to study their movements and maneuverings through city space.

But even had Dorset Garden's more privileged spectators somehow missed the display of working-class lives and movements as they made their way through the shifting city and into their seats, they would have been confronted with just such a sight when the curtains parted and Harris-as-Warner stepped forth to deliver his opening speech.

Plotting *Sir Martin Mar-All*

If his goal in composing *Sir Martin Mar-All* was to place in jostling proximity the diverse social classes of seventeenth-century London, Dryden could have chosen no better setting for his comedy. The opening stage directions specify the locale as Covent Garden, the entertainment district a few blocks to the west of Dorset Garden Theater and similarly flanked by poorer areas. A neighborhood that will play an outsized role within the pages of this book, Covent Garden was famous not only as the site of Jones's square—often considered the birthplace of modern urban planning in London—but also as an area frequented by rich and poor alike. While Love describes "Dryden's greatest subject" as "the emergence of city" and the "mix of wits and fools, high and low, making space for themselves within it," most modern critics have dismissed the play's "minimum of concern for distinctions of rank" as an ill-advised attempt to pander to the pit.[33] John Loftis denigrates Dryden's three London comedies as "the work of his left hand," and James Anderson Winn cites *Sir Martin Mar-All* as evidence that "he knew how to give the public what it wanted, even when his own dramatic theories pointed in another direction."[34]

In what direction Dryden's "dramatic theories" pointed is an argument I take up later in this chapter, but there is no doubt that *Sir Martin* gave the public what it wanted when it debuted in 1667, and again when it graced the Dorset Garden stage in 1671. The play was one of the most frequently performed comedies during Dryden's lifetime; the prompter John Downes

estimated that it made the Duke's Company more money than any other play save *Love in a Tub*.[35] The same socioeconomic diversity that has put off modern critics seems to have been part of the attraction for Dryden's contemporaries. A few months after describing the presence of "mean people" among the play's original audiences Pepys declared it "undoubtedly the best comedy ever was wrote" and estimated he had seen it some ten times.[36] Dryden seems to court such attention to the socioeconomic diversity onstage and off, not only in the play's setting but in crowning a man and a woman in servants' dress—and with servants' geographical knowledge—as its undoubted heroes.

While the play's fool, Sir Martin, plods through the unfolding five acts treating the city as unchanging, Warner and Rose are plotters in perpetual motion. The schemes that they develop throughout the play to facilitate Sir Martin's marriage to Mrs. Millisent depend on their manipulation of city space—and of the landowning visitors who, like Sir Martin, mistakenly assume this space to remain unchanged. As the play opens, Warner arranges for Mrs. Millisent to stay in the same boardinghouse where Sir Martin has established himself, thereby facilitating their assignations. This plot depends on Mrs. Millisent's ability to move around the house guided by Rose and unbeknownst to her father and Sir John Swallow, who must remain in one spot—a point Mrs. Millisent reinforces when, entering the lodging, she instructs Sir John "to stay here, that my Father may have intelligence where to find us" (I.i.214). Unfortunately Sir Martin mars all by finding Sir John first and revealing himself as a rival. ("'Twas a sweet Prank your Master play'd us," admonishes Rose; "to tell all so,—and to his Rival too" [II.ii.51–53].) In act II, Warner and Mrs. Millisent attempt to send Sir John east to Gray's Inn Walks, where he expects to fight Sir Martin in a duel—while Sir Martin himself is meeting with Mrs. Millisent to the west at St. James Park. The plot once again depends on Sir Martin's mistaken belief that a body will remain where Warner says it is—and on the superior abilities of the two servants along with Mrs. Millisent to interpret the geography of London. (And the plot once again misfires due to Sir Martin's ineptitude. "A mischief upon all Fools," Rose exclaims in act III [iii.1].)

By act IV, Mrs. Millisent is understandably skeptical that Sir Martin has any wit at all; so Warner and Rose decide that they must convince her that her tone-deaf pursuer possesses a great musical talent. Again, their plan rests on the manipulation of space and proximity, and the assumption that, in the city, both are impossible to map, measure, or pin down: as Rose guides Mrs. Millisent to her window, Warner will position Sir Martin below where he will mouth the words to a song that Warner, hidden nearby, will sing. Sir Martin

fumbles his performance and the plot fails, which leads Warner, in act V, to surrender to Rose the power to manipulate space and toponyms in order to best Old Moody and Sir John. Producing two disguises, she directs Warner to "dress thy Master, that he may be *Anthony*, old *Moody*'s Bastard, and thou his Servant, come from the *East-Indies*" (V.i.285–86). But this plot depends on Sir Martin's ability to remember the names of the many places where Anthony has traveled in a rapidly expanding British Empire: "Come, Sir, are you perfect in your Lesson?" Warner asks his marplot master. "*Anthony Moody* born in *Cambridge*, bred in the Isle of *Ely*, sent into the *Moguls* Country at seven years old . . ." (V.i.312–14). Sir Martin is not "perfect in [his] Lesson"; a man tied to his land, he cannot impersonate a traveler, and the distant placenames that Warner recites to him slip immediately from his memory. "We are undone *Warner*," cries Rose (V.i.426).

Succeeding in the increasingly globalized city, these many failed schemes suggest, means recognizing space as ever shifting and being willing to shift with it; it means understanding *plot* as a verb and space as something produced in the movements of the body and the improvisation of a moment. It is a skill that the precarious of the play—the servant Rose, the coverture-restricted Mrs. Millisent, and the dispossessed aristocrat disguised as the servant Warner—know well, and one that the landowners from Old Moody to Sir John to Sir Martin himself must learn in order to survive in the rapidly transforming city.

Rose's facility with disguise in the final act binds the tactics of London servants, moving lithely through an ever-expanding city, to those of London actors and stage personnel, moving among the changeable scenery. As the liveried co-conspirators plot their way through the play, Dryden underlines the alliance between precarious city dwellers and rogue actors, between those who perform new spaces into being amid the shifting geographies of London and those who do so by shifting the sets of the Restoration stage. To the Londoners attending the Dorset Garden performance in 1671 (as well as those attending its original performance less than a year after the Fire), *Sir Martin Mar-All* issued a warning: learn how to navigate the city like a servant, lest you join the fools like Old Moody or Sir John, who fail to adapt to these changing ideas of space. But it also offered a solution: come to the theater, where a troupe of actors and stagehands dressed as servants and dancing around changeable scenery will teach you how to make space for yourself on ever-shifting ground. The play positions the theater as a crucial tool for teaching Londoners how to adapt to their changing surroundings. In

doing so it draws attention not only to the actors but also to the company of stagehands, scene painters, and house servants collaborating to produce the shifting scenery—and to educate uninitiated Londoners in how to navigate it.

Servants and Laborers on the Dorset Garden Stage

Sir Martin Mar-All is not only a play about post-Fire London, then; it is also a play about a theater that, outfitted with changeable scenery and populated by the laborers required to make and operate it, can now represent the post-Fire city more realistically and more elaborately than ever before. Deborah Payne has described the play's author as "the consummate 'man of the theatre,'" one who despite his aristocratic ambitions went to great lengths "to represent himself as a working member of a company, someone who collaborates eagerly with actors, managers, musicians, even scene painters."[37] Dryden's most popular comedy offers strong evidence for such collaboration: as Tim Keenan has pointed out, the play makes full and skillful use of the scenic spaces and technologies featured in the Lincoln's Inn Fields playhouse where it debuted and perfected in the Dorset Garden Theater that it opened.[38] In Dryden's attention to these backstage technologies as well as his evocation of the laborers who set them in motion, he presents the theater as a crucial tool for urban space-making.

Dryden draws attention to the spaces and technologies of the scenic stage *in Sir Martin Mar-All*'s several metatheatrical references, underscored when Sir Martin contemplates an assignation with Mrs. Millisent in the "Duke's" playhouse—the very playhouse from which his audience watches (III.i.91). Each of Warner's and Rose's plots depend on the tricks of the theater and in particular on the scenic technologies that still seemed novel in 1671, a decade after Davenant had first introduced them to the public stage: Warner and Rose prompt Sir Martin when he forgets his lines as Sir Anthony Moody; they improvise when Sir John discovers Warner hiding behind a door in Mrs. Millisent's lodging; and Warner proves his performance chops by singing under Mrs. Millisent's balcony when Sir Martin cannot. Warner's mention of an assignation in St. James Park (a common location in Restoration drama and thus a stock scene in most theaters' scenery rooms) tempts the audience with the possibility of witnessing one of the scene changes for which the Duke's Company had become known. When Sir Martin mars this plot (as he mars so many), he denies the audience this hoped-for spectacle, prompting spectators once again to align themselves with the servant characters and

to see Sir Martin as a blocker of the plot as well as of the theatrical pleasures that that plot insinuates but fails to deliver. Sir Martin is, in other words, a bad actor, forgetting his lines and dropping his cues, failing to recognize or play along with the scenes his fellow actors have devised. Warner, played by former scene painter Harris, and Rose, the prompter behind Warner's plots, are the consummate performers, makers of stage space and of urban space. Their livery identifies them not only as servants but also as the Duke's Servants, part of the company of poor players strutting in and out of the shifting scenes.

By the time that he stepped onto the Dorset Garden stage in the livery of a servant, of course, Henry Harris had more in common with the property owners strolling the pit of the new theater than with the footmen seated in the gallery; it was his name, along with those of his fellow actor Thomas Betterton and of Mary Davenant, the theater impresario's widow, on the lease granting them use of "a piece of ground in Dorset Garden" on 11 August 1670.[39] Yet Harris's livery serves as a reminder of how fragile, within a half century of war and fire and plague, such claims over a "piece of ground" had come to seem. Betterton, though he would one day be buried next to kings in Westminster Abbey, had been born the son of an undercook to Charles I—and like Harris he spent much of his life battling the perception of the actor's status as ephemeral and undeserved.[40] Cromwell's Puritan government had shuttered the theaters between 1642 and 1660, labeling actors "rogues and vagabonds"; and upon joining the company stage, personnel were issued livery to remind them of their status as the King's (or the Duke's) servants.[41]

The threat of precarity loomed in more recent memory as well: in 1665, only two years before the play's first performance, the plague epidemic had closed all the theaters, and actors endured nearly a year and a half of unemployment. The patent system under which the two theaters were managed increased this threat of precarity. Before the civil wars, actors and theater companies were considered part of their noble patron's household and thus (at least in theory) protected from vagrancy laws and paid even when the theaters temporarily closed. But the patent system treated the actors more and more like wage laborers in a capitalist system. In this way, too, the employment of actors resembled the employment of servants at this time—which, as Bridget Hill and others have suggested, was undergoing a similar transition "from a paternalistic system to a contractual one."[42] When the theaters closed or failed to profit (and they failed again and again in these years, as Deborah Payne has shown in *The Business of Restoration Theatre*), the actors and other theater personnel often went unpaid.

Even those actors who may not have experienced precarity themselves arguably carried its memory in the movements and gestures passed down to them through the theatrical repertoire. Robert Henke has written of the ways that memories of poverty and hunger experienced by early commedia dell'arte actors came to mark the bodies, jests, and *lazzi* of its later practitioners: "Whether or not a given troupe or actor directly experienced or even cared about poverty, famine, destitution, or other social issues," he explains, "by the time of the commedia's 'golden age' these themes had by dint of theatrical tradition and performance sedimentation become part of the actors' repertoire."[43] The plot of *Sir Martin Mar-All*, like those of so many Restoration comedies, derived from commedia; it is not inconceivable that its actors borrowed bits of stage business from the commedia as well. Like the spectacle of a man in servant's livery stepping out of the scenery and demanding to be heard, such *lazzi* force the audience to attend to and derive meaning from the words of a servant and the gestures of a company of humble actors in order to find their way through the plot of the play, the shifting scenes through which it wanders, and the shifting city in which it takes place.

Harris's livery—and his background—also suggest his relationship to the stagehands and scene painters whose ranks he once swelled. In a promptbook for another of Dryden's comedies, *An Evening's Love*, prepared by the prompter Thomas Newman for a production at Drury Lane Theater in 1690–1691, notes scrawled into the margins next to a scene change in act III direct "/6/ Servants" to "carry off S[mall?]:Table / & move Large."[44] The notes confirm that scene changes were performed by lesser actors and stagehands who often doubled as servants filling out the scenes of the play. As Judith Milhous has noted, the precise dimensions of the Dorset Garden stage have been lost to time, making it impossible to reconstruct precisely the audience's sightlines or to understand whether stagehands would ever have been visible while they were changing the scenes.[45] Yet the notes in this near-contemporaneous promptbook suggest that backstage laborers often if not always performed their duties in full view of Restoration audiences, who were predisposed to see these laborers as servants in part because of the similarities not only in their duties (and in their incomes) but also in their dress.

With the advent of changeable scenery on the Restoration's public stages, such workers suddenly became indispensable not only to the construction but also to the maintenance of the stage's increasingly elaborate sets. "Even a modest show at Lincoln's Inn Fields necessitated at least ten men" to set the scenery in motion, writes Deborah Payne; the more elaborate stagings for which Dorset Garden had been built often necessitated more.[46]

Indeed, the flat-and-groove system that distinguished London's theaters from their French and Italian counterparts was especially labor-intensive. The simple act of "shifting scenery from place to place . . . caused wear and tear and reduced the shelf life of expensive sets," notes Shearer West.[47] The introduction of these new conventions demanded a small army of laborers with the skills to build, to rebuild, and to repair the flats, more than the public theaters had previously employed.

Scholars of the period, however, have largely disregarded the significant presence of these laborers on and just behind the Restoration stage. As Christin Essin points out, "The unseen activities of the largely unnamed offstage personnel . . . remain undocumented [in most histories of the theater]. Mostly overlooked, misunderstood, or deemed unworthy of examination, technicians and their work are uncritically assumed and subsumed within larger discussions of the theater industry."[48] While the introduction of the English public playhouse's first actresses have generated countless scholarly monographs in the past century, the introduction of its first stagehands and scenekeepers was no less revolutionary—and such workers indeed accounted for a larger percentage of the theater company's personnel. In its register for the years 1671–1673, the King's Company lists only eight actresses in its employ. But it lists fifteen "Scenekeepers," along with one "Tyreman and Wardrobe Keeper," and one "Machenist."[49]

As Juan A. Prieto-Pablos has noted, not all of the laborers hired to construct, move, and manipulate the changeable scenery hailed from the working classes. Prieto-Pablos details the career of one backstage worker to suggest a growing distinction in the early 1660s between the higher-class (and better paid) scenekeepers who designed the scenes, and the lower-class and lower-paid "machinists" who set them in motion.[50] Harris, for instance, likely entered the theater company as the former: an agreement that established the Duke's Company under Davenant's leadership in 1660 lists Harris as "of the Citty of London, painter," and Pepys later makes references to his painting as well. "Harris's exact position in the troupe is not clear from the agreement," according to the editors of the *Biographical Dictionary*, "but the fact that he was specified a painter and treated separately from the actors suggests that his responsibilities may at first have concerned the scenes and machines with which Davenant hoped to dazzle Londoners."[51] Dawn Lewcock notes that when Davenant engaged Harris (presumably as a scene painter) in 1660, "the tripartite agreement he signed with the actor-sharers bound Harris in the sum of *L*.5000, ten times more than the individual actors, showing how essential Davenant thought it was to have a painter on call."[52]

Yet throughout the end of the seventeenth century, the theater seems to have drawn at least some of these employees designated scenekeepers and many of its machinists as well from the lower classes. In her discussion of the class status of scene painters during a somewhat later period, West notes that although sources like R. Campbell's 1758 *London Tradesman* do not include scene painters or backstage laborers as a separate category, these workers' socioeconomic status seems to have varied substantially depending on their precise jobs within the company. In addition to the scenic artists whose status was growing, in other words, the backstage spaces of the public playhouse sheltered many other workers with varying levels of precarity, compensation, and privilege. "Painters are listed in this directory along with pumpmakers, opticians, scriveners, cork cutters, and sugar bakers," West writes:

> A hierarchy is established between the painter who is a liberal artist "born, not made"; the herald, house, and coach painter whose "chief Secret is in grinding, mixing and compounding the colours"; the colour man "apothecary to the Painter"; and the drapery painter who "is but the lowest degree of a liberal painter."

By the end of the eighteenth century, West continues, "a hierarchy came to be established in which a scenic artist acted as the designer of the concept, house painters executed the design, and the technical back-up was provided by machinists and carpenters."[53]

Those backstage laborers nearer the bottom rungs of this hierarchy enjoyed far less status, less salary, and less stability. Sybil Rosenfeld suggests that the Georgian theater must have hired many precarious apprentices and day laborers to assist the painters they employed on a fixed salary, and one can hardly imagine the less well-funded Carolean theater to have been much different in this regard.[54] But even those salaried laborers could not have been said to be wealthy. Though the wages paid by the public theaters at the end of the seventeenth century are unknown, an account book dated 21 November 1666 lists "Henry Glover Keeper of the [Court] Theater at Whitehall . . . and also Keeper of Our Scenes, Machines, Engines, & other things to ye same belonging" as earning a salary of £30 annually.[55] Assuming pay at the public playhouses was similar, and assuming scenekeepers' salaries would have followed the general trend in staying relatively steady between 1666 and 1688 (the date of Gregory King's record of the "Distribution of Incomes in England and Wales"), this salary would have put the

scenekeeper's income somewhere between the averages of skilled "Artisans and handicrafts" (£40 per year) and "Common Seamen" (£20 per year).[56] Because King averages incomes from across England and Wales rather than limiting his data to London, where wages were quite a bit higher, however, a scenekeeper's salary was very likely closer to that of the "Common Seamen" than this statistic immediately suggests. For comparison, the mean household annual rent in the Seven Dials area of St. Giles (a few blocks from Covent Garden) was £15 10*s.*, though the middle classes often paid up to £20 to £30 per year and journeymen and laborers could find rooms, garrets or tenements for as little as £2 per year.[57] It is likely, in other words, that many of the stagehands were considered "Workmen," as an English translation of François Hédelin, abbé d'Aubignac, described them in 1684.[58]

Scenekeepers were joined in the theater by other laborers earning compensation comparable to that of London's domestic servants (whose average salaries King lists at £15 per year in 1688, though D.A. Kent suggests they may have been somewhat higher when room and board are taken into account).[59] These laborers included "house servants" like "Mr. and Mrs. Wharton," presumably a husband and wife who worked together at the Queen's Theatre in 1708, for a (combined?) income of 7*s.* 6*d.* daily (*BD* 16:25); carpenters like Mr. Tucket, who earned £1 1*s.* in one week at Covent Garden in 1794–1795 (*BD* 15:52); "sweepers" such as Anne Wall, who earned 6*s.* per week at Covent Garden during the 1740–1741 season (*BD* 15:226); "Scaene" men like "Mr Marsh," paid 7*s* 6*d* per day at the Queen's Theatre as of March 8, 1708 (*BD* 10:101); charwomen like Susan Warwick, who worked along with her mother or her sister and was severely injured while serving as a supernumerary on the Covent Garden stage on 1 October 1736 (*BD* 16:52); lampmen like Thomas Nevil, paid 10*s.* per week at the Lincoln's Inn Fields from 1727–1728 (*BD* 11:10); and doorkeepers such as "Mr Haughton," who worked at Drury Lane long enough to be given a benefit on 10 May 1710 (*BD* 7:177). (There is no record of what the benefit netted.) Some of these workers seem to have secured their posts through nepotism, as relations of the better-paid actors or scene painters the theater already employed. Others, however, entered the profession from lower-class backgrounds, eager for the subsistence living it provided.

Anecdotal evidence confirms the presence and significance of these lower-class workers as holders of knowledge not only of the city but of the scenic technologies that represented it. On March 23, 1661, Pepys visited the Red Bull Theater "(where I have not been since plays came up again)" and was "led by a seaman that knew me, that is here as a servant, up to the tireing-room; where strange the confusion and disorder that there is among

them in fitting themselves; especially here, where the clothes are very poore and the actors but common fellows."[60] Wealthy theatergoers like Pepys may have enjoyed the spectacles onstage, but such evidence serves as an important reminder that it was the servants, former seamen, and "common fellows" who knew how to navigate these spectacles, and who were essential to their display.

The significance and visibility of these laborers both on and around the public stages of post-Fire London suggests additional meanings of *plot* as Warner—servant-schemer, improvising performer, liveried stagehand—understands it, and as Sir Martin with his "small Estate" must come to comprehend it. As Henry S. Turner notes, early modern players used *plot* to describe the sheet of paper posted backstage that detailed the play's blocking and that noted when each actor should enter and exit the stage. *Plot*, in other words, referred not only to a spot of ground (*plot* as noun) or to the schemes through which that spot of ground was transformed (*plot* as verb) but also to the ways that performing bodies moved through the spaces of the stage. Focusing his attention on the court masques of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones in the first half of the seventeenth century, Turner argues that the transformation of *plot* from a word meaning directions for the actors' movements to one meaning the overarching narratives that structure a play mirrors a similar transformation of the playwright and scenic designer from humble artisans to educated artists, armed with theories to back up their practices. In the masques produced in the early Stuart court theaters as yet untouched by civil war or the London Fire, Turner suggests, "the stage is like a map, and the imaginative conventions of theatrical performance like the system of geometrical projection on which the map depended."[61]

Yet by Dryden's day so much had shifted. The changeable scenery that Jonson and Jones are credited with innovating had moved from the court masque to the public playhouse, and with it came audiences who had endured years of war, plague, and fire; actors who carried in their bodies and their gestures reminders of their profession's precarity; and stagehands who (as Harris's livery reminds us) were often visible to spectators as they darted in and around the scenes or moved props on and off the stage. Meanwhile the geometric precision and cartographic theories that, Turner argues, shaped Jones's scenic designs as they had his Covent Garden plan seemed antiquated now that so much of the city just east of Covent Garden lay in ash. We might see in the metatheatricality of *Sir Martin Mar-All* not a rejection but rather an echo of this older meaning of *plot*—and an acknowledgment that spectators derive as much meaning from the ways that bodies and scenery move

across the spaces of the stage as they do from the theories of perspective and geometry that those moving bodies and scenes disrupt and destroy, just as a city's spaces are as much produced by its walkers as they are cemented by its maps. It is significant, then, that Turner dates the "explicit canonization" of *plot* as a term for the overarching structures of a play to Dryden's *Essay of Dramatick Poesie*—a text that, as we shall see, often describes Dryden's theory of "dramatick poesie" in terms of the arrangements and movements of bodies and of scenery across the London stage.[62]

Dryden's *Essay* and the Spaces of London

Today, literary historians read Dryden's *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* chiefly in the context of the debate it inspired between the author and his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard (who appears in the character of Crites in the *Essay*) over the use of the three unities and the appropriateness of rhymed couplets in a playscript. The spatial metaphors that pervade the *Essay* have garnered less attention but are crucial for understanding Dryden's defense of "dramatick poesie" as distinct from the literary texts that Sir Philip Sidney's earlier *Defense of Poesy* (1595) especially championed. It is through these metaphors that Dryden acknowledges the myriad ways that precarity—his own and his city's—shaped the English stage.

The *Essay* takes the form of a dialogue among four friends—each of them based on a figure in the Restoration theater—who debate the merits of ancient versus modern and French versus English playwriting while fleeing, by boat, the Dutch navy's attack on London. Reminders of the city's vulnerability and instability thus hover at the edges of Dryden's text, as insistent as the cannon fire that he evokes implicitly in the *Essay* and explicitly in *Annus Mirabilis*, which linked the Dutch wars with the Fire and the plague outbreak as calamities that London had managed to survive in a single year.[63] The fourth of the four friends, Neander, is a figure for Dryden himself, his pseudonym (*Neander* means "new man") emphasizing his relatively recent and still somewhat lower social status in comparison to the aristocrats he accompanies, usually identified as Howard (Crites), Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (Eugenius), and Sir Charles Sedley (Lisideius).[64] Though he relied on the aristocratic patronage of these (among other) men and spoke up often on behalf of the king's sovereignty and the old aristocratic order, Dryden was not himself an aristocrat; and scholars remain somewhat divided on the nature of his relationship to his patrons. Certainly the contract he signed with the King's Company in 1668 did not inure him to precarity: as Payne

notes, he "was so impoverished at the end of his life that friends had to underwrite the cost of his funeral."[65] In the play, poem, and *Essay* he composed between 1665 and 1668, Dryden seems at the very least to cast doubt on the appropriateness of his inclusion in the aristocratic circles where he moved but never, it seems, belonged. "Dryden's shape-shifting," note Jayne Lewis and Maximillian E. Novak, "has been variously interpreted as a vestigial form of postmodernism, as a political strategy, and as the artifact of a precarious juncture in literary and national history."[66]

This precarity hardly puts Dryden on the level of the servants, stagehands, and actors who populated the Restoration theaters, of course, but the pseudonym does ask his readers to contemplate what additional knowledge a common man might contribute to the stage. At one point, Neander defends English drama's habit of staging battle scenes as entertainment. His position rejects the more refined taste of Lisideius, who complains that the practice "renders our stage too like the theatres where they fight prizes"—in other words, the bearbaiting and athletic contests enjoyed by the lower classes but regarded by aristocrats with disdain (*Essay*, 39). At another point, Neander praises the English plays' competing cast of characters "of a second magnitude . . . almost equal to the first" (49) as preferable to the French Neoclassicists' centering of a single character, with the others ranged around them merely (as Lisideius puts it) as "so many servants in a well-governed family" (38) with a clear social hierarchy. And in his elaborated defense of English "variety" a few pages on, Neander describes the plot of an English drama in imagery similar to that which de Certeau would use, many years later, to describe city space: "If then the parts [of the play] are manag'd so regularly" by the skilled English dramatist, Dryden argues as Neander:

> that the beauty of the whole be kept intire, and that the variety become not a perplex'd and confus'd mass of accidents, you will find it infinitely pleasing to be led in a labyrinth of design, where you see some of your way before you, yet discern not the end till you arrive at it. (*Essay*, 49)

The plot of an English play, Dryden suggests in his explicitly spatial metaphor, must not be a "confus'd mass of accidents." But neither should it be so predictable or regular that the spectator might map each twisting and turning before it happens, in the manner of de Certeau's voyeur or Foucault's royal spectator, gazing down upon the space of the city or the perspectival scenes of the stage to see them ordered, mappable, inert. Rather, the best plots of plays are "labyrinth[s]" that allow the spectator to "see some of

your way before you, yet discern not the end till you arrive at it," much as de Certeau's walkers navigate the city at street level. Dryden's ideal spectator is not a distanced and privileged voyeur but a walker with his wits about him; his ideal plot is not a noun like Sir Martin's static bit of ground but a verb as seemingly swerving and improvised as Warner's and Rose's ever-shifting schemes.

Scott Cutler Shershow traces Dryden's use of the metaphor of the labyrinth back to similar metaphors in William Davenant's preface to his heroic poem *Gondibert* (1650–1652), in Richard Flecknoe's *Short Discourse of the English Stage* (1664), and eventually (and counterintuitively, given Dryden's politics) to Oliver Cromwell's description of the nation's endurance throughout the twists and turns of the civil wars. While for Cromwell this labyrinth leads to revolution, Shershow argues, for Royalists like Dryden, it ends in restoration. "As used by the Restoration critics," Shershow suggests,

> the labyrinth finally loses its logical appropriateness as a metaphor for the play—or, at least, no longer points to its original mythic image but instead (a figure of a figure) reflects some secondary structure: a garden maze, a pleasure ground, a courtly house and its finely crafted surrounding "wilderness." The play is a labyrinth which deliberately returns us to its beginning, its boundary and resolution. At the end of the play we [the play's spectators] may go, as do Dryden's debaters in the final lines of his *Essay*, to "some pleasant appointment" or to our "several Lodgings."[67]

As Shershow notes, Dryden's metaphor of the labyrinth links the plot of the play to the political plots of the Interregnum and Restoration years. Yet in arguing that this "labyrinth finally loses its logical appropriateness" for aristocratic audiences who sought in the theater a grammar of "return," Shershow discounts the growing popularity in early eighteenth-century fictions and landscapes of what Cynthia Wall has called a "grammar of approach." The shift in eighteenth-century landscape design from straight avenues and grand entrances to long and winding roads, Wall argues, emphasizes "the importance of the in-between, the on-the-way, the *prepositional*." In the architecture of the period, "things (objects, buildings, views) are designed to produce the perception of movement in the observer."[68] This reliance on "the in-between, the on-the-way," the "mov[able]" recalls the tactics of de Certeau's walkers or Dryden's servants—those who understand *plot* as a verb. Aristocrats' incorporation of such illusions of improvisation or accident into gardens that were impeccably planned suggests the ways that,

by the early eighteenth century, tactics had already been subsumed into stratagems; aristocrats like Warner had already claimed the movements of the servant classes as their own. Wall traces the shifts in landscape design to similar changes in the mid-eighteenth century to the typography of the printed page. But Dryden's *Essay* reminds us that, a half century before, such shifts were already part of the language of the London stage.

If Dryden's "labyrinth" represents a "return," in other words, it is a return not to the ordered "figure" of the pre–civil war court but rather to the chaos of the ruined city that Dryden had so recently fled and to the tactics that allowed those who remained to survive it. Lisideius may praise the rule-bound and courtly "house" that Shershow associates with the restoration of order (and of absolutism), but neither Neander nor Dryden allow him (or the reader) to linger there. Instead, we return with Dryden's debaters to a turbulent London, where "a crowd of *French* people" dance in the "open air" despite the "noise of Guns" that serves as a reminder of the day's (and the city's) proximity to disaster (*Essay*, 80).

Dryden explicitly links the plot of the English play to the manipulations of space necessary to survival in a changing London a few pages earlier, when he repeats the pun on *plot* that also structures *Sir Martin Mar-All.* After defending tragicomedy against Lisideius's complaint that it destroys the unity of action so prized by French neoclassicism, Neander wonders aloud:

> [W]hy *Lisideius* and many others should cry up the barrenness of the *French* Plots above the variety and copiousness of the *English.* Their Plots are single; they carry on one design which is push'd forward by all the Actors, every Scene in the Play contributing and moving towards it. Our Playes, besides the main design, have under plots or by-concernments, of less considerable Persons, and Intrigues, which are carried on with the motion of the main Plot: as they say the Orb of the fix'd Stars, and those of the Planets, though they have motions of their own, are whirl'd about by the motion of the *primum mobile*, in which they are contain'd. (*Essay*, 46–47)

"Primum mobile" here refers to Ptolemy's model of the universe, in which the stars and other planets were seen as part of an "Orb" surrounding and rotating around the Earth, which itself rotates in place.[69] But Dryden's description of the French plots as "barren" calls up the sense of *plot* as a bit of ground—arable or "barren"—that Warner associates with Sir Martin and his landed peers in the opening soliloquy of *Sir Martin Mar-All.* Like Warner, Neander/Dryden denigrates the inert plots of the French court dramas in favor of the whirling

"motion" (a word repeated three times in this short passage) that he associates with the "variety and copiousness" of English performance. Tellingly, the distinction that Neander makes between English and French plots echoes those that writers and designers would later use to distinguish the winding paths of English gardens from the geometry of continental gardens—or, indeed, to contrast the warrens of London with Paris's wide boulevards.

The class implications of these two modes of plot-making (and of city-making) are clear from Dryden's allusion to the "less considerable Persons" and "under plots" that, through their motion, support the main plot in the English drama. The metaphor of the "less considerable" orbiting around their social superiors occurs often in late seventeenth-century writings. Caleb Trenchfield, for instance, employs it in his *A Cap of Gray Hairs off a Green Head* (1671), written as a letter from a father to his son, who is preparing to begin an apprenticeship in London. In a text littered with allusions to the theater (and its "vitious[ness]") and published in the same year that *Sir Martin Mar-All* debuted on the Dorset Garden stage, Trenchfield laments: "This is the abjectness of the age we live in, that idleness is an ornament, and the greatest Gentility is to do nothing; when 'tis action onely that is noble; and not only the Celestial bodies are in continual motion, but he that is most high, is *purissimus actus*."[70] A healthy society, Trenchfield suggests, is a hierarchical one, but one in which "he that is most high" is "in continual motion" along with the "Celestial bodies" that surround him—one in which, as Dryden would put it, the lesser "Planets" at once "have motions of their own," and "are whirl'd about by the motion of the *primum mobile*, in which they are contain'd."

Like Trenchfield, Dryden, too, celebrates the mobility of the underclasses as a driving force of the city as it is a driving force of the English stage. French Neoclassicists, by insisting upon a unity of action that favors a single plot and a chief character to whom "the rest of the persons are onely subservient" (*Essay*, 38), can speak only for the "Aristocracy" to which Lisideius compares the French stage a few pages earlier—a social structure where "some one will be superiour to the rest, either in parts, fortune, interest, or the consideration of some glorious exploit; which will reduce the greatest part of business into his hands" (46). But Dryden—the aspiring courtier among three well-born interlocutors, the *new man* among old money—champions an English drama (and an English capital) that, while hierarchical, nonetheless pays homage to the "under-plots" and underclasses orbiting in constant motion around and beneath this "*primum mobile*" that somehow both "contains" them and whirls them about.

The metaphor aligns Dryden/Neander with Warner, another character whose familiarity with the movements of servants like Rose better equips him to navigate the growing city and the varied performances required to move through it. At the same time, the metaphor confirms that the new city—like the new stage, and the *new man* who describes it—thrives on motion rather than "barrenness," *plot* as a verb and as performance rather than as a noun or a fixed point on a map. The metaphor seems even more significant when we realize that the image it presents—of "less considerable persons" dancing in perpetual motion around a seemingly more important entity suspended at center stage—is precisely the image that greets us in the final scene of *Sir Martin Mar-All*.

The Frolick of the Altitudes

Act V, scene ii of Dryden's comedy takes place at a masquerade that Old Moody throws to celebrate Mrs. Millisent's engagement to Sir John Swallow, but it ends with the triumph of characters who, unlike the landed Sir John and Old Moody, have learned to understand *plot* as a verb. Warner and Sir Martin attend the party masked and propose a game they call "the Frolick of the Altitudes" (V.ii.48). The name plays upon some of the same astronomical imagery as the *primum mobile* that Dryden's *Essay* also evokes: "Altitudes" refers not only to the height of objects on the Earth's surface but also, in astronomy, to the measurement (in degrees) of a celestial object above the horizon. The echoes between play and *Essay* become clearer as one of the party guests, following the instructions of Rose (acting here as a stagehand) calls for two very high stools to be placed at the center of the stage and explains the rules of the game: "Two men at a time are hoysted up [onto the stools]; when they are above, they name their Ladies, and the rest of the Company dance about them while they drink: this they call the Frolick of the Altitudes" (V.ii.45–48).

The first two guests "hoysted" onto the stools are the masked Sir Martin and Warner; from their high vantage point they choose Mrs. Millisent and Rose (also both masked) as their dancing partners and are helped down from the stools to enjoy their prizes. Next up are Sir John and Old Moody, the two landowners blocking Sir Martin's pursuit of Mrs. Millisent. But here, suddenly, the rules of the game change. "*When they are up*," the stage directions tell us, "*the Company dances about 'em: then dance off. Tony* [the proprietor of Sir Martin's boardinghouse] *dances a Jig*" (V.ii.48). As the landowners dangle helplessly in what Robert D. Hume has called "a ludicrous kind of *deus ex*

machina" that takes full advantage of the scenic stage, Sir Martin, Warner, Mrs. Millisent, and Rose dance between the scenes where (as we have learned earlier in act V) a priest awaits to marry them.[71] The stage directions are characteristically sparse, but we might imagine the scene taking shape on a stage framed by sculptures of nymphs and cupids in the style of the pre-civil war court theaters. Amidst this grandeur the two fools ascend to dunce chairs raised, presumably, to the eye level of at least some of the wealthier patrons seated in the boxes. Far below them, the "Company" breaks into a joyful and raucous dance. Then (one by one? in couples?) the crowd diminishes, until only the innkeeper remains on the stage to continue the frenetic movements of the jig, a step that originated as an English, Irish, and Scottish folk dance.[72]

The script offers few clues as to the appearance of the "stools" from which Old Moody and Sir John witness this defeat; possibly they were simply chairs on stilts, placed on just behind the proscenium arch. Yet it is intriguing (and not implausible) to imagine them instead as swings suspended from the space above the stage—and thus relying on the flying machinery for which Dorset Garden would become famous, a "*deus ex machina*" indeed. Such a staging would have drawn spectators' attention to the subversive potential of the scenic stage, as the same movable devices that entrap the landowners facilitate the dancers' escape. "I'le be hang'd if there be not some plot in't," remarks Sir John to Old Moody as they watch the "Company" disperse to leave the jigging innkeeper behind, "and this Fool is set here to spin out the time." Moody agrees: "Like enough: undone! undone! my Daughter's gone, let me down, Sirrah" (V.ii.61–64).

Sir John's use of the word *plot* here is telling, for it reminds us of the ways that its overlapping meanings have structured the play. But it also presents the dance—and the play that the dance caps—as offering an education for its London audiences (particularly those seated next to Sir John and Old Moody in the boxes) on how to understand the new scenery now that it has shifted to the public theaters—and how to understand a city as precarious as that which the scenery represents. Here it is useful to remember that the movable scenes for which Dorset Garden was known first entered England from the continent by way of the court masque, a form in which dance was also a crucial element but in which the style of dance differed in important ways from the vigorous jig that Dryden's "Company" exhibits. Courtly ballets consisted of aristocratic bodies stepping elegantly about the stage, following paths that resembled letters, shapes, or other figures when seen from above—a practice Mark Franko calls "dance as text" (Figure 4). By

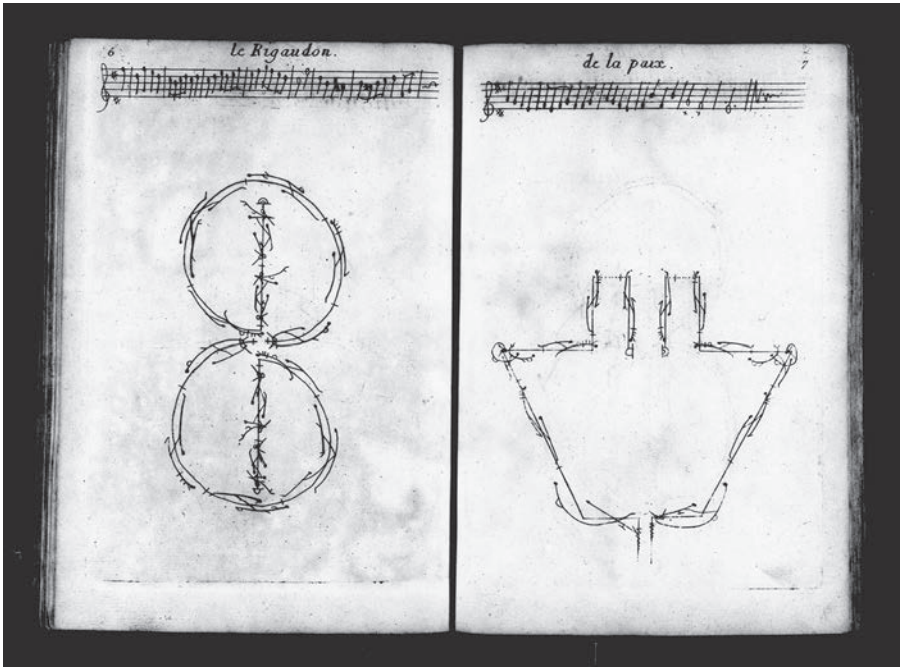


Figure 4. "Le Rigaudon," from Raoul-Auger Feuillet, *Recueil de Dances* (Paris, 1709). The diagram illustrates the steps dancers would take around the floor to form a figure 8 when viewed from above. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

disciplining bodies into geometrical patterns, Franko suggests, the ballet presented "a theatrical projection of noble and royal subjectivity" in much the same way that the geometric arrangements of continental gardens or planned cities privileged the royal spectator, gazing down from on high to perceive the paths that the dancers take.[73] Sir John and Old Moody enjoy a similar perspective in their lofty seats, from where they—along with the spectators in the boxes—are well positioned to understand dance as text, space as stable, *plot* as noun.

Despite its grand façade, however, Dorset Garden was a public stage, not the royal court, and the "Frolick of the Altitudes" was less a baroque ballet than what Franko calls an "antitextual or burlesque" dance, in which an unruly body is shown "wrest[ing] itself [. . .] from the control of an explicative text" and the "autocratic power" that text was meant to affirm.[74] Any spectator gulled by the scenic spectacle or the hierarchical arrangement of bodies onstage to try to read this dance as text will be frustrated—as indeed

Sir John and Old Moody are frustrated—by the jig taking place beneath them. And in ignoring the frenetic movements to search for the geometric patterns they will fail to see the strategies—cleverly disguised as tactics—playing out right under their noses. When the "Company" returns, now coupled, from behind the scenes, they reveal that the dances that had seemed to be improvised were in fact choreographed, their seemingly random movements an illusion (like Warner's livery) to divert their pursuers—and one that had been part of the (strategic) plan all along. To succeed within the always changing spaces of Restoration London as on the ever-shifting spaces of the Restoration stage, Dryden suggests, one must think—and see, and most importantly move—like a servant. It is a lesson that Warner, as an aristocrat who dresses in livery and follows Rose's advice, embodies throughout the play. It is a lesson that Dryden offers those spectators seated in the boxes, who learn to look to a troupe of recently itinerant actors and laboring stagehands for "*Instruction*" as well as "*Delight*" (as Dryden's *Essay* famously articulates the purpose of the stage) (*Essay*, 15). And it is a lesson that Sir Martin, too, learns (if imperfectly) over the adventures of five acts.

For it is Sir Martin himself who proposes the Frolick of the Altitudes—though the plot is clever enough that Warner doubts its provenance: "This is so good, it shall not be your Plot, Sir," he tells his employer, "either disown it, or I will proceed no further." But Sir Martin insists: "I would not lose the credit of my Plot to gain my Mistress: the Plot's a good one, and I'le justifie it upon any ground of *England*" (V.i.536–40). The contrasting uses of "Plot" confirms in language the marriage of tactics and strategies that the dance has just demonstrated in movement. Sir Martin repeats the comparison of the plot he will enact to a plot of "any ground of *England*," which Warner's opening soliloquy has introduced. But his attention to the language of "credit" and gambling suggests a new attention to a capitalist economy and to the movable property that drives it. In offering up this "ground" to "justifie" his "Plot" Sir Martin shows that he has learned, like Warner, to rely on his movements and his manipulations of space (*plot* as verb, "plot to gain") over land that seems increasingly unstable. His efforts are rewarded, appropriately, not with the land he sought at the beginning of the play but rather with an alliance to another character who understands better than Warner how to navigate the city. For when the two just-married couples remove their masks, Dryden introduces a final twist in his "labyrinth of design" (and another departure from his source texts): Mrs. Millisent has contrived to marry Warner, attracted by his wit, thus tying Rose instead to Sir Martin.

Most scholars of the play have concentrated on the coupling of War-

ner and Mrs. Millisent at the play's conclusion, describing it, with Canfield, as a "retreat from the radical implications of Warner's rebellion" and a device by which the land is restored to the true aristocrat (though only after he has mastered the movements of a servant).[75] They have had more difficulty explaining Sir Martin's marriage to Rose. The dance that facilitates this union, however, suggests we should read it as signaling the marriage between strategies and tactics—the appropriation by aristocrats of the knowledge of servants and stagehands and, as we shall see, actresses as well—that would come to shape the English city as it had already begun to shape the English stage.

Rose, of course, has a double claim on such knowledge, barred as she is from property ownership not only by her class but also by her gender. In the next chapter I foreground how gender and its intersections not only with class but also with race would come to shape the use of stage space and of city space in the discovery scenes of Aphra Behn, writing in the decade after *Sir Martin Mar-All*'s debut. But already in both his influential *Essay* and in the popular comedy that he was writing simultaneously, Dryden lays the groundwork for a new kind of theater to match the new kind of city arising like "a *Phoenix*" from the ashes of the Great Fire, of the civil wars, and of the displacements and dispossessions that both caused and resulted from these events. To plot the "labyrinth of design" that will guarantee this new theater's success, Dryden suggests, the new playwright must consider the maneuverings of the liveried stagehands and laborers darting deftly between the scenes. And to survive life in the modern city, the "new man" must attend to the spatial practices of London's liveried classes—the servants, the stagehands, the unpropertied—who understand better than their landed neighbors how to make their way through a cityscape as it shifts dizzyingly around them.

Conclusion: "A Plot Well-Formed"

In 1672, just after the revival of *Sir Martin Mar-All* at Dorset Garden Theater, John Dryden composed a follow-up to his *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* in the form of an *Essay on Heroique Plays*, included in the printed edition of his *Conquest of Granada* (a heroic play that had debuted at Drury Lane a few years earlier). This latter *Essay* reads in some parts as a sort of eulogy to William Davenant, who had died four years before, in which Dryden positions himself as taking up Davenant's legacy as a writer (and as a theorist) of heroic plays. "[A]n Heroick Play," Dryden explains, "ought to be an imita-

tion, in little of an Heroick Poem: and, consequently, that Love and Valour ought to be the Subject of it. Both these Sir *William D'Avenant* had begun to shadow."[76] But then, in distinguishing his own efforts from that of his predecessor, "whose memory I love and honour," Dryden adopts a metaphor that underlines the importance of spatial practices to the Restoration stage—a metaphor that, by now, should seem somewhat familiar (*Heroique*, 10). Davenant composed these initial attempts at the heroic play, Dryden suggests,

> as first Discoverers draw their Maps, with headlands, and Promontories, and some few out-lines of somewhat taken at a distance, and which the designer saw not clearly. The common Drama oblig'd him to a Plot well-form'd and pleasant, or, as the Antients call'd it, one entire and great Action: but this he afforded not himself in a story, which he neither fill'd with Persons, nor beautified with Characters, nor varied with Accidents. (10)

Davenant errs, Dryden suggests, in attempting to simplify the heroic poem to adapt it for the stage, and thus in depriving it of the "Persons" and the "Accidents" that make it interesting and pleasurable.

A few paragraphs later Dryden summarizes his own approach to heroic tragedy with the help of a quote from the *Satyricon*: "*Non enim res gestae versibus comprehendendae sunt; quod longè Melius Historici faciunt: sed, per ambages, Deorumque ministeria pracipitandus est liber Spiritus"* (*Heroique*, 11). The editors of the University of California edition of Dryden's collected works gloss the Latin by citing Sir Richard Fanshawe's 1655 translation: "For not *things done* should be comprehended in verse, (which is much better performed by Historians) but the free spirit must throw it self headlong in digressions [circumlocutions, perhaps] and in personatings [interventions, perhaps] of Gods" (*Heroique*, 11n; brackets in edited text). This translation of "*ambages*" as "digressions [circumlocutions, perhaps]" calls up the spatial metaphors that pervade Dryden's *Essay* and his most popular comedy as well. The translation is arguably a loose one—the Latin *ambages* more commonly refers to verbal ambiguities than to spatial circumlocutions. And yet in his own translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, published in 1697, Dryden would adhere to the word's spatial connotations in glossing it to mean the "*erring Paths*" of the labyrinth.[77] To arrive at a "Plot well-form'd and pleasant," one must not linger on the "Promontories and headlands," gazing over the land "at a distance" like a "Discoverer" (or like de Certeau's voyeur) composing a map. Instead, one must descend into the spaces themselves, to understand how they are "fill'd with Persons," how they are formed of twistings and

turnings, "Accidents" and *ambages* that signify, for Dryden, this pleasurable "labyrinth of design."

Dryden's image of Davenant as a "Discoverer" thus both calls up and challenges the associations that previous scholars have made between perspective scenery and the imperial gaze (and that I take up more fully in the second half of this book). Davenant may well have envisioned the scenic stage as a tool for subduing the masses, both those within England and throughout the lands that the English claimed to have discovered and mapped. But by the time that Davenant's dreamed-of Dorset Garden opened its doors in 1671, the view—and the city's social scene—had shifted, leaving a labyrinth navigable only by the "new men" (and the new women) of a post-Fire London, who had learned from decades of precarity how to pick their way across a modern city that was ever shifting beneath their feet.

CHAPTER 2

Personal Space (Behn's Women)

The first professional female playwright in English history opens her most famous play with an argument between a man and a woman over space.[1] The argument begins when Hellena—the heroine of Aphra Behn's *The Rover* (1677)—describes her sister Florinda's planned marriage to the wealthy but elderly Don Vincentio as a "confinement." Her brother, Pedro, objects. "The Girl's mad———" he declares. "It is a confinement to be carry'd into the Countrey, to an Antient Villa belonging to the Family of the *Vincentio's* these five hundred Years, and have no other Prospect than that pleasing one of seeing all her own that meets her Eyes——a fine Ayr, large Fields and Gardens, where she may walk and gather Flowers."[2] Like Dryden's Sir Martin, Pedro understands space as static, inert, and empty of the bodies that travel through it, toil within it, or—in Henri Lefebvre's words—*produce* it. When space is static, its ownership is clear: Florinda cannot possibly feel confined because everything that "meets her Eyes" belongs to her husband and is therefore (Pedro insists) "all her own."

Hellena, however, understands space quite differently. For her, these differences have less to do with the class divisions that structured the spatial understandings of Dryden's characters in chapter 1 than with her gender and with the shifting peculiarities of how women could claim space in the city where the play premiered. Amid the vast estate that Pedro describes, only Florinda's bedchamber offers her any room of her own. And even "This Apartment (now furbrusht and fitted out for the young Wife)," Hellena tells Florinda,

> [Don Vincentio] (out of freedom) makes his dressing Room, and being a Frugal and Jealus Coxcomb, instead of a Valet to uncase his feeble Carcass, he desires you to do that Office——. . . That Honour being past, the Gyant

> stretches it self; yawns and sighs a Belch or two, loud as a Musket, throws himself into Bed, and expects you in his foul sheets. (*Rover*, I.i.101–9)

Whereas Pedro's description of Florinda's distant and elevated "Prospect" of the land is emptied of bodies, Hellena's remark is obsessed with them, as she imagines the yawns, belches, and snores of the "feeble Carcass" who shares her sister's bed.

Hellena's disgust at the bodies taking up spaces that Pedro assumes are "all [Florinda's] own" suggests some limitations to the geographical imagery of public and private spheres so dominant in studies of the long eighteenth century. In classic works by Jürgen Habermas, Ian Watt, Nancy Armstrong, and Michael McKeon (among others), spaces such as the public square, the coffee house, the closet, and the (with)drawing room have served largely as metaphors for the types of public or domestic roles that men and women assumed in early modern society. Habermas, for instance, cites the growing popularity of the drawing room in the eighteenth-century bourgeois home as evidence for the growing separation of private from public engagement.[3] Yet as Hellena's remarks suggest and as Lefebvre's theories reiterate, the same spaces demarcated as private, "for the young Wife," might quickly lose their privacy and even begin to feel crowded for women who are forced to yield them up to the "desires" of their husbands. At the same time, Hellena's retort to her brother anticipates feminist critiques of Lefebvre's and de Certeau's theories by scholars such as Doreen Massey, who points out that the public spaces that de Certeau's "ordinary man" produces as he moves through them entail far more restrictions and dangers for the ordinary woman.[4] Her gender bars her from many sites in the Restoration city (Habermas's coffee shop offering but one example). It also opens her to verbal, physical, and sexual assault the moment that she sets foot on the city streets—as Hellena and Florinda do, moments after their argument with Pedro. "[L]et's Ramble," Hellena declares. They drape themselves in the "gay, and fantastick" garb of "*Gipsies*" and slip into the night (*Rover*, I.i.168, 167, I.ii.119).

This chapter follows several of Behn's women into the public streets and onto the public stage to ask how they protected their bodies and remade the city's spaces as their own at a time when the ownership of those bodies and the structures of those spaces were changing. In doing so, it attempts to shift conversations about women's place in Restoration London from the binary division of public space and private space to what I am calling (anachronistically) *personal space*—that is, the space around a body that remains private even as that body passes through communal places, from a crowded city street

to the "apartment" that Hellena imagines Florinda sharing with her husband.[5] To focus on personal space is to frame the categories of public and private not, as Pedro does, as static—attached to certain buildings in a city or certain rooms of a house—but rather as dynamic, shifting with the bodies that traverse and define these spaces. It is also to ask how women in Restoration London shaped its spaces through their performances of personal space—how they developed and disseminated strategies for signaling their ownership of their bodies and of the spaces immediately surrounding those bodies even when they stood on land belonging to someone else. How, Hellena demands, might Florinda protect the space around her body from the encroachments of the "feeble Carcass" stretching and snoring next to her? How, more broadly, might women claim their bodies as private on those occasions when they passed (as all must, at some point) through public spaces that they could not claim as their own?

Such questions were gaining more urgency in the years that Behn was writing, not only because of the reconsiderations of urban space and of real property that I explore throughout this book but also, more specifically, because of related renegotiations of England's rape laws. These negotiations culminated in legal scholar Sir Matthew Hale's categorization of rape not as a property crime (victimizing the husband or father whose property was compromised by the loss of his wife's or daughter's chastity) but rather as a sexual crime (victimizing the woman who was now understood to own her body). The most immediate effect of these changes was heightened scrutiny in the courtroom of the movements that a woman may have performed both before and after the rape to indicate the boundaries of her personal space and who may or may not enter it. These changes coincided with a marked uptick in the number of plays depicting rape and attempted rape produced on the London stage. "Never before in English dramatic history," as Anne Greenfield points out, "were there so many representations of sexual violence" performed for audiences' entertainment.[6]

Many scholars have examined these changes in reference to Behn's plays as well as to the novel form that she helped to initiate. But in shifting the conversation from questions of consent to performances of personal space, I refocus such examinations to explore not how Restoration thinkers understood women's internal desires or "mental states" (in Frances Ferguson's words) but how they interpreted and responded to women's external actions.[7] This emphasis on external actions elucidates how women made their "mental states" legible. It also helps to explain how the law (and cultural practices) conferred interiority and personhood on upper-class white women like Hellena and Florinda while denying it to others, like the "Gipsies" evoked in their costumes but never given voice in the

plays I examine here. In the final section of this chapter, I show how white Londoners—including white women—extended the logic of colonization to seize the personal space of racially othered women. I am interested, in other words, in the increasingly codified gestures and movements that women were expected to exhibit in order to signal the borders of their personal space to the publics surrounding them, and in how they looked to the public playhouses to learn these movements—as men looked to the playhouses to practice interpreting them. I am interested, too, in who was excluded from these performances as well as from the playhouses where they were practiced, learned, and disseminated.

This replacement of questions around "mental states" with those around performances of personal space thus return us to the public playhouse—and in particular to its use of changeable scenery—as a crucial tool for the renegotiations of urban space taking place in the years after the Great Fire. Throughout her oeuvre, Behn often draws direct analogies between these shifting scenes and the Restoration theater's other significant innovation, the casting of "real, beautiful women" (in Colley Cibber's memorable phrase) to take up the women's roles played by boys on the pre–civil war stage.[8] Such analogies are perhaps best exemplified by what Peter Holland has called Behn's "positively obsessive" use of the "discovery scene," a stage trick newly enabled by changeable scenery, in which two flats are pulled apart to reveal a new scene (and often the artfully posed body of an actress) already set behind them.[9] I introduce these strategies through a reading of Behn's best-known play, *The Rover*, before turning to a more extended exploration of her later London comedy, *The Luckey Chance*, which debuted at Drury Lane Theatre in 1686. By reading these plays alongside the published testimonies of contemporary rape trials, I explore changes in how women occupied the spaces of the city—and in how the public playhouse taught them new strategies for claiming those spaces while protecting their bodies from violation. The final section of the chapter returns to *The Rover* and its oblique allusions to those women denied such claims. In doing so, it argues that spatial practices, too, could be colonized—a theme that anticipates the exploration of Irish Londoners' and Black Londoners' geographies in the second half of this book.[10]

Painted Faces and Painted Facades in *The Rover*

Pedro's image of the "large Fields and Gardens" as "all [Florinda's] own," in its odd syntax, hints at a trope that recurs throughout Restoration drama and that links the fertile land of the English nation to the fertile bodies of English

women. In imagining that Florinda might "have no other Prospect than that pleasing one of seeing all her own that meets her Eyes," Pedro positions Florinda as both within the scene and gazing upon it, both enjoying the "Prospect" of the fields from afar and somehow also "seeing" herself "walk[ing] and gather[ing] Flowers" in those fields. His description of these fields and flowers as "all her own" similarly renders ambiguous whether the fields she gazes upon are "all her own" because she owns them or because they are a part of her, indistinguishable from the body that at once gazes upon and gathers flowers within them.

The trope of the woman's body as fertile ground recurred in the Restoration courtroom as well as on the Restoration stage. J. Douglas Canfield has described the aristocratic ideologies of Restoration comedy as operating

> not only through *language* but through the *body-language* of stage performance, and indeed, through *bodies* themselves, . . . the bodies of women become the contested ground for class dominance and, ultimately, symbols of the contested estate of England itself.[11]

This elision of women and real estate was sanctioned by English law, which defined women's bodies as the property of the husbands or fathers who were assumed to feed and protect them. Any property that a married woman inherited belonged legally to her husband, and any property that an unmarried girl inherited before reaching the age of majority belonged to her father. Only of-age but unmarried women (of whom there were relatively few, as families had economic incentives to marry their daughters off early in their lives) and widows could inherit property. Such laws excluded women not only from owning real and movable property but also from owning their bodies, which, as Susan Staves notes, were regarded merely as vehicles "to transmit wealth from one generation of men to the next generation of men."[12]

This legal definition of women's bodies as (re)productive properties had implications for early modern laws regarding the violation of those bodies as well. In legal precedents dating from the thirteenth century, rape, writes Julia Rudolph, "was first associated with abduction—the theft of a woman—and was less identified with the sexual violation of a person."[13] Miranda Chaytor has made the connection to the land even more explicit: "If rape was theft and destruction" as such laws defined it, Chaytor explains, "its mirror-image was husbandry, the conserving and making fruitful of what was legally owned. Seizure implies a notion of lawful possession; plunder presupposes goods worth the taking, valuable chattels, well-tilled, fertile fields."[14]

This metaphor of women's bodies as potentially "fertile fields" was not limited to the rural areas of Chaytor's study or of Pedro's imagery, however; women's bodies were as easily linked to urban real estate as to rural agriculture. *The Women's Advocate*, a mock conduct book published six years after *The Rover* appeared on the Dorset Garden stage, compares a woman to "a House; the law gives a Man lease of her, and he that takes a Lease of a House, is bound to keep the Tenement in repair."[15] The book's title is ironic and the content satirical, but the description of a woman as a "House" was pervasive in the late seventeenth century—including in Behn's most popular play. Early in act II of *The Rover*, a group of Englishmen pause before the house of a famous courtesan, Angellica Bianca, to watch as "TWO BRAVO'S . . . *hang up a great Picture of Angellica's, against the Balcone, and Two little ones at each side of the Door*" (*Rover*, II.i.87). Afterwards, one of the Englishmen, Belvile, announces the pictures' import to his fellows: "See there the fair Sign to the Inn where a Man may Lodg that's Fool enough to give her price" (*Rover*, II.i.88–89). Angellica's image here acts as a "Sign" that advertises at once the "Inn" and the woman inside it. Like Pedro's, Belvile's ambiguous grammar thus confuses person and place: does he imagine "a Man" lodging in the "Inn" itself, or in the "fair Sign" that advertises it—in other words, in the body of Angellica Bianca, who demands the "price" that few men are "Fool enough" to give?

In this section of the chapter, I turn briefly to Behn's pointed use of space and scenery in *The Rover* to introduce the links between movable scenery and the Restoration actress—and between the control of public space and the violation of women's bodies—upon which I will elaborate in the pages that follow. Unlike the other plays I explore in this book, *The Rover* is not a London comedy. It is set in the 1650s in Spanish-ruled "NAPLES, in Carnival time" (so listed in the dramatis personae), where a group of English Cavaliers—led by the rake Willmore—have alighted in flight from Cromwell's army and the civil wars. As Nancy Copeland points out, the setting draws on the tradition of "Spanish comedies," which make good use of the "scenic tropes ideally suited to the apparatus of the post-Restoration theatres" to suggest the imagined chaos of their foreign (and Catholic) settings: "threatening streets; almost impregnable houses that turn into mazes when they are entered; gardens, precariously protected by walls and gates."[16] Such tropes were popularized by comedies like Dryden's *The Spanish Friar* (1681) and parodied in Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (1672), which I discuss in the final chapter of this book. Behn's most direct influence was her friend Thomas Killigrew's *Thomaso* (written c. 1554, published 1664), from

which she borrows certain lines and plot elements (including bits of Hellena's argument with Pedro, though in Killigrew it is attributed to different characters).[17] Yet Behn makes several important changes to Killigrew's script that signal a departure not only from his but also from Dryden's experiments with the scenic "apparatus of the post-Restoration theatres." These changes assert the agency of Behn's women in manipulating both this apparatus and the shifting spaces of the post-Fire city just outside the theater's doors.

The main plot of *The Rover* centers on Hellena, a young virgin destined (if her father gets his way) for the convent and played against type by Elizabeth Barry, known at the time as the consort of the Earl of Rochester. It is to escape her brother's strictures that Hellena leads her sister and their servant, Valeria, into the streets as the play opens. As Florinda searches for Belvile, her former lover, among the newly arrived Cavaliers, Hellena meets and falls in love with his companion, the rake (and eponymous rover) Willmore. Enjoying her witty conversation though unable to glimpse her face beneath her carnival mask, Willmore, too, pursues Hellena—as long as she stands before him. But the moment she exits the stage, he finds himself drawn to another woman, the courtesan Angellica (played by Anne Quin), when he sees the portraits of her that her "BRAVO'S" post outside her "Inn."[18] Willmore is unable to afford the hefty price Angellica asks, so he contents himself by stealing her picture—until she glimpses him outside her balcony, falls in love with him, and invites him, *gratis*, to join her inside. As Willmore's abduction of Angellica's portrait hints, the threat of rape haunts all the women of the play, who, in venturing into the darkened city, must contend with the insatiable desires of the men who lurk in its shadows.

As they rove through the city, these men repeat the legal precedents that fail to distinguish between the body of a woman and the space that body occupies, seeing both as objects there for the taking (though scholars have disagreed about the extent to which the play itself endorses or rejects this assumption).[19] Angellica's entrance immediately following the display of her portraits offers the most famous example. As Elin Diamond notes in a particularly influential essay, "Angellica's entrance is a complicated process of theatrical unveiling. She arrives first through words, then through painted representation, then through the body of an actress who appears on a balcony behind a silk curtain."[20] The entrance blurs the flesh-and-blood actress with the commodifiable artwork that represents her, as well as with the balcony, door, and scenery that prop up her portrait and frame her form. As Diamond points out, in other words, Behn's script seems to yoke Angellica (and Quin) not only to the "fair Sign" but also to the painted flats that

represent the "Inn." Like those flats, the actress becomes for Diamond a static object inviting (and rewarding) the spectator's scopic pleasure: "she is," Diamond writes, less an artist producing a performance than "a spectacle unto herself, a painted representation to lure the male spectator."[21]

Diamond thus regards the introduction of movable scenery onto the Restoration stage in much the same way that scholars such as David Wiles or Bridget Orr have—as a static spectacle that put the theatergoer in the place of de Certeau's perched voyeur—and she links this spectacle to that of the women's bodies introduced to the public playhouse around the same time. Yet in depicting women's bodies as scenery and scenery as spectacle, such arguments overlook one detail that is disguised in the scripts of these plays but that would have been unmistakable in performance: the scenery's true power lay in its shifting. Like the city spaces that this scenery represented, the spaces that the scenery shaped were unreliable; the same corner of the stage that signified an ostensibly private or confined space in one moment might expand into a public or open space the next—as when, in the brief interlude between the first and second scenes of the play, the chamber where Hellena and Florinda are confined opens into the "*Long Street*" where they encounter the roving Cavaliers (*Rover*, I.ii.0).[22] Orchestrating these scenic shifts in Behn's plays are, in addition to the unpropertied stagehands and backstage laborers at the center of chapter 1, the actresses who helped to shape and to signify the import of these shifting spaces as their bodies moved around them. If Behn emphasizes the links between the spectacular scenery and the bodies of the actresses, then, she also emphasizes the agency of the actresses in manipulating these scenes and in shaping the spaces of the stage as well as the city beyond. And like Dryden, she goes out of her way to punish those characters who regard these spaces—and these actresses—as easily legible or inert. Scholars have disagreed about the extent to which Angellica exercises control—or the extent to which Willmore desires consent—in *The Rover*. But the agency that Behn's women assert over men and scenery becomes clearer when we turn from the main plot of Hellena, Angellica, and Willmore to a small but significant subplot surrounding Angellica's fellow prostitute, Lucetta (played by Mary Gillo or Gillow), and the fool Blunt, whom Derek Hughes describes as Willmore's "mirror-image."[23]

Unlike the Cavaliers he accompanies, Blunt has retained his property in the civil wars that have dispossessed his fellows; and Behn implies that he has done so by capitulating to the Cavaliers' Parliamentarian foes. It is tempting, then, to dismiss Blunt's foolishness as stemming from his questionable political affiliations and lack of sophistication (in Behn's staunchly

Royalist play) in comparison with his Cavalier companions. Yet again and again Behn emphasizes the similarities between her Cavalier hero, Willmore, and her capitulating fool—not least in their tendency to mistake women's bodies for real estate and to imagine both as static, mappable, and up for grabs. Only moments before Willmore steals Angellica's picture from her balcony as a prologue to stealing Angellica herself, Blunt, too, takes the set and the objects that surround a woman's body for the woman herself. Seeing Lucetta pass seductively before him, Blunt declares to his fellow Cavaliers that he is in love, "resolv'd to sell all in *Essex*, and plant here for ever" (*Rover*, II.i.38). His friends work to disabuse him of his delusion by pointing out that his true love is but "some common Whore," but Blunt is incredulous: "A Whore! Yes, with such Cloths! such Jewels! such a House! such Furniture, and so Attended! A Whore!" (*Rover*, II.i.64–66). He reiterates this sentiment in the following act when, just as Willmore has followed Angellica into the interior spaces of her apartment, Blunt follows Lucetta into her home. "'Tis a rare Girl!" he exclaims as she readies herself.

> Wou'd she wou'd go with me into *England*; though to say truth, there's plenty of Whores already.—But a Pox on 'em they are such Mercenary—Prodigal Whores, that they want such a one as this, that's Free and Generous to give 'em good Examples—Whe what a house she has, how rich and fine! (*Rover*, III.ii.21–26)

Like Willmore, Blunt regards women as indistinguishable from the spaces they occupy: a woman lingering outside a garden at night must be a prostitute (as Willmore assumes Florinda to be when he threatens to rape her later in act III); and a woman with a "rich and fine" house must be a "rare Girl."

In the intervening scene, however, Blunt is severely punished for confusing a woman with the house she occupies. Significantly, it is Lucetta herself who exacts this punishment—and, unlike in a similar scene in Killigrew's *Thomaso*, she does so using the scenic technologies that the newly outfitted Dorset Garden stage made possible. After Blunt enters (and admires) Lucetta's house in the third act of *The Rover*, her co-conspirator, Sancho, arrives to "conduct [Blunt] to her Chamber" (*Rover*, III.ii.27). Then, the stage directions tell us, the scene "*Changes to a Chamber with an Alcove Bed in't, a Table, &c.* LUCETTA *in Bed. Enter* SANCHO *and* BLUNT" (*Rover*, III.ii.31). Behn does not specify exactly how the scene "*Changes*," but it is very likely that Lucetta's bed was revealed by way of a discovery scene: stagehands pulled apart the downstage shutters forming the walls of the antechamber

through which Blunt enters Lucetta's house, revealing "LUCETTA *in Bed*" behind them. In her study of the she-tragedy (a genre that capitalized on the introduction of actresses to the Restoration stage by replacing the traditional hero with a doomed tragic heroine), Jean Marsden theorizes the discovery scene as yet another stage trick to objectify and spectacularize the actress by revealing her, behind the scenes, distraught, in disarray, and often in various stages of undress.[24] Behn seems to be quoting this use of the discovery scene in displaying Lucetta in bed, seemingly offering herself up to Blunt's desires.

At this moment, however, the scene shifts once again, and Blunt finds himself in a space changed utterly from the one he thought he occupied. Before the night's revelry can commence, Lucetta instructs, Blunt must first "put out the Light" (III.ii.46). But as he does, Lucetta's "*Bed descends*," suddenly, through a trapdoor in the stage. This was presumably the largest of at least six traps featured, according to Edward A. Langhans, on the Dorset Garden stage, measuring "about 5' by 10' minimum" and located "upstage of the shutters," which had recently parted to "discover" Lucetta.[25] Blunt "*groaps about to find*" his lover's bed but cannot. "Whe—whe—where am I got?" he asks the now empty room:

> [W]hat not yet?—where are you sweetest?—ah, the Rogue's silent now—a pretty Love-trick this—how she'l laugh at me anon!—you need not, my dear Rogue! you need not!——I'm all on fire already—come, come, now call me in pity.——Sure I'm Enchanted! I have been round the Chamber, and can find neither Woman, nor Bed.——I lockt the Door, I'm sure she cannot go that way——or if she cou'd, the Bed cou'd not.——Enough, enough, my pretty wanton, do not carry the jest too far—ha, Betraid! Dogs! Rogues! Pimps!——help! help! *Lights on a Trap, and is let down.* (*Rover*, III.ii.48–57)

Blunt's trap leads, we learn, to a "*Common-Shoar*" (sewer) opening into a city street (III.ii.86)—an effect that must have been staged by having Blunt topple through a smaller trap on one side of the stage only to crawl out of another. As he, naked and penniless, tries to navigate a strange city to find his way home, Lucetta and her companions return to the scene of the crime—perhaps by emerging from the upstage trap through which the bed has disappeared—to enrich themselves with the clothes, money, and valuables he has left behind.

Blunt begins his affair with Lucetta, then, by interpreting her house as a legible representation of her person, but her final trick reminds him how unreliable the spaces of the stage can be—much like the categories of public and private that seem to define them and the women who occupy them.

Believing himself to be groping further and further into the private spaces of Lucetta's home Blunt ends up instead in the "Common" street, none the wiser (and quite a bit poorer) than he was when he began his journey. That Lucetta delivers Blunt from the space of seeming intimacy to the public space of the street using the scenic devices for which Dorset Garden Theater had become known admonishes any spectator who, like Blunt, believes himself to be in control of the spaces or the bodies upon which he fixes his hungry gaze. In her pointed use of the stage's several trapdoors, Behn reverses the more familiar formula by which women's bodies were displayed and claimed by such spectators: here, rather than offering her body up to the hungry gaze of her spectators, Lucetta/Gillo retracts that body—from Blunt as from the spectators for whom he stands in—at the very moment it seems most available. The discovery scene that revealed (and made vulnerable) the bodies of she-tragediennes—or even the body of Quin in her role as Angellica—is, in the hands of Gillo-as-Lucetta, turned inside out.

The unreliability of space in Lucetta's hands and on Behn's stage thus offers an important rebuke to the pervasive metaphor that sees women's bodies as "well-tilled fields" or as "House[s]" that "the law gives a Man lease of"—a metaphor that in defining women as located within and indistinguishable from space fails to account for the ways she shapes that space as well. In offering such a rebuke, Behn echoes other arguments that were gaining ground in Restoration England and that had begun to question the aptness of the metaphor as well as the aptness of legal precedents that prevented a woman from claiming her body—and the personal space around that body—as her own. As Chaytor points out, however, these legal challenges to the prevailing definition of rape did not increase the freedom women had to move through city space so much as they increased the responsibility they were thought to bear for their own assault. The most immediate consequence was increased scrutiny of the movements women performed to guard their personal space, both in the city and—as I will argue—on the stage that represented that city.

Seventeenth-Century Rape Laws and the Performance of Personal Space

The attention to the movements of a woman's body as she passed through the city streets was part of an ongoing reconsideration of women's relationship to public space that had begun in the early sixteenth century (when the question of women's consent had first been introduced into legal practice, though not into legal theory) but that was gaining momentum in the very decades in which Behn was writing. As Tim Stretton explains, around 1550,

the medieval laws that had categorized rape as a property crime began to hold less and less sway in the courts, where upper- and middle-class women's ownership of their bodies was increasingly assumed in the prosecution of their violators.[26] (Lower-class women's bodies, as Nazife Bashar notes, remained legally unprotected and vulnerable to the desires of any man with equal or higher class status. These included, of course, the bodies of enslaved women.)[27] Such challenges to earlier laws culminated in the 1670s, the same decade that launched Behn's career, with legal scholar Sir Matthew Hale's redefinition of rape as a sexual crime in his *History of the Pleas of the Crown*. Though Hale's treatise was not published until 1736, evidence suggests that he had begun its composition by the mid-seventeenth century, and its precepts have been interpreted by several historians as a reflection of ideas already widespread in the legal discourse by the time that Hale was writing.[28]

In redefining rape as a sexual crime Hale's treatise did nothing to increase the frequency of rape prosecutions; and Bashar points out that both the number of rapes prosecuted and the number of defendants found guilty actually fell off in these years.[29] Rather, Hale's words (reflecting the case law upon which he drew) redefined women's ownership of and consent over their bodies as dependent on the external movements that those bodies performed. Hale notes, for example, that to bring a rape charge, "the party ravished may give evidence upon oath" and the jury must determine "the credibility of her testimony, and how far forth she is to be believed." He then elaborates several distinctions between "credible" and non-credible testimony:

> For instance, if the witness be of good fame, if she presently discovered the offense and made pursuit after the offender, shewd circumstances and signs of the injury, whereof many are of that nature, that only women are the most proper examiners and inspectors, if the place, wherein the fact was done, was remote from people, inhabitants or passengers, if the offender fled for it; these and the like are concurring evidences to give greater probability to her testimony, when proved by others as well as herself.
>
> But on the other side, if she conceald the injury for any considerable time after she had opportunity to complain, if the place, where the fact was supposed to be committed, were near to inhabitants or common recourse or passage of passengers, and she made no outcry when the fact was supposed to be done, when and where it is probable she might be heard by others; these and the like circumstances carry a strong presumption, that her testimony is false or feigned.[30]

Hale's preoccupation with determining whether a woman's testimony is "false or feigned" recalls Blunt's and his fellows' preoccupation in *The Rover* with determining whether Lucetta and the other women are "rare Girl[s]" or "common Whore[s]." Unlike Blunt and Willmore, however, Hale makes this determination based not (or not only) on the space the woman occupies (a "house . . . rich and fine" versus a brothel, a private chamber versus a public street) but rather on the way her body occupies those spaces. "In his definition of rape, and in the guidelines he offers for the prosecution of rape," Julia Rudolph explains, "Hale focuses on the specific physical actions and physical manifestations of sexual violation."[31] Consent, an internal thought, became legally admissible only insofar as it resulted in exterior signs: in the gestures, adornments, and placement of a woman's body that constituted an elaborate performance of consent or resistance.

The numerous examples and detailed descriptions in Hale's naming of these bodily signs, however, betrays some anxiety about the legibility of women's bodies when they move through spaces outside of their homes. If the signs of a woman's consent and the contours of a body's personal space depend not on the recognizable places she occupies but on the individual movements she performs, what happens if such movements are misread? To what legal actions do men subject themselves should they mistake movements discouraging engagement for those implying consent? And, more importantly, to what violations or humiliations are women's bodies vulnerable if they fail to perform their personal space properly?

Such questions haunt two seemingly unrelated yet strikingly similar artifacts from the period, in which a woman uses the movements of her body to sketch out the boundaries of her personal space as she stands on ground she does not or cannot own. Both artifacts echo Hale's treatise in hinting at the anxieties about the legibility of these movements. Both respond to these anxieties by offering precise instructions for how spectators might interpret women's performances of personal space—and thus allow us a unique perspective on how women unmapped and restructured the ostensibly private and public spaces of the city in the years after the Great Fire.

The first artifact articulates the boundaries of a woman's personal space by describing the moments of its violation. Recording the proceedings of a trial against Leonard Bate, "A Frenchman," for "Ravishing Dorothy England of St Giles in the Fields" on 4 November, 1685, the *Old Bailey Sessions Papers* note:

> The Witness . . . gave Evidence that the Prisoner being a Lodger in her Mistresses house, had before the grand assault and violence, (for which he stood

> Indicted) used her very roughly, and attempted to force her, but was prevented, and of that she complained to her Mistress, the Prisoner promised to be civil for the future, but on the 4th of November, her Mistress, &c. Being to go abroad, she told her, she would not stay in the house with the Prisoner, whereupon he seemingly, as if he intended to go abroad likewise, but taking his opportunity, came upon her as she was making the Bed, and lock'd her in, where after much struggling, by which she was bruised, he over powered and penetrated her body, &c. Two Midwives were likewise sworn, who affirmed she had lost her Virginity, and as to her bad usage which occasioned a long sickness or indisposition, by reason of the many bruises . . . the Jury withdrawing returned within half an hour, and gave in their Verdict that he was Guilty of that Felony as layed in the Indictment.[32]

The trial against Bate was atypical in its guilty verdict but typical in its attention to the victim's body: in order to prove her non-consent to Bate's advances, Dorothy England had to prove that she had previously "complained to her Mistress," that he gained access to her body by "lock[ing] her in" to a private room (rather than encountering her in a public space where she might expect her body to be more vulnerable), that she "struggle[d]," and that her body bore the scars of that struggle in bruises and in the "long sickness or indisposition" that followed the assault. She had to prove, in other words, that she had performed the boundaries of her personal space adequately and articulately in the way her body had moved and in the spaces it had occupied, and that Bate had "Ravish[ed]" her anyway.

The second artifact displays a similar preoccupation with what Rudolph calls "the specific physical actions and physical manifestations of sexual violation" (as well as of sexual consent); and it comes down to us from a similar time and place.[33] Sometime in the late winter or early spring of 1686, a little over a year after Leonard Bate attacked Dorothy England in St. Giles, the actress Sarah Cooke originated the role of Leticia in Aphra Behn's last London comedy *The Luckey Chance*, staged only a few blocks away from St. Giles at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. The play opens with the wedding of the virtuous Leticia to the aged Sir Feeble Fainwould, a powerful city official who has won her only after exiling her true love, Belmour. In the first scene, we learn that Belmour has returned to London to reclaim his love. Leticia must then choose between these two men—and, allegorically, between the two different understandings of the city, one resembling Hellena's and the other, Pedro's, Warner's, and Sir Martin's, or that of de Certeau's unpropertied walker and that of his privileged voyeur. Sir Feeble, whom the *dramatis*

personae identifies as a city alderman and thus associates with London's established networks of (bourgeois) power, offers a view of the city seen from above, one defined by the properties that he and his cronies own. Belmour, by contrast, is a traveler: when we meet him in the first scene of the play he is wrapped in a traveler's cloak, having just returned from exile, and he stands below the balcony of Leticia's lavish home, looking up.

When Belmour declares his love for Leticia, finding her alone in Sir Feeble's garden just after she has pronounced her vows, he does so not by promising her the security of a home but rather by alluding to the performances that both must "Feign" to protect their vulnerable bodies in the city streets. "Thy native Modesty and my Industry / Shall well enough secure us," he tells her. "Feign you nice Virgin-Cautions all the Day; / Then trust at Night to my Conduct to preserve thee."[34] Belmour's word "Conduct" here suggests both behavior and movement. Leticia's body, he implies, will remain inviolate through their shared, dynamic performances of personal space. When Behn's London spectators applauded Belmour's success and rooted against Sir Feeble (as the play directs them), they applauded also an urban lifestyle in which one was defined not by how much space he owned or occupied but rather in how he—or she—carved out personal space among the nooks and crannies of an ever-shifting city.

And yet it is not Belmour's "Conduct" but Leticia's (or Cooke's) performances of personal space that are detailed most assiduously in the characteristically elaborate stage directions punctuating this scene in Behn's script—and that constitute the second artifact articulating the boundaries of a woman's personal space on which I want to focus here. The script demands a virtuoso performance from Cooke/Leticia, who must somehow signal her desire for Belmour without appearing unfaithful to Sir Feeble.[35] She achieves this virtuosity through a series of highly orchestrated movements detailed in stage directions that I excerpt here without the dialogue that intersperses them:

> *Sir Feeble's house . . . Enter* LETICIA, *pursu'd by* PHILLIS *[her servant] . . . Exit Phillis . . . Enter* BELMOUR *at a distance behind her . . . [Leticia] weeps . . . [Leticia] starts, pauses . . . [Leticia] Not looking behind her yet for Fear . . . [Belmour] Approaching nearer . . . [Leticia] Speaking with Signs of Fear . . . [Leticia] Turns . . . [Leticia] Embraces [Belmour] . . . Belmour weeps . . . [Leticia] kneels . . . [Belmour] kneels . . . Enter* SIR FEEBLE. (*LC*, II.ii.0–82)

Here, Leticia/Cooke's body performs the mock marriage ceremony to Belmour that her heart desires (she weeps, she embraces him, she kneels—and she leads

him in doing the same) but that her propriety prevents her from verbalizing. As she does, she invites her spectators to judge these movements' efficacy in conveying her negotiation between the performance of resistance to Sir Feeble's advances and the performance of consent to Belmour's, between being too frigid and too yielding to the men in her midst. Like Dorothy England, Leticia must somehow signal the boundaries of her personal space through the movements of her body. "But how," she asks Belmour as the scene proceeds, "can I defend my self from the loath'd Arms of an impatient Dotard, that I may come a spotless Maid to thee?" (*LC*, II.ii.68–69).

Performance studies has made much of the resemblance between the playhouse and the courthouse, the ways that the spectacle of a criminal court—the wigs, robes, and costumery that lend credibility to the judicial team, the highly choreographed movements of prosecution and defense, the jury-as-audience attending to the emotional performances of each witness—reproduces the spectacle of the stage. "The trial," writes Susan Sontag, "is preeminently a theatrical form."[36] Yet the stage directions detailing Leticia's movements in *The Luckey Chance*, like the constant comparisons between (privately owned) virgins and "common Whore[s]" in *The Rover*, suggest an even deeper intimacy between women onstage and women on the witness stand or on the city streets in this period. We can glimpse this intimacy in, for instance, Colley Cibber's description of the important role that the newly introduced actresses played in helping their female spectators to navigate the spaces of their society and the spaces of the city as well as the spaces of the stage. Speaking of the actress Anne Oldfield, Cibber writes, "I have often seen her in private societies, where women of the best rank might have borrowed some part of her behaviour without the least diminution of their sense or dignity."[37] With the near-simultaneous introduction of "real . . . women" and changeable scenery into the public playhouse, in other words, Restoration theaters offered Londoners the opportunity to watch recognizably feminine bodies interact onstage—and to draw conclusions about how those bodies moved around and among each other, as well as around shifting scenery that had come, increasingly, to resemble the shifting and unstable spaces of the growing city outside. Like Dorothy England's testimony (published in a collection of trial transcripts marketed as popular entertainment rather than as historical fact), Cooke's performance provided a model for women eager to learn how to perform their personal space properly at a time when the rules around such performances—like the spaces of the city itself—were changing.

Cibber's praises for Oldfield's "Behaviour" and Cooke's precisely

demarcated movements complicate the assumption, prevalent throughout the theater history of this time, that actresses' position in the public eye labeled them, universally, as public women. Catherine Gallagher even goes so far as to argue that Behn herself, as an author writing for the public stage, suffered such a label—an argument that she bases largely on her reading of Leticia's foil in the play, Lady Julia Fulbank, as a thinly veiled version of Behn as well as on her reading of *The Luckey Chance* as a text.[38] Yet if we examine the play instead as a performance—paying close attention to the evidence, like stage directions, of the bodies that once breathed its words—we discover a very different meaning. In this light, Behn seems eager to indulge an audience that took much pleasure in trying to distinguish what Hale might term the women of "good fame" from those of ill repute, the conduct to be modeled from that to be deplored.

This pleasure helps to explain the popularity of several plays of this period that cast Anne Bracegirdle (praised for her virtue) opposite Elizabeth Barry (infamous as the mistress of a known libertine). It explains, too, the formula that structured so many of Behn's plays and that juxtaposed whore and gentlewoman, inviting audiences to draw subtle distinctions between them. And it explains, more specifically, the relationship in *The Luckey Chance* between Leticia and Lady Julia—a gentlewoman arguably less virtuous than her friend and foil and played, in the 1686 production, by Barry. In the next section, I explore how Lady Julia's performance, like Leticia's, offers instructions both to seventeenth-century women trying to perform the borders of their personal space and to seventeenth-century men trying to interpret these performances.

Lady Julia Fulbank's Ambiguous Performances of Consent

We might regard Lady Julia as the woman that Leticia will become if she consummates her marriage to Sir Feeble. Like Leticia, Lady Julia has been forced to marry an elderly city leader, Sir Cautious Fulbank (a friend to Sir Feeble and, as his name indicates, a wielder of urban capital as Sir Feeble is a wielder of civic power). And like Leticia, Lady Julia must balance her duty to this undesirable with her attraction to a much more appropriate match: her former lover, Gayman, a dispossessed wanderer whose plight resembles that of his friend Belmour. The difference is that Gayman, unlike Belmour, begins the play with little understanding of or regard for women's personal space. Like so many of the men in Behn's plays (and the landowners in Dryden's), Gayman understands space as stable and women's bodies, like estates, as

tradable among men: when we meet him, he is attempting to buy Lady Julia's love with elaborate gifts that he can purchase only by mortgaging his land. Quite literally, he is attempting to exchange the body of a woman for the city lands he owns.

Over the course of the play, Lady Julia gradually disabuses Gayman of his belief in city space and in women's bodies as mappable, and she teaches him how to read her performances of personal space. In following his progress and Barry's performances, Behn's spectators, too, receive an education: in how to interpret women's performances of personal space at a time when they were changing, in how to interpret women's performances on the Restoration stage at a time when both the women and the scenic stage were newly arrived, and in how to navigate the spaces of Restoration London, which seemed suddenly so different from what they had been before.

Behn portrays Gayman initially as a poor reader of both Lady Julia's body and the spaces of the stage. In the first two acts, Lady Julia, learning that Gayman's gifts to her have bankrupted him, sets upon a scheme to test whether his love and loyalty might be bought. She instructs her servants to disguise themselves as devils and nymphs and to deliver gold to his door without revealing its origins, promising him more if he honors their mysterious mistress with a nighttime visitation. Destitute, he has little choice but to follow them as they enact an elaborate masque, which alludes to Lady Julia's body without ever actually producing it (for Lady Julia herself lies waiting in her bedchamber). The masque recalls the scene in *The Rover*, in which Lucetta's servants lead Blunt through a house fitted out with trapdoors and discovery scenes, behind which their lady's body is arrayed. But Lady Julia's body is continually withheld. Like Leticia's stage directions, then, the masque allows Lady Julia to perform her desire for Gayman without directly cuckolding Sir Cautious. "I wou'd not have him think it comes from me, for all the World," Lady Julia tells her servant of the gold she will use to lure Gayman to her chamber; "That Nicety and Vertue I've profest, I am resolv'd to keep" (*LC*, I.ii.103–4).

While Leticia performs her desire for Belmour *in propria persona*, Lady Julia instructs her servants, in this first encounter, to perform in her stead. And while Leticia risks her virtue by venturing from her husband's private home into the liminal space of the garden, Lady Julia stages her seduction from the comfort of her private chamber, where Gaymen is led. Behn emphasizes the intimacy of the space where Gayman meets his mysterious lover by preceding it with a series of discovery scenes: the servants guide Gayman first to "*a wash-House, or out-House*," the scenes of which part to reveal

"*A Chamber in the Apartment of Lady [Julia] Fulbank*," which Gayman exits to enter the inner chamber presumably containing Lady Julia herself (*LC*, III.i.163, 188). Nancy Copeland regards both Gayman's lodging and Lady Julia's masque as "intensely private," but Behn's placement of these scenes in a poorly curtained home and an outhouse—as well as her comparison of both spaces to the theater—complicates this privacy.[39] Indeed, when he describes this chamber to Lady Julia later (without realizing that she and his mysterious benefactress are one and the same), Gayman portrays it not as a private space but rather as a public theater: "By Magick Art I was conducted—I know not how," he says (employing the same word—*conducted*—that Belmour used to describe his performance to protect Leticia's personal space):

> . . . I was conducted . . .
> To an inchanted Palace in the Clouds,
> Where I was so attended——
> Young Dancing—singing Fiends innumerable!
> . . .
> she was laid in a Pavillion, all form'd of gilded Clouds, which hung by Geometry, whither I was convey'd, after much Ceremony, and laid in Bed with her; where [with] much ado, and trembling with my Fears———I forc'd my Arms about her.
>
> L. FUL. And sure that undeceiv'd him——*Aside*
>
> GAYM. But such a Carcase 'twas—deliver me—so rivell'd, lean, and rough—a Canvas Bag of wooden Ladles were a better Bedfellow.
>
> L. FUL. Now tho I know that nothing is more distant than I from such a Monster———yet this angers me. [*Aside*]
>
> (*LC*, IV.i.70–86)

The similarities between Gayman's "gilded Clouds . . . hung by Geometry" and the stage machinery that Davenant had introduced to the public theater only twenty-five years before suggests the perils of using maps to distinguish between the private and public spaces of Restoration London, between the spaces where women's bodies were off-limits and those where they were up for grabs. Unable to escape her husband's house without sacrificing the "Nicety and Vertue I've profest," Lady Julia instead transforms her private rooms into a public stage and emphasizes, as she does, the ease with which a city space mapped as private might be used as public—or with which a bed mapped as one man's property might be used by another. Like Lucetta in *The Rover*, she uses the very devices enabled by movable scenery to challenge the stability of theatrical and city space.

Yet in this initial scene, Lady Julia's plans fail, for they assume that Gayman will be a better spectator of her theater—and a better navigator of the city's shifting spaces—than he turns out to be. His eagerness to mortgage his land to woo his love has already aligned him with the Blunts and Pedros and Sir Feebles of post-Fire London—those predisposed to identify a woman with the estate she occupies and to assume both estate and woman are stable pieces of property. Here, unable to understand spaces as changeable, he concludes when he sees the new décor of Lady Julia's chamber that he is in a new place. And, unable to understand women's bodies as separate from the mappable places that contain them, he assumes in arriving in an unfamiliar home that the body before him is one he has not seen before. He thus reveals himself as the very kind of man that testimony like Dorothy England's warned against: a man incapable of interpreting the performances of personal space right before his eyes.

In the final lines of the passage, Behn wrenches her own spectators away from an identification with Gayman and the understanding of the city that he represents, and she aligns them instead with a view of both city space and stage space as ever shifting. The moment's humor, veiled in the text, must have been obvious in performance, as spectators compared Gayman's verbal description of Lady Julia's "Carcase" with the plump and pleasing body of Barry, "the finest Woman in the World upon the Stage," according to one reviewer.[40] In laughing at Gayman's mistake, Behn's spectators advertise themselves as Londoners who, unlike Gayman, can recognize a woman's body even when it enters an unexpected space—and who recognize the city's spaces as produced by the bodies that traverse and perform them, rather than the other way around. Just as Behn cajoles her spectators into embracing this new view of the city when they applaud Belmour's chances with Leticia, she seduces them here, too, into approving London's changeability as they laugh at the inaccuracies in Gayman's description of Lady Julia.

For Gayman, this realization takes time—but it begins to emerge in the final act of *The Luckey Chance*, when his understanding of city space as static—and of women's identities as fixed to the places they stand—starts to disintegrate. In a last-ditch attempt to win Lady Julia away from her husband, Gayman challenges Sir Cautious to a card game and demands a night with Lady Julia as his prize. When Gayman is victorious, Sir Cautious obligingly arranges a bed trick in which his rival, under cover of darkness, will take his place in Lady Julia's bed without her knowledge or permission. Unfortunately for Gayman, his enthusiasm for the act gives him away: Lady Julia recognizes his body, chastises both him and her husband for their

treachery, and deplores what she describes as "so shameful and so base" an act (*LC*, V.ii.264).

One might ask—and many scholars have asked—why Lady Julia recognizes Gayman's body so quickly in this second coupling even though Gayman failed to recognize Lady Julia's body in the first. In one of the most influential readings of the play, Catherine Gallagher argues that the failure lies in Lady Julia's body—or rather in female bodies more generally: "The difference between these two scenes in the dark as they are later recounted stems from the relative inalienability of male sexual identity," she writes. "Even in the dark, we are led to believe, the difference between men is sensible because their selfhood is not easily effaced," while, as objects of desire, all female bodies are much the same.[41] Gallagher bases her argument in part on a line of Sir Feeble's as he watches the climactic dice game between Sir Cautious and Gayman. "What are you playing for?" Lady Julia asks them, and Sir Feeble replies, "Nothing, nothing" (*LC*, IV.i.422–23). As Gallagher notes, the word *nothing* was often used in this period to define the female genitalia as empty space: women's bodies differed from men's because they had *no thing* between their legs.[42] For Gallagher, this nothingness constitutes a particular technique: if the position of actresses and female writers (and, we might add, any women passing unprotected through public space) made them little more than prostitutes in the eyes of their spectators, they could escape such accusations only by representing themselves as no-bodies—anonymous and invisible beings divorced from the bodies they display or the selves they express onstage. In another chapter on Behn, Gallagher connects this disembodiment specifically to the anonymity and disembodiment of the printed page. "It is precisely through her nullity, her nothingness," Gallagher writes, "that Lady Julia achieves a new level of self-possession."[43]

Yet part of what I want to suggest is that scholars who base their arguments on printed scripts while disregarding the bodies that might have performed those scripts—or who base their interpretations on maps of streets and buildings while disregarding the bodies that once passed through those streets and buildings—risk making a mistake similar to Sir Cautious's when he values his wife's body as and at nothing. The copious stage directions in Behn's plays and particularly surrounding her women characters suggest the limitations of arguments, like Gallagher's, that a woman might gain control over her body or perform the borders of her personal space only by denying the existence of that body altogether. It is, after all, when Lady Julia deputizes her desire to her servants rather than performing it with her own body that Gayman fails to recognize her or to interpret her desire as her own.

Such events teach us that the misunderstandings in the play's two bed tricks emerge not from Lady Julia's failure fully to inhabit her body but rather from Gayman's failure to interpret it. It is a lesson that Behn introduces in act III, when she invites the audience to laugh at Gayman's inability to see the beautiful body of Elizabeth Barry standing onstage as anything other than a "Carcase." And it is a lesson that she drives home in a final scene in act V, as Gayman finally learns to read Lady Julia's body and its performances of personal space.

"Do You Consent?": Lady Julia's Final Act

Crucially, Gayman's lesson in interpreting Lady Julia's displays of personal space comes not merely through the words she speaks or the rooms she occupies, but rather through the choreography she performs—this time, with her own body. Standing before her lover and her husband, having chastised their conspiracy against her virtue, Lady Julia "vow[s]"

> ——by all things just and sacred,
> To separate for ever from [Sir Cautious's] Bed.
> CAUT.: Oh I am not able to indure it——[*Aside*]
> Hold———oh hold my dear———*He kneels as [Lady Fulbank] rises.*
> JULIA: Stand off———I do abhor thee—
>
> (*LC*, V.ii.273–77)

Here Lady Julia addresses the same problem that Hellena articulates at the beginning of *The Rover*: How can a married woman protect her personal space in the bed she has vowed to share with someone else? How can Lady Julia maintain her integrity while married to a man that she "abhor[s]"?

Her answer is to choreograph her words with a series of movements that perform her personal space as separate from her husband's. She kneels, she rises—and in doing so, she harks back to the movements that her foil Leticia performed, several scenes earlier, in demonstrating her abhorrence for Sir Feeble and her love for Belmour. Then, not satisfied with controlling the movements of her own body, she attempts to control those of Sir Cautious by speaking his stage direction aloud: "Stand off———I do abhor thee."

It is unclear whether Sir Cautious follows Lady Julia's direction or even registers her movements. (He has already demonstrated himself to be a poor interpreter of his wife's performances.) But Gayman seems utterly transformed, a few moments later, as Belmour enters to announce his engage-

ment to Leticia. "I'm glad thou hast her *Harry*," Gayman congratulates his friend, "—but doubt thou durst not own her; nay, dar'st not own thy self" (*LC*, V.ii.302–3). He then expresses these doubts about whether one might "own" a woman in regard to not Belmour's love but his own. Sir Cautious, acknowledging his own folly in taking such a young wife, promises to leave Lady Julia to Gayman in his will. "[I]f I dye Sir," he tells Gayman, "———I bequeath my Lady to you——with my whole Estate" (*LC*, V.ii.386–87). Sir Cautious's bequest recalls the legal language that predated Hale's treatise and that portrayed the woman's body as indistinguishable from the rest of the "Estate," another property to be claimed by (and passed between) men. Gayman responds, at first, with a retort that seems to confirm this view of Lady Julia's body as an unmoving and mappable part of Sir Cautious's private property: "I thank you Sir," he says. But then, crucially, he turns to Lady Julia and asks a question that seems to acknowledge the changing rules of a society in which women were beginning to argue for the right to perform the boundaries of their personal space as agents rather than as property. "[D]o you consent, my Julia?" (*LC*, V.ii.389).

In this question, Gayman directly calls up the discussions of consent and the performances of personal space that were accruing such meanings (and inspiring such anxieties) in the courts and on the stages of Restoration London. "No Sir," Lady Julia answers. Yet in the printed text, the lines following this seemingly straightforward answer challenge its sincerity: "[Y]ou do not like me," she repeats, "——a canvas Bag of wooden Ladles were a better Bed-fellow." Gayman responds: "Cruel Tormentor! oh I cou'd kill myself with Shame and Anger!" (*LC*, V.ii.390–92). Is Lady Julia earnest in her refusal of Gayman's advances? Or is her "No Sir" said teasingly, a small revenge for his mistaken description of her body as "a canvas Bag of wooden ladles"—and a preamble to a flirtation that will follow? Does the play end, in other words, with Gayman and Lady Julia reconciled and with Lady Julia's consenting to Gayman's out-of-wedlock access to her body? Or does it end with all three characters doomed to live out their days uncoupled?

The answer depends, of course, not on the text but on the body of the actress playing Lady Julia—on whether she delivers her "No Sir" teasingly or seriously and whether she accompanies her subsequent declaration that she harbors "no Design upon his Person" with gestures indicating sexual indifference or those betraying sexual desire (*LC*, V.ii.394).[44] By leaving her script ambiguous, Behn puts the responsibility for narrative closure into the hands—or, rather, onto the body—of the actress portraying Lady Julia, which

the audience must attend to and interpret to know how the story ends. Not only does Behn cajole her spectators into drawing meaning from the movements of a woman's body and the borders of personal space that those movements demarcate, then, she also emphasizes how crucial those movements are. To interpret them incorrectly is to suffer an unsatisfying night at the theater, to be marked as a poor critic of plays, and—we might surmise—to be a bad citizen of urban space.

Misty Anderson points out that many Restoration comedies take place within "the brief (fictional) moment" between a woman's coming-of-age and her marriage (or, in the case of Leticia's marriage in *The Luckey Chance*, its consummation), the only moment in her life when "she fully possesses herself."[45] We might regard this setting not only in temporal but also in spatial terms: Behn's comedies take place also in the small (fictional) space between the door to her father's house and the door to her husband's house, the only urban space through which she might pass unguarded and consequently the space where her body becomes her own even as it becomes most vulnerable to those attempting to seize it from her.

In such descriptions, a woman whom the law recognizes as capable of having a husband or a father—or as capable of possessing even something so humble as a body—is assumed to be a self. As Hortense Spillers has argued in a famous essay, however, the laws regulating slavery both in the colonies and in the metropole repeatedly denied such self-possession to Black women.[46] In the final section of this chapter, I return to *The Rover*, a play that debuted only five years after the Crown cemented its control over the slave trade—and one that implicitly but repeatedly juxtaposes white women's gains in personal space against the corresponding losses of racially othered women. These moments remind us that, as Patricia Akhimie has shown, not all women could claim personal space or personhood simply by performing it properly.[47] But they also suggest that the movability of personal space did not prevent it from being seized, like real property, as part of the colonial project—a project of which white women were very much a part. The spatial relationships between men, white women, and racially othered women in Behn's plays suggests the complexity of the city's spatial practices and gendered performances, the ease with which a tactic might be appropriated as a strategy—and the ways in which the spatial practices and even the personhood of a racialized Other might be seized by a white woman like Hellena, who must adopt the guise of a "*Gipsie*" before she can "Ramble" through the night.

The Space Between

"For the Black woman," writes M. NourbeSe Philip, "place and space come together in the New World as never before." Philip explains:

> Space and place—the public space—must be read and interpreted from the point of view of the space between the legs and, in particular, from the perspective of how safe the space between the legs is or will be. . . . The Black woman comes to the New World with only the body. And the space between. The European buys her not only for her strength, but also to service the Black man sexually—to keep him calm. And to produce new chattels—units of production—for the plantation machine.[48]

As Philip and other Black feminist scholars have noted, the metaphor that compared fertile fields and women's bodies—the metaphor that for white women remained largely metaphorical—became for Black women cruelly and inescapably literal. In 1662, nearly a quarter century before *The Luckey Chance* took the London stage, lawmakers in the English colony of Virginia passed a statute stipulating that "children got by an Englishman upon a Negro woman shall be bond or free according to the condition of the mother."[49] Similar laws followed in Maryland, in the Carolinas, in Barbados and Jamaica, and across the English colonies, imposing what Orlando Patterson has termed "natal alienation" upon all those enslaved women who fell under their jurisdiction.[50] Under such laws, the future production of a plantation depended on the present *re*production of the women held captive there, those charged with birthing and caring for the next generation of enslaved laborers who would till the fields, harvest the crops, toil on the land until it could produce the goods later shipped to London markets and consumed in London homes. Such laws dictated, as Spillers points out, that enslaved people "shall be *reputed* and *considered* real estate, 'subject to be mortgaged,'" according to article 461 of the South Carolina Civil Code.[51]

Philip describes Europeans capturing and enslaving African and Afrodiasporic women to "service the Black men sexually," but of course enslaved women were also vulnerable to the sexual attacks of their enslavers. For these enslavers, raping the women whose children would be forced to labor alongside them was not only condoned, it was economically incentivized. "In the context of a labor system wherein white men routinely, and possibly systematically, raped the women they claimed as property," explains Jennifer L. Morgan, "to be enslaved meant to be locked into a productive relationship whereby all that your body could do was harnessed to accumu-

late capital for another"—either through productive or through reproductive labor.[52] The precise number of these rapes is impossible to measure since, as Morgan points out, they were neither recorded nor recognized as rapes by the legal system. But such violations were indisputably and cruelly common, inescapable, and unpunished.[53] The freedoms over their bodies and their personal space that white women had begun to secure (incrementally) in late seventeenth-century London coincided with increasing violations of the bodies, personal space, and legal personhood of African, Afro-diasporic, and racially othered women in the metropole as well as throughout the colonies. "African women's reproductive work embodied the developing discourses of extraction and forced labor at the heart of England's desire for the Americas," Morgan writes. "By the eighteenth century, the contrasting connection between the 'inscrutable and sexually polymorphous' African woman and the 'chaste maternal' English woman together offered the continent up to English consumption."[54]

The Rover makes this point early and often, if obliquely, in the racialized women who haunt Behn's language but do not appear onstage. In the argument between Hellena and Pedro that opens the play, Hellena reveals that Florinda's suitor, Don Vincentio, has brought his wealth "from the Indies" (*Rover*, I.i.79) and thus relies (we can assume) on the enslavement and/or exploitation of the African or Indigenous people who provided much of the necessary labor in both the East and West Indies at the time.[55] A few lines later, Hellena makes explicit the connections between Don Vincentio, Florinda, and enslaved women when she says of her sister's suitor, "[H]e thinks he's trading to *Gambo* [Gambia] still, and would *Barter* himself (that Bell and Bawble) for your Youth and Fortune" (*Rover*, I.i.125–26). Hellena's reference to Gambia—where the English had claimed a monopoly over the slave trade through the chartering of the Royal African Company in 1672—compares her sister here to the enslaved women whose "Youth and Fortune" (and whose bodies and lives) had become, with this charter, dangerously vulnerable to the English invaders. Moments later, as Hellena leads Florinda into the night and away from Don Vincentio's marital clutches, she leaves unspoken the question that follows so clearly from their conversation: if Florinda's "Youth and Fortune" will no longer fill the space between Don Vincentio's "foul sheets," whose will?

The question haunts not only the first scene but the entirety of Behn's play, in which the word *slave* or *slavery* appears at least twelve times (though always as a metaphor and without explicit acknowledgment of the growing population of enslaved Africans laboring in the colonies and in London

as well). Behn seems to have spent some time in Suriname (then a Dutch colony where much of the labor was provided by enslaved people); and there is evidence that her husband was a slave trader.[56] Literary historians have explored at length Behn's works that directly feature women of color: her heroic tragedy *Abdelazer* (1676); her tragicomedy *The Widow Ranter* (not performed until after her death, in 1689); and most famously her novella *Oroonoko* (1688), later adapted into a play by Thomas Southerne (though one that turned Behn's character Imoinda from black to white).[57] Despite the attention that scholars have paid to issues of rape, sexual assault, and violence against women in *The Rover*, however, few have wondered about the implications these issues might have not only for the white women who populate Behn's most popular comedy but for the racially othered women absented from it. Those scholars who have written about the references to slavery in *The Rover* have put more emphasis on the connections between white and non-white women than the differences between them, detailing the ways that, in the words of Felicity Nussbaum, "the general category of 'woman' muddles the binaries between mother and whore, Other and prostitute, center and periphery" so as to "make possible the forging of common interests" among Afro-diasporic, European, and Indigenous American women "on a global scale."[58]

Certainly Behn's plays are invested in muddling the distinction between "mother and whore," sexual objects and sexual agents, as the previous sections of this chapter have argued. Yet as Joyce Green MacDonald has shown, this muddling more often works to reinforce racial hierarchies than to elide them.[59] Enslaved women endured the brutal conditions of forced labor to provide the sugar that London ladies used to sweeten their tea; they appeared in the shadows of London women's portraits as accessories setting off the subject's whiteness; they unwillingly withheld their breastmilk from their own children to feed the children of enslavers who found breastfeeding unfashionable or inconvenient.[60] Behn hints at the troubled relationships between colonizing men, colonizing women, and the women they seek to colonize in act III of *The Rover*, as Willmore enters the stage fresh from his assignation with Angellica and commands the other Cavaliers to drink to his conquest. "Hark'ey," he salutes Belvile, "where didst thou purchase that rich Canary [wine] we drank to day!" Another Cavalier, Frederick, suggests that "*French* Wine" might "do better"; but Willmore refuses it:

> Damn the hungry Balderdash, chearful Sack has a generous Virtue in't inspiring a successful confidence, gives Eloquence to the Tongue! and vigour to the Soul! . . .

BLUNT: But heark'ey Sir, you are not Marryed are you?
WILL: All the honey of Matrimony, but none of the sting Friend.
(*Rover*, III.i.94–95, 99, 100–109)

Behn here links Willmore's preference for "Canary"—made from the grapes of the Canary Islands, off the northwest coast of Africa—over "*French*" wine to his refusal of the chaste Hellena in favor of the exotic Angellica, who as a prostitute offers "All the honey of Matrimony, but none of the sting." Using Nussbaum's discussion of eighteenth-century literature as blurring the boundaries between "Other and prostitute," we might read this brief discussion as suggesting commonality between all white prostitutes and the African women who share their place of origin with the "Canary" that Willmore guzzles so enthusiastically. Yet it is important to acknowledge here that Angellica has won Willmore in the previous scene by pointedly refusing her role as a prostitute: she offers her services without demanding either the "sting" of matrimony or her usual fee, which Willmore cannot afford to pay. Angellica here takes on the quality of African wine and of African women within the logic of Behn's play, not because she represents sex without matrimony but because she represents sex without any repayment at all; and in seizing both her body and the interior spaces of her apartments, Willmore resembles not only the English libertine but also the English colonizer, one who claims with impunity and without remuneration bodies and spaces that do not belong to him.

That Behn positions Hellena at the edges of this scene, disguised as a "Gipsie" and delivering asides to the audience, suggests the responsibility that not only the English libertine but also the "chaste" European woman bears for these cruelties (*Rover*, III.i.6). *Gypsy* was a name that Europeans used to describe the Roma people, made up of communities who refused the continent's expanding regimes of private property by living (and continuing to live, even today) as nomads. The Roma arrived in Europe between the eighth and tenth centuries from India; but as Noémie Ndiaye explains, Europeans often mistook them for (and misrepresented them as) African: the misnomer *gypsy* derives from *Egyptian*.[61] Hellena's and Florinda's choice to dress "*like Gipsies*" to rove through the darkened streets might seem to ally them with the racialized women whom they imitate and whose associations with travel, nomadism, "inscrutability," and "sexual polymorphism" facilitates the white women's escape. (It is an association repeated in *The Luckey Chance*, in which Gayman compares Lady Julia to a "dear jilting Gypsy" after she refuses his advances and transfers her affections to another [*LC*, I.i.69–70].)

Unlike the actual Roma women and African women evoked in but pointedly absented by such references, however, Hellena and Florinda (and Lady Julia as well) can remove these costumes when they become inconvenient; they can don these identities to enjoy the freedoms and flirtations of the carnival night and then discard them the moment that those flirtations are misinterpreted as invitations, the moment that those freedoms are taken too far. If their limited access to real property and their vulnerability to men's sexual appetites position Behn's leading ladies as tacticians in a growing city, their claims on personal space—and particularly their willingness to co-opt the personae and the personhood of racially othered women to obtain it—align them instead with voyeuristic colonizers like Willmore. Trying on other women's lives as if they are costumes, Hellena, Florinda, and Lady Julia, too, enjoy the "honey" of sexual adventure without the "sting" of sexual violation, the freedom of exoticism and "inscrutab[ility]" without its objectification and vulnerability.

Such moments, peppered throughout Behn's repertoire, remind us that the structures of power in the growing city were much more complex than the binary distinction that de Certeau draws between the strategies of the propertied and the tactics of the oppressed; that the same city dwellers denied access to certain spaces might seize those spaces when the scenery shifts. In stealing Angellica's portrait or occupying a plantation in the "*Indies*," Willmore and Don Vincentio claim property that does not belong to them. But Hellena's and Florinda's disguises suggest that spatial practices are no more immune than real or movable properties to such appropriations or violations; and that, like those of Dryden's Warner in thrall to Rose, these women's freedoms depend on the knowledge they have seized from someone less privileged, even, than they.[62] To put it another way: in a modern city where unsettledness was at once a condemnation and a strategy for adapting to city life, personal space, too, might be colonized.

In the second half of this book, I return to the knowledge that Afrodiasporic, migrant, and racially othered communities contributed to the changing spaces of modern London. First, though, I want to trace the movements and spatial practices of another population who seem, at first glance, at odds with both Behn's roving Cavaliers and the public playhouses where they rambled: the Nonconformists. As the next chapter will elucidate, their clandestine gatherings and mobile meetinghouses threatened the divisions between private space and public space—and between real property and movable property—through which London's urban planners and lawmakers tried (and failed) to impose their order on a post-Fire city.

CHAPTER 3

Nonconformity (Vanbrugh's Puritans)

The imaginary London that Sir Christopher Wren presented to Charles II on 11 September 1666, was a city studded with churches. According to the architecture critic James Ralph, writing in 1734, Wren envisioned the steeple of St. Paul's rising above the city skyline with "all the parish-churches" constellated around it, "neither too thick, nor thin in prospect; but giv[ing] a proper heightening to the whole bulk of the city, as it filled the landscape" (Figure 5).[1] In Charles I's reign, the architect's uncle and patron, Matthew Wren, had been a vocal proponent of the narrow definition of Anglicanism laid out by William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury—a definition that excluded many Puritan sects when they refused to conform and that contributed to the outbreak of the English civil war. Now, under Charles II, Sir Christopher's "prospect" of architecturally similar churches promised to accomplish visually what his uncle had failed to achieve politically or doctrinally: a city and a nation made whole again under a unified and uniform Church of England.

In today's London, many of Wren's fifty-one churches still stand—with the steepled St. Paul's at their center—the only remaining monuments to a city the architect imagined but never built. But the religious uniformity they were meant to prescribe proved an impossibility long before the last scaffolds came down. Nonconformists—Puritans as well as other Protestants who refused to follow the strictures of the Anglican Church[2]—continued to congregate and to worship across the city, despite a mounting number of laws (known collectively as the Clarendon Code) that forbade their doing so. For these worshippers, eluding arrest under the Clarendon Code meant avoiding churches and other public places to meet surreptitiously: in warehouses and storerooms, in private homes and along back alleys—and, in at least one case, in an unused theater. It meant scouting locations roomy enough to accommodate groups of congregants without

Figure 5. Canaletto, *The River Thames with St. Paul's Cathedral on Lord Mayor's Day* (1746). © The Lobkowicz Collections, Lobkowicz Palace, Prague Castle, Czech Republic.

attracting the gaze of strangers or authorities—a difficult task in a growing city where, in the years immediately following the Fire, so many structures lacked walls and roofs, so many of what had been buildings were now tangles of ash and scaffolding, exposed to the open air. And so, as I will show in the pages that follow, the famously anti-theatrical Nonconformists worshipped in buildings outfitted with some of the same technologies that characterized the public playhouses—the discovery scenes that revealed and retracted Behn's women from public view, the clever manipulations through which Dryden's servants replotted and redefined the urban environment, the movements through which unpropertied Londoners performed new spaces into being—as they sought to transform Wren's uniform "prospect" into a city that could accommodate them all.

This chapter dips below Wren's imagined skyline, wending its way through these back alleys and interstices to argue for the importance of the Nonconformists among the precarious populations whose shifting and unmappable spaces shaped the geography of modern London. I trace here the surprising and largely unexplored resemblances between the tricks, traps, and transience that hid Nonconformist conventicles from Londoners intent on dismantling them, and the movable scenery introduced, at around the same time, to the London stage. The architectural features that shaped the Nonconformist spaces did not originate in the theaters; Catholics had been employing similar devices to conceal their worship from the authorities since the Reformation; and Jews and other religious minorities long before that. But the near simultaneity of these features' appearance in the public playhouses and the Nonconformist meetinghouses delighted Restoration players and their audiences. I show how it also inflected these players' and audiences' understanding of the relationship between stage and city as places that were movable, unreliable, built on shifting ground.

My purpose here is twofold. First, I want to suggest the far-reaching consequences of the mappings and unmappings—the pitched battles between property owners and the unpropertied making space for themselves in the city—that I have been examining throughout this book. Nonconformists often appear in Tory plays and propaganda as hoarders of private property—a remnant of the Interregnum in which Nonconformists, who had supported the winning Parliamentary forces in the English civil wars, claimed much of the private lands that Oliver Cromwell had seized from aristocrats in retaliation for their support of the monarchy. Yet as Christopher Hill famously argues, the most radical of these Nonconformist communities—among them the Diggers, the Levellers, and the Quakers—had advocated for

a system of "communal property" that rejected "the sacred rights of [private] property" eventually enshrined in English law.[3] Though what Hill refers to as "this revolt within the Revolution" never came to fruition, I propose that the alternative modes of space-making that it introduced shaped both the state's attempts to restrict Nonconformist practices and the Nonconformists' strategies for evading those restrictions.[4] These disagreements over the proper use of space in a changing London affected the larger political and ideological disagreements that continued to simmer long after the civil wars abated; and attending to the city's performances illuminates these disagreements over space.

This focus on the theater as in conversation with the secretive retreats that Nonconformists created throughout the city continues my discussion from chapters 1 and 2 about how unpropertied Londoners performed into being the spaces they could not own. At the same time, this focus on the theater complicates a long tradition of scholarship that has associated what Ian Watt has called Nonconformists' penchant for "purposive spiritual introspection" (and the private spaces that engendered such introspection) exclusively with the rise of the novel.[5] This scholarship skirts the question of how, in a city as crowded, as changeable, and as perilous as post-Fire London under the Clarendon Code, Nonconformist communities secured the secluded spaces on which their spiritual practices seemed to depend. In addressing that question, this chapter explores the resemblance of Nonconformists' spaces not to the private rooms of the novel but to the changing scenes of the playhouse. At the same time, it suggests the importance of the Nonconformists' practices to a playhouse fascinated by their unconventional uses of space.

The first half of this chapter continues discussions from the previous two, exploring how a community transformed the spaces of the city (secretly, temporarily, and often using technologies that mimicked those of the playhouse) to sustain their congregations and evade authorities in the early years of the Restoration as the Clarendon Code began to take effect. The second half of the chapter looks ahead to chapters 4 and 5, which pick up the story of London's spaces after the turning point of the Glorious Revolution and the ascension of William and Mary in 1688. Scholars such as John Brewer and J.G.A. Pocock have pinpointed the Glorious Revolution as marking a shift in Londoners' attitudes, as the city (and the nation) began to turn outward: toward a king born and raised on foreign shores, toward the global trade routes and marketplaces that the king's Dutch countrymen had long pursued, and toward the ever-entangled ideologies of capitalism and colonialism that these global marketplaces seemed to demand.[6] William's arrival

also led to an easing of the restrictions against Nonconformists in the form of the Act of Toleration, passed in 1689. I explore the effects of the Act of Toleration on Nonconformist spaces by returning to the stage, and in particular to *The Provok'd Wife* (1697), the second London comedy by playwright and architect (and sometime colleague of Wren) Sir John Vanbrugh. While Wren's uncle had been a fierce advocate of religious uniformity, Vanbrugh's father attended Nonconformist services, and the language of Nonconformity haunts *The Provok'd Wife*. In analyzing how Vanbrugh decontextualizes this language, putting it in the mouths of characters who do not share Nonconformist beliefs, I hint at the ways that the spatial practices developed by the unpropertied populations in the first half of this book—by servants, by women, by Nonconformists—spread to other parts of the population, as flexible spaces take on new value for an increasingly capitalist and increasingly global city.

The "Steeple-House" and the "Meeting-house": Navigating the Religious Landscapes of Restoration London

By the second half of the seventeenth century, Protestant religious factions in England had congealed around at least two major positions, each defined in part by the regard for and use of ecclesiastical space. In one camp were the members of the officially sanctioned Anglican Church, organized around parishes. The borders of these parishes roughly aligned with the borders of the old feudal properties whose lords had helped to fund the construction and upkeep of the churches at their center. For Anglicans, religious communities were circumscribed by the place where their members lived (the parish) and defined by the building where they worshipped (the church), and these places became crucial to their religious practices.

Opposing such practices, however, were a number of Nonconformist sects who argued that the church was not a building but a group of like-minded believers and that each group should worship however—and *wherever*—they pleased. Holiness did not inhere in a place designated by the king, according to Nonconformists; it traveled with a congregation. To signal the importance of the congregation over the church, many such sects gathered in squat, square buildings with minimal décor rather than in the comparatively grand, cruciform cathedrals of the Anglicans. The Quaker leader George Fox refused to refer to the Anglican buildings as churches; his term *steeplehouses* emphasized the hierarchical structures he associated both with the architectural details that would shape Wren's lofty "prospects"

and with a religion ruled by a king. The Quakers and other Nonconformists worshipped instead in meetinghouses—a word that defined these buildings not by their architectures but by the ways that bodies gathered there.[7] In their political statements, Nonconformists rallied around calls for "liberty of conscience"—the freedom to worship as they saw fit.

For much of the mid-seventeenth century, it appeared that the non-Anglican vision of a religious community composed of practitioners rather than emanating from a church would triumph. English Protestants critical of Laud's brand of Anglicanism (known by their enemies as Puritans for their desire to purify the Anglican Church from within) had been on the winning side in the civil wars. Throughout the 1650s, they controlled much of England's geography, establishing sequestration committees to seize the lands of the largely Royalist nobility and redistribute them to the (somewhat) less aristocratic families who had fought alongside Cromwell. But the Protectorate government fizzled after Cromwell's death in 1658, and Charles II's impending return to the throne left the direction of the Church and the fate of the Puritans in doubt. Their fears were somewhat allayed by the Declaration of Breda (1660), which Charles signed on his journey back to London from exile and in which he promised "a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."[8] The Cavalier Parliament, however, had a much narrower definition of religions "which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom" than their king. Within five years of Charles's return, the Parliament passed a series of four laws, known collectively as the Clarendon Code after the minister credited with proposing them, which were designed to suppress the religious activities not only of Catholics (with whom Charles was suspected of sympathizing) but of Puritans and all other Nonconformists as well.[9]

The first of these laws, the Corporation Act (1661) sought to limit Puritans' power by excluding them from public office. Each of the other three acts couched the state's attempts to control its subjects' religious practices, either explicitly or implicitly, as attempts to control the spaces these practices would occupy. The Act of Uniformity (1662) ejected from the Established Church any clergyman who refused to conduct his services according to the procedures set forth by the *Book of Common Prayer* as it had been interpreted by Laud and his successors. On St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1662, 1,000 clergy and university fellows—64 of them practicing in London, Westminster, and Middlesex—were dismissed from their pulpits under the act's dictates in an event that would become known as the Great

Ejection.[10] Though its language focused on religious practices, then, the Act of Uniformity had consequences for religious spaces: for ministers newly excluded from their churches, writes Cynthia Wall, "the public worship of God must legally and socially become private, even secret. The Act of Uniformity sent ministers, congregations, and the churches themselves into odd forms of hiding."[11]

The last of the four laws to be passed under the Clarendon Code, the Five Mile Act (1665) limited not only where Nonconformist clergymen could hold services but even where they could travel: it forbade them from coming within five miles of any incorporated town or of their former parishes. Perhaps most devastating for Nonconformist communities (and most vulnerable to violation), however, was the First Conventicle Act (1664), revised as the Second Conventicle Act and reissued in 1670. These paired laws, which forbade religious gatherings of more than four unrelated adults outside of an Anglican church, limited Nonconformists' access to public spaces, echoing the Nonconformists' own language in designating any place where they gathered as a place of worship. The Conventicle Acts gave government officials the authority to arrest Nonconformists who met anywhere—in buildings they owned, in their places of business, even in their homes.

Enforcement of these laws was uneven over the quarter century that they remained in effect: loyalties and public sympathy shifted rapidly depending on whether Nonconformists or Catholics were perceived to be a greater threat to Anglican interests, and state and non-state violence against religious minorities often increased after rumored or actual uprisings.[12] Despite brief moments of respite, however, Nonconformists and other religious minorities were arrested, imprisoned, and sometimes beaten or killed at alarming rates in these years. "Of Quakers alone," writes N. H. Keeble, "it has been estimated some 450 died in prison during the Restoration period" and "more than 15,000 experienced imprisonment."[13] In the 1650s, Nonconformists had controlled much of England's territory; but only a decade later, they had seized on the imagery of exodus to describe their experiences as communities always at risk of dispersal—and forced by laws like the Conventicle Act to occupy spaces they could not officially call their own.[14] In his memoir *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (composed in the 1660s and 1670s and published posthumously in 1696), the Presbyterian minister Richard Baxter compares his fellow clergy under the persecutions of the Clarendon Code to vagabonds or "Beggars" wandering the streets.[15] Unlikely as it might have seemed to those enjoying relative prosperity under Cromwell's regime, Nonconformists were by the mid-1660s among those Londoners occupying

spaces that, in Wall's words, "belonged to someone else: they were borrowed, contingent, temporary, unreliable."[16]

The persecutions of Nonconformists, like the laws that sanctioned them, extended far beyond England's capital city. But as Richard L. Greaves has argued, "the heart of the struggle against [the Clarendon Code] was fought in the London area," where cramped quarters and a large population of Nonconformists made tensions particularly high.[17] Nonconformist sects drew many of their practitioners from the middling or merchant classes that tended to congregate in the capital, where trade dominated the economy.[18] But the city's exponential growth in the mid-seventeenth century made space—particularly spaces for worship—a rare commodity. The twinned disasters of the plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of 1666 exacerbated this problem—as well as the disagreements between London's Nonconformists and their Anglican neighbors. The plague, which struck London only three years after the Great Ejection, caused many Anglican ministers to flee the city to avoid contagion. Nonconformist leaders, seizing the opportunity, remained behind to minister to the sick and the bereaved, often preaching in the very pulpits from which the Act of Uniformity had excluded them. (The Five Mile Act was passed in large part to forestall such usurpations.) The Fire added to Anglicans' frustrations by destroying many of the churches that served as both the physical and spiritual homes of their congregations. "The conflagration deprived the parish clergy of their physical assets in maintaining public ministry against their dissenting competitors," writes historian Gary S. De Krey; "the Anglican clergy had less rationale for [their work] without the historical structures within which it had been centered."[19] The magnitude of the loss overwhelms Wenceslaus Hollar's 1667 map of the Great Fire, which attempts to reorder and repopulate the "blanke space" at the center of the city by redrawing the borders of its parishes and (in ghostly gray imprints) the shapes of the churches that once anchored them (Figure 6).

Because Nonconformists defined their communities around congregations rather than buildings, they were quicker than their Anglican neighbors to regroup and to rebuild after the Fire's destruction. With the churches gone, they gathered in whatever buildings they could find available: warehouses, guildhalls, private homes, and a few illegally constructed meetinghouses. (In one famous incident, a Quaker community conducted services in the ruins of London's Gracechurch Street Meetinghouse, which authorities had dismantled under the auspices of the Second Conventicle Act days before.)[20] Noting the Nonconformists' preference for hidden spaces and private homes, scholars have credited them with laying the groundwork for the emerging

Figure 6. Wenceslaus Hollar, *A Map or Groundplott of the City of London, with the Suburbs Thereof* (1667). Courtesy of British Museum.

literary forms of the spiritual autobiography and the novel, characterized by their interest in interior spaces and interior selves.[21] Yet while some Nonconformists dodged the strictures of the Clarendon Code by retreating into ever more private spaces, others eschewed such strategies; secret meetings with trusted friends, they reasoned, limited their ability to recruit new congregants or to reach lost souls. And as Wall's important work on the novels of Nonconformist Daniel Defoe acknowledges, a city as crowded and as shape-shifting as London rendered any attempt at privacy ephemeral, unreliable, always at risk of violation.[22] Instead, many Nonconformists in post-Fire London cultivated a strategy that should seem quite familiar at this point in this book: they met in public or social spaces, open to the street—but they contrived these spaces to be flexible enough that they could be disguised, transformed, or suddenly abandoned at the slightest hint of danger. Adorned with such contrivances, the Nonconformist meetinghouses began to rival in complexity not just the Anglican churches whose architectural extravagances they had once decried but another type of building rendered newly flexible, newly elaborate, in the years after the Clarendon Code took effect: the public playhouse.

"What May This Place Be?": Nonconformists Onstage

As the curtain closed on the first public performance of Abraham Cowley's *Cutter of Coleman Street* at Lincoln's Inn Fields (newly outfitted with changeable scenery) in December 1661, the comedian Cave Underhill, who played the title character, stepped forth to deliver the epilogue. The Corporation Act had passed that same month, and the play attempted to appeal to the political tenor of the times by poking fun at non-Anglican beliefs and communities. Underhill's character spends much of the first few acts disguised as a Fifth Monarchist to pursue a woman of that faith. When he begins the epilogue, he is still wearing the wig that had crowned his Fifth Monarchist disguise, and he addresses the audience as if they are a group of fellow worshippers. "*Me thinks a Vision bids me silence break*," he begins, "*And some words to this Congregation speak*."[23] Underhill's comparison of his audience at Lincoln's Inn Fields to the "*Congregation*" at "*the Fifth-Monarch's Court in Coleman-street*" sutures playhouse and meetinghouse as twinned spaces where elaborate "*Visions*" are conjured from the scenic stage or pulpit.[24]

But just as suddenly as it has formed, Cutter's "*Vision*" dissolves, and the meetinghouse turns back into a theater:

Bless me! where are we? What may this place be?
For I begin by Vision now to see
That this is a meer Theater; well then,
If't be e'en so, I'l Cutter be again.[25]

The questions that interrupt Cutter's vision here emphasize the spatial instability shared by the playhouse after the introduction of changeable scenery and the meetinghouse after the advent of the Clarendon Code, two events that happened nearly simultaneously in 1661. Like Warner's query of "*Where*?" in the performance of *Sir Martin Mar-All* that would open Dorset Garden Theater ten years later, Underhill's "*[W]here are we? What may this place be?*" serves as a potent reminder of the flexibility of "*place*" within the warehouses-cum-meetinghouses and within the tennis courts-cum-playhouses that defied the imagined uniformity of Restoration London. (It was not lost on Restoration players that the precarity that Puritans had visited upon them during the Interregnum—when Cromwell's armies had dismantled the theaters and made poor itinerants of the actors—was now coming home to roost.)

A growing number of scholars—including Wall as well as David Marshall, Patrick Collinson, and Leah Marcus—have suggested a much closer relationship between Nonconformists and the players they deplored than their anti-theatrical diatribes might lead us to expect.[26] By the mid-eighteenth century, as Misty Anderson notes, the theatricality of Protestant sects like the Methodists (initially considered part of the Anglican Church but who shared many practices with Nonconformists) had become a trope repeated in farces, ballads, and broadsides.[27] But the trope emerged much earlier, and the shared unreliability of the spaces of playhouse and meetinghouse were crucial, I argue, to its deployment. In the next section of this chapter, I peek inside the meetinghouses themselves, detailing their strategies for manipulating space. I begin, though, in the playhouse, where Restoration playwrights had already begun to note similarities between the spaces of Nonconformity and the spaces of the stage and had adjusted the already existing trope of the Stage Puritan to fit the realities of a post–civil war city.

The Stage Puritan was most familiar to Restoration audiences from the plays of Ben Jonson, whose *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) was still in repertoire in the 1660s and 1670s, along with *The Alchemist* (1610). The hypocritically appetitive Nonconformists Zeal-of-the-Land Busy and Dame Purecraft (in *Bartholomew Fair*) and Tribulation Wholesome and Ananias (in *The Alchemist*) shared many qualities with the Nonconformist characters who popu-

lated the stage in greater and greater numbers as the Clarendon Code took effect.[28] As Underhill's "*Vision*" suggests, however, Restoration playwrights and performers added to the trope one attribute less evident in Jonson's earlier examples but crucial to the changing ideas of urban space emerging in a post-war and particularly in a post-Fire London: a talent for transforming the spaces of the city into makeshift places of worship. The resemblance between meetinghouse and playhouse stems from both Nonconformists' and performers' treatment of space as changeable—and their willingness to adapt it, temporarily, to their needs.

The shared changeability of Nonconformist and theatrical spaces is the source of several jokes in William Wycherley's first play, *Love in a Wood*, which debuted just over ten years after Cowley's *Cutter of Coleman Street*, on 1 March 1671. As Derek Hughes argues, the London comedy takes as its subject the disorientation and disorder plaguing an urban population of diverse characters thrown together in a city robbed by the Fire (and, before that, by civil war) of all its signs and referents.[29] Among these diverse and disoriented characters are several Stage Puritans, including the pious Mrs. Crossbite and her daughter, Miss Lucy, whom Mrs. Crossbite is desperate to marry off to a suitable husband. Lucy, however, does not subscribe to her mother's strict religious beliefs, and, in act III, the bawd Mrs. Joyner repeats a joke—already familiar to audiences of *Cutter of Coleman Street* and other plays—to warn Mrs. Crossbite of threats to her daughter's reputation: "[S]he was seen going into the Meeting-house of the Wicked," Mrs. Joyner reports, "otherwise called the Play-house."[30]

Wycherley goes further than Cowley's Cutter in explaining precisely what he means in setting meetinghouse and playhouse side by side. He offers this explanation chiefly through the Nonconformist character of Alderman Gripe, one of Lucy's pursuers and (as the dramatis personae informs us) a "covetous, leacherous, old Usurer of the City" whose outward piety and inward lasciviousness reveals his debt to Jonson's Busy (*LW*, "The Persons of the Play," lines 4–5). If, as Hughes suggests, the play presents the city's spaces as uneasily "amorphous" and its people as "engage[d] in [these spaces'] imaginative transformation," Gripe embodies the amorphousness of city space perhaps better than anyone.[31] Mrs. Joyner describes him in act I as "the Picklock and Dark-Lanthorn of Policy; and in a word, a Conventicle of Virtues" (*LW* I.i.135–36). Mrs. Joyner's praise of Gripe's "Virtues" may be facetious but her association of him with transgressed boundaries and unreliable spaces contains echoes of Cutter's "*what may this place be?*" Gripe's Nonconformity, like Cutter's, is synonymous with the transience

and instability of urban space, with locks that can be picked and places that are not what they seem, houses of "Virtues" easily perverted into "Conventicles" of sin.

It is not until the final act of the play that Wycherley connects the transience and unreliability of the Nonconformist conventicle to the transience and unreliability of the Restoration stage. As Hughes notes, the play can conclude only when its diverse characters—and their divergent views of space—resolve themselves into a community, an agreed-upon vision for the city spaces they occupy. For the main characters, this resolution comes—if imperfectly—through marriage, which settles them into shared domestic spaces that replace the "separate enclosures" in which they began.[32] For Gripe, it comes when he finally turns away from the privacy he tries to impose on shared spaces—the "Conventicles" he insists on creating in crowded streets—and promises to "conform" to agreed-upon modes of mapping and moving through the city. But significantly, Wycherley portrays this conformity as ephemeral, unstable—and pointedly theatrical. "I can conform to this mode of publick walking by Moon-light," Gripe tells Mrs. Joyner as the cast strolls with the assembled *dramatis personae* through St. James Park, the setting for act V. In the park, he continues, "one is not known. . . . [I]n the dark, or as it were in the dark, there is no envy, nor scandal" (LW V.i.110–11, 113–14).

Throughout the play, Wycherley has compared the park to a theater, a place where characters don disguises, trade identities, and construct bowers for private assignations under the public's eye. Gripe's line cleverly continues this comparison: in his notes to the Oxford edition, Peter Dixon reads Gripe's "as it were in the dark" as one of the play's many metatheatrical jokes, since the stage—defying Gripe's description—must have been light enough to allow the audience to see the actors.[33] The line thus exposes the spaces of the playhouse, like the spaces of a meetinghouse, as a collective fiction: the privacy available within the "publick" park or the public stage extends not from actual darkness but from a crowd of assembled audience members regarding the space "as [if] it were" in the dark. Similarly the sanctity of a city space extends not from its architecture but from a congregation regarding it "as [if] it were" holy, from a group of Quakers standing amid a heap of tangled and broken beams on Gracechurch Street and bowing their heads in prayer. Gripe's apparent conversion brings full circle Mrs. Joyner's earlier description of the meetinghouse as "otherwise called the Play-house," for it exposes how theater audiences share with Puritan congregations the idea that collective belief might transform any city space into another—and

how not only Nonconformists or theater audiences but also Londoners of all stripes depend on such transformations to treat a "publick walk" as if it were a private bower, to avoid "envy and scandal" despite living cheek by jowl. Gripe might (temporarily) abandon his religious beliefs to achieve harmony with his London neighbors, but Wycherley suggests that it is the characters wandering a wooden stage "as [if] it were" a leafy park and the audience members watching a spectacle of blazing light "as [if] it were in the dark" who are learning to "conform."

A decade later, another London comedy would connect this transformation of both stage space and sacred space through collective belief to the changeable scenery introduced to the public twenty years before. When *Mr. Turbulent; or, the Melancholicks* premiered at Dorset Garden in 1682, it gathered what J. Douglas Canfield estimates to be the "greatest collection" of "*fanatical* Puritan[s]" in a single Restoration play.[34] Hughes describes the anonymously authored London comedy as an "imitation" of *Cutter of Coleman Street* and part of a later "re-enactment of the earliest phase of Restoration comed[ies]" featuring the Stage Puritan.[35] It is perhaps appropriate, given this recycling of earlier tropes, that the play's prologue begins by lamenting the difficulty of satisfying London audiences' demand for novelty. "Poets have robb'd the Earth, Heav'n, Air and Seas / Of Objects, trying every way to please," the prologue announces. It then introduces movable scenery as a common antidote to audiences' boredom:

> With Songs, with Dances, and with painted Scenes,
> With Drums, with Trumpets and with fine Machines,
> They've shown you Angels, Spirits, Devils too,
> Hopeing to find some way to pleasure you
> With something that was very rare and new.[36]

By its final verses, however, the prologue has abandoned these "painted Scenes" and "fine Machines"—technologies that, two decades after their introduction to the public playhouse, no longer inspired the excitement they once had—in favor of another novelty. Because "Poets have been so lavish and so kind" in including as many personae in their plays as they could scrounge from the city streets, the prologue continues:

> New Characters are very hard to find,
> And all the Fools, Court, City, Country yield,
> Already have been muster'd in this Field:

> But he [the writer of *Mr. Turbulent*] at last did on some Mad-Men light,
> With whom he'll entertain you here to Night;
> Hoping that his *Fanatic Melancollicks*
> Will make you laugh, at their unusual Frolicks *(Turbulent,* prologue, n.p.*)*

In these brief lines, the anonymous poet links the "painted Scenes" and "fine Machines" that once transformed the spaces of the stage into "something rare and new," and the "*Fanatic Melancollicks*" that promise to provide the evening's "entertain[ment]" instead. The play that follows suggests that, in addition to their "rar[ity]" and novelty the stage's scenery and the play's "Mad-Men" share an association with unreliable spaces as well.

The unreliability of Nonconformists and the spaces they occupy emerges most simply and most explicitly in the title of the play and its eponymous fool: true to his name, Mr. Turbulent spends much of his five acts twisting and turning through a disorienting London until he is finally confined, at the end of the play, to Bethlem Hospital for the insane. This closing image makes full use of the theater's "painted Scenes": the open stage shrinks into the Bethlem cell as two flats close in a reverse discovery scene, confining and finally concealing Mr. Turbulent behind them. Yet even the seeming finality of this confinement is rendered unreliable when Cave Underhill (who originated the role of Mr. Turbulent as he had Cutter of Coleman Street) emerges once again from behind the closed scenes that supposedly secured him, to deliver the play's epilogue. "I'll say no more, lest I should tedious grow," he announces:

> *But only make one Prayer e're I go.*
> *With this New Play, may you all pleased be*
> *May we all live in peace, and all agree,*
> *And may all* Turbulents *find Cure like me. (Turbulent,* prologue, n.p.*)*

Like his final speech in *Cutter of Coleman Street*, Underhill's epilogue in *Mr. Turbulent* makes direct reference to the enchantment that binds playhouse and meetinghouse, reminding its spectators that the "Angels, Spirits, and Devils" dancing before them are mere actors and actresses, the spectacular city nothing but "painted Scenes." As Diana Solomon explains, Restoration prologues and epilogues often served to navigate the shift from reality to illusion and back again, sometimes noting and often ambiguating the difference between the world of the audience and the "make-believe world of performance."[37] But in *Mr. Turbulent*'s epilogue, this shift takes on added

meaning, as Underhill frames the transition from the "make-believe" world of the scenic stage to the real world of the city beyond as a transition from the "turbulent" spaces of the meetinghouse to the stable spaces of a London united around its Anglican churches. In wishing "all *Turbulents* find Cure," Underhill prays not merely that the madmen of the play find treatment but also that all Nonconformists find an Anglican parish or "Cure" where they might settle down and stay put. The pun reiterates the contrast between Nonconformist spaces and Anglican spaces that Stage Puritans like Cutter, Gripe, and Mr. Turbulent represent: a contrast between the precarity of the shape-shifting conventicle and the stability of the bordered and mappable curacy. Yet in ending the play by comparing this relationship between Nonconformist conventicle and Anglican cure to that between the excitement of the theater's changeable scenery and the humdrum, workaday world of the city outside the stage doors, *Mr. Turbulent* also undermines its seemingly anti-Puritan sentiment. If both plays and Puritanism are sustained by a crowd of people agreeing to the apparent fiction that a painted flat can be a madhouse or a storeroom, a place of God, what but displeasure is to be gained from puncturing these beliefs? If the "frolicks" of these "*Fanatick Melancollicks"* or the conjurings of these "painted Scenes" provide such "entertain[ment]" to a city struggling to forget years of war, of plague, of Fire, who would ever seek a *"Cure"*?

Canfield describes the Restoration Stage Puritan's theatricality as deriving from the "common, Jonsonian satire of the Puritans for hypocrisy."[38] As this brief sojourn through a quarter century of Restoration plays has shown, however, these later characters' theatricality seems to have emerged not (or not only) from their hypocrisy, but from their ability—shared with the playhouse—to remake city space. It is perhaps significant, then, that the pun on "Cure" that closes *Mr. Turbulent* and that cements the Nonconformists' spatial precarity would return to the London stage fifteen years later, under very different circumstances, in John Vanbrugh's comedy *The Provok'd Wife*. I examine Vanbrugh's play—and its relationship to his architectural style—in the final sections of this chapter. First, though, I want to step momentarily outside of the playhouse to compare this stereotype of the Stage Puritan as unmoored and unmappable to the actual spatial practices of London's Nonconformist sects.

Movable Scenery in the Playhouse and the Meetinghouse

Comparisons between the spaces of the meetinghouse and the spaces of the playhouse were not limited to those, like the performers whose liveli-

hoods the anti-theatrical Nonconformists had threatened, with a bone to pick. In the third volume of his *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, which opens with his lamenting his brethren's reduction to "Beggars," Richard Baxter makes a similar comparison between meetinghouse and playhouse in the midst of what appears, at first, to be an anti-theatrical diatribe. "There happened a great rebuke to the Nobility and Gentry of *Dublin* in *Ireland*," Baxter writes, before quoting a newspaper account of the incident: "Most of the Nobility and Gentry being at a Play, at a publick Playhouse, the upper Galleries on a sudden fell all down, beating down the second, which together with all the People that were in them, fell into the Pit and lower Boxes."[39] The accident killed four people and injured several more during a performance of *Bartholomew Fair* at the Theatre Royal, Smock Alley, Dublin, on 26 December 1670.[40] Baxter interprets the accident as a divine sign about the dangers of entering the playhouse: "The first Letters that came to *London* of it, filled the City with the report, that it was a Play in scorn of Godliness, and that I was the Person acted by the Scorner, as a Puritan," he writes. "But the Play was *Ben Ioynson's Bartholomew-Fair*, with a sense added for the times, in which the Puritan is called a *Banbury* Man, and I cannot learn that I was named, nor meddled with more than others of my Condition, unless by the Actors' dress they made any such reflecting Intimations."[41] The dangers of the "publick Playhouse" are made manifest, Baxter's relation of the incident implies, in the precarity of its spaces.

Fewer than seventy-five pages later, however, Baxter delivers another anecdote emphasizing the precarity of a different urban space—not the "publick Playhouse" where he is (possibly) impersonated, but the Nonconformist meetinghouse where he performs *in propria persona*. Forbidden by the Act of Uniformity from preaching in his former pulpit, Baxter accepts an invitation to "Preach only one Sermon a week at St. *Iames*'s Market-house," southwest of the Strand and a short walk from London's newly erected Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, "where some had hired an inconvenient Place."[42] The inconvenience of the makeshift meetinghouse soon becomes clear: during services "on *Iuly* 5th (1674.)," Baxter writes:

> God vouchsafed us great Deliverance. A main Beam before wekened by the weight of the People so cracked that three times they ran in terrour out of the room, thinking it was falling: . . . I reproved their fear as causeless. But the next day taking up the boards we found that two rends in the Beam, were so great, that it was a wonder of providence that the floor had not faln, and the roof with it, to the destruction of multitudes. The Lord make us thankful.[43]

In these two anecdotes, Baxter offers his readers two strikingly similar scenes: in a building disguised as something it is not (a Dublin stage made out to be a London fairground, a market hall made out to be a meetinghouse), a man dressed as Richard Baxter speaks to a crowd of believers. The floor, "wekened by their weight," suddenly cracks, threatening the lives of those assembled. At this point, however, the anecdotes diverge: in the second, "God vouchsafe[s] . . . a great Deliverance"; the ground holds; the people survive. In the first, their manifest "scorn of Godliness" robs the crowd of this "Deliverance," and they plunge to their deaths. The similarities between these two anecdotes echo the similarities between playhouse and meetinghouse already in repertoire on the London stage of Cowley, Wycherley, and *Mr. Turbulent*: both are spaces of some danger, contingency, and instability; both are spaces disguised as somewhere else.

The parallels that Baxter draws between the Smock Alley stage and the makeshift pulpit at St. James are not isolated within *Reliquiae Baxterianae* but part of a larger trend across Nonconformist literatures in this period, which chime with Restoration playscripts in presenting the playhouse as a perversion or devilish double to the meetinghouse. Daniel Defoe describes his Nonconformist conduct book *The Family Instructor* (1715) as "a Religious Play" and composes it in dialogue form (with stage directions), even as he warns his readers of the dangers of attending the theater on Sundays, when they should be listening to a sermon.[44] John Bunyan inserts into the Vanity Fair episode of his Nonconformist parable *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) a near-exact retelling of the entrance of Jonson's Dame Purecraft and Zeal-of-the-Land Busy into Bartholomew Fair.[45] Complicating readings of Nonconformist devotional manuals and spiritual autobiographies as precursors to the realist novel, these three canonical Nonconformist works by Baxter, Defoe, and Bunyan betray an uneasy interest in—and knowledge of—the theater.

Expanding our gaze outward from these literary works to Nonconformist architectures, however, reveals even more profound likenesses between the spaces of the Restoration playhouse and those of the meetinghouse: in their attempts to avoid detection by enforcers of the Clarendon Code, Nonconformist congregations often outfitted their meetinghouses with devices that resembled the curtains, trapdoors, and moving walls that William Davenant's scenic innovations had recently introduced to the public theaters. "[A]t our owne Meeting," writes Edward Terrill, the compiler of a collection of documents and diary entries related to the Broadmead congregation in Bristol:

> to prevent Spies that might come in y^e^ Roome as hearers,—and yet that noe strangers, or persons we knew not, might be hindered from coming into our Meeting, whether good or Bad, to hear y^e^ Gospell,—*we Contrived a Curtaine* to be hung in y^e^ Meeting place, that did inclose as much roome as above 50 might sitt within it, and among those men, he that preached should stand; that soe if any Informer was private in y^e^ Roome as a hearer he might hear him that spake, but could not see him, and thereby not know him.[46]

The opening lines of Terrill's description hint at the disadvantages faced by a congregation meeting in the sorts of inviolable private spaces often attributed to the settings of the novel, for while they prevent "Spies" from intruding, such spaces also keep away "persons we know not" but who might benefit from "hear[ing] y^e^ Gospell." Instead, Terrill's congregants use tools familiar from the Restoration theater to create a space that oscillates flexibly between the public/private binary: they "*Contrive[ ] a Curtaine*" that, opening and closing to reveal or conceal the preacher positioned behind it, recalls the curtains opening and closing over the sets and actors of the Restoration stage.

Further down the same page, Terrill describes another contrivance by a neighboring congregation that resembles even more closely the discovery scenes that allowed Aphra Behn to create—and then immediately to dissolve—the illusion of a private chamber on a stage that moments earlier had represented a public street. "They Shutt up one of their doors," Terrill writes:

> and, instead of a Curtaine, they putt a wainscott Board in a Convenient place in their Meeting, behinde which he that spake did stand out of sight of y^e^ greatest parte of y^e^ People, and yet all might hear. And they suffer none to come into that Parte of y^e^ Meeting but friends. And soe, when y^e^ Informers come, they had y^e^ Convenience to convey him that spake out of that parte of y^e^ Meeting into another house.[47]

The "wainscott Board" creates in the meetinghouse, as in the playhouse, a backstage "Parte" separate from the stage, where "friends" in the know collaborate to create the performance visible to the audience—and to convey the performers "out of that parte of y^e^ Meeting into another house" when it is time for the scene to change.

At another of Bristol's meetinghouses, congregants contrived a balcony scene worthy of *Sir Martin Mar-All* "to frustrate y^e^ Informers, and to save their speakers, having lost their Minister as before." Terrill continues:

> Now their meeting place being a lower roome, and two lofts over head one another, they made a door to y^e^ staire-foote into y^e^ second Story, and made y^e^ Minister stand in that Middle roome; and soe preached that they below and over might all hear. And they caused a Curtaine to be made, that when y^e^ Informers came in they might draw that Curtaine before y^e^ Ministers, that y^e^ informers could not see him that preached, but only hear him, and could not come at him by reason y^e^ new door at staire-foot was kept fast, and none suffered to goe up but those that they knew friends.[48]

At a fourth, Nonconformists deployed tricks that *The Rover*'s Lucetta may well have applauded: "A company of tall Brethren stand about him that speakes," explains Terrill, "and having near his feet made a trap-door in y^e^ floor, when y^e^ Informers come, they lett down y^e^ Brother that spake into a room under."[49] These accumulated examples confirm that the resemblances between playhouse and meetinghouse were not only metaphorical, not only jokes at the Nonconformists' seeming hypocrisy; they were architectural, structural, and meticulously documented in Nonconformist and anti-Nonconformist literatures alike.

Such resemblances were also geographical, performed in the neighborhoods of the city itself, where players and Nonconformists often shared common ground. Steven Mullaney and others have noted that precarious legal status often confined both Puritans and actors to the "liberties" of Southwark, just outside the city proper (and thus outside its strict surveillance), in the years before the civil wars.[50] Leah S. Marcus points out that this proximity was as much one of economic dependence as of legal necessity: "Many of these 'zealous brethren,'" Marcus writes, "made their livings off the theatre and associated vanities as feathermakers, tiring women, and the like."[51] By 1669, when the Episcopal Returns made note of the known conventicles scattered across London, most were located not in Southwark but in the central City, near the guilds and financial institutions where many Nonconformists were employed. But a few prominent congregations set up their meetinghouses in the Covent Garden neighborhood, mere blocks from the theater; these meetings boasted a total of at least 300 worshippers, according to George Lyon Turner, with another 300 nearby in Hatton Garden.[52] Lincoln's Inn Fields, too, occupied a neighborhood in which many Nonconformists worked in legal professions—a proximity referenced frequently, as Juan A. Prieto-Pablos has shown, on the Restoration stage.[53]

At least one London congregation not only recognized these resemblances between stage and pulpit but decided to capitalize on them: among

the applications for licenses submitted under the 1672 Act of Indulgence is one, dated 11 April 1672, from "William Farrington to be a teacher of Presbyterians at the Old Theatre in Vere Street," home to the King's Company between 1660 and 1663. "The Old Theatre," the records note, was "Licensed accordingly" as a meetinghouse.[54]

Less than ten years after Wren first proposed to Charles II his imagined city of architecturally and doctrinally uniform churches, then, the spate of cleverly disguised conventicles cropping up across the city had already proven his plan a failure. Nonconformists had earned their continued association with the theater by applying its tricks and trappings, its technologies of changeable scenery, to ensure the flexibility—and thus the plausible deniability—of their places of worship. By the last decade of the seventeenth century, city and Crown authorities had largely abandoned their policy of uniformity and were ready to try a new approach. The resulting experiments with flexibility over uniformity—in religious freedoms as in urban architectures—are evident not only in the changes they made to laws and city planning but also in the discussions of these laws and plans within the shifting spaces of the London stage.

The Glorious Revolution, the Act of Toleration, and the Changing Shape of London

In May 1689, over two decades after the Great Fire had burned through eighty-seven Anglican parishes, the religious spaces of Restoration London shifted once again.

When Charles II died in 1685, the throne passed to his brother, James II. A Declaration of Indulgence that James issued in 1687 granted Nonconformists the freedom to public worship that they had long sought, but they were hardly placated, since its true purpose was to grant religious freedom to those who shared James's Catholic faith. After James's wife, Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son and heir in 1688, tensions exploded amid fears that the young prince would grow up to impose Catholicism on the nation. James was chased from the throne later that year, to be replaced by his eldest daughter, Mary II, and her Protestant husband, William of Orange, who became William III. Eager to placate a nation divided by the traumas of the Exclusion Crisis and the Glorious Revolution, William signed the landmark Act of Toleration less than a year after taking the throne. The act revoked the stipulations of the Act of Uniformity and much of the Clarendon Code and granted all English Protestants the freedom to worship as and where they

pleased (provided that they appear regularly at one of several services that rejected transubstantiation—a caveat designed to exclude atheists, Catholics, and Unitarians from consideration).

Historians have cautioned against drawing too close a comparison between the religious toleration granted by the 1689 Act of Toleration and later articulations of religious freedom or of the separation of church and state.[55] Non-Anglicans were still barred from most public offices, and given the vicissitudes of their fortunes in the previous half century, Nonconformists remained understandably suspicious of the longevity of their newfound rights. "Even mainstream Dissenters like Defoe could not feel entirely secure after 1689," writes James Coffey. "Besides suffering excoriating attacks from Anglican pulpits, Dissenters also had to reckon with verbal abuse, harassment, violence and even arson."[56] Though it hardly plucked them from their precarity overnight, however, the act helped to normalize Nonconformist spaces within London's public and political geography. "In the first year of its operation," writes Jonathan I. Israel, "church licenses for 796 temporary and 143 permanent prayer-houses were taken out under the terms of the Toleration Act, while the Quakers set up a further 239 meeting-houses without licenses (or hindrance)."[57] In both 1697 and 1700, Coffey adds, the Lord Mayorship of London was held by a Presbyterian.[58]

This (re)introduction of some Nonconformists into the city's spaces and seats of power was indicative of a larger trend affecting London's (and the nation's) government, architectures, and theaters in the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first decades of the eighteenth. With the Glorious Revolution came a "financial revolution," as England established a national bank (in 1694) and staked its claim as a major player in the global marketplace.[59] This turn toward capitalism necessitated the nation's expansion outward—in search of new markets, new lands and resources, new sources of labor—and thus fueled the imperial explorations and exploitations that would become an increasing national priority. Yet as Gabriel Glickman has recently pointed out, England's expanding trade networks and its metastasizing empire made uniformity—not only of religion but also of political structures and affiliations—more and more difficult to achieve at home.[60] Calls for toleration began to replace arguments for uniformity, and the state sought to replace the old laws attempting to quash non-Anglican sects with new ones designed to allow but to monitor their activities.[61] These shifts in religious belief also entailed shifts in approaches to London's architectures, as the spatial shifts and idiosyncrasies once associated with unpropertied populations and Nonconformists spread to the city as a whole. The tolera-

tion and flexibility not only of belief but of space reshaped a London moving away from the planned uniformity that laws like the Clarendon Code and designers like Wren had tried (and failed) to impose.

In 1702, Wren—who had been working as Surveyor of the Royal Works since 1669—welcomed a new architect, Sir John Vanbrugh, as his comptroller. The two men's architectural styles, much like their politics, often diverged. While Wren's Palladianism emphasized symmetry and straight lines, Vanbrugh's English baroque style embellished Palladianism's solidness with medieval flourishes—or, as Vanbrugh himself put it, "Something of the Castle Air."[62] As a landscape architect designing homes for England's rising Whiggish elites, similarly, Vanbrugh pioneered the picturesque style, which emphasized the multiple perspectives, organic shapes and patterns, and privileging of surprise and novelty that would come to distinguish English gardens from the geometrical, symmetrical designs prized by Continental gardeners.[63] Vanbrugh met the uniformity and regularity of Wren's buildings with hidden crevices, surprising embellishments, gaping gargoyles—with what literary historian Lee Morrissey calls irregularity and "variety" and what Vanbrugh himself described as his eschewal for "a too exact observance of the Rules."[64]

Morrissey attributes this preference for variety to Vanbrugh's Whiggish politics, which emphasized individual rights over royal hierarchies. For Vaughan Hart, however, the irregularity of Vanbrugh's architecture depends not only on his political but on his religious background—in particular on the "Whig ideology and religious nonconformity" that, Hart suggests, haunted his designs.[65] Vanbrugh himself was a member of good standing of the Anglican Church, but his father Giles, though "in communion with the Church of *England*," is recorded as having attended "Week-day Lectures" by the Nonconformist preacher Mathew Henry during John's childhood. Giles counted among his friends and business acquaintances several members of Chester's Nonconformist community.[66] In Vanbrugh's embellishment of squared and solid structures with unexpected perspectives, we might glimpse the shadows of the embellished Nonconformist meetinghouses his father had once frequented. There is, of course, another possible source for Vanbrugh's use of irregularity and surprise in his designs—and one not unrelated to the Nonconformist spaces he may have entered as a child. Frank McCormick links Vanbrugh's preferences for the picturesque, significantly, to his familiarity with the movable scenery of the Restoration stage.[67]

By the time that Vanbrugh's first play, *The Relapse*, debuted in 1696, the London playhouses, like the meetinghouses, had undergone significant

change. William and Mary expressed less interest in the theaters than had either of their predecessors, supporting instead the Societies for the Reformation of Manners (many of them headed by Nonconformists), which repeatedly called for stricter censorship of a stage they described as licentious and immoral. Robert D. Hume blames the political instabilities of the mid- to late 1680s and William and Mary's lackluster support in the 1690s for creating something of a doldrum in the playhouses in this period.[68] In 1682, the King's Company, facing thin audiences and poor management, joined with their rival Duke's Company to form the United Company, which performed off and on at Drury Lane until 1695. In that year, several of the United Company's best actors (including Elizabeth Barry and Thomas Betterton) defected to form their own company. Though short-lived, the split succeeded in igniting the careers of several up-and-coming Whig playwrights—Vanbrugh chief among them—who would resurrect the rakes and coquettes of Tory playwrights like Behn and Wycherley, but with a newly critical eye to the libertine politics associated with the reign of Charles II.

For this reason, Vanbrugh the playwright is often known as a "transitional" figure (in Laura Brown's nomenclature) bridging the raucous and bawdy works of the Restoration and the more subdued sentimental comedies of the early eighteenth century.[69] In describing him as such, scholars have largely ignored the language of Nonconformity that peppers his plays. When they do acknowledge it, they have assumed that Vanbrugh quotes Nonconformist slogans out of context in an attempt to sever the direct connection between language and truth upon which the devout often insisted but which the Restoration rake consistently abused.[70] Yet we might view Vanbrugh's second comedy, *The Provok'd Wife*, less as a post-Restoration than as a post-Toleration play—one in which the spaces of the city have shifted as Wren's dreamed-of architectural uniformity and Clarendon's violently enforced religious uniformity have given way to architectural and religious pluralism. Evoking vocabulary and scenarios borrowed from Nonconformist literatures, *The Provok'd Wife* portrays the rebuilt London of the 1690s as a city traversed by warrens and best known by its walkers, one where the best-laid plans of Wren have given way to the labyrinths of Vanbrugh's picturesque style.

"Have You Any Cure?": Nonconformist Spaces in Vanbrugh's *The Provok'd Wife*

Vanbrugh's debt to the language and imagery of Nonconformist literature emerges most clearly in three scenes at the very center of his second London

comedy, in which the provoking husband, Sir John Brute, carouses with his friends at a tavern before beating a man in a drunken brawl; then escapes the night watch by disguising himself in a preacher's gown purloined from a "Dissenting Journeyman Taylor"; and is questioned by a justice of the peace. In each of these pivotal scenes, Vanbrugh repeats the tropes that are already familiar from Wycherley and from Baxter, tropes that connect the flexible space of the playhouse to that of the meetinghouse. But in associating this flexibility with the decidedly non-Puritanical politics and spaces of his most rakish character, he gestures toward the ways that these spatial manipulations have been embraced by Londoners of several social classes and political and religious affiliations in the wake of the Act of Toleration.

Act III, scene ii of *The Provok'd Wife* opens at the Blue Posts Tavern, where Brute's friend Lord Rake offers an irreverent toast: "Come Boys," he commands his fellows. "Charge again.—So—Confusion to all order. Here's Liberty of Conscience."[71] As Michael Cordner points out, Lord Rake perverts the meaning of the familiar slogan of the Nonconformists, deliberately confusing the liberty of conscience granted by the Act of Toleration with the liberty *from* conscience (and consciousness) guaranteed by the "*Bottle*" he celebrates a few lines later in a drunken song (III.i.37).[72] Yet the reference here seems more than merely a drunken repetition of a religious rallying cry when we consider the scene's setting. In his *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, George Lyon Turner lists at least three taverns and an "Inne" among the London buildings used as meetinghouses in the days of the Clarendon Code.[73] In addition to offering rooms spacious enough to accommodate large gatherings, taverns offered a convenient cover, since crowds in such establishments were commonplace (while those in private homes or other spaces often used as meetinghouses were rare enough to draw suspicion from enforcers of the Conventicle Acts). Vanbrugh heightens this link between tavern and conventicle moments later when a page enters to announce, "[I]t's Sunday night," and Brute declares himself "as Drunk and as Religious, as the Drunkenest Citizen of 'em all" (III.i.39). Meeting in a tavern on the sabbath and toasting "Liberty of Conscience" before declaring their religiosity (and their drunkenness), Brute and his friends provide a parodic inversion of the Nonconformist conventicle, as the Nonconformists' worst enemies imagined it.

Crucially, however, Brute and Rake are not Nonconformists. As his name implies, Rake recalls the early Restoration libertine who, in the political and religious (and theatrical) battles of the civil wars, took a stance diametrically opposed to those advocating "Liberty of Conscience." Brute's

origins are muddier: though he accompanies and seems to aspire to the libertine persona of his friend, "his lineage," writes John Bull, "derives from the Commonwealth period . . . and he stands in for the [bourgeois] *nouveau*-fop figure of the earlier comedies."[74] In placing these friends side by side in the same conversation and in the same tavern, Vanbrugh suggests that the distinctions between factions—and between spaces—that once structured Restoration stage and society have come, after 1689, to disintegrate. Daniel Gustafson cites this scene as an example of how the libertine persona endured on the eighteenth-century stage and in eighteenth-century life long after the politics that inspired it had shifted. "What Brute's pose as a liberty-loving Englishman intimates," particularly in its performances later in the century, Gustafson writes, "is the possibility of a collapsing together of liberal and absolutist subjectivity—the way an attractive fantasy of extrajudicial sovereign 'prerogative' is embedded in and engendered by the Whig values of freedom from domination and self-ownership that propose themselves as absolutism's opposite."[75] Yet Rake's toast and Brute's declaration of religiosity suggest not only the long run of the libertine in the English repertoire but also the adoption of Nonconformist language and spatial practices by other factions.

The wider appeal of the flexible urban spaces associated with Nonconformists under the Clarendon Code is supported by Vanbrugh's decision not just to set his scene in a tavern but also to specify which London tavern he means. A year before *The Provok'd Wife* debuted, the Blue Posts Tavern had been the site of a real-life conventicle, in which a group of men united by their religious and political beliefs met in secret to plot against the life of the king. In this case, however, the conventiclers were not the Nonconformists that the Clarendon Code targeted but High Anglicans and Jacobites, opposed to what they saw as William's usurpation of the throne and worried about its implications for the Established Church.[76] The transformation and creative reuse of city spaces in post-Fire London is no longer limited to Nonconformists (or unpropertied servants and women) alone, Vanbrugh implies. In a religiously and politically pluralistic city, the uses of even a recognizable landmark have become pluralist as well.

Vanbrugh suggests how Londoners of various stripes might employ the flexibility of Nonconformist space at the top of act IV, as Brute and his fellows reappear onstage "*with Swords drawn*" (IV.i.44). After a drunken brawl that has left another man close to death, we learn, Brute and Lord Rake have fled the scene of the crime, pursued by the night watchman and the wife of their hapless victim. When we catch up with them, they are wandering the

streets of Covent Garden—another apt setting, like the Blue Posts Tavern, for highlighting their manipulations of space. In Restoration comedies, the neighborhood often signifies rowdiness, sex, and sin, a reputation supported by the many brothels lining its streets.[77] It was also, of course, the theater district for seventeenth-century London: the Covent Garden Theatre would not open until 1732, but even in Vanbrugh's day, the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, was located just across Bow Street from Covent Garden Square; and Lincoln's Inn Fields, where *The Provok'd Wife* debuted, sat a few blocks further to the northeast. By 1697, then, Covent Garden had become emblematic of the shifting spaces that were more and more common throughout the rebuilding city: it was the neighborhood where Inigo Jones's impeccably planned square was now traversed by whores and beggars; where the changeable scenery that Jones had introduced to the court masques was now transforming the public stage. It was the neighborhood, not coincidentally, where John Dryden had set *Sir Martin Mar-all*, taking advantage (as I discuss in chapter 1) of its reputation for socioeconomic diversity as well as flexibility. Part of this socioeconomic diversity stemmed from its substantial population of Nonconformists, who built their meetinghouses next door to brothels (to their detractors' express delight) and who made the area a hotbed of conventicle activities in the mid-1660s, especially.[78]

Vanbrugh underlines these overlapping associations with Covent Garden as at once a home for Nonconformists, a thriving theater district, and a den of thieves when, a few lines into the scene, a tailor enters "*with a Bundle under his Arm*" and is greeted by one of Sir John's companions: "What have we got here? A Thief?" But the tailor protests: "An't please you, I'm a Dissenting Journeyman Taylor" (IV.i.44). "Dissenting" here, as in so many of the Restoration comedies examined throughout this chapter, seems to stand in for spatial precarity or shiftiness—particularly within the shifty setting of Covent Garden and particularly when paired with "Journeyman." Etymologically, the *journey* in journeyman refers to time and not space: a journeyman tailor is one who does not own his own shop but works under another for day's wages (from the Old French *journée*, or "day").[79] But Vanbrugh plays also on the spatial connotations of the word: like Nonconformist preachers under the Clarendon Code, banned from their pulpits and forced to travel to their congregants in the warehouses, fields, and private homes that became their makeshift meetinghouses, the tailor journeys between customers to deliver his services (as the "*Bundle under his Arm*" reminds us). As both a "Dissent[er]" and as a "Journeyman," in other words, he represents precarity and travel. He represents, too, the uses of slipping between, shifting among,

and transforming the city's spaces: the tailor is a "Thief," but rather than stealing private property he steals *through* public space. Or, as Brute puts it just before the tailor introduces himself as a Nonconformist, "he looks— like a—sneaking Rascal" (IV.i.44).

Brute's association of the tailor with "sneaking" through the city's back rooms and dark alleys is confirmed moments later, when the tailor (unwillingly) provides the means by which Brute himself will steal through the city and away from the night watchman on his tail. To Lord Rake's belligerent inquiries about the contents of his bundle, the tailor replies:

> An't please you, it's the Doctor of the Parish's Gown.
>
> RAKE. The Doctor's Gown!—Heark you, Knight, you won't stick at abusing the Clergy, will you?
>
> BRUTE. No, I'm drunk, and I'll abuse any thing—but my Wife; and her I name—with Reverence.
>
> RAKE. Then you shall wear this Gown, whilst you charge the Watch. That tho' the Blows fall upon you, the Scandal may light upon the Church.
>
> BRUTE. A generous Design—by all the Gods—give it me.
>
> [*Takes the Gown and puts it on.*]
>
> (IV.i.45)

This scene made *The Provok'd Wife* a target for religious reformers such as the Anglican preacher Jeremy Collier; and the scandal of a drunken rake donning the gown of a preacher to roam more freely about the town proved controversial enough that Vanbrugh was compelled, in later versions, to change the "Doctor's Gown" to Lady Brute's "short cloak and wrapping gown," with Sir John blustering through the rest of the act dressed in the clothes of his wife.[80] In both versions, however, theatricality and Nonconformity seem inextricably intertwined; and Vanbrugh hints at the resemblances between Covent Garden's playhouses and its meetinghouses by making the "Dissenting . . . Taylor" the provider of the costume that will enable Sir John's disguise and effect his escape.

Like the libertine toast to "Liberty of Conscience," Brute's discovery of an Anglican priest's garb within the bundle of a Nonconformist tailor confirms the religious pluralism of a post-Toleration London. Brute's use of these robes to facilitate his escape from the night watch, moreover, suggests how Nonconformists' clever manipulations of city space (turning taverns into conventicles, for instance) holds possibilities also for Londoners who

did not practice Nonconformity. Learning from his Nonconformist neighbors how to shift within and to steal through the public spaces of the city allows Brute the "roving" spirit that libertines like Willmore once took as their birthright but that have faded under the Whiggish regime of William III; it allows him, quite literally, to get away with murder.

Vanbrugh drives home this point about the flexibility of all of London's spaces—not just its Nonconformist meetinghouses—in one final scene that is haunted, like the other two, with the language of Nonconformity. The protection offered by his disguise is, unfortunately for Brute, short-lived, and in the next scene he finds himself in the custody of a constable, who confesses that he "thought to have let you slip this Morning, because you were a Minister" (IV.i.50). Instead, confirming him to be "as Drunk and as Abusive as ever," the constable delivers Brute to the justice of the peace (IV.i.50). But the justice finds Brute nearly as slippery as did the constable:

JUST. Pray Sir, may I crave your Name?
BRUTE. Sir,—My Name's—
[*He Hycops.*]
Hyccop, Sir.
JUST. Hyccop? Doctor Hyccop. I have known a great many Country Parsons of that name, especially down in the Fenns. Pray where do you live, Sir?
BRUTE. Here—and there, Sir.
JUST. Why, what a strange Man is this? Where do you Preach, Sir? Have you any Cure?
BRUTE. Sir—I have—a very good Cure—for a Clap, at your Service.
JUST. Lord have mercy upon us.

(IV.i.51)

The Justice's inquiry bears a remarkable similarity to a genre of writing that flourished in the years of the Clarendon Code, in which Nonconformists would narrate their arrests by state authorities and publish these narratives in a bid for public sympathy or non-Anglican solidarity. Compare Vanbrugh's language, for instance, to that of William Dewsbery (or Deusbery), a Quaker, whose *Faithful Testimony of that Antient Servant of the Lord, and Minister of the Everlasting Gospel William Dewsbery* was published posthumously in 1689. In describing his trial in Northampton (a town about seventy miles north of London), Dewsbery suddenly switches from prose to adopt the form of a dialogue or a court report—or, of course, a playscript:

Judge Atkins said to *William Deusbery;* what art thou here for?

William Deusbery answered, The Mittimus will express what I was committed for, but a Copy of it I am denied by the Keeper of the Gaol.

J.A. What is thy name?

W.D. Unknown to the World.

J.A. Let us hear what that name is that the World knows not.

W.D. It is known in the Light, and not any can know it, but him that hath it; but the name the World knows me by is *William Deusbery*.

J.A. What Country-Man art thou?

W.D. Of the Land of *Canaan*.

J.A. That is afar off.

W.D. Nay, it is near, for all that dwell in God, is in the holy City, new *Jerusalem*, which comes down from heaven, where the Soul is in rest, and enjoys the love of God in Jesus Christ, in whom the union is with the Father of Light.[81]

In Dewsbery's dialogue as in Vanbrugh's play, a man identifying himself as a religious leader is questioned by a justice of the peace about his name and address. Answering only with puns, equivocations, deliberate misinterpretations, he is released again into the night.

Vanbrugh's parody of works like Dewsbery's serves to cement the association that earlier scenes have drawn between Brute, Nonconformists, and the shifty bodies and shifting spaces that define them both. In response to the justice's "[W]here do you live, Sir?" Brute offers the noncommittal "Here—and there"; in response to the justice's "Where do you Preach?" he offers a dirty joke. Brute's pun on "Cure" recalls the similar pun that concluded the epilogue to *Mr. Turbulent*, in which Underhill-as-Turbulent wished that all the Londoners in his audience might "*find cure like me*." In *Mr. Turbulent*, "cure" signifies both a treatment for the madness and illness that plagued the eponymous character's body and a repudiation of the Nonconformity that unsettled him from the stable parish of the Anglican Church. While *Mr. Turbulent*'s epilogue describes a process of emplacement—a *turbulent* body settles into his *cure*—Sir John's joke reverses this narrative: *cure* means a settled parish when the Justice first uses it, but Brute cleverly unmoors it from a mappable place and attaches it, instead, to his body (a body that has already proven its inability to stay put). And then, rather than returning to a fixed address or settling into a parish, Brute declares his intention to "go pick up a Whore" (IV.i.52) and wanders off.

In this final allusion to Nonconformist language and practices, then, Vanbrugh comically literalizes the "Liberty of Conscience" as Nonconformists defined it and as the Act of Toleration imposed it: a belief that religiosity is located not in the church building but in the individual practitioner, not in the cure as parish but in the cure as it attaches to the body of the believer who journeys from place to place. You-me Park describes Brute's refusal to give his address as a rejection of standard geographical modes (like the map) that divide space by property right, in favor of those that attach space to a body that cannot so easily be tracked or trapped by the state: "As we all know very well," Park writes,

> we need to secure our 'name and address' to be acknowledged as a member of society. Yet Sir John adheres to his body here as well. . . . What we mean by our 'address,' now as well as in the 1690s, is not the place where our bodies reside most of the time, but rather the place to which we have some kind of property right, either by owning or renting.[82]

In deliberately misinterpreting the justice's "Cure" to refer to his body rather than to his address, Park continues, Brute "reveals the slippage which exists between bodily existence and the formal account of it in social and institutionalized language."[83] With this pun, Brute slips from the grasp of the state (represented by the justice) and steals once again into the shifting city. The extended joke that begins with Lord Rake's toast and concludes with Sir John's "Cure" thus reverses the settlement of London—from civil war to religious uniformity—that planners like Wren had in mind. Instead, London in the midst of rebuilding and in the wake of the Act of Toleration has become more changeable and unmappable than ever.

Vanbrugh's comedy suggests how the Glorious Revolution (and its economic and religious aftermath) has imposed the changeability once associated primarily with the meetinghouse and its "wicked" twin, the playhouse, onto the city as a whole. The play's final scenes return us to the confused, unstable spaces of the post-Fire city as Wycherley describes them in *Love in a Wood*, as Vanbrugh's characters—masked—pursue each other through the darkened, winding pathways of Spring Garden (a park adjacent to the St. James setting of Wycherley's play). Whereas *Love in a Wood* leads the characters from their "separate confinements" toward the domestic spaces that they share in marriage, however, Vanbrugh reverses this trajectory: Sir John and Lady Brute begin the play confined to the "cloying" claustrophobia of an unhappy marriage (I.i.1) from which the park's dark passages divert

them, with Lady Brute in pursuit of her lover, Constant, and Sir John in pursuit of his whore.[84] Though they conclude the play back in their marriage and their shared home, their stasis (as Carlos J. Gómez points out) is uneasy, their disagreements unresolved, with Constant an ever-present reminder of the extra-domestic invasions to which their marriage and home are vulnerable.[85] Domestic space thus seems forever divorced not only from inviolable privacy but also from conjugal bliss, as signaled by the names of the men competing for Lady Brute's affections: the husband who shares her domestic space is brutish and wild, and the lover who hovers just outside its doors, the picture of loyalty and constancy. The play's conclusion adds the Brutes' home to the list of city spaces unmoored from stable meanings and mappable functions, a list that includes the tavern that serves both the "Drunk" and the "Religious" and the Covent Garden neighborhood that shelters both playhouse sinners and meetinghouse saints. With the passage of the Act of Toleration, Vanbrugh implies, the flexibility and pluralism associated with Nonconformist spaces has spread to all of London.

It was, perhaps, this vision of religious pluralism that so angered the High Anglican preacher Jeremy Collier, who set off a pamphlet war that resulted in several reforms to the stage when he published his *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* the year after *The Provok'd Wife* debuted. The pamphlet singled Vanbrugh out for particular criticism and has often been compared to the Nonconformist anti-theatrical tracts that preceded it.[86] But Lisa A. Freeman argues that Collier's vitriol was as motivated by his politics as by his piety: the theater, with its cacophony of rowdy "bodies public," Freeman writes, represented a challenge to Collier's belief that the English citizenry "ought to be regulated by traditional forms of religious stricture and political authority" as opposed to the liberty of conscience touted by the Nonconformists and the Whigs.[87]

That Collier devotes nearly as many pages to Vanbrugh's disregard for the "*Three Unities* of Time, Place, and Action" as he does to Vanbrugh's "Abuse" of the clergy seems to support Freeman's point. For the Neoclassical French dramatists from whom Collier borrows these terms, adherence to the three unities signaled the playwright's submission to the king and particularly the cardinal who set and enforced these aesthetic guidelines.[88] In France, the unity of place on the stage and the uniformity of religion under the cardinal were inextricable; and we might, following Freeman, read encoded in Collier's anger at Vanbrugh's disregard for "the Laws of *Place*" on the stage an anxiety about Vanbrugh's disregard for the laws of the land

and of the Anglican Church.[89] By the 1690s, however, such unity and uniformity had come to seem impossible: across London, meetinghouses were rising to challenge the uniformity of the "steeple-houses" dotting Wren's imagined "prospects"; the Act of Toleration had stripped High Anglicans' claims to religious monopoly. And English playwrights were subscribing more and more to the aesthetic theories voiced by Vanbrugh's friend John Dryden (another playwright attacked in Collier's pamphlet), which permitted ignoring the French insistence on unity of place when it interfered with the English preference for that "variety" possible only in the twisting, turning plots that Dryden likens to a "labyrinth of design."[90]

Conclusion: "The Forms and Turnings of the Streets of London"

Dryden's evocative phrase calls up the shifting scenery and shifting spaces that populated the London comedies composed in the years surrounding the Great Fire and that insisted on the city as one of endlessly changing scenes, endlessly unstable spaces—the meetinghouse, the playhouse, the tavern, the conventicle, Covent Garden and St. James Park—spaces whose meanings and uses shifted with the bodies that occupied them. But "labyrinth of design" seems an apt phrase, too, to describe Vanbrugh's landscape and architectural innovations.

Over a century after Dryden coined the phrase, Sir Joshua Reynolds would echo Dryden's privileging of the "labyrinth of design" as a model for all artists when, in the thirteenth of his *Discourses on Art*, delivered to the students of the Royal Academy of Art on 11 December 1786, he turned from painting to architecture. "It may not be amiss for the Architect to take advantage *sometimes* of that to which I am sure the painter ought always to have his eyes open," he explains:

> I mean the use of accidents; to follow when they lead, and to improve them, rather than always to trust to a regular plan. It often happens that additions have been made to houses, at various times, for use or pleasure. As such buildings depart from regularity, they now and then acquire something of scenery by this accident, which I should think might not unsuccessfully be adopted by an Architect, in an original plan, if it does not too much interfere with convenience. Variety and intricacy is a beauty and excellence in every other of the Arts which address the imagination; and why not in Architecture?[91]

Reynolds's comparison of the buildings' "variety and intricacy" to "scenery" is ambiguous here: he seems initially to refer to the natural landscape available to anyone wandering through the rolling hills of the English countryside. But his word choice also calls up the "variety and intricacy" introduced by the shifting "scenery" of the London playhouse—a possibility that Reynolds confirms when he intimates, in the very next sentence, that he is thinking not about the countryside but of the capital:

> The forms and turnings of the streets of London, and other old towns, are produced by accident, without any original plan or design; but they are not always the less pleasant to the walker or spectator, on that account. On the contrary, if the city had been built on the regular plan of Sir Christopher Wren, the effect might have been, as we know it is in some new parts of the town, rather unpleasing; the uniformity might have produced weariness, and a slight degree of disgust.[92]

Again Reynolds flirts with the language of the theater, noting the pleasure that a "spectator" might take in the "forms and turnings" of the streets of London. In these "forms and turnings" Reynolds sees the failure of that "regular plan of Sir Christopher Wren," dreamed up after the Great Fire but never realized in a city that remains as myriad and unmappable as ever. The London that Reynolds walks is not one of regularity or "uniformity"—a word that connects Wren's imagined London to Clarendon's (or to Collier's). It is instead a city of "walker[s]" and of "spectator[s]" who revel in a "variety and intricacy" that provide so much more pleasure than the uniform "prospects" of Christopher Wren.

Having dismissed Wren's vision for London as unfulfilled and "rather unpleasing," Reynolds names, in the next paragraph, the man he deems responsible for the surprising "forms and turnings" that have come to characterize the topographies of England—and particularly of its capital:

> To speak then of Vanbrugh in the language of a Painter, he had originality of invention, he understood light and shadow, and had great skill in composition. To support his principal object, he produced his second and third groups or masses; he perfectly understood in *his* Art what is the most difficult in ours, the conduct of the back-ground, by which the design and invention is set off to the greatest advantage.[93]

In the post-Fire city, as on the stage that came to represent it, Vanbrugh had become a byword for the nonconforming architecture, the precarious spaces,

and the variety that made London what it was. By 1786, the failure of Wren's imagined city had become abundantly clear. In its place had risen a prospect that Reynolds, for one, found even more "pleasing": a London shaped by its walkers and best represented by the changeable scenery of the public playhouse.

In 1711, twenty-two years after the Act of Toleration sanctioned the meetinghouses that the Clarendon Code could not stamp out and fourteen years after *The Provok'd Wife* debuted to delight and derision, city officials observed that the churches destroyed by the Fire were still a long way from being replaced; and they renewed their efforts to rebuild. By that time, however, Wren was too old to submit his own designs, and the Tories had replaced Vanbrugh's Whigs in Parliament. When the commission was appointed, Wren served as overseer but passed the responsibility for designing onto his underlings, and Vanbrugh was not invited to participate. Nonetheless, as comptroller, Vanbrugh did write up eight *Proposals about Building ye New Churches* that, though never adopted, still exist in manuscript at Oxford's Bodleian Library—and that, as Joseph Roach has argued, had profound effects on the urban designs not only of London but of cities throughout the circum-Atlantic world.[94] These proposals do not depart significantly from Anglican design principles, but they do betray Vanbrugh's Nonconformist sympathies in advocating that "both for the Accommodation of the Ordinary People, and the Beauty of the Place," the churches "may not be too much crowded with Pews: but that a considerable Space may be left in the Middle Line with decent Forms regularly plac'd for People to repose themselves by Turns."[95] Vanbrugh's objection here is to the pews that Anglican churches would sell or rent to wealthy families, who often treated them as landed estates: stories abound of families adding decoration to their pews that would obstruct other congregants' views of the pulpit, or even removing the wood from their pews to use in other building projects. Instead, Vanbrugh's proposal privileges plainer décor and changeable spaces like those of the Nonconformist meetinghouses, where no one family could claim exclusive territory or ownership but where movable seats allowed "Ordinary People" to "repose themselves by Turns."

Though Vanbrugh fell out of political favor in the early eighteenth century, he was granted the opportunity to design one building that, as a Nonconformist writer complained in 1705, "by its Outside . . . is not to be Distinguish'd from a *French Church* or a Hall, or a Meeting-House, or any such usual Publick Building." The building—"Erected," the writer specifies, "at the Cost and Charges of several Pious Charitably Disposed Christians . . . near the

Hay-market, in the Liberties of *Westminster*"—was not, however, a church or a "Meeting-House."[96] It was the Haymarket Theater, which Vanbrugh designed and which opened less than a decade after his hit comedy had evoked the setting of the conventicle on the stage of Lincoln's Inn Fields. The writer who characterizes it here was the noted Nonconformist journalist, novelist, and transcriber of London's out-of-the-way places, Daniel Defoe.

Defoe describes London's emerging theater district, where the Haymarket playhouse arose, as within the "Liberties of *Westminster*," but this liberty of early eighteenth-century London is a far cry from the liberties of early modern London that Steven Mullaney describes as populated with marginalized people (actors, Puritans, thieves). Instead, Westminster in 1705 housed the seat of English government, and the theater district (while still populated with servants, prostitutes, and Puritans) was nonetheless an increasingly fashionable neighborhood for London's emergent haute bourgeoisie. In the second half of this book, I analyze these shifting geographies as a sign that in the years after the Glorious Revolution and the turn toward capitalism, propertied and powerful Londoners, too, began to see the value in the constantly shifting spaces once inhabited exclusively by the unpropertied and in the strategies they had developed for inhabiting them. By the end of the seventeenth century, London comedies turned their attention with some admiration—and with plenty of anxiety—to the space-making strategies of two populations who had traveled most widely (though often unwillingly) before arriving in the capital: Irish immigrants and enslaved Africans.

CHAPTER 4

Migration (Farquhar's Irish)

By the time that Elizabeth Barry and Thomas Betterton led their troupe of Drury Lane's discontents away from the United Company in 1695, the stage devices so lauded at Dorset Garden's opening nearly two and a half decades before had come primarily to serve operas and spectaculars. Until they could construct their new theater at the Haymarket, then, the new company set up shop in the theater where Davenant had first introduced those stage devices to the London public. The converted tennis courts at Lincoln's Inn Fields lacked the expansive wings and scenic rooms of the theater they had left, but Betterton and Barry banked on their company's movable resources—the props, costumes, performers and personnel who had emigrated with them—to draw audiences to them.

In the epilogue he delivered at the premiere of George Farquhar's first play, *Love and a Bottle*, in 1698, Joseph Haines laments his colleagues' departure from the Drury Lane stage where he remained, along with those loyal to theater manager Christopher Rich: "*Royal Theatre*," he addressed his spectators:

> *I come to* Mourn *for* thee.
> *And must these Structures then untimely fall*
> *Whilst the other House stands and gets the Devil and all?*[1]

Yet all is not lost, Haines assures his spectators. If Lincoln's Inn Fields has claimed its actors (and audiences), Drury Lane will stanch its population decline and fill its labor shortages in the same way that London had in the years after the Great Fire: by making way for new immigrants. "*First to divert ye with some new* French *strowlers*;" Haines continues, "*We brought ye* Bona Sere's, Barba Colars" (*LB*, "Epil.," 16–17). When the French no longer enter-

tained London audiences, the theater introduced "*An* Italian . . . *of mighty Fame*" (the castrato Segismundo Fideli) before turning to more exotic entertainments: "*Least our white faces always mayn't delight ye; / We've Pickt up Gypsies now to please or fright ye*" (*LB*, "Epil.," 28–29).

The historian Daniel Statt has described the seventeenth century as "one of the great ages of immigration to England" and especially to its capital city. The bills of mortality reveal that in these years more people were dying in London than being born there—a fact not lost on the poets, novelists, and pamphleteers who likened it to a cemetery or a cesspool. The astronomical growth that the city enjoyed between 1650 and 1750 depended in large part, then, on newcomers.[2] Much of the movement into and out of the city was fueled, particularly in the years just before *Love and a Bottle*'s debut, by England's more aggressive pursuit of trade networks that depended on the circulation of products as well as of people across the country and around the globe.[3] With the burgeoning of capitalist exchange, the mobility once decried as the scourge of the unpropertied had begun to prove its value to the entire nation. Haines suggests this shift in anticipating the "delight" and "pleas[ure]" that spectators will derive from following the movements of French "*stro[l]lers*" and "*Gypsies*" (a group proverbially associated, as chapter 2 discussed, with itinerancy) across the Drury Lane stage. Yet as this chapter will explore further, the emergent mobility of spaces, of objects, and of people also inspired anxiety in Londoners "*fright[ed]*" by the instability this mobility seemed to imply.

Haines elaborates on the twinned emotions of admiration for and anxiety about the foreign bodies shaping both stage and city in the final lines of his epilogue, as he replaces the "*Gypsies*" with another population known at the time for itinerancy—and increasingly visible on London's streets: the Irish.[4] "*Lastly to make our House more Courtlier shine*," he continues:

> *As Travel does the Men of Mode refine*,
> *So our* Stage Hero's *did their* Tour *design.*
> *To mend their* Manners and *course* English *Feeding*;
> *They went to* Ireland *to improve their* Breeding.
>
> (*LB*, "Epil." 30–34)

Haines nods here to the Grand Tour, in which aristocratic young "*Men of Mode*" traveled to France and Italy to "*refine*" their knowledge of (and to acquire) art and antiquities, fueling the growing fashion for cosmopolitan travel among the elite. The English bourgeoisie, Haines reminds us, enjoyed a version of the

Grand Tour, journeying to colonies like Ireland to extract resources—including human labor and knowledge as well as material wealth—from indigenous populations. It is this version to which Haines's lowly "Stage Hero's" aspire as they leave the languishing crowds of the London theaters to seek their fortune in the Irish colonies. Yet the references to the imported talents of "French *strowlers*" and foreign singers that open the epilogue remind us that these "Hero's," like the aristocrats they imitate, will return from their travels with souvenirs—in this case, the Irish actors, stagehands, set builders, and playwrights upon whom the London theaters had increasingly come to depend.[5] These immigrants to London included George Farquhar himself, who relocated from Dublin either just before or just after his play debuted at Drury Lane.

Farquhar's Irish origins lend particular resonance to Haines's final point about travel as improving English "Breeding." Lisa A. Freeman describes the shift in the English stage's values following William and Mary's rise to power (1688) and Jeremy Collier's campaign against theatrical licentiousness (1698) as a bourgeois privileging of "good breeding" (behaving in line with middle-class values) over "breeding" (aristocratic pedigree).[6] Farquhar is often named—along with Vanbrugh—among the pioneers of this bourgeois theater and of what Shirley Strum Kenny terms "humane comedy," in which the expectation of Restoration wit is tempered by the demand for bourgeois sincerity and in which "sophistication is replaced by vitality."[7] Certainly Farquhar's plays—in which, as Kenny remarks, "few characters on stage stand still long"—embrace the bourgeois (capitalist) values of circulation, motion, and "vitality."[8] Yet in this chapter I attribute the "vitality" of Farquhar's characters less to his bourgeois *bona fides* than to his migration history—and specifically to the manipulations of space that, as I have been arguing throughout this book, began as tactics of the unpropertied. On Farquhar's stage, these manipulations of space involve the manipulations of the movable scenery and "*Structures*" that the Theatre Royal had imported from Dorset Garden (and that Dorset Garden had borrowed from the court). But in keeping with their more bourgeois sentiments, Farquhar's plays also build their spaces out of the stage's more portable resources: the props, the costumes, and especially the people indicated by Haines's "*the Devil and all*."

In this light, Haines's word *Breeding* calls up the emerging vogue for population science, or "political arithmetick," a method through which states surveilled their subjects by documenting their births, deaths, and movements into, out of, and throughout the expanding empire. Noting in his *Capital* the significance to early capitalism of political arithmetic (what he calls "classical political economy"), Karl Marx names as its inventor the seventeenth-

century physician and surveyor William Petty, who rose to prominence when he provided Cromwell with maps of Ireland and who later composed tracts advocating for the movement and intermarriage of entire populations.[9] The arc of Petty's career—from map-making to political arithmetic—mirrors larger shifts in English attitudes toward human mobility, as governments began to focus less on containing the movements of peoples to new lands and more on encouraging (in some cases forcing), controlling, and tracking these movements. By the early eighteenth century, as Charlotte Sussman has shown, Petty's "arithmetick" was open to parody—most famously in Jonathan Swift's "A Modest Proposal."[10] The ambiguity of the possessive pronoun in Haines's final line betrays a similarly satiric wink: is Haines suggesting that Drury Lane's actors travel to Dublin to impose their own good "Breeding" on their colonial subjects, as Kathleen Wilson suggests that "strolling players" were often tasked with doing throughout the empire?[11] Or do these "Hero's" imagine improving their own "Breeding" by "*Pick[ing] up*" and returning to London with Irish women, whose creative and procreative labors will inject new "vitality" into an urban population that has grown fetid, stagnant, staid?

This chapter asks how Irish immigrants to London shaped the changing spaces of city and stage, setting the Stage Irish characters of Farquhar's London comedies *Love and a Bottle* and *The Twin Rivals* (1702)—as well as the dramatic theories expounded in his brief "Discourse upon Comedy" (1701)—alongside Petty's Irish maps and political arithmetic. Farquhar's Stage Irish were not the first to appear in the London playhouse; the stereotype of the quick-tempered and heavy-drinking Hibernian was by the end of the seventeenth century already well-known. Two features, however, distinguished Farquhar's versions from their forebears. First, Farquhar's were the first examples of the Stage Irish trope whose lines were penned by an Irish immigrant to London, part of the growing wave of arrivals that would come to include some of the city's best-known playwrights and performers, from Charles Macklin and John O'Keeffe to Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Oliver Goldsmith. But Farquhar's Stage Irish also stand out from their predecessors in their ability to navigate better than native Londoners (if in unconventional ways) the city where they find themselves. As I will show, Farquhar echoes Petty in portraying the uncontainable mobility and wildness of Irish migrants as at once anathema to and, paradoxically, necessary for emergent notions of bourgeois English domesticity and "good breeding." In tracing the torturous journeys of Farquhar's Irishmen to and across the London stage, this chapter traces also the spatial practices of the unpropertied as these

practices become the currency of English capitalism, the products of English colonialism, and one of the defining features of London as a modern city.

The London Irish: 1641–1710

Like so many of the unpropertied populations in whose footsteps this book has followed, the indigenous Irish observed by Petty at mid-century seemed to understand space differently from their property-rich neighbors. In his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, published in 1691 (though written and circulated two decades before), Petty shares his impressions of the lands and people he had been commissioned to document and to map in 1654: "[W]hen the Irish were first invaded," he writes, "they had [no] stone-housing at all . . . nor any learning but the legend of the saints, psalters, missals, rituals, &c. viz. nor geometry, astronomy, anatomy, architecture, enginery, painting, carving, nor any kind of manufacture, nor the least use of navigation."[12] He adds a page later that "6 of 8 of all the Irish live in a brutish, nasty condition, as in cabins, with neither chimney, door, stairs, nor window."[13] Living in homes without hearths, unfamiliar with "geometry" or even with "navigation," the Irish seemed to Petty to be an uncivilized people, as incapable of charting their wanderings as they were of arranging their homes.

As historical geographer William J. Smyth notes, the practices that Petty interpreted as a lack of navigational or domestic skill were in fact sophisticated techniques that Irish residents had developed over many generations to survive and to farm in the island's sometimes inhospitable landscape. "What appeared to some English commentators as anarchic, random and exceptionally high levels of mobility amongst Irish agriculturalists," Smyth writes, "was often in reality part of long-established local and regional rhythms, as cattle and people moved to and from the summer grazing pastures at the beginning and end of the season."[14] Irish place-names often derived from the names of families who lived there, and as these families died off or moved away to be replaced by others, these place-names changed, making Irish geographies seem ephemeral or unstable to English invaders. Petty notes often the flexibility of Irish property divisions, though in language tinged with colonial condescension: "[T]he limits of their land agreements were no lines geometrically drawn; but if the rain fell one way, then the land whereon it fell, did belong to A, if the other way, to B, &c."[15] His description captures the frustrations of a cartographer charged with rendering as a static map lands whose people understood space as constantly shifting. The Irish, Smyth notes, "did not use maps. 'Measuring/overseeing' with the eye (*do reir*

Figure 7. William Petty, *A General Mapp of Ireland* (1655–1656). © National Library of Ireland.

sultomhuis) and walking the land may have been the critical skills for assessing the size of small areal units and their land-use potential."[16] Like the tactics of de Certeau's walkers, the Irish approach to geography was "verbal, not graphic and perspective-based"; the Irish came to know the land by moving across it, not by affixing it to a map or with a name invulnerable to change.[17]

By the time that Petty arrived in Ireland, this nomadism had been thwarting England's attempts to colonize, map and "settle" the land for centuries. English invasions into Irish territory began as early as the twelfth century but intensified under Tudor reign, as a newly Protestant Crown attempted (unsuccessfully) to convert a staunchly Catholic population. But the battle that would define Irish-English relations (and that would reverberate across Irish and English stages)[18] throughout the Restoration and into the eighteenth century occurred on 23 October 1641, when Catholic gentry and military officers opposed to the English occupation attempted to seize control of the colonial government. Although their original plan to attack the seat of power at Dublin Castle was foiled by English forces, the Irish succeeded in capturing towns and forts throughout Ulster, killing Protestant settlers and destroying houses as they advanced. By the spring of 1642, however, Cromwell had recaptured Cork, Dublin, and large swathes of the territory surrounding them; and over the next decade and a half, his New Model Army assisted in systematically removing the Catholic gentry from their land and turning it over to Protestant settlers.

The English strategy of forcibly converting the indigenous Irish to Protestantism, displacing those who would not convert, and killing or transporting those who refused to submit was one that, as many scholars have pointed out, English settler-colonizers would later deploy against the Indigenous inhabitants of the American colonies.[19] Indeed, many Irish Catholics who resisted English colonization were forced or coerced aboard ships to the colonies, where they would toil alongside African and Indigenous people as bound laborers. As Alison Games argues, the Irish campaigns begun under Cromwell thus signal a new and more aggressive era in English imperialism, as the Crown reached across seas, continents, and oceans in search of new materials to fuel its industries and new sources of labor to extract them.[20] The changes to the Irish landscape were staggering: Smyth notes that "in 1600, more than 80 per cent of Irish land was held by Catholic owners; by 1641, this figure had been reduced to 59 per cent by plantation, purchase, and intrigue; by 1688, after the devastating Cromwellian Wars and settlement, Catholic ownership declined drastically to 22 per cent."[21]

The 1685 ascension of James II promised a brief respite from the violence

against Catholics in Ireland, and many Irish fought alongside him in the 1688 revolution that for them seemed anything but glorious.[22] In 1689, Jacobites attempted to capture the town of Derry but failed after a long and violent siege in which Farquhar's Protestant family may have lost their home.[23] The following year, the two armies met again at the Battle of the Boyne, where a decisive victory for Williamite forces led to the signing of the Treaty of Limerick in 1691. James fled to France to spend the rest of his life in exile. The plantation system established under Cromwell continued to displace Irish Catholics, its cruelties now supported by Penal Laws (passed between 1695 and 1728) that prevented Catholics from owning property, accessing education, or holding certain professions.

Meanwhile, English soldiers razed the Irish forests, which they regarded as "one of the last bastions of resistance."[24] They shipped the wood they harvested directly to London, where it was put to immediate use in rebuilding the homes and churches leveled by the Great Fire.[25] At the same time, Irish Protestants as well as Catholics fleeing the violence and economic instability of a ravaged land arrived in increasing numbers in the English capital, where the post-Fire rebuilding efforts created plenty of opportunities for the construction work in which many of them were already skilled. Many Irish laborers settled in immigrant enclaves like those of St. Giles, while those from the middle and upper classes took up residence in the city's more fashionable neighborhoods. Assuming a range of professions in a city still reeling from the population drain of plague and fire, they quickly became "an integral part of the story of London itself," as David O'Shaughnessy notes.[26] Though Petty may have regarded Irish "architecture" and domestic arrangements as vastly inferior to those of the English metropole, the London he would come to know in the final decades of his life was made of Irish oak and built by immigrant labor.

In recent years, scholars have become increasingly attentive to the English bourgeoisie's dependence on the lands and labors of those they considered "foreigners" to provide the products central to their domestic life. As Londoners sipped tea shipped from the East Indies (sweetened with sugar harvested by enslaved laborers in the West Indies), both English national identity and private life seemed increasingly inseparable from—or, to use Lisa Lowe's influential term, "intimate" with—global affairs.[27] Several scholars have pointed to how English discourse depicted the Irish, especially, as teetering uneasily between the foreign and the domestic.[28] Was Ireland a separate kingdom, or was it a territory governed by the English Crown? Was it best described as wild land, unsettled and unsettleable, or as fertile fields

ripe for cultivation? Were the Irish countrymen or foreigners? "What ish my nation?" demands MacMorris, the belligerent Stage Irishman of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, after an English soldier fighting alongside him suggests that they hail from different lands.[29] Or to ask the question differently, as Daniel Defoe did in 1701, what was a "True-Born Englishman" but a "Mongrel, half-Bred Race"?[30]

Defoe's portrayal of the English as a "half-Bred Race" echoes Haines's reference, three years earlier, to the English dependence on the Irish to "*improve their* Breeding" and signals the mixing of peoples and of geographies at the heart of both the English family and English culture. Srinivas Aravamudan and, more recently, Stephanie deGooyer have described how characters and genres with origins outside of England's domestic borders became "fundamental concerns" of the nation's first domestic novels (including those by Defoe); and Joseph Roach puts Defoe directly into conversation with Farquhar to suggest the ways that such characters became fundamental concerns of the London stage as well.[31] Haines's epilogue reinforces the importance of the Irish, in particular, not only to the stage's themes but to its movable spaces—and to the personnel charged with shaping them. As I demonstrated in chapter 1, the introduction of changeable scenery into the public playhouse required a significant number of laborers to build the flats and machinery, to move them into place during performances, and to maintain them when they began to wear down. Though scant records prevent us from determining exactly how many of these laborers came to London from elsewhere, the construction skills required for scene-setting work matched the skills possessed by many Irish immigrants; and Kathleen Wilson speculates, based on "a sample analysis of the *Biographical Dictionary*, that "as many of one in ten of the 8500 strolling players chronicled there were of non-English origin, mostly from Ireland and Scotland."[32] Some of the neighborhoods where Irish immigrants settled in the greatest numbers abutted the theater district: St. Giles, just to the northwest of Covent Garden market, had become the home of "*Irish* and aliens, *beggars*, and dissolute and *depraved characters*," according to a contemporary source.[33] Scholars such as Humberto Garcia, Suvir Kaul, Joseph Roach, and Bridget Orr have analyzed the allure of the foreign in the heroic tragedies and exoticizing spectacles popular on the English stage throughout the century; but as I will show, the influence of these "*Irish* and aliens" emerged within the seemingly more mundane settings of the first London comedies of "good breeding" as well.[34] It is perhaps no coincidence, then, that one of the playwrights credited with introducing these sentimental comedies to the city stage was not a native

Londoner but an Irish immigrant—one who, by 1707, was living alongside many of his countrymen in a derelict apartment in "St Martin's Lane, leading into St. Giles."[35]

Irish Breeding in *Love and a Bottle*

George Farquhar is best known for expanding the perspective of the English playhouse beyond the capital to the English countryside, where his later works *The Recruiting Officer* (1706) and *The Beaux' Stratagem* (1707) take place. His early comedies, however, are set in London, where he had resettled sometime between 1698 and 1699. Born to a family of Ulster Scots in Derry, Farquhar began his stage career as an actor at Dublin's Smock Alley Theatre. After injuring a fellow actor during a production of Dryden's *Indian Princess* with a stage foil that turned out to be a real one, he accepted his friend (and fellow Irish actor) Robert Wilks's invitation to abandon his acting ambitions and turn playwright, and he followed Wilks to London. A late eighteenth-century biography of Farquhar claims that the starring role of Roebuck in Farquhar's first play, *Love and a Bottle*, was intended for Wilks but that, by the time it debuted at Drury Lane, Wilks had returned to Dublin for the season.[36] The part went instead to Joseph Williams, who opened the play by stepping forth in a costume that seems to reference Farquhar's own journeys: "*Enter* Roebuck *in Riding habit*," the stage directions command (*LB*, I.1.0).

Roebuck's costume associates him immediately with the mobility that had, by Farquhar's day, become one of the distinguishing features of the Irish in popular parlance (and in Petty's *Essays)* as well as in the Stage Irish stereotype already well-known in the London playhouse. Annelise Truninger dates the first Stage Irishman to Thomas Hughes's tragedy *The Misfortunes of Arthur* in 1588, though other literary historians begin their histories with George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (printed in 1594 but probably first staged in the 1580s or 1590s).[37] The most famous Stage Irishmen would not appear until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in plays by Irish playwrights like John O'Keeffe, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and Dion Boucicault. But already by 1661, notes Owen Dudley Edwards, at least one English letter writer was complaining about the ubiquity of Irish characters in English plays.[38]

Scholars generally identify two—or sometimes three—versions of the Stage Irishman to have emerged in these years. The first, exemplified by Shakespeare's MacMorris, is a blustery soldier, overfond of whiskey and quick to anger, whose English words remind London audiences that they share a king even as the exaggerated brogue with which he pronounces

those words mark him as always an outsider, ever "outlandish" in Michael Ragussis's apt term.[39] Gentler in spirit but equally enamored of whiskey is the Stage Irish servant resembling Teague, the fiercely loyal but foolishly malaprop-spouting aide to Colonel Careless in Sir Robert Howard's *The Committee* (with its first recorded performance in 1662). A third stereotype that Susan Cannon Harris identifies with Thomas Sheridan's *The Brave Irishman* (1743), but that Truninger credits Farquhar with having invented, is the "Irish fortune hunter," an immigrant come to London to snag an English wife whose dowry will restore the lands he has lost to English colonization.[40] All three stereotypes share certain features—a proclivity for drunkenness, for violence, for ungovernability—which, as Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass have argued, promote the idea of the "wild Irishman" as a justification for English colonial violence.[41] Often—as signaled by Roebuck's "*Riding habit*"—this ungovernability is expressed in spatial terms: the Irishman appears as unmappable, undomestic, and undomesticated, ever on the move. R.B. Graves points out that "Shaughraun, the name given to Boucicault's last great stage Irishman, literally means 'drifter.'"[42]

Like these characters and like his playwright, Roebuck, too, is a migrant and a wanderer, "an *Irish* Gentleman, of a wild roving temper" (as the dramatis personae [d.p.] notes) and "newly come to London" in search of a fortune (*LB*, d.p., 28). Roebuck himself explains his "*Riding habit*" (and confirms the mobility that will define his character) in the lines that open the play: "Thus far our Arms with Success have been Crown'd," he begins, reciting a line from Dryden's heroic tragedy *Tyrannic Love* before continuing in his own sardonic voice:

> Heroically spoken, faith, of a fellow that has not one farthing in his Pocket. If I have one Penny to buy a Halter withal in my present necessity, may I be hang'd; tho I'm reduc'd to a fair way of obtaining one methodically very soon, if Robbery or Theft will purchase the Gallows. But hold—Can't I rob honourably, by turning Soldier?"
>
> (*LB*, I.i.3–7)

Roebuck's plan to "turn Soldier" further yokes him to his creator: Farquhar, too, had hoped to secure an army commission but was thwarted by William's disbanding of several regiments after the Peace of Ryswick ended war with France in 1697.[43] (Farquhar would later work as a recruiting officer in Shrewsbury, which provided little financial security but plenty of fodder for his penultimate play.)

Such ambitions might seem to align both the "Gentleman" Roebuck and his Protestant playwright less with the colonized Irish than with their colonizers, who often called upon the army to enforce the Penal Laws that wrought such havoc in Ireland's Catholic communities. The position of the Ulster Scots (who had migrated to Ireland from an economically devastated Scotland only a few generations before and thus lacked much of the power of the English Protestant Ascendancy) is complicated, as Alison Games has written: "Although [English colonial] visions for mass migration within and out of Ireland focused particularly on the Catholic Irish," she explains, "the Presbyterian Scots who were thickly settled in the province also threatened English settlement"; and "a scheme to relocate [them] to an area further away from Scotland" was drawn up by English leaders, though never pursued.[44] Yet it is true that, as scholars such as Craig Bailey and David O'Shaughnessy have pointed out, the Irish immigrant community in London was far more diverse—and often more prosperous—than historians have sometimes portrayed it to be. In addition to the construction workers so crucial to the post-Fire rebuilding efforts, artists like Wilks and Farquhar and soldiers like Roebuck, it included lawyers, merchants, and courtiers, both Protestant and Catholic.[45]

While Farquhar's plays confirm this diversity, making of the "Irish joke" a "flexible script that could be reworked to tell a different kind of story" (in the words of Helen Burke), his Irish characters have one thing in common: their immigration status, a status that Farquhar portrays as a penchant for wandering.[46] Roebuck confirms this association not only by entering the stage in a riding habit but also when, moments later, he introduces himself to a young woman, Lucinda, as "an *Irish*-man"—and is met with her immediate disgust. "Oh, horrible! an *Irish*-man!" she exclaims; "a meer Wolf-Dog, I protest" (*LB*, I.i.149–50). As Joep Leerssen notes, Lucinda's use of "meer" puns on a medieval term "for the Gaelic [i.e., indigenous] Irish" (as distinguished from either Catholic "Old English" or Protestant English settlers); and "though it meant nothing stronger than 'pure,' 'unmixed' (as in the Latin *merus*), [it] could also become loaded with the more supercilious connotation of its homonym, and be interpreted as 'those who are only Irish and nothing better.'"[47] For Lucinda, Roebuck's Protestantism makes him no less an outsider to London than a Catholic refugee might be; an Irish immigrant is, she suggests, "merely" an Irish immigrant, regardless of his religious beliefs, ethnic background, or class status.

In a recent biography of Farquhar, David Roberts attributes "the transitional quality literary historians have found in his work" more to his

immigration status than to the author's generation—a generation in which reformers like Collier and the Societies for the Reformation of Manners had prompted London audiences to cast a more critical eye on the libertine heroes popular in the theater of Charles II. Farquhar's "lived reality of cultural adjustment and rejection," Roberts suggests, was a reality common to many "Anglo-Irish writers who found themselves falling between definitions of identity"; and this reality necessarily complicates his Stage Irish character's relationship to earlier landowning libertines he seems to resemble, as well as to the domesticated sentimental heroes his reform might otherwise presage.[48] With this in mind I read *Love and a Bottle* as the first of several plays by Farquhar that defend immigrants as responsible for injecting new life into a city and a stage in desperate need of new "Breeding." The domesticity of Lovewell does not tame Roebuck's "*wild roving* Irish *temper*," as early analyses of the play's "transitional quality" imply, but depends on it.

Farquhar signals the necessity of immigrant "Breeding" later in this first scene, when Roebuck is joined onstage by a disabled veteran, who discourages Roebuck from military ambitions by explaining that he has lost both his leg and his fortune in battle. "See what an honourable Post I am forc'd to stand to," the man tells Roebuck, indicating the crutch on which he leans. "My Rags are scarecrows sufficient to frighten any one from the Field" (*LB*, I.i.48–50). The veteran's pun on "stand" serves as a stark reminder of the contrast between his enforced stillness and the "*wild roving*" mobility of his immigrant interlocutor. In the veteran's disability Farquhar offers what David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder have termed a "narrative prosthesis": the veteran's "broken Leg" stands in for the immobile, "broken" body politic of a native English population that has stagnated—that, in the wake of the Peace of Ryswick, has lost the ambition and masculine vigor epitomized by the uniformed soldier (*LB*, I.i.21).[49] Roebuck's contrasting wildness thus suggests not (or not only) a lack of civility but rather the creativity and vitality of an immigrant population promising to inject new possibility into a fetid English gene pool represented (in Farquhar's eugenicist logic) by the veteran's immobility.

Roebuck proves his own "vitality" in the following five acts, as he roves in and out of the changeable scenery proclaiming in language and gesture his mobility—as well as his fertility. Roebuck has arrived in London, we learn, pursued by two former paramours. The witty and virtuous Leanthe, sister to Lovewell, has disguised herself as Lucinda's page boy to keep tabs on Roebuck; and she remarks frequently on the difficulty of following a man of such unpredictable movements. He is, she muses, "Wild as Winds,

and unconfin'd as Air." She follows this description with an architectural metaphor that draws on the same stereotypes as William Petty's complaints about the flimsiness of Irish housing: "His follies are weakly founded, upon the Principles of Honour, where the very Foundation helps to undermine the structure" (*LB*, III.i.269–72).

The second woman who has followed Roebuck from Ireland is the foolish Trudge, who comes accompanied by their out-of-wedlock young son. The son, we learn, is one of a pair of twins; and though his sister has died, her birth nonetheless reveals Roebuck's talent for "*Breeding*": "the fruit" of his reproductivity "grew in Clusters," he tells Lovewell (*LB*, I.i.24–25). Lucinda's servant Pindress confirms this talent in act IV, when she mistakes Trudge for Lovewell's mistress and tells Lucinda (in love with Lovewell and thus jealous of this perceived rival) that the presence of Trudge's son should reassure Lucinda rather than inspire her envy: "Most Ladies wou'd be over joy'd at such a discovery of their Lovers ability," she reminds her employer. "The Child seem'd a lusty chopping Boy; and let me tell you, Madam, it must be a lusty chopping Boy that got it" (*LB*, IV.i.82–84).

The audience knows, of course, that the "lusty chopping Boy" who "got" Trudge's son is the "Wild and unconfin'd" Stage Irishman, not his domesticated English companion; and Pindress's eagerness for proof of a "Lovers ability" implies some doubt that Lovewell possesses this "ability" at all (*LB*, *d.p.*, 28).[50] The play suggests that such doubts are not entirely unfounded. As a lusty and drunken Roebuck stalks various loves (and various bottles) through the labyrinthine city, his constant motion and overbearing masculinity stand in stark contrast to the stultifying domesticity of two rivals whose staidness is presaged in that of the veteran leaning on his crutch. In addition to the "sober and modest" Lovewell, Roebuck tussles also with the foppish Mockmode, another immigrant to the city who comes not from the wilds of Ireland but from the overly civilized halls of "the University" (*LB*, *d.p.*, 28).[51] Mockmode's education has divorced him from the viscerally embodied and energetically mobile understandings of space that Roebuck's lustiness, drunkenness, and Irishness exemplify. Farquhar emphasizes this contrast in introducing Mockmode in the midst of a lesson with a dancing-master who describes dancing not as a movement of the body but as a kind of geometry: "O Lard, Sir!" he tells Mockmode. "*Pythagoras* was a Dancing-master" (*LB*, II.ii.77).

Mockmode's fencing lessons, too, depend on the abstraction of space (and of the bodies moving through that space). "Have you ever been in *France*, sir?" Mockmode's fencing-master, Nimblewrist, inquires midway

through their lesson. "No, Sir; but I understand the Geography of it," Mockmode replies. "*France* is bounded on the North with the *Rhine*." Nimblewrist quickly corrects him: "No, Sir, a *Frenchman* is bounded on the North with *Quart*, on the South with *Tierce*, and so forth. 'Tis a Noble Art, Sir" (*LB*, II.ii.96–105). Unlike Roebuck, who navigates London by feeling his way through it with his body, Mockmode believes it possible to "understand" the "Geography" of a place he has never been simply by reciting its borders or by locating it on a map. Nimblewrist's correction makes a similar error by translating not only the land but the body itself into cartographic terms. Such abstractions of the body reach even more absurd heights moments later, when Mockmode breaks a foil over his instructor's head. "O Lard, Sir, he did not touch me," Nimblewrist insists, even as (according to the stage directions) "*Blood runs down his Face*" (*LB*, II.ii.126–28). While Roebuck's lusty appetite for women and alcohol emphasize his corporeality, Mockmode's dependence on geometry and cartography underscore his separation from his own body—and from the vigor and fertility that only Farquhar's Stage Irishman can bring to his stage.

In a pair of influential articles on Farquhar's plays, Derek Hughes raises the question of "who counts in Farquhar," noting "the calculations of time, distance, and map-references" that so frequently "preoccupy Farquhar's characters."[52] Hughes attributes this preoccupation to a shift from a land-based to a currency-based economy "whose organizing principle is not place but number" and in which "failure to count . . . suggests failure of manhood."[53] This analysis accords with those by Shirley Strum Kenny, J. Douglas Canfield, and others, who see Restoration drama as marking (and, in some cases, as trying imaginatively to repair) the falling away of the old aristocratic codes in which one's social place depended on the land one owned rather than on the capital one could "count" or carry. In this account Farquhar's Roebuck, like Vanbrugh's Sir John Brute, is a parody of the libertine—a genealogy signaled, as Eugene Nelson James argues, in Farquhar's decision to begin his play by quoting Dryden's rake-hero.[54] In this reading Roebuck's corrupt and libertine wildness serves as foil to the empty and abstract gestures of Mockmode's "Noble Art," but both represent forms of masculinity that by the late seventeenth century had already become outmoded. Balancing and replacing these outmoded masculinities is the sentimental hero Lovewell, who in act II resolves to persuade the rakish Roebuck to abandon his "loose wild courses" and settle down—as Roebuck does, marrying Leanthe (and inheriting Lovewell's Irish property holdings) by the end of the play (*LB*, II.i.25).

Yet, crucially, the domesticity that Lovewell represents relies on the very wildness that he seems to deplore in his Irish companion. Lovewell's strategy for living up to his name revolves around a plot in which he will test Lucinda's loyalty by convincing Roebuck to pursue her, hoping she will refuse his advances. (She does, but only after performing her own tests of Lovewell's faithfulness to her.) The sentimental hero can marry the virtuous maid only after she has refused the lusty Irishman, in other words, thus proving her fitness for virtuous domesticity. In this plot Farquhar suggests that the future of London's domestic structures and domestic spaces depend on the "roving temper" and virile masculinity that immigrants like Roebuck bring to the city, just as the marriage between Lovewell and Lucinda cannot take place without Roebuck's interventions (and just as London's homes cannot rise without Irish oak or Irish labor).

It is appropriate, then, that the marriage ceremony (which joins not only Lovewell to Lucinda but also Roebuck to Leanthe and Mockmode to Trudge) is consummated with "an Irish Entertainment of three men and three women" (*LB*, V.iii.18). With this final "Irish Entertainment" as with Haines's praise for Irish "Breeding" moments later, Farquhar reminds his London audiences of the extent to which they rely upon the increasing mobility—and the proverbial fertility—of marginalized and migrant populations to guarantee their own domesticity, their very Englishness. To answer Hughes's question of "who counts in Farquhar," we must ask not only who counted as a man amid the shifting values of the London stage but also who counted as English—and how the English were counted—amid the shifting populations of England's capital and the shifting borders of its empire. We must consider the emergence, in the very years Farquhar was writing, of a new technology that would transform how governments monitored and managed their people: the technology that one of its most influential practitioners, William Petty, would refer to as "political arithmetick."

William Petty and the Invention of Political Arithmetic

Historian Ted McCormick emphasizes the radicalness of Petty's contributions to the modern state by describing his "political arithmetick" not simply as "a new mode of analysis; it was, rather, a new kind of governance."[55] With this assertion, McCormick joins a growing chorus of scholars who have challenged Michel Foucault's influential account of "biopolitics" by suggesting that the state's interest in monitoring and manipulating the births, deaths, and movements of its subjects long predated the large-scale imperial projects

of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Instead, these scholars argue, the seeds of later imperial projects in Africa, Asia, and the Americas began to germinate with more localized efforts to count and control populations first in English cities and then across the territories of Ireland.[56] The person most often credited with planting these seeds is William Petty.

We might see in Petty's career a kind of parable for the rise of the "new kind of governance" that McCormick and others have credited him with having invented. Petty first traveled to Ireland as the physician-general for Cromwell's New Model Army. By 1654, Cromwell was short on cash and determined to repay his supporters with Irish land seized from his opponents, so he gave Petty a new assignment. The physician spent the next two years managing a team of surveyors and census takers to create the most complete map to date of the Irish territories. Petty was explicit about his project's goals: to contain an infamously wild landscape and a proverbially roving population by representing it as a comprehensive and comprehensible map. "The parishes of Ireland do much want regulation, by uniting them and dividing them; so as to make them fit enclosures wherein to plant the gospel," he explained some years later.[57] These efforts to render the native Irish population "enclose[ed]" and immobile—in representation if not in fact—recall previous strategies by the English government to manage marginalized populations by restricting their movements. These included the Poor Laws, which forbade impoverished citizens from receiving aid if they ventured beyond the borders of their native parish; as well as vagrancy laws that allowed authorities to arrest (and in some cases transport) anyone they perceived to be out of place.

Yet as many scholars (beginning, most influentially, with Marx) have noted, the transformation of England's economy from feudalism to capitalism made the impossibility—and in some cases even the undesirability—of this enforced immobility increasingly apparent.[58] In chapter 1, I explained how these economic changes created a growing class of what A.L. Beier terms "masterless men"—unpropertied laborers ranging across the nation (and in some cases across the ocean) in search of work.[59] While English legislators continued to express some anxiety about this mobility, they also acknowledged its necessity in a capitalist economy that depended, as Marx argued, on the government's ability to move entire populations (as well as products) across nations, continents, and oceans. "When persons are understood to be valuable in terms of their labor power, rather than their regional or religious loyalties, in theory (and often practice), they become portable," explains Charlotte Sussman.[60] Just as English colonizers learned to extract

raw materials from the colonies to supply industries in the metropole, they learned to alleviate labor shortages in one corner of the empire by transporting surplus populations from another: they captured laborers from the west coast of Africa to enslave them on expanding plantations in Barbados, Jamaica, Virginia, and the Carolinas; coerced indentured servants from the English countryside to mind the households of the London elite and the shops of the London bourgeoisie; impressed vagrants from the colonies to man English naval vessels; and transported convicts from across the empire to staff the nascent industrial operations up and down America's eastern seaboard. As Cedric Robinson puts it succinctly: "[T]here has never been a moment in modern European history [i.e., after the advent of capitalism] that migratory and/or immigrant labor was not a significant aspect of European economies."[61]

Beginning as early as the seventeenth century, then, the English government began to refocus its efforts from laws that attempted to *contain* indigent or marginalized populations to laws that instead encouraged—or even mandated—their movements, while at the same time tracking and monitoring them. This interest in population mobility would culminate in the 1709 Act of Naturalization, the first such act to pass in Parliament, which allowed Protestant foreigners (specifically French Huguenots) to work and own property in England after they had registered with and sworn allegiance to the English Crown. The act applied only to foreigners to England rather than to English colonial subjects like the Irish; and it was fiercely opposed—especially by London artisans afraid of competition—and revoked some years later.[62] But its passage indicates the government's acknowledgment of the benefits to be gained from enabling a portable (but monitored) population and from stoking the fire and the fertility of the English nation, every now and then, with the labors of creative (and procreative) strangers.

Petty's maps of Ireland were not unrelated to these efforts at portability: the *Down Survey* began, after all, as a tool aiding Cromwell's transportation of Catholic populations out of Ireland so that he could replace them with more complacent Protestant settlers. But after completing the survey in 1656, Petty began to develop more effective methods for representing the Irish colonies as well as the English metropole as groups of movable and moving people rather than as a mapped and mappable landscape. His *Essays in Political Arithmetick* (1687) and *Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1691) list populations as columns of numbers—How many houses in Ireland? How many hearths? How does the number of Anglicans in London compare to the number of Nonconformists?—adopting a method that, as Mary Poovey writes,

"aspired to certainty" and to describe "what could be measured and counted and experimented on."[63] Yet another advantage of Petty's quantifications, as William Deringer points out, was their flexibility: they made immediately apparent how a surplus in one population compared to a deficit in another. And they made the displacement or relocation of entire communities seem as simple as shifting numbers from one column to the next.[64]

Petty used these numbers to suggest precisely this portability, advocating that the Crown might finally accomplish the colonization of Ireland that had so long alluded it by sending England's women to Ireland, while drawing Irish women to England to "Breed" (as Haines might put it) with English men. London, he writes in *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* (1662), was in danger of becoming "excessive and overcrowded."[65] Meanwhile (as the *Political Anatomy* notes):

> There are among the 600000 above-mentioned of the poor Irish, not above 20000 of unmarried marriageable women; nor would above two thousand *per annum*, grow and become such. Wherefore if one half of the said women were in one year, and the other half the next transported into England, and disposed one to each parish, and as many English brought back and married to the Irish, as would improve their dwelling but to a house and garden of 31. value, the whole work of natural transmutation and union would in 4 or 5 years be accomplished.[66]

It was this emphasis on intermarriage that distinguished Petty from some of his predecessors in early surveying and census taking, writes McCormick: "He identified two specific mechanisms of permanent assimilation, which he located in the sexual appetites of Irish men and the maternal instincts of Irish women, both of which he treated as universal and ineradicable and therefore dependable and calculable facts of human nature."[67] Petty's choice of title signals this shift in priorities: while the *Down Survey*, "so called," as Sussman writes, "because it was written down," imagines the Irish territories as a text, Petty's *Political Anatomy* harks to his early years as a physician and transforms the colony from a landscape or a text into a body—or an entire population of bodies—that might be examined, operated upon, and cured of their Irishness through state-sanctioned (and state-monitored) breeding.[68] Twenty-five years before Roebuck stepped onto the Drury Lane stage in his "*Riding habit*," in other words, Petty was already anticipating (and advocating) how Irish immigrants like him might, in intermingling with London women, bring new vitality to England's population and solve its domestic woes.

Yet while Petty sees these transformations as strategies for reducing or "transmuting" the proverbial nomadism and unpredictability of the Irish population into English propriety, Farquhar casts them in a different light. In doing so he joins a growing number of writers and activists intent, as Sussman and Adam Sills have documented, on challenging Petty's conclusions.[69] A newly capitalist and increasingly cosmopolitan London, Farquhar suggests, demands a mobile and enterprising population, city dwellers who understand space as flexible and contingent and who can move adeptly around and within it. The propertied English, mired for generations on the same estates, lack such understanding; but the Irish were long accustomed—by agricultural traditions, by economic necessity, and by colonial violence—to wandering, and they had much to teach Londoners about how to navigate their mobile and modernizing city. Such lessons might occur in the home (or in the bedroom), where these immigrants inject new life into a stagnant population with the addition of their Irish "*Breeding*." But they might occur, just as easily, on the London stage, where each evening city dwellers gather to watch as stagehands and actors—an increasing number of them hailing from Ireland—dart in and out of the scenery shifting around them. We see the glimmer of such lessons in the adventures of Farquhar's first Stage Irishman, Roebuck, as he deftly navigates the plot (and the London setting) of *Love and a Bottle*. Farquhar returns to—and amplifies—such lessons in his fifth play, *The Twin Rivals*, which opened at Drury Lane in 1702 and which featured the unforgettable Stage Irishman, Teague.

English Immobility, Irish Modernity: *The Twin Rivals*

After the success of *Love and a Bottle*, Robert Wilks returned from Ireland, and Farquhar turned away from it: his next play, *The Constant Couple* (1699), and its sequel, *Sir Harry Wildair*, (1701) both starred Wilks as the rakish Wildair, but neither play nor Farquhar's next, *The Inconstant* (1702, also starring Wilks) included an obvious Stage Irish figure.[70] A few months after *The Inconstant* premiered, however, Farquhar returned the Stage Irishman to the London theaters in *The Twin Rivals*, which echoes *Love and a Bottle* and other transitional comedies by portraying London (and England more broadly) as a society in decline.

As its title indicates, *The Twin Rivals* concerns two London brothers, Elder Wou'dbe and Young Wou'dbe, born only minutes apart and now, after their father's death, competing for the substantial inheritance that primogeniture laws dictate should go to the older of the two. The father whom

the twin rivals mourn was the picture of the "service and hospitality" associated with the old (landed) aristocracy.[71] "The Noble Lord, the truly Noble Lord, held his Estate, his Honour, and his House, as if they were only lent upon the Interest of doing good to others," reports a city alderman to Elder Wou'dbe, who has returned from travel and requested a report of his father's estate in his absence. "He kept a Porter, not to exclude, but to serve the Poor" and "invited every Stranger" to enjoy his garden.[72] Farquhar takes pains to portray true English "hospitality" as a willingness to welcome travelers and migrants as well as friends: Elder Wou'dbe's father represents ideal English domesticity not by "h[o]ld[ing] . . his Estate" close but rather by holding it open to anyone—even a "Stranger"—in need of aid.

But Elder Wou'dbe learns that in his absence and after his father's death, his corrupt, younger-by-a-minute brother has taken over the London estate and imposed a very different regime of "hospitality." "Alas, Sir, things are chang'd," the alderman reports. "Wou'd you believe it, Sir, as I offer'd to go in just now, the rude Porter push'd me back with his Staff" (*TR*, III.ii.196–97). As the alderman's comment suggests, Young Wou'dbe is a character associated with locked doors, impassable boundaries, unchanging spaces and close rooms—an association that Farquhar emphasizes using the tricks of changeable scenery that he has inherited from playwrights like Dryden and Behn. While the other characters make full use of Drury Lane's stock scenes—appearing within sets that represent "the Park" (*TR*, II.i; II.iv) and the streets around London—Young Wou'dbe rarely leaves his own lodgings until the play's final scene, when he appears in another character's "apartment" (*TR*, V.iii.0).

The stage directions do not specify how players signified these indoor spaces onstage, but we might assume that stagehands created the closeness of Young Wou'dbe's lodgings by pushing together the downstage flats, before moving them aside again at the scene's conclusion to "discover" the more open spaces of park or street. In only one scene—in which Elder Wou'dbe quizzes the alderman about his late father's habits—does Young Wou'dbe appear out of doors (and thus most likely in the open space created by moving all the flats into the wings). But even here he enters confined to "*a chair*" accompanied by "*four or five footmen*" and passes by Elder Wou'dbe without speaking (*TR* III.ii.34). Later, Young Wou'dbe will confirm his commitment to locked doors and closed spaces by forbidding even his brother from breaching the walls of their father's home: "[W]e are all secure," Young Wou'dbe reassures his accomplices when they learn of Elder Wou'dbe's return to London, before continuing in language that emphasizes how he has perverted

the once famous hospitality of his father's household: "[W]e have provided for his Reception; [an accomplice] has stopt up all Passages to the Estate" (*TR*, IV.i.37–39).

As in *Love and a Bottle*, Farquhar underscores Young Wou'dbe's immobility—and the corrupt English masculinity with which he associates it—by yoking it to the language of disability. "This confounded Hump of mine is such a Burthen at my Back," complains Young Wou'dbe, indicating his disabled body in the play's opening scene:

> [I]t presses me down here in the Dirt and Diseases of *Covent-Garden*, the low Suburbs of Pleasure—Curst Fortune! I am a younger Brother, and yet cruelly depriv'd of my Birth-right of a handsome Person; seven thousand a year in a direct Line, wou'd have straitn'd my Back to some purpose—But I look, in my present Circumstances, like a Branch of another kind, grafted only upon the Stock which makes me grow so Crooked.
>
> (*TR*, I.i.74–83)

Farquhar offers here a less sympathetic portrayal of disability than in *Love and a Bottle*, in which the veteran's crutch stood in for (uncompensated) sacrifice rather than outright villainy. In both cases, however, disability becomes the prosthesis for English decadence and decline: the hump on his back "press[es]" Young Wou'dbe "down," rendering him immobile; even as his "[un]handsome Person" drives him to seek his pleasures among the brothels of Covent Garden rather than within the domestic confines of marriage. Disability connotes in this play a "Crooked" branch—indicating impotence, infertility, corrupt sexuality—on the Wou'dbe family tree.

Elizabeth Bearden has traced the associations between disabled bodies and "monstrous" fertility at least as far back as Aristotle; and Jason Farr has recently demonstrated the links that the eighteenth-century novel repeatedly drew between disabled bodies and non-normative sexualities.[73] Young Wou'dbe's implied impotence stems from a similar logic. In the original production, this villain's role was played by Colley Cibber, an actor already well-known for appearing as the disabled king Richard III in his own adaptation of Shakespeare's play, which had premiered at Drury Lane two years before *The Twin Rivals*. Cibber was also known for playing the fop Sir Novelty Fashion/Lord Foppington in a pair of plays staged in 1696 and 1697 and written by Cibber and Vanbrugh, respectively. The casting reminds Farquhar's audience of Young Wou'dbe's resemblance not only to *Love and a Bottle*'s disabled veteran but to another figure for the depletion of English masculinity

and "vigor," the foppish Mockmode. (Young Wou'dbe delivers this opening monologue about his "Hump" while at his toilette, and like his foppish predecessors, he returns to his looking glass to primp and powder throughout the play.)

In his machinations against his brother's claim on the family inheritance—as well as in his association with both disability and non-normative sexuality—Young Wou'dbe is joined by another character who comes to represent the depleted vigor and decadent indulgences of an English population in desperate need of new blood. Farquhar introduces Mother Midnight (Mother Mandrake in some versions of the play) as the midwife who delivered the twin Wou'dbes—and who has promised to lie about their birth order to help Young Wou'dbe capture the family wealth.[74] "That Woman was my Mother's Midwife when I was born, and has been my Bawd ever since," Young Wou'dbe announces in the play's opening scene. He follows this declaration with a succinct description of the plot he will spend the next four acts trying to pursue: "I have had her Endeavours to corrupt my Brother's Mistress [the virtuous Constance, betrothed to Elder Wou'dbe but whom Young Wou'dbe longs to claim as his own]; and now her Assistance will be necessary to Cheat him of his Estate" (I.i.272–75). This introduction distances Mother Midnight from the connotations of birth and fertility that her vocation might otherwise call up: she is a "Mother" not literally, Young Wou'dbe underscores, but euphemistically (*mother* being a slang term for "Bawd"); and the births and the plots she facilitates are stained with the tinge of "corrupt[ion]."

Such connotations echo in Midnight's name(s) as well. "Midnight" suggests the instant separating one day from the next, a reminder of the brief moment that has separated Young Wou'dbe from an inheritance; but it also suggests death, darkness, the witching hour so distant from life-giving dawn. "Mandrake" is even more telling. As Kenny notes, the part was originally played by a male actor, William Bullock, a fact alluded to by the name (*Man*drake)—and one that Restoration audiences, Vicky Bancroft suggests, would have read as a sign of sexual deviance.[75] (Bullock had previously originated the role of Mockmode in *Love and a Bottle*.) Mandrake also evokes a monstrous fertility, the suggestion of life infused with death. A plant often used in this period to ward off sterility as well as to anesthetize patients in surgery, the mandrake is highly toxic. Its roots were thought to resemble human forms, leading to an oft-repeated myth that they would scream when pulled from the ground—a visceral reminder of the monstrous and painful births over which the corrupted midwife presides. Midnight herself confirms

these associations moments later when she enters the stage pursued by a maid with a message from an expectant mother named Lady *Stillborn* (*TR*, I.ii.4–5). Like "Mandrake," "*Stillborn*" suggests a birth overshadowed by and inextricable from death. It also confirms both Mother Midnight's and Young Wou'dbe's associations with the immobility and "still[ness]" that separates Farquhar's English characters from their wandering Irish brethren.

Coupled with Young Wou'dbe's disability and effeminacy, then, Midnight's name, casting, and dialogue repeat what population scientists (like Petty's friend John Graunt) had quantified, in their tallies of deaths that exceeded the births in the city—and that Defoe's novels, Swift's poems, and Hogarth's paintings would later reiterate: that London was a place of death, defecation, pestilence, decay.[76] But such portrayals also underline for Farquhar the importance of newcomers in fueling the unprecedented population growth that the city, despite its deaths, boasted in these years. The only babies that Mother Midnight seems to have ushered into the world, interestingly, belong to immigrants or to otherwise "outlandish" characters. In act IV, Mother Midnight describes her nephew as "a pritty, thriving, ingenious Boy"—and then goes on to narrate the story of his illegitimate birth:

> MID. Little do you think who is the Father of him. I'll tell you; Mr. *Moabite* the rich *Jew* in *Lombard-street.*
> Y.W. *Moabite* the *Jew*?
> MID. You shall hear, my Lord,—One Evening as I was very grave in my own House, reading the—*weekly Preparation*—ay, it was the *weekly Preparation*, I do remember particularly well.—What hears me I—but pat, pat, pat very softly at the Door. Come in, cries I, and presently enters Mr. *Moabite*, follow'd by a snug Chair, the Windows close drawn, and in it a fine young Virgin just upon the point of being deliver'd.—We were all in a great hurly burly for a while, to be sure; but our Production was a fine Boy. . . .
> Y.W. Very well!
> MID. Ay, my Lord, there's many a pretty Fellow in *London* that knows as little of their true Father and Mother as he does; I have had several such Jobbs in my time—there was one *Scotch* Nobleman that brought me four in half a year.
>
> (*TR*, IV.i.38–65)

Midnight seems here to repeat antisemitic and anti-Scottish tropes, suggesting that only those outside the metropole's mainstream would dare seduce a

married woman. At the same time, however, her confession suggests the inadequacy of English men and the comparative virility of their cuckolders: the only "thriving boy[s]" and fertile "production[s]" in London, Midnight implies, are those fathered by Jewish and Scottish men. The story points to the futility of laws forbidding immigration from England's internal colonies or requiring Anglicanism as a prerequisite for citizenship: not only must the city depend for the future of its growth on the fertility (and the finances) of "rich *Jew[s]*," "*Scotch* Noblem[e]n," and other "outlandish Englishmen," Farquhar implies. It already (if unknowingly) does.

It is significant if unsurprising, then, that Farquhar chooses as the two heroes of his play a restless wanderer and his servant, an Irish immigrant. While Young Wou'dbe and Mother Midnight preside over still births and "stopt" passages, Elder Wou'dbe is a man of perpetual motion, one who carries with him the breath and the vigor of the foreign climes from which he has only recently returned. "He has Traveled," Young Wou'dbe reports of his older sibling, "these Five year" (*TR*, I.i.105–7). Elder Wou'dbe confirms this report a few scenes later when he arrives onstage in a uniform resembling that with which Roebuck first appeared to audiences at the top of *Love and a Bottle*: Act III, scene ii begins with Elder Wou'dbe "*in a Riding Habit*," announcing "all the Mazes of my wandring Steps" and "all the various Climes that I have run" (*TR*, III.ii.0, 6–7).[77]

While Mother Midnight's title ties her to monstrous births and toxic medicines, Elder Wou'dbe's given name connotes mobility as well as capitalism: "*Hermes* is my Name, my *Christian* Name; of which I am prouder, than of all the Titles that Honour gives, or Flattery bestows, Elder Wou'dbe tells his brother (*TR*, IV.i.246–48). As Derek Hughes points out, Elder Wou'dbe's eschewing of the "Titles" his brother treasures in favor of a "*Christian* name" that recalls the Greek god of merchants suggests the victory of numbers and currency—the tools of capitalism—over the landed estates that denote status in a feudal economy (and in Young Wou'dbe's mind). In Hughes's reading the play's conclusion is a conservative one: like Roebuck, Elder Wou'dbe might begin the play in a "*Riding habit*," but he ends it the master of a secure estate shared with Constance—a woman whose name, Hughes suggests, marks her as "a principle of stability in a treacherous world."[78] Yet in addition to representing merchants, Hermes is also the god of travelers, circulation, fleetfootedness. He is often represented with winged shoes and erect phallus, a portrayal that links Elder Wou'dbe's associations with mobility and trade as well as fertility. Elder Wou'dbe may end the play in a secure marriage and on a landed estate, but this portrayal serves as a strong reminder that his

eventual domesticity—and his fitness for an increasingly cosmopolitan and capitalist London—depends on his flirtation with migration and the foreign. Farquhar signals this flirtation not only in Elder Wou'dbe's "*Christian* Name" and "*Riding habit*" but also in his casting: in the original production, it was Farquhar's friend and fellow Irishman, Wilks, who played the English hero. And Farquhar signals Elder Wou'dbe's flirtation with migration, too, in his dependence on the scene-stealing sidekick who has attended him around the globe and now accompanies him throughout London as well: his Irish servant, Teague.

Teague's name recalls the bumbling Irish servant who first graced the Restoration stage in *The Committee* and had since become a familiar byword for Irish Catholic provincialism. Thomas Shadwell used it to name the Irish priest in his comedy *The Lancashire Witches* (1681), a possible dig at John Dryden, who had mischaracterized Shadwell as Irish in his satire *Mack Flecknoe* (written around 1678 and published in 1682).[79] And the anonymous author of the poem *The Tryal of Skill: or, a New Session of the Poets* (1705) knew precisely what they were about when they satirized Farquhar himself as Brother Teague.[80] The actor who originated the part in Farquhar's play, William Bowen, was well-known for his Stage Irish roles, having played Howard's Teague a little over a year before appearing in *The Twin Rivals*; and although his biography is sketchy, there is some evidence that he may, like Wilks and Farquhar and Teague himself, have been an Irish immigrant to London.[81]

Unlike Roebuck, Teague is explicitly marked as Catholic and Jacobite: before joining Elder Wou'dbe's retinue, he admits, he worked for one "*Macfadin*," who "vent over with King *Jamish* into *France*"; and he recalls once having kissed "the Pope's Toe, and dat will excuse me all the Sins of my Life" (*TR*, III.ii.108–9, 115–16). Like the play in which he appears, moreover, Farquhar's Teague is haunted by colonial violence: in act V he compares a fire deliberately set by another character to "dat very Bushiness [that] did make my nown shelf and my Fader run like de Devil out of mine nown Hoose in my nown Countrey" (*TR*, V.ii.26–29)—most likely a reference to the siege of Carrickfergus (which Teague names as his hometown) by Williamite forces in 1689. In act III, when another character observes that Teague is poor, he affirms: "Be me Shoul, my sole Generation ish so.—I have noting but thish poor Portmantel, and dat it shelf ish not my nown" (*TR*, III.ii.96–98).

Despite their contrasting religious, political, and class backgrounds, then, Farquhar's first two Stage Irishmen resemble each other in their poverty and in the wanderings that this poverty necessitates—signified in

Roebuck's "*Riding habit*" as in Teague's "Portmantel." They share, too, an understanding of space as mobile and embodied—one that contrasts with the abstract, mapped, and stilled spaces set down in Petty's surveys, in Mockmode's lessons, and in Young Wou'dbe's locked gates. Farquhar emphasizes Teague's status as both global wanderer and urban walker from the moment that he first appears onstage:

> [*Enter* Teague *with a Port-Mantel. He throws it down and sits on it.*]
>
> ELDER. Here comes my Fellow-Traveler. What makes you sit upon the Port-Mantel, *Teague*? You'll rumple the things.
>
> TEAG. Be me Shoule, Maishter, I did carry the Port-Mantel till it tir'd me; and now the Port-Mantel shall carry me till I tire him.
>
> ELDER. And how d'ye like *London, Teague*, after our Travels?
>
> TEAG. Fet, dear Joy, 'tis the Bravest Plaase I have sheen in my Peregrinations, exshepting my nown brave Shitty of *Carrick-Vergus*.—uf, uf, dere ish a very fragrant Shmell hereabouts.—Maishter, shall I run to that Paishtry-Cooks for shix pennyworths of boil'd Beef?
>
> ELDER. Tho' this Fellow travel'd the World over he would never lose his Brogue nor his Stomach.
>
> (*TR*, III.ii.13–27)

Like his employer, Teague, too, is a traveler whose "Peregrinations" have covered "the World over." His mode of travel is, however, viscerally corporeal—a corporeality signified by the "Port-Mantel" that, Teague admits, he has toted across Europe (and that he will lug across the stage for the remainder of act III). Teague's declaration, sitting atop the portmanteau, that the object he has carried will for the moment carry him portrays him not merely as a traveler but as one who must tote with him his meager possessions—and the sense of shelter, rest, and domesticity those possessions represent. The line suggests the continuation (and amplification) of the spatial practices that, as this book has shown, characterized the modern stage and the modern city as ever shifting—spatial practices that began with the introduction of movable scenery to the public playhouse but that here reach their culmination in the movable property of the "Port-Mantel" through which Teague marks the ground where he stands. The financial difficulties of the London theaters in these years and the departure of Drury Lane's best actors for Lincoln's Inn Fields had underscored the importance of a more portable company able, like Teague, to take the show on the road—to the Dublin theaters where Haines's "Stage Hero's" seek novelty or even further afield, to the imperial provinces where Wilson's

"strolling players" would ply their trade. Like the dispossessed migrants—and the strolling players—he represents, Teague defines his home corporeally: it is not a place to return to but rather a sense he carries with him in his body—or, quite literally, on his back.

Teague resembles the drunken Roebuck, then, in experiencing the "World" he explores—and particularly the capital in which he finds himself—through his body. He is guided not by a map but by his ever-rumbling "Stomach" and the "Shmell" wafting from the nearby pastry cook's stand. Yet while this corporeality seems to separate Teague from English definitions of urbanity, it nonetheless hints at Teague's creative as well as his procreative abilities—abilities that the other characters repeatedly reference (albeit with some surprise). "The Fellow's a Wit," one character admits, sarcastically, after one of Teague's characteristic bulls. Teague insists upon it: "[M]y Gradfader," he remarks, "was an *Irish* poet.—He did write a great Book of Verses concerning the Vars between St. *Patrick* and the Wolf-Dogs" (*TR*, III.ii.91–94). It is tempting to read Teague's declaration in the same sarcastic tone that his interlocutor uses; an "*Irish* Poet," Farquhar implies self-deprecatingly, is a poor poet indeed. Yet again and again throughout the play, Teague proves himself to be one of the wittiest and most well-spoken characters on the stage, due in no small part to his travels (all of which, notably, have been to Catholic countries—and many of which were part of the English gentleman's Grand Tour as well). When one character expresses surprise after Teague replies to his inquiry in French, Teague explains, "*Ouy Monsieur*;—I did travel *France*, and *Spain*, and *Italy*" (*TR*, III.ii.114–15). Teague's noted "Wit" and linguistic skill exemplify what Bruce Robbins and Paulo Lemos Horta have termed "cosmopolitanism from below," earned not through the privilege of the aristocracy's Grand Tour or even the bourgeoisie's capitalist-colonialist excursions but rather through the forced peregrinations of the migrant or refugee.[82] In an increasingly capitalistic London and an increasingly mobile world, Farquhar implies, the knowledge of those who have traveled the globe—whether by choice, by force, or by necessity—has taken on new value.

The necessity of the immigrant's tactics to the stability of England's domestic spaces becomes clear in act V, as Teague seems to lose himself in the city but ends up saving the day. The second scene of the act opens with Teague leading Elder Wou'dbe's friend, Trueman, through the streets of London. Trueman hopes to find the house of a constable, whose clothes he now wears, to execute an elaborate plot that Elder Wou'dbe has devised to win his inheritance and his betrothed back from his conniving brother. But Teague takes Trueman in the wrong direction. "Blockhead, thou hast led us out of the way," Trueman, chastises him. Teague, however, protests:

Be me Shoule, dear Joy, I am never oot of my ways; for poor Teague has been a Vanderer ever since he vas borned.

TRUE. Hold up the Lanthorn:—what Sign is that? The St. *Albans*' Tavern! why, you blundering Fool, you have led me directly to St. *James*'s *Square*, when you shou'd have gone towards *Sohoe*.

(*TR*, V.ii.1–8)

Teague cannot be lost, he insists, because he "has been a Vanderer ever since he vas borned"; he cannot be "oot of the vay" because his way was never predetermined, never precisely mapped. Trueman unceremoniously dismisses Teague's defense, but the next moment proves Teague right, as the stage directions announce "*Shrieking within*":

TRUE. Hark! what noise is that over the way? a Woman's Cry!

TEAG. Fet is it—shome Daumsel in distress I believe, that has no mind to be reliev'd . . .

TRUE. Ha! here must be mischief.—Within there, open the Door in the King's Name, or I'll force it open.—Here, *Teague*, break down the Door.

[Teague *takes the Staff, thumps at the Door.*]

(*TR*, V.ii.8–19)

With the aid of Teague and a mob who appears just in time, Trueman bursts through the door to find Young Woud'be's friend Richmore about to rape Trueman's love, Aurelia. Trueman rescues Aurelia; and in the final scene, the two are married along with Constance and Elder Wou'dbe. Teague's peregrinations seem to lead Trueman "oot of the vay," but they also lead him to the place where he must be to save Aurelia from Richmore's villainy and to deliver her to the domesticity that marriage represents. What the native Londoner interprets as the migrant's aimless "Vanderings" through a city he seems not to understand proves indispensable, once again, to the stability of the English family and the continuation of English "*Breeding*."

Teague's improvised plotting and wide-ranging peregrinations bring to mind another servant character, Dryden's Warner, whose opening speech introduced the London public to the elaborate scenery of the Dorset Garden stage over a quarter century before. Like Warner, Teague, too, passes on his valuable knowledge to his employer. This knowledge includes the spatial tactics through which Teague seems to lead Trueman "oot of [his] vay" but ends up guiding him home. It includes, as well, the creative (and theatrical) talents that allow Teague and his employer to navigate not only the city but

also the spaces of the stage. Farquhar emphasizes the importance of such mobility to the London stage in a metatheatrical moment in act IV, in which Elder Wou'dbe, languishing in the "*Room miserably furnished*" where his younger brother has imprisoned him, announces his attention to "write a Comedy" (*TR* IV.iii.0, 9). He then proceeds to reimagine his "*miserable*" and homely room as a grand and global palace, declaring a "Cobweb" to be "as fine Tapestry as any in *Europe*"; transforming a "Soiled" cot covered in a "Kiddermeister" (a rough cloth named for the northern English town where it was manufactured) into a "Damask Bed" with "Headwork" of "Point *de Venice*"; and taking his jailer's "old Jack-Boots" for "*Indian* Pieces" or perhaps "*China* Jarrs" (*TR*, IV.iii.9–32). Moments later, Teague, Trueman, and Constance arrive, and the four devise the plot, building on metatheatrical devices like disguise and deception, which will eventually facilitate Elder Wou'dbe's escape from his prison and secure his marriage.

To "write a Comedy," Farquhar suggests, is to change a scene; it is to remake one's humble local surroundings by populating them with global products from "*Europe*," from India, from the Far East. Significantly, Elder Wou'dbe follows his portmanteau-toting servant in shaping these spaces as much through his manipulation of movable properties—a scratchy "Kiddermeister," a pair of "old Jack-Boots"—as through his manipulation of movable scenery. The scene thus underlines the importance of the stage's movables to any "Comedy" (the one that Elder Wou'dbe imagines writing or the one in which he appears). At the same time, it suggests the value that a writer well-versed (like Elder Wou'dbe) in global travel—or a "Poet" familiar (like Teague) with forced migration—might contribute to the London stage, as one who understands better than the landed classes exactly how (and how much) an increasingly capitalist world *moves*. The point is one that Farquhar makes again and again in London comedies like *Love and a Bottle* and *The Twin Rivals*—and one that he makes even more explicitly in his brief foray into theatrical theory, published only a year before *The Twin Rivals* premiered and haunted, like so much of Farquhar's work, by the ghost of John Dryden.

Movement, Migrants, and Urban Space in the "Discourse on Comedy"

As Shirley Strum Kenny explains, what became Farquhar's "Discourse on Comedy, in Reference to the English Stage" was originally intended to be fourteen letters on the English theater, which Farquhar had promised to the publisher Bernard Lintot—along with a miscellany he called *Love and*

Business—in July 1701. By that fall, however, the letters were still incomplete, so the "Discourse" was published instead as an epistle within *Love and Business*, which appeared in November of that year. At the time, the "Discourse" met with a good deal of controversy from critics who took issue with its description of neoclassical rules (including the three unities) as outmoded and inappropriate for English audiences. The controversy is surprising, however, since the same point had been made earlier not only by Dryden's friend Sir Robert Howard in 1668 (as Kenny notes) but by Dryden himself, in his *Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, in 1667.[83]

Farquhar echoes Dryden's language—as well as his privileging of a play's pleasures over its strict adherence to neoclassical rules—in a paragraph about halfway through the essay, which begins by noting England's diversity: "[W]e have the most unaccountable Medley of Humours among us of any Nation upon Earth." Farquhar uses this observation to elaborate on the neoclassical truism that drama must provide both *Dulce et Utile*, pleasure and instruction. But, he continues:

> [W]hat sort of a *Dulce*, (which I take for the Pleasantry of the Tale, or the Plot of the Play) must a man make use of to engage the Attention of so many different Humours and Inclinations: Will a single Plot satisfie every body? Will the Turns and Surprizes that may result naturally from the ancient Limits of Time, be sufficient to rip open the Spleen of some, and Physick the Melancholy of others, screw up the Attention of a Rover, and fix him to the Stage, in spight of his Volatile Temper, and the Temptation of a Mask? To make the moral Instructive, you must make the Story diverting.[84]

Farquhar's discussion of the play's "Plot" recalls the significance of—and plays upon—that word in Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar-All*. But the passage contains echoes of Behn and of Vanbrugh as well. Like Dryden and Vanbrugh, Farquhar suggests that the "pleasure" of a "plot" lies not in the "single[ness]" of its focus but rather in its movement: the "Turns and Surprizes" that alone can satisfy the "Volatile Temper" of a "Rover" (a title that brings to mind both Behn's Willmore and Farquhar's Ro(v)ebuck). Though the play's "*Utile*" is measured in its ability to "fix" the attention of the rakish Rover "to the stage," Farquhar suggests that it can succeed only if the stage itself is in constant motion, with plots that twist and scenes that shift so frequently as to achieve the variety that the Rover might otherwise seek in "the Temptation of a Mask." Like his plays, then, Farquhar's theories present the theater as a crucial tool not for promot-

ing the Restoration rake (as Collier claimed) but for reforming him—a tool that in its very variety and volatility can distract the Rover from London's other pleasures, preserving his masculinity for more properly domestic pursuits.

Farquhar ends the passage by demanding that playwrights do whatever it takes to make the plot "diverting"—a word found also in Haines's epilogue to *Love and a Bottle* ("*First to divert ye with some new* French *strowlers"*) and one that yokes the pleasure of a play implicitly to its unmappability. The continued survival of the London stage, Farquhar suggests, depends on the knowledge of migrants and "Vanderers" who *divert* their audiences from the expected plots, leading them through the "Turns and Surprizes" of these two hours' traffic much as Teague leads Trueman through the streets of London, delivering them not to the place that they set out to find but to one that is precisely where they should be.

Such spatial language pervades the "Discourse," which repeatedly advocates what de Certeau might celebrate as tactical practices over strategic plans, a "diverting" plot over one that adheres too closely to the rules. "By what authority shou'd *Aristotle*'s Rules of Poetry stand so fixt and immutable?" Farquhar demands. He goes on to ridicule those who expect rules invented in ancient Athens to satisfy audiences of Restoration London, before asserting (pace de Certeau) that "all Arts and Professions are compounded of these two parts, a Speculative Knowledge, and a practical Use" ("Discourse," 370). The Neoclassicism imported from Paris has attended too rigidly to this "Speculative Knowledge," Farquhar suggests, while overlooking the "practical use" of English comedy—a point he drives home some pages later through the use of a geographical metaphor: "The Rules of *English* Comedy don't lie in the Compass of *Aristotle*, or his Followers, but in the Pit, Box, and Galleries" ("Discourse," 380). To inspire the best English comedy, playwrights and critics must act less like cartographers setting down the plot of a play as Petty did the lands (and populations) of Ireland (or as Mockmode's fencing instructor does the "*Tierce[*s]" and "*Quart[*s]" of the "*Frenchman*'s" body), with rules by rote and "Compass" in hand. Instead they must revel in the motion and multiplicity of the "Pit, Box, and Galleries"—and of the migrants and walkers who feel their way there through the bustling city the stage represents.

It is these migrants and walkers who, Farquhar notes, distinguish London audiences from those of Athens—and who thus demand a different sort of comedy. "Our Design is not to hold forth to ancient *Greece*, nor to moralize upon the Vices and Defaults of the *Roman* Commonwealth," he clarifies:

> No, no—An *English* Play is intended for the Use and Instruction of an *English* Audience, a People not only separated from the rest of the World by Situation; but different also from other Nations as well in the Complexion and Temperament of the Natural Body, as in the Constitution of our Body Politick: as we are a Mixture of many Nations, so we have the most unaccountable Medley of Humours among us of any People upon Earth; these Humours produce a Variety of Follies, some of 'um unknown to former Ages.
>
> ("Discourse," 378–79)

As Roach notes, Farquhar's description of the English "Constitution" anticipates Defoe's description of the English people as a "Mongrel, half-Bred Race"; and it echoes, too, Tom Brown's description of London's population as "a motley herd of people," representing "so many nations, manners, customs, and religions, that the inhabitants themselves don't know a quarter of 'em."[85] Only the mixed and meandering plots of the English stage, Farquhar insists, can provide the "Variety" to match the "Mixture" of the English audience, which comprises not only English natives and Irish migrants but "many Nations" beyond.

Near the end of the essay, Farquhar attributes the "Variety" that will satisfy English audiences (and that will reform English rakes) not only to the "Turns and Surprizes" of the London theater's plots but, crucially, to the spectacle of its movable scenery. In denigrating the Neoclassical theater's adherence to the three unities, Farquhar reserves some of his strongest language for criticizing what he calls "the Regularity of *Place*." Surely the time period encompassed by a single plot may be extended beyond the Neoclassical demand of twenty-four hours without too much improbability, Farquhar argues; and if that is the case:

> having five or six Years for the Action of a Play, I may travel from *Constantinople* to *Denmark*, so to *France*, and home to *England*, and rest long enough in each Country besides: But you'll say, How can you carry us with you? Very easily, Sir, if you be willing to go? As for Example: Here is a New Play, the House is throng'd, the Prologue's spoken, and the Curtain drawn represents you the Scene of *grand Cairo*. Whereabouts are you now, Sir? Were you not the very Minute before in the Pit in the *English* Play-house talking to a Wench, and now *Presto pass*, you are spirited away to the Banks of the River *Nile*. Surely, Sir, this is a most intolerable Improbability; yet this you must allow me, or else you destroy the very Constitution of Representation: Then in a second Act, with a Flourish of the Fiddles I change the scene to

> *Astrachan. O this is intolerable*! Look'ee, Sir, 'tis not a Jot more intolerable than the other; for you'll find that 'tis much about the same distance between *Egypt* and *Astrachan*, as it is between *Drury-Lane* and *Grand Cairo*; and if you please to let your Fancy take Post, it will perform the Journey in the same moment of Time, without any Disturbance in the World to your Person. . . . now, if the Stage cannot subsist without the Strength of Supposition, and Force of Fancy in the Audience; why shou'd a Poet fetter the Business of his Plot, and starve his Action, for the nicety of an Hour, or the change of a Scene?
>
> ("Discourse," 384–85, 386)[86]

The pleasure that the audience takes in the performance—and that "diverts" the Rovers among them from more sinful pursuits—comes through "the change of a Scene," a spectacle offering the sort of variety that feeds a play's "Action" and unfetters its "Plot."

In the course of this relatively short essay, then, Farquhar reiterates as theory points already presented as plot: if English audiences required "Variety" to satisfy their "medley of Humours"—if "*Men of Mode*" could find "*refine*[ment]" only through "*Travel*"—where better to find such variety, such refinement, than on a stage adorned with the changeable scenery that might turn London into "*Egypt*" in the blink of an eye? And if English comedy relied not on the rules of the "Compass of *Aristotle*" but on the twists and turns of a "diverting" plot, who better to conceive and to deliver such plots than migrants like Farquhar and Wilks—those who wore the "Mixture of many Nations" in their "*Riding habits*" and who announced their portability in the persistence of their Irish lilts? In this as in so many of his works, Farquhar proposes the mobility and unmappability of the Irish immigrant to London as the antidote to the rigidity of the Neoclassical stage and as the spark to the creativity and procreativity necessary to the city's continued profit in an increasingly capitalistic (and an increasingly colonial) age.

Coda: Teague's Journeys Continue

Love and Business and *The Twin Rivals*, appearing a little over a year apart, were the last substantial pieces of writing that Farquhar would produce for the next few years. In 1704, he was finally granted the army commission that he had sought for some time; and shortly thereafter he departed for the countryside, where he served as an officer recruiting English soldiers to fight in the War of the Spanish Succession. Farquhar would eventually return to

London, where he died in poverty in 1707, but his plays would not. His final three comedies—the afterpiece *The Stagecoach* (1704) as well as *The Recruiting Officer* and *The Beaux' Stratagem*—all took place in towns or byways outside of the capital, ushering in a vogue for what Bridget Orr (following Richard H. Perkinson) has called "topographical comedies set in historically novel environments" and exploring how London products, people, and preoccupations filtered from the metropole into the countryside.[87]

Yet despite their rural settings, all three plays continue Farquhar's interest in the changeable spaces and wandering heroes upon which English domesticity depends. *The Stagecoach*, co-written with the Huguenot immigrant Peter Motteux, takes place in an inn on the road "between London and Chester."[88] Like Farquhar's earlier works, it features a Stage Irishman—the "*Irish*-Wit" Macahone—who becomes the vehicle for the sentimental hero's and heroine's domestic bliss when he serves as sole witness to their nuptials.[89] Farquhar's final work, *The Beaux' Stratagem*, also uses an inn as its liminal setting—and also uses the figure of the Stage Irishman to comment on the inextricability of foreign and domestic, outsider and insider. Though the inn stands in Lichfield, the central plot concerns two Londoners, Archer and Aimwell, who have spent all their money in the capital and have traveled to the countryside in search of wealthy wives to replenish their stores. Among the company of cheats and hustlers taking sustenance at the inn where they spend the night is an Irish priest thinly disguised as a "Chaplain to the *French* Officers" and calling himself Foigard.[90] Foigard's dual identity as Irishman and Frenchman recalls the comparisons between Roebuck and Mockmode—or the references to Teague's fluency in French—in Farquhar's London comedies. Foigard's disguise also emphasizes the complexity of Irish national identity: "I was educated in *France*, but I was borned at *Brussels*, I am Subject of the King of *Spain*" he responds to the highwayman Gibbet, who demands a recital of his origins, in act III (*BS*, III.ii.169–70). And in the next act he echoes MacMorris's "What ish my nation?," asking Aimwell, "Fat sort of Plaace is dat saam *Ireland*?" (*BS*, IV.ii.49–50).

Aimwell answers that Foigard's Irishness makes him nothing more than "Subject of *England*"—and thus guilty, for holding a "Commission" with the "*French* army," of treason. In Aimwell's threat, Farquhar signals the liminality of the Irishman: were he truly a "foreigner" as he claims to be in act III, Foigard's "Commission" would be no crime; it is his very "Englishness" that makes him "Subject" to arrest. Yet just as Teague leads Trueman away from his destination and toward the home where he will find (and marry) Aurelia, Foigard's apparent unlocatability leads Aimwell and Archer to their domes-

tic destinies. Moments after Aimwell threatens to arrest him, Archer enters and offers Foigard a reprieve if he can "conduct me to the Lady" whom he plans to seduce (*BS*, IV.ii.109–10). Foigard's cooperation puts in motion the series of events that will draw Archer and his "Lady" together at the end of the play. The Stage Irishman facilitates Aimwell's promised marriage to the lady Dorinda as well: in act V, it is Foigard that the couple call to preside over their secret nuptials. Dorinda dismisses him moments later, but the implication stands: English domesticity depends on Irish unmappability, just as the play's heroes must travel far and wide to achieve the "aims" their names imply.

The play of Farquhar's that has perhaps traveled the farthest—and endured the longest—is *The Recruiting Officer*. In the eighteenth century, notes James Ward, the comedy was "the first documented [English] drama staged in two locations in colonial America—New York in 1732 and Charleston in 1736—as well as Kingston, Jamaica in 1750."[91] In the twentieth century, it was adapted by Bertolt Brecht (1955) and featured—as the first English drama staged in the penal colony of Australia in 1789—in Thomas Keneally's novel *The Playmaker* (1987) and in Timberlake Wertenbaker's play *Our Country's Good* (1988). Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer* is unique among his later comedies in not including a Stage Irish character, but its plot reinforces the importance of population and "*Breeding*" to the modernizing, colonizing nation as it traces the struggles of English army officers to cajole, coerce, and forcibly impress their countrymen into serving as cannon fodder in foreign wars. In the end, the officers abandon their recruitment efforts and instead proclaim English breeding as the surest tool for military success: "[T]he recruiting trade," declares Captain Plume in the play's final lines:

> with all its train
> Of lasting plague, fatigue, and endless pain,
> I gladly quit, with my fair spouse to stay—
> And raise recruits the matrimonial way.[92]

The wars of the modern state, like the wealth of the modern city, depend not only on expansive trade networks, Farquhar implies, but also on those who follow "the matrimonial way" to provide the state with expanding—and mobile—populations.

By the time that *The Recruiting Officer* arrived in the Americas, English colonizers had long been applying the political arithmetic to which it alludes to disperse Indigenous Americans across the continent and to trans-

port Africans across the ocean. Initially the Irish were included among the bound laborers transported to and toiling on the American plantations. But as the seventeenth century bled violently into the eighteenth, racial formations began to take shape around skin color; and the Irish gradually became white. "Thus," writes Cedric Robinson,

> the "Negro" was conceived. The Negro—whose precedents could be found in the racial fabrications concealing the Slavs (*the* slaves), the Irish and others—substantially eradicated in Western historical consciousness the necessity of remembering the significance of Nubia for Egypt's formation, of Egypt in the development of Greek civilization, of Africa for imperial Rome, and more pointedly of Islam's influence on Europe's economic, political, and intellectual history.[93]

As the forced labor of Africans began to replace that of the Irish on English plantations, the stereotype of the "wild" African joined that of the "wild" Irishman on the London stage—where the role was often played by the same actors who had once specialized in playing Macahones and Teagues.[94] And so it was that, nearly three-quarters of a century after Farquhar's Stage Irish servant first bounded onto the boards of Drury Lane declaring that his "Port-Mantel" would carry him, one of the most influential Stage African characters to appear in an English comedy would make his own debut, on the very same stage and in a work by another Irish playwright. Significantly, he would introduce himself using the same joke that had introduced Teague to London all those years before: "Go, get you down, you damn hamper," commands Mungo, the Stage African star of Isaac Bickerstaffe's 1768 hit, *The Padlock*, as he sets down a basket carrying his enslaver's belongings and plops himself onto it; "[Y]ou carry me now."[95]

CHAPTER 5

Cosmopolitanism (Wycherley's Dancing-Master, Bickerstaffe's Mungo, and the Legacies of Restoration London)

On Christmas Day 1711, beneath a still-skeletal skyline, city officials declared the rebuilding of London complete.[1] Little had materialized of Wren's original plan save two of the three sites that anchored it: the spiritual center of St. Paul's Cathedral and, to its east, the Royal Exchange—the commercial hub to which Joseph Addison's Mr. Spectator dedicated his famous celebration of London as a global city that very same year. "It gives me a secret Satisfaction, and, in some measure, gratifies my Vanity, as I am an *Englishman*," he proclaims in the periodical issue of 19 May 1711, "to see so rich an Assembly of Country-men and Foreigners . . . making this Metropolis a kind of *Emporium* for the whole Earth." A few paragraphs later he clarifies that what distinguishes the "*Englishman*," paradoxically, is his penchant for imitating the "Foreigners" in his midst—not only in their dress and "different Languages" but also in their spatial practices, their "different Walks." "Sometimes," he writes, "I am justled among a Body of *Armenians*: Sometimes I am lost in a Crowd of *Jews*, and sometimes make one in a Groupe of *Dutch-men*."[2]

Scholars have long recognized the theatricality of Mr. Spectator's self-proclaimed cosmopolitanism, a performance of self through which, Laura J. Rosenthal writes, he not only "dresses like" or purchases the wares of "but *becomes* the other."[3] Like the player, Mr. Spectator's cosmopolite defines himself, paradoxically, according to his ability to appear as someone else. Haunting such definitions is a certain amount of anxiety about what it means to rule over or simply to belong within spaces as changeable and as varied as the global "Metropolis" or the shifting stage. Does the ability to "*become* the other" constitute one's mastery over such spaces and the diverse others who

enter them? Or does the fact that Mr. Spectator's inability to express himself as a cosmopolitan "*Englishman*" without copying an "other's" spatial practices hint at the other's mastery over him?

Mr. Spectator gestures only obliquely—in his allusion to the "Products of *Barbados*"—to the African and Afro-diasporic Londoners[4] whose lives were bartered and bargained for within an Exchange financed largely by their enslavement.[5] With a few notable exceptions, much of the prominent scholarship on Restoration London has reproduced this silence, assuming slavery (and the anti-black racism that justified it) to be a product exclusive to the colonies. But as Simon Gikandi has pointed out, black Londoners' increasingly ubiquitous (and often distorted) images had by the Restoration and early eighteenth century become central to how white Londoners fashioned themselves and their city as cosmopolitan.[6] This chapter argues that Afro-diasporic Londoners' spatial practices were central to this cosmopolitanism as well. Transported from and thus knowledgeable about lands most Londoners had never seen, African and Afro-diasporic people survived in the capital by learning how to navigate its byways and how to imitate its denizens: in the "different Languages" they were forced to adopt when their native tongues were discouraged; in the European finery they donned and the "different Walks" they performed as "prestige slaves" (in Monica Miller's words), propping up their enslavers' cosmopolitan entourages; and in theatrical and musical performances that staged them as exotic spectacles throughout London.[7] If cosmopolitanism depended on one's ability to imitate and to walk among different peoples, as Mr. Spectator suggests, Afro-diasporic Londoners were arguably the most cosmopolitan of all. Yet this description represents as unidirectional a process of imitation that was, at least by the early eighteenth century, far more complex, as white Londoners populated their performances with distorted imitations of their Black neighbors, and their Black neighbors replied with winking imitations of these imitations. What resulted on both stage and street was a *mise en abyme* of mimicry in which the relation between copy and original was impossible to disentangle, and in which the question of what "mastery" might mean haunted both the global city and the London stage.

This question lies at the center of William Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (1672), a comedy in which an unnamed but presumably enslaved child teaches an aspiring (but struggling) cosmopolitan how to dance.[8] Debuting in the same year that the charter of the Royal African Company cemented England's links to the slave trade, the play departs from its Spanish sources in moving its plot—and the enslaved character who

dances through it—to the heart of London. In doing so, it not only refutes scholarly assumptions that African and Afro-diasporic people were largely absent from or invisible within the metropole; it also suggests the impact that African and Afro-diasporic people had on the spatial practices of white Londoners claiming cosmopolitanism. Such suggestions become even more forceful when we consider the possibility that the performer cast as the enslaved child may have been the same performer who had portrayed one of "two *Negro* boys . . . mounted upon two Panthers" in the Lord Mayor's Show, staged only a few months earlier to celebrate London's "*Resurrection*" after the Great Fire and its emergence as a global capital.[9] The script for the Lord Mayor's Show, like that for Wycherley's play, casts these boys less as people than as places, their costumes and complexions signifying the lands that the English claimed to have colonized, their poses designed to imitate the cartouches of seventeenth-century maps. This final chapter of *Movable Londons* thus extends the definition of movable scenery to include these performers treated as human set pieces, meant to mark the stage where they stood as all the world. But it also recalls the stagehands of chapter 1 and suggests the inextricability of human performers—liveried, enslaved, or both—to the movable scenery they operated and adorned. Such performers remind us of the ambivalence of agency in the original meanings of *movable*: is a movable person one who is capable of being moved, or one who moves? This chapter—like the book as a whole—teases out that ambivalence by focusing less on the play's scripted language than on the performers' movements across the stage. These movements, I argue, carried with them the potential for resisting the dehumanizing scripts and that thus piqued Londoners' anxieties about the extent to which a person might be moved or mastered—and the extent to which a city or an empire might be planned.

These final pages return us, then, to the book's opening: to the growing city in the years just after the Great Fire, to Dorset Garden Theater, built on the Fire's ashes, and to the stage where *Sir Martin Mar-All* was performed only a few weeks before *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* debuted. These returns underscore the centrality of these questions of theatrical and urban mastery to the book's overall argument that the geographical knowledge and the spatial practices of the unpropertied held value for wealthier Londoners who were suddenly thrust—by revolution, by Fire, by the spread of disease and of capitalism—onto unstable ground. For these wealthy Londoners, "mastering" this unstable ground was a matter not (or not only) of mapping or holding but of moving, improvising, making do—or of imitating onstage or on the street those migrant communities who had learned to do

so. For historians of Restoration London, similarly, "mastering" (here in the sense of knowing, of attaining expertise in) requires an attention not only to the city's maps, texts, and tyrants but also to the walkers who dance in its interstices and alleyways, outside of its designated pathways, between the lines of its printed scripts, and in and out of its changing scenes.[10] While previous chapters have applied this method to communities within London, this chapter expands the scope—and the long shadow—of these performances by situating them in a growing city that was also the metropole of a metastasizing British Empire.

In the concluding sections of the chapter, I gesture toward the long shadow of empire in tracing the journeys of Wycherley's plot—and its enslaved dancing-master—from the Dorset Garden stage to the Lord Mayor's parade route to cities halfway around the world. Wycherley's comedy resurfaces in London nearly a century after its debut, as one of the source texts for Isaac Bickerstaffe's *The Padlock*, an enormously popular comic opera that introduced the enslaved character of Mungo to Anglo-American stages (and to popular parlance). And it resurfaces, too—if obliquely—six decades later and an ocean away, in another character, whom the actor T.D. Rice introduced while touring as Mungo: the blackface minstrel Jim Crow. In following this character so far in space and in time from the Restoration capital that is the book's primary concern, I mean to signal the legacy of the post-Fire city and its performances in colonial cities and stages built after London's model—a theme that the book's epilogue will take up. I also mean to suggest the relevance of Restoration London and its movable stage to ongoing discussions of pre-Enlightenment racism and racialism, which have been largely dominated by Shakespeare scholarship for some years.[11]

This chapter concludes, then, by suggesting the global footprint of the small steps I have been tracing throughout this book—and the ways that the spatial practices of London's unpropertied servants, women, religious minorities, and migrants (forced, coerced, and enslaved) shaped other cities across the world. But it begins on the Dorset Garden stage in the weeks after the theater's opening, where within a set resembling a locked-up house at the edges of a city in the middle of a nation on its way to becoming an empire, two women sit before a window, looking out.

Slavery in the Metropole

Wycherley's second play debuted at Dorset Garden sometime before it entered the official record on 6 February 1672.[12] *The Gentleman Dancing-*

Master is a London comedy; but London's pleasures seem tantalizingly out of reach for the clever heroine Hippolyta and her maid, Prue, who take the stage as the curtain opens. Hippolyta's father, determined to keep her from the Town's temptations before marrying her off to her foppish cousin, has locked her in her chamber and enlisted the help of an aging aunt, Mrs. Caution, to ensure she remains there. Hippolyta chafes at the restrictions. "To confine a Woman just in her rambling Age!" she complains to Prue, and the two proceed to enumerate the urban pleasures—and particularly the theatrical pleasures—that her father's strictures have denied them:

> take away her liberty at the very time she
> shou'd use it! O barbarous Aunt! O unnatural
> Father! to shut up a poor Girl at fourteen,
> and hinder her budding; all things are ripen'd by the Sun; to shut up
> a poor Girl at fourteen!—
>
> PRUE. 'Tis true, Miss, two poor young Creatures as we are!
> HIPP. Not suffer'd to see a play in a twelve-month!—
> PRUE. Nor to go to *Ponchinello* nor Paradise!—
> HIPP. Nor to take a Ramble to the Park nor Mulberry gar'n!—
> PRUE. Nor to *Tatnam-Court* nor *Islington!* . . .[13]

Unable to seek London's pleasures herself, Hippolyta plots to bring those pleasures to her: she tricks her cousin into summoning the most "handsom," "witty, brave, and . . . well-bred" man he can find to her bedroom window (I.i.111, 116–17). When the fop returns with the rakish Gerrard, Hippolyta encourages him to break into her chamber, passing him off as her dancing-master after her father catches them in the act. The only problem is that Gerrard cannot dance, and so Hippolyta herself leads him in capering about her chamber until her father finally discovers his mistake and, defeated, consents to their marriage. In her prancing and plotting, Hippolyta introduces a technique opposed to the precise mappings and measurings through which an imperialist "Britannia" would later claim its right to "rule the waves,"[14] but one that, as we shall see, is crucial to the cosmopolitanism that the play will endorse: through the skillful movements of her body she transforms the little room of the stage into the global city to which she cannot travel herself. "Dancing was one of the multiplicity of practices by which space was reconfigured in the early modern era, though perhaps the least credited," writes Skiles Howard; Hippolyta's dance marks her moving body as part of the scenery, reconstituting the city on the London stage.[15]

Crucial to the play's significance is its London setting—a setting emphasized not only in this opening dialogue but also in a prologue dedicated to "the City: Newly after the Removal of the Dukes Company from *Lincoln-Inn-fields* to their new Theatre."[16] In placing its characters—including the enslaved child—in the midst of the growing metropole, the play offers a sly rebuke to the Londoners eager to deny their own connection to the slave trade. *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* borrows its plot from Spanish playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *El Maestro de Danzar* (ca. 1650), which Wycherley probably saw while accompanying England's ambassador to Spain on an official visit sometime between February 1664 and March 1665.[17] Calderón had borrowed the story, in turn, from a novella by Miguel de Cervantes, published in 1613 as part of his *Novelas Ejemplares*. In deploying these Iberian source texts, Wycherley thus parodies the London theater's interest in Spanish themes and settings, which, as John Loftis has detailed, enjoyed a vogue during the early Restoration.[18] The fashion was fueled by the advent of changeable scenery, which allowed audiences to gaze on the comparatively exotic locales of Spain and its expansive empire without leaving London.

It was fueled, too (and relatedly), by the growing popularity of the "Black Legend," a trope portraying the Spanish as cruel enslavers and greedy imperialists at a time when the English had begun to harbor imperial ambitions of their own—and thus had need to justify their incursions into western Africa and the Americas as less cruel by comparison. In 1660, as one of his first acts as king, Charles II joined with a group of English merchants to form the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa, ostensibly to exploit the gold deposits along the Gambia River. After this first venture proved a failure, Charles renewed his efforts in 1672, when—within a few months of *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*'s debut—he reestablished the company (now called the Royal African Company) under a charter that stated its explicit purpose as the exchange of human lives.[19] The newly formulated venture was a success, setting off what Stephanie Smallwood has called "the most active years of England's Royal African Company" and of London's prominence as a slaving port.[20] If the Spanish and Portuguese had initiated the capture of African lives, Wycherley's choice of setting implies that by the late seventeenth century, slavery had, along with other continental practices, arrived in the English capital.

The play's setting is important because Afro-diasporic people—enslaved and not—have been largely excluded from scholarly narratives about London's post-Fire reconstruction. In part, this exclusion stems from the absence in England of a royal decree, equivalent to France's *Code Noir*, explicitly

stating the legality of slavery within domestic borders. Without this clear documentary evidence of slavery's legality within the English metropole, scholars interested in Afro-diasporic experiences and contributions in this period have turned their attention to the colonies, where such laws did exist and where Afro-diasporic people made up a greater percentage of the population.[21] While the intent of such scholars is to correct the Eurocentrism of previous historical narratives, the cumulative effect is to suggest that African and Afro-diasporic people influenced the metropole only indirectly and from a distance. As Holly Brewer has detailed, however, the Stuarts had significant financial interests in maintaining slavery's legality throughout the empire; and they did so, in the absence of an absolutist decree, by appointing judges and otherwise supporting case law favorable to their cause.[22] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and Sidbury James thus warn historians not to ignore the significance of what they term the "Black *urban* Atlantic."[23] In recent years, scholars have begun to turn to important older studies by Imtiaz Habib, Gretchen Gerzina, and others to suggest that Afro-diasporic people were more numerous in early modern London than previously acknowledged—and to reveal clues about the lives they lived and the spaces they produced.[24]

While precise figures are notoriously difficult to calculate, scholars estimate that Afro-diasporic people constituted about 0.5 percent of the city's population at the end of the sixteenth century, a number that had grown to approximately 2 percent by the middle of the eighteenth.[25] Yet these numbers may very well underestimate the presence of Afro-diasporic people at any one time, since they do not include the large population of Afro-diasporic visitors, such as the sailors who alighted in the port between voyages to and from Africa, the Caribbean, and elsewhere in the Americas.[26] Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, visiting London from Germany a few months before Mr. Spectator visited the Royal Exchange, noted "such a quantity of Moors of both sexes in England that I have never seen so many before."[27] Many of these Afro-diasporic Londoners—enslaved and not—may have resided in the neighborhood of St. Giles, alongside the Irish immigrants to which they were often compared (see chapter 4) and a stone's throw from the theaters that made so much of their presence.[28] In early years, most Afro-diasporic people in London hailed from Northern Africa—often by way of Spain or Portugal—where they had been members of the elite or professional classes. By the time that Wycherley was writing, however, more and more landed in the capital as captives of the slave trade, often from the Caribbean rather than directly from Africa. Upon their arrival, as Habib notes, they were forced into posi-

tions that ranged "from menial work, albeit with skills, to chattel existence, including prostitution, with the last two categories constituting the clear majority."[29] Noémie Ndiaye summarizes Habib's point succinctly: if Afro-diasporic people in early modern London "were not called slaves, they were nevertheless usually unfree."[30]

Yet it is true that this unfreedom looked different in the metropole, where there was less need for the grueling agricultural labor that enslaved people performed in the colonies. Instead, drawing on a long tradition in which African and Afro-diasporic players, dancers, and musicians traveled to the capital to perform at court, Londoners often enslaved Afro-diasporic children to serve in their household or retinue as decorative objects, human indices of their wealth and access to global trade.[31] The tradition suggests long-held associations between Afro-diasporic Londoners, worldliness, and performance. Miller discusses, for instance, Pierre Mignard's portrait of Louise de Kéroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, from 1682 (Figure 8), in which the duchess poses with an unknown (and presumably enslaved) girl whose dark skin sets off the duchess's whiteness and whose clutched shell and coral branch suggest lands far beyond the duchess's direct knowledge. The portrait is a reminder that Restoration Londoners enslaved people to exploit not only their labor but also their cosmopolitan knowledge. It is also a reminder of the theatricality of a cosmopolitanism that depended on human scenery, on children forced to imitate European aristocrats to prove those aristocrats' global power: note, for instance, the velvet cloth draped like a stage curtain across the painting's top left corner. This suggestion of cosmopolitanism as a performance links the enslaved child's pose in the portrait not only with Mr. Spectator's "different Walks" but also with the pronounced metatheatricality of Wycherley's comedy, in which an aspirationally cosmopolitan Londoner enters the stage in act III, "*a little Black behind him*," and then, in the next act, orders the child to dance (III.i.118).

Performing Cosmopolitanism (Poorly)

In addition to translating the setting from Spain to London, Wycherley makes several changes to his Spanish source texts that have colored critics' reading of his script. He adds to Calderón's *dramatis personae* the character of Hippolyta's cousin, a fop so obsessed with the products and customs of France that he peppers his English conversation with French phrases and calls himself Monsieur de Paris. Monsieur's preoccupation with France is matched only by that of Hippolyta's merchant father with Spain: he insists

Figure 8. Pierre Mignard, *Louise de Kéroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, with an Unknown Female Attendant* (1682). Courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, UK.

that the other characters refer to him as "Don Diego," and he jealously guards the borders of his house (as well as of his daughter's body) with what he calls "*Spanish* care" (II.i.1). Another change that Wycherley makes to his Spanish sources is to designate Hippolyta rather than Gerrard the master plotter, inventor of the dancing-master disguise that will circumvent Don Diego's strictures. In choosing this disguise, Wycherley draws on an entire genre of English comedies that parodied—and expressed anxieties about—the new

importance of dancing-masters in imbuing on London's fashionable youths the "decorous deportment of the body" that, as Jean E. Howard explains, had begun to replace "older forms of status based on land, title, or money."[32] While Monsieur's Francophilia and Don Diego's Hispanophilia define cosmopolitanism as a performance (in this case one poorly executed by English men), Hippolyta's newfound agency promotes her as the play's most skilled performer—until she is upstaged by the Afro-diasporic child whom Don Diego regards as an accessory to his Spanish "habit" and whom he calls, merely, "Sirrah-Black" (IV.i.133).

The play's clear interest in "seeming" and in performance has largely structured discussions of its plot, many of which perceive in this interest the whiff of anti-theatricality.[33] Some readings describe the play as a commentary on or condemnation of Hippolyta's "insincere resistance" to Gerrard's advances and the contradictory performances into which gendered subjects are conscripted.[34] Others focus less on Hippolyta's contradictory performances of gender than on the bourgeois characters' unconvincing performances of class: "The play makes its point simply, directly, and amusingly," writes Norman N. Holland. "In the title lies the theme: the contrast between the dancing-master (one of those 'tripping outsides of Gentleman') and the true gentleman" exemplified by Gerrard, whose ineptitude at the dances Monsieur has labored to perfect proves his superior breeding.[35]

More recently, scholars such as Rosenthal, Ndiaye, and Cynthia Lowenthal have interpreted Wycherley's plot as one about cosmopolitanism, focusing on the national identities that the play's fools try—and fail—to imitate. In Monsieur's and Don Diego's "cultural cross-dressing," writes Rosenthal, the play "satirizes English envy, provincialism, and clumsy attempts a[t] cosmopolitanism," while the inferiority of this "cultural cross-dressing" to that of the enslaved child "raises questions about England's own imperial ambitions."[36] I extend these arguments by suggesting that it is their ineptness at navigating the shifting spaces and identities of the Restoration theater, in particular, that disables the other characters' attempts at the cosmopolitanism that the enslaved child embodies. In this light, the play appears less as anti-theatrical—suspicious of the feigned identities of the main characters—than as metatheatrical—positing cosmopolitanism as a performance and the theater as the space where Londoners might learn to perform it more flexibly and more convincingly.

Wycherley hints at this metatheatricality in Hippolyta's and Prue's privileging of theatrical spectacles ("a play," "*Ponchinello*") as first among the London pleasures they are loathe to miss as well as in his preface's explicit tribute to Dorset Garden Theater. As Bridget Orr and Joseph Roach have

pointed out, scenic spectacles like those that Dorset Garden had been built to display joined the Royal Exchange among Restoration London's most powerful symbols of empire: they allowed performers, in Roach's words, to "move the wings and change the scene, potentially to any one of the four corners of the world and back again, affording opportunities for a kind of vicarious tourism . . . long before the improved safety and affordability of travel made actual tours feasible for large numbers of people."[37] Roach likens the view this scenery afforded spectators to the world atlases newly available on London booksellers' shelves and listed among the belongings of Thomas Betterton, the company manager and the most probable candidate for the role of Gerrard in Wycherley's dramatis personae, when he died.[38] Orr, similarly, likens the "prospect" offered by the scenic spectacles to that offered by the landscape painting or the "picturesque," a genre which, as Elizabeth Bohls argues, gained prominence later in the eighteenth century for its ability to offer its viewer a privileged, distanced, and stilled view of the land while erasing or idealizing the enslaved people whose labor had produced it.[39]

Yet with the exception of the enslaved child, Wycherley's Londoners seem irredeemably inept at navigating either the changeable scenery or the global spaces over which that scenery supposedly, if "vicarious[ly]," gave them access and control. Don Diego, for instance, shares Sir Martin Mar-All's perplexity at stages that move, cities that shift, and borders—both domestic and international—that he cannot secure. These borders include those of his house at the center of London as well as those of his daughter's body: "Have you had a *Spanish* care of the Honour of my Family," he interrogates Mrs. Caution upon his return home from the Continent; "that is to say, have you kept up my Daughter close in my absence? as I directed" (II.i.1–3). Don Diego's insistence on rigid borders, locked rooms, and "care[ful]" rather than flexible cosmopolitanism echoes that of the imperialist gazing over his "prospect," but it soon proves ridiculous in a city now turning toward the circulation of products, people, and capital—and on a stage outfitted with the changeable scenery that made walls movable and borders temporary. (Wycherley would return to this celebration of circulation three years later, in his better-known London comedy *The Country Wife*, in which Don Diego's "care" resurfaces as Pinchwife's jealousy.)[40] Cosmopolitanism and urbanity, Wycherley suggests, demand a penchant for boundary-crossing and shape-shifting that the theater represents—and that changeable scenery supports—but that Don Diego cannot hope to master.

Don Diego is hardly unique. Monsieur and Gerrard demonstrate a similar rigidity and unworldliness that stem, Wycherley suggests, from their

failure to move with the moving spaces and identities of a changeable set or a global city. While Don Diego struggles to navigate the Dorset Garden's shifting scenes, Monsieur demonstrates a similar clumsiness in his handling of theatrical costume—in particular, in his inability to relinquish his beloved French "*Crevat*" even after Don Diego makes his marriage to Hippolyta conditional on his adoption of the full Spanish habit (II.i.0). Hippolyta predicts this rigidity long before Monsieur's own actions confirm it: "But indeed and indeed, Father," she scolds Don Diego after he announces his conditions to her, "you wash the Black-a-more white, in endeavouring to make a *Spaniard* of a *Monsieur*—nay, an *English Monsieur* too" (IV.i.52–54). Hippolyta's racist trope, as Srinivas Aravamudan and others have discussed, was common in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century usage and signaled a "fruitless undertaking."[41] Monsieur, Hippolyta's use of it suggests, is as clumsy an adopter of the different dress required of both the cosmopolite and the theatrical performer as Don Diego is of navigating the theater's (and the city's) shifting scenes.

Yet Hippolyta's trope also anticipates the entrance, moments later, of the Afro-diasporic child whose theatrical abilities easily upstage the inflexibility, unworldliness, and terpsichorean ineptitude of his enslavers and whose lithe steps across the changing scenes subtly refute the white characters' claims of mastery. When Don Diego discovers that Monsieur has disobeyed his injunction to trade his French cravat for a Spanish *golilla* (a starched Spanish collar), he orders Monsieur to kneel before him and tears the cravat from Monsieur's neck. Then, at Don Diego's direction, the enslaved child "*puts . . . the Golilla*" on Monsieur, who complains vociferously: "Oh I had rather put on the *English* pillory than this *Spanish* Golilla" (IV.i.115, 116–17).[42] In the brief tableau, Wycherley presents what Diana Taylor might term a "scenario" of enslavement: a man kneels and, over his protests, his belongings are torn from his person and replaced with a "*Spanish* yoke" (IV.i.110).[43] The difference in Wycherley's scenario derives from the bodies that perform it: here it is the Afro-diasporic person who wields the "yoke" and the European man, kneeling, who must suffer its cruelties.

It is possible, of course, to read Monsieur's willingness to submit himself to an enslaved child as a sign of his weakness—his inability to perform the normative masculinity, the class hierarchies, or the national hierarches that other scholars have seen as the play's central themes.[44] Instead, I read the scene as implying a critique of—or what Ann Stoler might term "epistemic anxiety" about—the strategies of possession and of military might upon which (as Alison Games has argued) the English had come increasingly

to rely.[45] The same possessiveness that compels Londoners like Monsieur and Don Diego to impose rigid boundaries and to claim others' bodies as their own, Wycherley suggests, undermines the very cosmopolitanism they seek. In attempting to arrest rather than shift around the "prospects" and people they encounter in their travels through London and across the world, Londoners may end up bowing before—and in thrall to—the same people and objects they are so eager to own and control: the house that Don Diego guards with "*Spanish* care" but little effectiveness, the cravat that Monsieur cannot surrender without compromising the identity he has pinned to it, the small child who has fastened it there.

I will return to the child—and to the epistemic anxiety that the superiority of his theatrical skill and worldly knowledge reveal—in the next section. First, I want to examine the third man competing for control over the bodies and the spaces of the stage, and the failures of performance—in this case, a misprision not of scenery or of costume but of movement—that threaten his worldliness. Many scholars have characterized the gentleman Gerrard as an anemic precursor to Wycherley's later rakes (Horner in *The Country Wife*; Manly in *The Plain Dealer*) and as a model of the nonchalant cosmopolitanism that the play seems to endorse:[46] Gerrard has "been abroad as much as any man," Monsieur tells Hippolyta, but because he "does not make the least shew of it" he cannot be accused of the exaggerations or the inelasticity that doom Don Diego's or Monsieur's cosmopolitanism to clumsiness (I.i.135–36). Yet Wycherley provides several hints that Gerrard, too, should be regarded as a poor performer of worldly knowledge—the most pointed of which is that Gerrard is a hopelessly clumsy dancer. "I have got a little Canting at the Dancing-School," the rake admits in an aside to Hippolyta when she prompts him to pose as a dancing-master to fool her father, but "I do all so bunglingly, he'll discover me" (III.i.365–66).[47] Gerrard's clumsiness may well mark him as a "true" gentleman—one who does not rely on the mere trappings and suits of the aristocracy to prove his status—as Holland and others have argued. But it renders him unable to perform the worldliness that life in a rapidly changing and increasingly global London requires. And it renders him dependent, like Monsieur, on a captive youth (in this case, the fourteen-year-old Hippolyta) to lead him through the shifting spaces and moving bodies of the Dorset Garden stage.

At first, Hippolyta performs her worldliness admirably, navigating the changing sets, changing costumes, and moving bodies of the stage with none of the rigidity that characterizes her propertied male companions. In possession of "twelve hundred pound a year, . . . which my Father cannot

meddle with" (as she tells Gerrard), she seems to enjoy more control over her property than many Restoration heroines (II.i.195–96). But because the laws of coverture dictate that this income will pass to her husband when she marries, she attempts to exercise her agency in choosing that husband. Her strategy recalls that of the other women and unpropertied characters examined throughout this book. "[M]ake use of the only opportunity thou canst have to enfranchize thy self," she reminds herself in an aside. "[T]hou art full fourteen years old; *shift* for thy self" (II.i.120–25; my emphasis). Hippolyta's word choice underscores her reliance on the tools of the theater—its shifting scenery, its costumes ("shift" as in undergarment), its shifting bodies as well as its plots and schemes—to effect her desires. While her male companions are stymied by their own rigidity, Hippolyta is associated, in Mrs. Caution's words, with "motion" (III.i.539). "[D]o you see how her Hankerchief is ruffled, and what a heat she's in?" Mrs. Caution asks Don Diego as the two watch Hippolyta and Gerrard spinning across the stage. Don Diego, unconcerned, points out that "she has been dancing," to which Mrs. Caution replies, "Ay, ay, *Adam* and *Eves* dance, or the beginning of the World, de' see how she pants?" (IIII.533–37). Mrs. Caution's comparison of Hippolyta's "motion" to "Adam and Eve's dance"—the Fall in which Adam and Eve discovered both their sexuality and the "World" beyond the Garden—reminds us of the connections that the play has made repeatedly between Hippolyta's budding sexuality, her performances of "motion," and the "World[ly]" knowledge she seeks beyond the borders of her father's walls.

And yet when Gerrard offers to whisk Hippolyta away from her father's home in the luxurious "Coach and Six" that suggests not only his class status but also the "motion" the fast carriage promises, she is suddenly reluctant to go (III.i.505). Scholarship on the play discusses her hesitation at length, attributing it variously to Wycherley's commentary on the fickleness of youth or the fickleness of women, or simply to his uncertainty about how to sustain a relatively straightforward love story across five acts.[48] But this reluctance makes more sense, I think, as a signal that even Hippolyta's cosmopolitanism has come up short in comparison to the superior performances and hinted-at knowledges of the enslaved child who will usurp her as dancing-master in act IV. Revealing here is Hippolyta's initial refusal of Gerrard, which she frames as a failure of her own geographical knowledge. "I know not where you live, nor whither you might carry me," she protests in act II, when he attempts to lead her back out the broken window through which he has just entered; "for ought I know, you might be a Spirit, and carry me to *Barbados*" (II.i.458–60). Barbados, which had been colonized

by the British in the 1620s, had by 1672 taken the lead in supplying Londoners with the sugar that sweetened their tea—and that required hours of backbreaking labor to produce. Originally some of this labor had been supplied by impoverished Europeans—a mixture of "political enemies, criminals, paupers, and Irish Catholics" (as well, we might add, as religious dissenters arrested under the Clarendon Code), who were transported to the island as bound laborers.[49] For this reason, as Elizabeth Maddock Dillon explains, "the word 'barbados' became, at this time, a verb synonymous with kidnap."[50] By the time that Mary Betterton (the actress most likely to have originated the role of Hippolyta) spoke these lines, however, more and more of the people working the plantations were enslaved Africans, transported to the colonies across the Atlantic under the auspices of what was soon to become the Royal African Company.[51]

In her anxiety that Gerrard might transport her to Barbados, then, Hippolyta imagines herself in the place of an enslaved person like the child who will enter the stage moments later and whose presence in London is proof that he has survived the very journeys and cruelties she so fears. The implicit comparison—reiterated at the end of the scene as she likens marriage to "*slavery*" (II.i.552)—reminds us that she is only slightly more inclined to "motion" and performance than her border-bound father, her cravat-clinging cousin, or her left-footed lover, all of whom similarly proclaim an interest in cosmopolitanism but who cannot master the flexibility or the theatricality it requires. If the purpose of Wycherley's play is to signal the importance of performance to the worldly knowledge that allows the cosmopolitan to travel through, adapt to, and survive within the shifting landscapes of a movable stage, a growing city, and a global economy, its unlikely but indubitable hero is neither Hippolyta nor Gerrard but the unnamed Afro-diasporic child, who meets the rigidity of his enslavers, in act IV, with a series of skillful moves.

The Worldly Dancing-Master

Throughout this chapter, I have been describing the enslaved child as unnamed; but we might as easily describe him as having many names—or, rather, what Hortense Spillers might call "overdetermined nominative properties" that at once categorize him according to his race and obscure his identity.[52] The *dramatis personae* names him "*A little Black-a-More*" while Don Diego calls him "Sirrah-Black" in act IV (*d.p.*, 217; IV.i.133). Hippolyta includes him in the "*Spanish* and *Guiny* force" that her father deploys (unsuc-

cessfully) to protect his own person and prevent his daughter's escape in act V (V.i.228). These many names add up, of course, to the same thing: an inability by the play's four main characters to define the enslaved boy outside of an unspecified and generic Africanness signaled to them by his "*Black*" skin.[53] In this inability, we might see further evidence to support the idea that phenotypical definitions of race predated the start of the Enlightenment.

Even as the other characters' struggle to name the enslaved child signals a racist disregard for his origins, however, it also hints at his worldly knowledge—and sets this knowledge alongside his enslavers' geographical ignorance. Like "Ethiope," both "Guin[ean]" and "Black-a-more" were used in English at this time to refer to Afro-diasporic people with dark skin, but they originated in very different and distant regions of Africa. While Guinea lies along the coast in sub-Saharan West Africa, *Moor* referred originally to the Muslim people concentrated in northern Africa and southern Spain, with the portmanteau "*Black-a-More*" invented later to distinguish darker-skinned Moors from their lighter-skinned co-religionists (usually of Middle Eastern descent).[54] The contradictory terms bandied about by Hippolyta, Don Diego, and the other characters in the play may imply not only that they do not care about but also that they do not know the difference between these very distant regions of Africa, a confusion that slyly undermines their claims of cosmopolitanism. These contradictory terms also link the enslaved boy himself with several places and cultures and thus set his worldliness against his enslavers' ignorance: a child associated with various regions of Africa travels to London by way of Spain, his adept juggling of languages and cultures upstaging the clumsy cosmopolitanism of two Englishmen bowed beneath the weight of their Spanish *golillas* and French *cravats*, of another Englishman incapable of moving gracefully not just across the globe but across the room where he stands, and of an Englishwoman terrified to venture beyond the threshold of her father's home. "Performance," writes Rosenthal, "thus explicitly compares the instability of Gerrard's cosmopolitanism [and that of the other characters too] to the black child's unquestioned accomplishment in the art of movement."[55]

The contrast between the child's worldliness and his enslavers' ignorance is heightened when the child replaces Don Diego—whose outsourcing the performance of "gracia" he associates with a "true *Castillan*" suggests he is incapable of executing such grace himself—and teaches Monsieur to dance (IV.i.134). "Now your Salutation in the street as you pass by your Acquaintance, look you, thus—" the child commands. "[S]o—your Neck nearer your shoulder, so—Now if you would speak contemptibly of any man or thing,

do thus with your hand—so—and shrug up your shoulders, till they hide your Ears. Now walk agen" (IV.i.187–88, 192–95). Wycherley underscores the skill of the child's performance—and the contrasting "*awkwerd[ness]*" of Monsieur's—in the dialogue and stage directions that accompany these instructions. "Must I have my Dancing-master too?" Monsieur asks; "come, little Master then, lead on." And, the stage directions tell us, the enslaved child "*struts about the Stage*" as "Monsieur *follows him, imitating awkwerdly all he does*" (IV.i.135–36).

In the skillfulness of his dance, the enslaved child at once enacts and exceeds what Homi Bhabha has theorized, influentially, as racial mimicry: a performance that the colonizer demands from the colonial subject and that fulfills the colonizer's "desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*."[56] For Bhabha, such performances reassure the colonizer that he has imposed his will on the subaltern, but only if these performances remain imperfectly executed, "*not quite*" the same as those through which the colonizer cements his power. At the moment these performances become too skillful—the moment that comic mimicry begins to approach serious mimesis—the colonized subject threatens to usurp the colonizer; and "resemblance" morphs into "menace."[57] We can observe such menace in the contrast between the child's "gracia" and Monsieur's "*awkwerd[ness]*," and more pointedly in the scenario, described earlier, of the enslaved child fastening the "*Spanish* yoke" around the neck of the kneeling Monsieur. (Twice in the same year that *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* debuted, enslaved people in Jamaica rose up against their enslavers.)[58] But we can observe this menace as well in the "'repertory of cross racial borrowings'" that, as Miller points out, he and enslaved children like him "negotiate on and with their very bodies."[59] In these embodied "borrowings," the enslaved child offers a powerful rebuttal to his enslavers' claims of superior knowledge as well as to Hippolyta's racist trope: here it is the small boy draped in European finery whose graceful movements prove his cosmopolitan adaptability, and his enslavers who cannot be "washed" clean of their national or ethnic affinities.

The imitations that Bhabha defines lead to what he calls "cultural hybridity": as colonized subjects mimic (with a wink of knowingness) the colonizers' cultures, habits, and ideologies as a tactic of survival, the colonizer, too, is changed by their interaction with the colonial subject. As Kathleen Wilson has pointed out, the discourses of both colonialism and cosmopolitanism relied not only on performances in which colonized and enslaved subjects imitated Englishness but also on performances in which

English subjects attempted to imitate *them*.[60] These imitations include European dances like the saraband, which Don Diego praises in Wycherley's play as quintessentially Spanish but which, according to some dance historians, emerged as a product of Spanish colonization in Africa and the Americas.[61] They include, similarly, the stage direction in Wycherley's third act that instructs Monsieur to "*imitate awkwerdly all [the enslaved child] does*." These layered imitations remind us of the myriad ways that enslaved and colonized subjects not only contributed their traditions to but also helped to shape European definitions of cosmopolitanism as they formed. In "*imitating awkwerdly*" the enslaved child's Spanish dances, Monsieur imitates at once his particular gestures and the worldly knowledge that the child, moving deftly from one movement tradition to another, represents.

This question of who is imitating whom—of who in the play leads the dance and who follows—returns us to the question implicitly posed by Wycherley's title and the definition of "mastery" to which it alludes. Most previous readings of the play have assumed Gerrard to be its eponymous character and thus have seen in the title an oxymoronic joke about the unlikelihood of a gentleman serving as a dancing-master—a hired hand teaching aristocratic youths the steps assumed to be their birthright.[62] The skill with which Hippolyta directs the dance and plots the courtship that will bring her closer to Gerrard, however, suggests that we might read her as the title character and the joke as less about class than about gender; in this reading, the humor arises from the incongruity not of a dancing-master who belongs to the gentry but of a dancing-master who is not a man. But like Gerrard's attempts to move through the shifting spaces of stage and city, Hippolyta's come, ultimately, to very little; she ends the play "fix'd" in marriage, having exchanged confinements of her father's house for what she terms the "new slavery" of a husband's (V.i.267; II.ii.552).

Monsieur's awkward imitations thus posit another possibility for Wycherley's title character in the enslaved child whose brief but dazzling appearance on the Dorset Garden stage in the year that the Royal African Company was chartered threatened to destabilize European claims to "territoriality" as well as the definitions of geographical "mastery" upon which those claims depended. In the spectacle of an English actor imitating an Englishman imitating a Frenchman *"awkwerdly imitating"* a "Guin[ean]" imitating an Englishman imitating a Spaniard, Wycherley hints at the ridiculousness of any geography that assumes that borders are fixed, that people and possessions are stable, or that places (or cultures) can ever remain static either in space or in time. Here "mastery" comes not through the conquer-

ing of continents but through a series of small steps, performed flawlessly, if fleetingly, across a London stage. In the seeming skill with which he executes these steps, the child embodies another oxymoron of Wycherley's title: the dancing-master who is also enslaved.

These layered contradictions imply the oxymoronic impossibilities that structure an English cosmopolitanism in which Mr. Spectator can feel proudest of his identity as "an *Englishman*" only when he imagines London as "an *Emporium* for the whole Earth." But they imply, too (and conversely), certain qualms about English imperial policies built on reproducing the metropole's architectures and political structures within colonial cities from Charleston to Accra, Kingston to Calcutta—effectively reimagining the "whole Earth" as a version of London. Accompanying such policies and the definition of cosmopolitanism they buttress, Wycherley suggests, is the risk—the "menace"—that these trajectories of imitation and of power will turn on their heads: that in their eagerness for cosmopolitanism, Londoners will confuse imitation for authenticity and (like Monsieur, like Don Diego) lose sight of what makes them "*Englishm[e]n*." Or that in their eagerness to possess and to transport the products and the people of distant lands into London, they (like Hippolyta inviting Gerrard into her chamber only to balk at the possibility that he will "Spirit" her away) will transform the already unstable spaces of the shifting city into those they no longer recognize as their own. With such oxymorons, Wycherley affirms privileged Londoners' reliance on the enslaved neighbors and visiting foreigners who bolster their own claims of cosmopolitanism at the same time that he betrays a palpable fear of such dependence—and the potential power it gave enslaved Londoners to critique these claims, to dismantle the fragile ideologies upon which they were based, and to assert the superior knowledge of the world that the enslaved child, in his many names and his Spanish "gracia," embodies. While these epistemic anxieties are perceptible in Wycherley's printed script, they become even more palpable when we consider the play in performance, beginning with the unanswered question of who played the role of the enslaved child at the Dorset Garden premiere.

Casting *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*

No cast list survives from the earliest performances of *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* in late 1671 or early 1672. Using context clues in the script, scholars have surmised that the rival comedians Edward Angell and James Nokes almost certainly portrayed Don Diego and Monsieur, respectively.

Thomas Betterton—a notoriously bad dancer—may have played Gerrard, opposite his real-life wife Mary Betterton as Hippolyta. Interestingly, Henry Harris—recently seen as Warner in Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar-All*—is the most likely candidate for the small role of Martin, Gerrard's friend.[63] Few scholars speculate on who may have portrayed the unnamed child.

There are two possibilities for the role, each with implications for what the child's presence onstage may have signified about the spatial practices of Londoners in the wake of the Great Fire and on the cusp of empire. The first possibility is that the character was played by a white performer in blackface—perhaps a lesser actor of the company, or a rope-dancer or tumbler plucked from an entr'acte and prepared to execute the character's choreography most adeptly.[64] (Blackface performance was not uncommon on the Restoration stage: Betterton himself would black up a few years later to play Othello, a role he took over from Charles Hart in 1682.) This possibility further convolutes the play's cross-cultural imitations, since it means that the actor imitating the dances of an Englishman imitating a Spaniard—and in turn being imitated by an English actor imitating an Englishman imitating a Frenchman—was himself a white Londoner posing as an Afro-diasporic child. Such a casting choice might seem to reduce the "menace" introduced by the enslaved character's skill, allowing white Londoners to reassure themselves that his grace in performing the dances that they considered their birthright arose from his white body rather than from his blackface. This casting would also have literalized white supremacist fantasies of possession of and power over black movement, emphasizing the black body's commodification and "fungibility" (in Saidiya Hartman's formulation) and allowing white actors to claim with the black makeup they caked on their skin the license to represent "black" speech, "black" dance, and "black" character as they wished.[65]

Yet in other ways, the casting of a white actor in the role of the black child carries with it some of the same anxieties about white Londoners' reliance on Afro-diasporic people for their cosmopolitanism, as does the scenario of an enslaved child clasping a "*Spanish* yoke" around a white man's neck. Even as it seems to reinforce the "scripts of blackness" that, Ndiaye argues, both presaged and helped to produce the race science of the later eighteenth century, blackface also marks those "scripts" explicitly as performance—and thus marks the racial characteristics that white supremacy attempted to essentialize as "adopted" rather than "inherited," in the words of Virginia Mason Vaughan.[66] We might read this casting choice, in other words, as proclaiming the shape-shifting and scene-shifting required

of any cosmopolite to be the exclusive property of white Londoners such as the white actor who (in this version of the cast) transformed himself into an Afro-diasporic child transforming himself into a "true Castilian." But we might also read this choice as dismantling all claims to the racial essentialism upon which so many justifications for race-based slavery would come to depend. Or—even more menacing—we might read it as betraying white Londoners' dependence on the Afro-diasporic people they enslaved to legitimate their claims to worldly knowledge: the only white Londoner in Wycherley's comedy to perform cosmopolitanism lithely, such a casting choice reminds us, can do so only when he steps into the shoes (or dons the costume) of an enslaved black boy.

I will return to these "menacing" implications in the final sections of this chapter, which trace the character's journeys from Dorset Garden to the West End and then across the Atlantic, where he resurfaces in the blackface performances of the American actor T.D. Rice. First, I want to explore the implications of the second (and, to my mind, far more plausible) possibility for the casting of *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*: the possibility that the role of the enslaved Afro-diasporic child was played by an enslaved (or otherwise "unfree") Afro-diasporic performer. The Duke's Company would have had plenty of such performers to choose from among the children and youths that Londoners enslaved, often teaching them to perform European dances as adornments to their entourages. It is much more likely, however, that the Duke's Company would have drawn the performer from a group of artists already well-used to the demands of professional performance and well acquainted with the personnel and the poses of the Restoration stage: the Afro-diasporic actors and dancers who had appeared in the Lord Mayor's Day Pageant in late October, only a few months before *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* debuted.

Since its origin in 1215, the pageant had taken place most years on October 29, when the new Lord Mayor—the head of London's guilds and thus of the city's commercial activities—paraded from his home guild to St. Paul's Cathedral and around central London before enjoying a feast and dancing at Guildhall. Often the procession would pause in churchyards, at conduits, or before other landmarks for speeches delivered by richly costumed actors arranged in ornate tableaux that combined stage and city, superimposing London's mythologies onto the streets and buildings themselves in a spectacular show of civic and political unity that may or may not have been borne out in the city's day-to-day operations. During the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, as Tracey Hill notes in her definitive history of the pageants' earlier

years, the guilds forged connections with the city's professional theaters, and playwrights such as Thomas Middleton and Ben Jonson often moonlighted as pageant designers (a role taken up in the early eighteenth century by the city's poet laureates).[67] These playwrights brought with them not only the personnel but also the tricks and technologies of the court masques, technologies that William Davenant would eventually introduce to the public stage.

Cromwell's Puritan-influenced government canceled the performances between 1639 and 1655, but by Charles II's restoration they had returned, now with a new emphasis that reflected the City's economic shifts from the domestic industries of the guilds to global trade dominated by large corporations like the Levant Company (chartered in 1581), the East India Company (1600) and, of course, the Royal African Company (1660, reestablished 1672). As Hill as well as Amrita Sen have documented, this change in focus led to more speaking roles for non-white performers and characters, a development that Sen reads as "embracing a new type of urban cosmopolitanism."[68] Plague and fire forced another suspension of the festivities in 1665 and 1666, and in the first few years afterwards, the ruined landscape of the City and the resources required to rebuild it forced pageant designers to curtail their ambitions. But by 1671, as Ian Archer notes, "the pace of the rebuilding the city" (including a £36,498 renovation of Guildhall) had "accelerated," accompanied by a "significant intensification" of the spectacle offered by the year's Lord Mayor's show.[69]

That year, Thomas Jordan celebrated the City in a pageant that he called "*London's Resurrection*," a title that testifies to the lingering insecurity of London's claims to global dominance even as it marks the resilience of a metropolis that in merely "seven years time was Burnt and may be built."[70] The lines emphasize the importance of the Lord Mayor's scenic spectacles in shaping through performance the spaces of the metropolis, imbuing them with new meaning after the annus mirabilis of 1665–1666. At the same time, they emphasize possible resonances between the performances of Jordan's City and those of Wycherley's stage—spoken, as they are, by an actor dressed as "*Orpheus*, . . . in a Silk Robe striped with many colours."[71] (Wycherley's Spanish sources drew heavily on the Orpheus myth in telling the story of a man who uses his musical talents to bypass the gates and guards set up by a devilish Don Diego to keep him from his love, and though the association is more muted in Wycherley's adaptation, the Duke's Company may nonetheless have taken advantage of this association in casting Wycherley's play a few months later.) This association takes on more meaning when we consider Jordan's stage directions noting that the (white) actor in Orpheus's

garb was flanked by "two *Negro* Boys, properly Habited, and mounted upon two [sculptures of] Panthers, bearing the Banners of the Lord Mayor's and the Companies Arms."[72]

Like Wycherley's London comedy, the London pageant from which it may have drawn its dancing-master both acknowledges and betrays anxieties about Londoners' dependence, for their self-proclaimed worldliness, on the knowledge and traditions of those they had colonized or enslaved. Anthony Gerard Barthelemy shows that designers of the Lord Mayor's Day pageants often dressed and posed non-white performers to evoke the cartouches of seventeenth-century maps, such as those published by theater impresario turned atlas maker John Ogilby.[73] In the pageant of 1672, Barthelemy notes, a woman personifying America delivered a speech celebrating that year's Lord Mayor, a member of the grocers' guild, for transporting the abundance of far-off lands to English shores. As Sukhdev Sandhu notes, "between 1660 and 1690 fifteen Lord Mayors, twenty-five sheriffs and thirty-eight alderman of the City of London were shareholders in the Royal African Company."[74] The pageant was not only a celebration of London, in other words, but a celebration of the riches Londoners had accrued from the slave trade and its other imperial exploits. In the 1672 pageant, America's pose, like the cartouche she imitated, served to claim as possessions of England America's lands, products, and people—as well as the worldly knowledge these people brought to the English capital.

Barthelemy does not discuss the 1671 pageant or the pair of enslaved boys on panthers featured within it. But an illustration labeled as "Benin" within Ogilby's atlas of *Africa*, published in 1670, shows a procession featuring two panthers (Figure 9, near bottom left corner), with a group of four or five African children trailing behind (bottom right). The echoes between this illustration and the pageant's stage direction suggest that Jordan may have meant to evoke Ogilby's atlas of Africa in his *Resurrection* of London; and the many points of contact between the London stage, the Lord Mayor's pageant, and Ogilby's volumes suggest that the Duke's Company was emphasizing precisely these associations in casting one or both of these same "*Boys*" to serve as part of Don Diego's "*Guiny* force" at Dorset Garden some months later.[75]

As Roach, Orr, and David Wiles have noted, these echoes and associations seem to mark the scenic stage as yet another technology, like the map laying out territory or the pageant celebrating commercial success, that offered their spectators the promise of knowing, controlling, or possessing the lands and peoples pictured and posed, simply by gazing upon them.[76] In their introduction to their volume *Black Geographies*, Katherine McKit-

Figure 9. "De Stadt Benin," from John Ogilby, *Africa* (London, 1670). Courtesy of New York Public Library Digital Collections.

trick and Clyde Woods discuss such technologies as reinforcing European geographies of "territoriality, the normative practice of staking a claim to place."[77] Yet here as throughout her foundational work in the field, McKittrick, especially, urges scholars to think beyond this territoriality, to attend more closely to the elisions, uncertainties, and subtle shifts that point to the ways that Black subjects, in particular, have reimagined the spaces built to contain them through the stories they tell about those spaces, the movements they perform within them.[78] Stephanie M.H. Camp, following Edward Said, theorizes such "rival geograph[ies]" as marked less by "repossession of land in the face of dispossession" (as they were for Said and the colonized subjects he discussed) than by "mobility in the face of constraint. . . . Where planters' mapping of their farms was defined by fixed places for plantation residents, the rival geography [of enslaved people] was characterized by motion: the movement of bodies, objects, and information within and around

plantation space."[79] Following McKittrick's and Camp's imbrications, I turn from the "territoriality" that the pageant's human cartouches and Dorset Garden's scenic stage promised, to the "menace" of movement that, as performances on a shifting stage and within a shifting city, they could never completely contain—and to the epistemic anxieties this "menace" reveals even if the "two *Negro* boys" cast in both Jordan's pageant and (possibly) in Wycherley's play never acted upon it.

Relevant here is Tiffany Lethabo King's analysis of the uncertainties implied by the cartouche of a map that postdates Ogilby's atlases: German-English cartographer William de Brahm's 1757 rendering of the Georgia and South Carolina coasts (Figure 10). De Brahm's cartouche, as King points out, pictures "healthy, fit, and idealized" black bodies at work on an indigo plantation and thus "convey[s] the slave traders' and owners' desires for the optimal commodity, or the 'pieza,' described by C.L.R. James and [Sylvia] Wynter as the standard and ideal body that becomes a unit of exchange."[80] Alongside these images of commodification and confinement, however, King also observes in de Brahm's map the possibility of "Black fugitivity"—the "moving, quivering live field" of Black life, "ingenuity[,] and invention" that cannot be completely or reliably contained, controlled, held still.[81] King locates this fugitivity in part in the size of de Brahm's cartouche in relation to the land it labels, which allows the black bodies it represents to tower over the spaces that supposedly held them captive. King's insights call up not only Ogilby's illustration of the boys processing through "Benin" but another cartouche he includes in his map of "Guinea" some pages earlier (Figure 11). In the bottom right corner of the image, two small children appear to float on the Oceanus Atheopicus, holding aloft an elephant tusk marked with the map's scale. According to the scale, the people who appear to be small children are in fact miles tall, the reach of their arms alone spanning entire cities that appear on the map as dots. Like the spectacle of an Afro-diasporic child leading his English enslaver in a Spanish dance, these human cartouches hold in their poses the question of who has mastered what, and of who has mastered whom.

Then again, we need not resort to the scale of a global atlas or the span of a continent to understand the possibility of resistance clenched like a fist in the Afro-diasporic performer's pose;[82] for the "moving, quivering, live field" that King perceives in a printed cartouche becomes even more palpable when that cartouche leaps from the page to be imitated by living performers, who stare back at their spectators from their perch above a London street that has been reimagined as a global stage. The tableau of the performing-

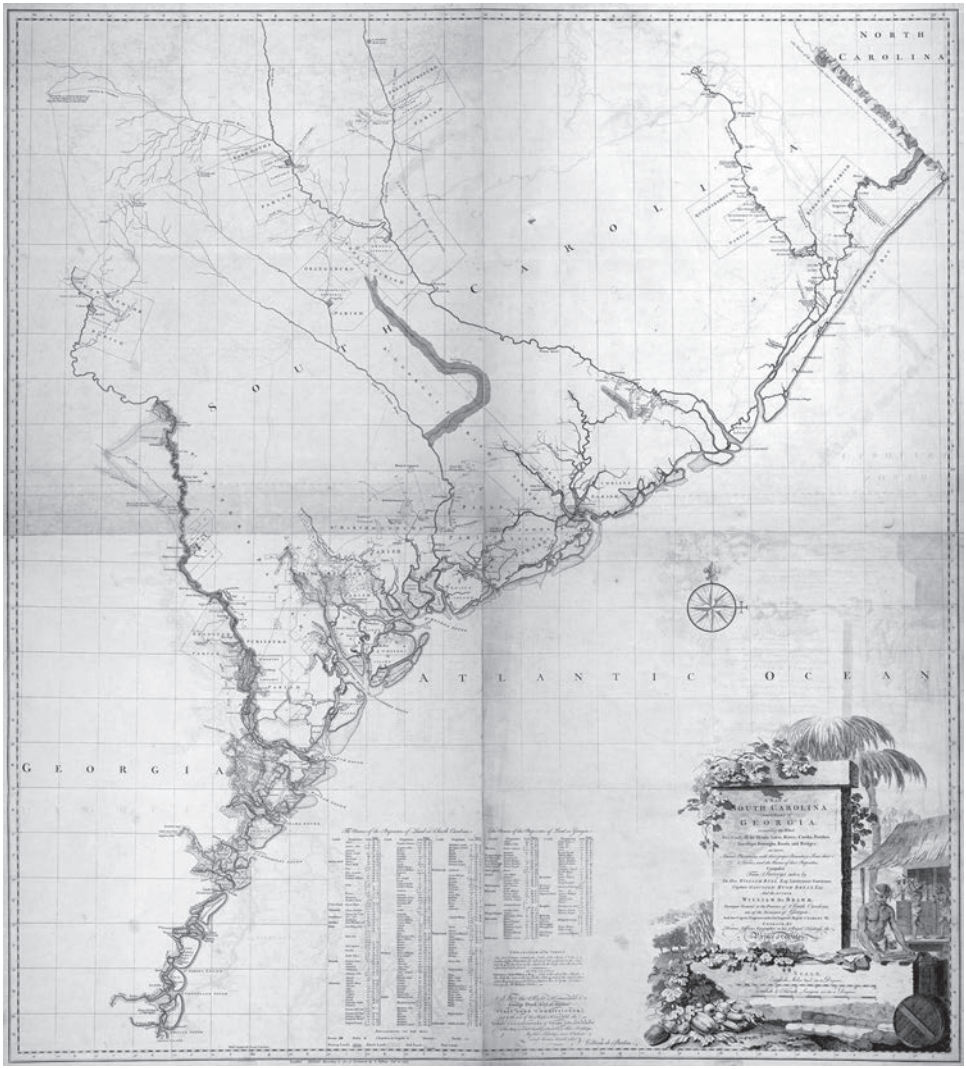


Figure 10. Detail from William Gerard de Brahm, *Map of the Coast of South Caroline and Part of Georgia* (London, 1757). 105:325 M, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

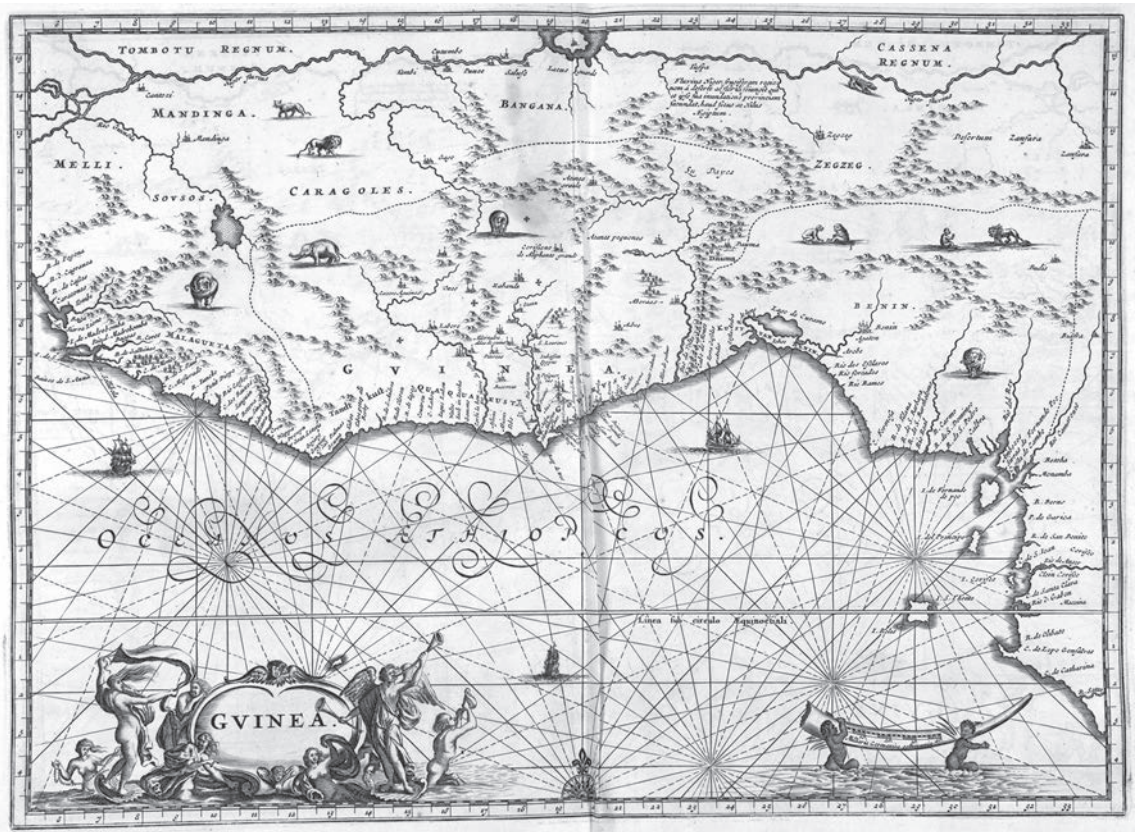


Figure 11. “Guinea” from John Ogilby, *Africa* (London, 1670). Courtesy of New York Public Library Digital Collection.

body-as-printed-cartouche—and the illusion of the spectators' possession of that body as territory—depends, after all, on the performers' stillness. At the mere quivering of a muscle or the lift of an arm, these performers dismantle both the evocation of the printed cartouche and the colonizer's control over the lands and lives that cartouche represents. The reduced scale of these movements—fugitivity not as a journey across an ocean or even across state lines but simply as an impeccably posed performer shifting his weight to the other foot—reveals both the fragility of colonizers' geographical imaginings and, conversely, the importance of the "small acts with outsized consequences" that, as Camp, McKittrick, and others have shown, colonized subjects deployed to challenge them.

This distinction between the static images of Ogilby's text and the live performers of Jordan's pageants or Wycherley's play seems to me, then, to be crucial. "Live performance," writes Peggy Phelan in her now classic articulation, "plunges into visibility—in a maniacally charged present—and disappears into memory, into the realm of invisibility and the unconscious where it eludes regulation and control." In its presence—in the potential if not the realization of the performer's ability to stare back at, speak back to, and confront their spectators—Phelan continues, performance defies the spectator's desire to arrest or possess it; it "clogs the smooth machinery of reproductive representation" upon which capital depends.[83] More recently Ramesh Mallipeddi has explored the ways in which Restoration and eighteenth-century attempts to spectacularize black bodies by transforming them into decorative objects were thwarted, again and again, by the "singularity of the body and its phenomenological experiences," that is, its undeniable presence.[84] Even as Jordan's tableaux seemed to still and to commodify the bodies of these nonwhite performers, they also gestured in their presence and in their potential mobility to the incompleteness or even the impossibility of that commodification—as well as to the instability of a colonizing power that could be threatened by a movement as sweeping as the journey to Canada from the Carolinas or as subtle as the tilt of a head. The great menace contained within such small gestures returns us to the image of Monsieur bowing before the global products and the worldly performer he has attempted to possess but has instead enslaved himself to. What sort of "mastery" or worldliness can Londoners—or the global empire they seem to center—claim if they can be brought to their knees (quite literally) by the miniscule movements of a child posed on a panther, or holding a *golilla* in his hand?

Such questions resonate across the London of 1671—from Dorset Garden to Guildhall to the Royal Exchange. But they also propel us forward in time

to the moment when, nearly one hundred years later (and a few blocks west), another enslaved character danced to the music of his Orphic interlocutor—and imagined in his movements an enslaver choking on his own worldly goods. "We dance and we sing, / Till we make a house ring," belts Mungo, the standout star of a 1768 comic opera with a plot and a *dramatis personae* strikingly reminiscent of Wycherley's own. "And, tied in his garters, old Massa may swing" (*Padlock*, II.ii, 20). Before concluding this chapter—and this book—let us follow Mungo's footsteps to trace the movements of Restoration London's labyrinthine geographies and shifting scenery partway around the world.

Mungo Here

In the years after Wycherley relocated Calderón's and Cervantes's characters from Spain to the heart of London, England's dominance over the slave trade grew. In 1713, as part of the treaty ending the War of the Spanish Succession, the British South Sea Company secured from Spain the *Asiento*, an agreement that gave its holders exclusive rights to supply enslaved peoples to Spanish America.[85] Over the course of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), English forces captured and then relinquished several French slave colonies in the Americas, as well as the Spanish colonial city of Havana. The financial and human resources that the English had poured into wars in which the control of the slave trade was at issue gave the lie to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield's ruling in the landmark 1772 Somerset case that English law did not support "so odious" an institution as slavery.[86] Indeed, the ruling forbidding slavery within England's domestic borders had little effect in London, since it remained unenforced—and since enslavers traveling from the colonies to the metropole were loath to manumit, upon arrival, the enslaved people on whose labor and knowledge they had come to depend.[87] (One substantial piece of evidence for the persistence of slavery in London into the mid- and even the late eighteenth century is the proliferation of advertisements in London newspapers by enslavers attempting to track down fugitives. As Jerry White notes, these advertisements "appeared most frequently in the first quarter of the century" but "were common into the 1770s.")[88] Yet Mansfield's statement did serve as affirmation for many Londoners eager to ignore the cruelties continuing just under their noses—an eagerness perpetuated in much scholarship on eighteenth-century London even today.

This same eagerness to deny slavery's presence in London perhaps explains Isaac Bickerstaffe's decision to set his comic opera *The Padlock* in

Salamanca and to conceal its relationship to Wycherley's earlier work. In the "Advertisement" in the play's printed version, Bickerstaffe credits Cervantes's novella rather than Wycherley's London comedy as his source text *(Padlock*, n.p.); and despite a steady stream of scholarly interest in Bickerstaffe's opera and Dibdin's performance in recent years, no one has (to my knowledge) linked the plot of *The Padlock* to the capers of Wycherley's *Dancing-Master*. Certainly *The Padlock* borrows from Cervantes's *El Celoso Extremeño*: in both the English and the Spanish versions, the young heroine (Hippolyta for Wycherley, Leonora in Cervantes and Bickerstaffe) is the young ward rather than the daughter of her aged captor and enjoys far less agency than Wycherley's Hippolyta in the captor's undoing. Her passivity leaves room for her lover, Leander, to cajole his way into her chamber by wooing her—as well as her shrewish guardian and the enslaved man stationed at her house's threshold—with song and dance. Several clues suggest, however, that Bickerstaffe knew and was drawing on Wycherley's comedy as well. Most obvious is the name of Leonora's lascivious guardian: Cervantes calls him Carrizales, but in *The Padlock*—as in *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*—he is Don Diego. Bickerstaffe also suggests his debt to Wycherley in emphasizing not only song but movement as key to Leander's tricks, as the other characters encourage his guitar playing chiefly for the opportunity it affords them to dance. Both details are common to Calderón's *El Maestro de Danzar*, the source text for Wycherley's play, as well. But because Calderón's comedy was neither translated into English nor printed or performed in England, it seems a less likely predecessor. *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*, meanwhile, was widely available in England throughout Bickerstaffe's lifetime, including in a new edition of Wycherley's collected works published in the same year that *The Padlock* debuted. And Bickerstaffe was familiar with Wycherley's oeuvre, having composed a bowdlerized version of his later comedy *The Plain Dealer* three years before, in 1765.[89]

The final sections of this chapter trace the enslaved dancing-master's movements from Wycherley's post-Fire to Bickerstaffe's Enlightenment London—and eventually as far as the American frontier—to show that *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* held sway over circum-Atlantic stages far beyond what its brief initial run might otherwise suggest.[90] The play's extended afterlife deserves attention in part because of the outsized role that *The Padlock* has played in scholarship (by Roxann Wheeler among others) on the hardening of racial categories during the Enlightenment.[91] Acknowledging Wycherley's London comedy as one possible source text for Bickerstaffe's opera complicates the notion that modern conceptions of race began to take

shape in English culture—and on English stages—only after slavery had been well established in the early eighteenth century. At the same time, the transcontinental and transgenerational conversations conducted across these plays remind us of the impact that unpropertied Londoners' spatial practices and geographical knowledge—as well as privileged Londoners' anxieties about and attempts to contain such practices and such knowledge—had (and continue to have) on cities through the centuries and across the globe.

For like Wycherley's play, Bickerstaffe's opera is a work about cosmopolitanism, one that posits performance as a tool for dissolving the borders between houses (and between nations)—and that paints European property owners as singularly unqualified for such a task. Bickerstaffe signals this interest in cosmopolitanism in his choice to dedicate the printed version of his play, set in Spain and featuring a West Indian character, to the King of Denmark (who had attended a command performance) as "a mark of homage from the English stage" (n.p.). His language recalls Mr. Spectator's oxymoronic admission that he feels the most "Vanity as . . . an *Englishman*" when he declares himself a "Citizen of the World."

Bickerstaffe enlists the aid of the theater's movable scenery in accustoming his London audiences to the increasingly unreliable spaces of the modern city (and of the modern cosmopolitan), as the stage morphs throughout the opera through a series of changes in locale—from "*A Garden belonging to* Don Diego's *House*" (I.i.1) to "*a Street in* Salamanca" (I.iv.7) to "*A Hall in Don* DIEGO's *House*" (II.i.17). He also suggests the unreliability of space on the scenic stage—and the global city—by opening his play not in the heroine's inner chamber (as did Wycherley) but in the liminal space of Don Diego's garden. There, the property owner instructs his servant Ursula in how to secure the labyrinth of locked doors that he believes will protect his home and his ward (whom he plans to seduce himself). "There is the key of" Leonora's chamber, Don Diego tells her; "there the key of the best hall; there the key of the door upon the first flight of stairs; there the key of the door upon the second; this double locks the hatch below; and this the door that opens the entry" (I.i.1). Audiences familiar with the spectacle promised in Bickerstaffe's description of the work as an "opera"—or drawn to the theater by the "New Scenes" advertised by a puff in *Lloyd's Evening Post*—must already have anticipated the foolishness of Don Diego's trust in walls and locks on a stage outfitted with movable scenery.[92]

Without doubt, Don Diego is the dupe of the play, his reliance on the stability of these spaces undermined not only by the clever student Leander's successful attempts to breach the gates but also by Mungo, the enslaved

man he appoints to guard them. Yet Bickerstaffe's opera, performed a century into England's participation in the slave trade and just as abolitionism was threatening the trade's profits, couches its anxious acknowledgment of Mungo's worldly knowledge in an equally anxious attempt to possess that knowledge, to claim or to quash that worldliness. Roiling just beneath the surface of Mungo's songs is what King describes as white supremacy's "anxious response to Black uncontainability and fugitivity," an always futile attempt by enslavers "to render, and therefore capture, the elusive Black figure by representing it in advance as always already moving, exchangeable, and in flux."[93] This battle between the power of the enslaver and the knowledge of the enslaved plays out on Bickerstaffe's stage, as it did on Wycherley's, as a contest over who has mastered the tools of the theater, with the cosmopolitan performances signaled in Mungo's worldly dress, his "different Languages" and his "different Walks" repeatedly (but never completely) undermined by his enslavers.

Consider Mungo's costume: Bickerstaffe's choice to cast Charles Dibdin, a white actor, with his face caked in the greasepaint later notorious on the minstrel stage, suggests an attempt "to render, and therefore capture, the elusive Black figure." But paired with this makeup is a suit that, as Monica Miller points out, identifies Mungo as a cosmopolitan: made of silk, a cloth imported from East Asia, the suit's cut resembles the "pyjama" style borrowed from the Middle East (Figure 12). Ashley L. Cohen reads this resemblance as emerging from *The Padlock*'s relationship to earlier harem plays, and what she sees as an English tendency to collapse the East and West Indies.[94] We might also detect in its silken stripes Mungo's resemblance to the actor playing "*Orpheus*, . . . in a Silk Robe striped with many colours" who had announced London's post-Fire "*Resurrection*" and global dominance beside two boys on panthers at the Lord Mayor's Day Pageant so many years before.

A second element of Mungo's performance, his "different Languages," reinforces the hints of cosmopolitanism that his costume introduces. Previous scholars have described Mungo's dialect as the first attempt by English-speaking playwrights to render onstage the West Indian pidgin spoken by enslaved Afro-diasporic people in the colonies.[95] While this is not strictly true (Kingston in John Moody's *High Life Below Stairs* predates Dibdin's Mungo by nearly a decade), "the character of Mungo cemented the sound of a pidgin-speaking role," according to Wheeler.[96] White playwrights' derogatory renderings of this language would become one of the most recognizable features of the American minstrelsy stage, and in the printed rendering of

Figure 12. Butler Clowes, *Charles Dibdin as Mungo in The Padlock* (London, 1769). Courtesy of University of Illinois Theatrical Print Collection.

Dibdin's "blackspeak" (in Ndiaye's useful term), we should not look for anything resembling the actual language spoken by Afro-diasporic peoples.[97] But as Wheeler explains, the pidgin in its original form was one of the world's first truly global languages: enslaved people in the West Indies invented it to communicate with their English-speaking enslavers as well as with other enslaved people who, transported from disparate regions of Africa, were unlikely to have arrived in the Americas speaking the same tongue. Bickerstaffe's derogatory rendering of this dialect in Mungo's lines takes pains, in other words, to suppress the political potential and the worldly knowledge contained in his words. This same struggle between the play's admissions of enslaved people's worldly knowledge and its anxious desire to control that knowledge is perceptible, too, in Mungo's name. As several scholars have speculated, the name identifies Mungo with travel—*mun go* could be translated as "must go" in the character's West Indian dialect—even

as its imperative ("must") reminds us that those travels are unfree.[98] Given the play's Spanish setting, we might also hear in *Mungo* the Spanish word *mundo*: "world."

Mungo's theatrical proclivities and worldly knowledge are perhaps best illustrated, however, in the third element of his performance, the dances he performs throughout the opera. Significantly, these dances are characterized not by the stillness or security that might explain Don Diego's treatment of him as a human padlock but by constant, frenetic motion. "Whate'er's to be done, / Poor black must run," begins his most famous refrain:

> Mungo here, Mungo dere,
> Mungo every where;
> Above and below,
> Sirrah come, Sirrah go,
> Do so, and do so.
> Oh! oh!
> Me wish to de Lord me was dead.
>
> (I.vi.11)

"It is no wonder that by the time Mungo saunters on stage in 1768, he proclaims himself 'lilly tire,'" Miller quips, "since the journey between black character and subjectivity, exteriority and interiority, between Africa, America, and Europe [and Asia too, we might add, noting his shimmering silks], entails a *circum*-Atlantic trip."[99] Dancing "here, dere, and everywhere" across the scenic stage, across the borders that Don Diego has so painstakingly set out to contain him, across the continents signified by his Asian dress and his pidgin tongue, Mungo gestures at once to cosmopolitanism and to his enslavers' desire (and their failure) to contain and to claim that cosmopolitanism as their own.

In a metropole and across an empire dependent for labor, knowledge, and its own claims of cosmopolitanism on the people it had transported and enslaved, Mungo's movements cannot go unchecked, and Bickerstaffe's play concludes with the white characters' violent efforts to disempower and finally to halt altogether the dances that have characterized him throughout the performance. In the final scene, Don Diego realizes he has been bested and relinquishes Leonora—along with "five hundred crowns"—to Leander. When Mungo asks what he might gain from the bargain, Diego promises him only "bastinadoes for your drunkenness and infidelity" in aiding Leander's seduction (II.viii.30). As Miller notes, "bastinadoes" often connoted blows to the feet in particular, a detail she interprets as suggesting Don Diego's

attempts to contain Mungo's "physical . . . freedom" (even as Mungo continues to best Don Diego verbally).[100] The man who whirled onto the scenic stage as a hurricane—awakening as he did white anxieties about Black fugitivity—ends the play with his once constant motion under threat by the anticipated blows to his feet.

Yet there is one alternative interpretation available of Don Diego's threat of violence, one final sign of the epistemic anxieties lurking within and never entirely contained by Bickerstaffe's cruel rendering. In exploring this final twist, I do not mean to downplay the cruelty of that rendering or to suggest that it makes the play any more sympathetic to the actual experiences of the enslaved Londoners forced to contend with the stereotypes that Dibdin's performance popularized. Instead, my aim is to suggest the complexities of ownership and originality—the entanglements of who imitates whom—that arise any time enslavers attempt to mimic the movements or to appropriate the knowledge of those they have enslaved. For the "bastinadoes" with which Don Diego threatens to contain Mungo's movements begin to look quite different when we consider a brief earlier scene from the play, in which Leander first breaches the borders of Don Diego's house. Shortly after the patriarch's departure, Leander appears at the garden gate in disguise as a disabled beggar, with a guitar strapped to his back, "a black patch on my eye, and a swathe upon one of my legs" (I.iv.7). He offers to play a "saraband" that Ursula and Mungo might dance to—if only they'd open the gate and let him in (I.ix.14). But before they will consent they first demand a story: "How did you lose the use of your leg?" Ursula asks the stranger, who replies:

> In the wars my good dame; I was taken by a Barbary corsair, and carried into Sallee, where I lived eleven years and three quarters upon cold water and the roots of the earth, without having a coat on my back, or laying my head on a pillow; an infidel bought me for a slave, he gave me the strappado on my shoulders, and the bastinado on the soles of my feet.
>
> (I.viii.13)

As Nussbaum points out, Leander's disguise plays upon stereotypes of disabled people as skilled performers who fake their injury to win sympathy or charity—here in the form of the "allowance" Leander finagles from Mungo as well as the access to Don Diego's house.[101] Rather than a signifier of his immobility (as the crutch was, for instance, for the disabled veteran of Farquhar's *Love and a Bottle*), the "swathe" upon Leander's leg suggests

at once his skill as a performer, the access that skill allows him to seemingly inaccessible spaces like Don Diego's home, and also his cosmopolitanism—a souvenir of his travels to "Barbary" and to "Sallee." At the same time, this "swathe" also cements Leander's resemblance to—even his imitation of—another character "bought . . . for a slave" and who, by the end of the play, will imagine the mark of that enslavement as "bastinado[es] on the soles of" his feet. Leander's use of his "swathe" to guarantee his trespasses into Don Diego's home suggests that the "bastinadoes" with which Don Diego threatens Mungo might have the opposite effect from what Don Diego intends, enabling rather than preventing the enslaved man's movements through and manipulations of space as they have enabled Leander's. Or (going one step further) we might interpret Leander's performance as a disabled former slave as similar to Monsieur's "*awkwerd*" dance: a suggestion that white Europeans can gain the worldly knowledge they seek—and the understanding of the shifting spaces of stage, city, globe that this worldly knowledge implies—only by impersonating and appropriating the movements of the people they have enslaved.

Mungo There

As its etymology implies, the name Mungo traveled. In the "urban culture of the 1770s and 1780s," writes Kathleen Wilson, "blackface Mungos studded English masquerades, parties, and assemblies."[102] By 1772 the name had attached itself (in a satirical print) to the real-life dancing-master Julius Soubise, kidnapped from St. Kitts as a child to serve as a "prestige slave" to the Duchess of Queensberry, who manumitted him but continued to live with him when he reached maturity. If the Black Londoner did not initiate his association with Bickerstaffe's and Dibdin's Stage African, he did little to discourage the comparison. Like the enslaved dancing-master he resembled and the capering Mungo whose persona he would later assume, Soubise was known as a skilled performer: he excelled in the arts of fencing, equestrianism, and ballet; he befriended David Garrick and Ignatius Sancho; and according to some accounts, he enjoyed a brief stint as an actor, casting himself as Othello and as Mungo in one-man shows he performed on the streets of London for tossed coins.[103] As news of his skills spread even in his early days, the same aristocrats who had once regarded him as a decorative object in the Duchess's entourage began coming to him for lessons on how to move and perform with a cosmopolitan air. While still in his teens, Soubise took a job at the London school of Domenico Angelo, teaching riding and

fencing to aristocrats and social climbers alike. He became, in other words, a real-life dancing-master; and the eagerness of his pupils suggested at once his skill and the extent to which propertied Londoners had come to depend on their Afro-diasporic—and formerly enslaved—neighbors to teach them how to comport themselves as cosmopolitans.

The worldly knowledge that Soubise promised his status-hungry students registers in the archive only as white anxiety. In a second caricature linking his elegant comportment to Mungo's frenetic movements, this one from 1773, "The Eccentric Duchess of Queensberry" and "her protégé the Creole Soubise (otherwise 'Mungo')" lunge at each other with foils drawn (Figure 13).[104] Flowing from Soubise's mouth into the center of the image are the words of Mungo's famous refrain: "Mungo here, Mungo dere, Mungo every where; Above and below. Hah! Vat your gracy tink of me now?" The quoted lines compare Soubise's graceful movements to his social mobility, yoking Mungo's "here, dere and every where" to the caricature's defiant "vat your gracy tink of me now?" with the implication that he occupies spaces both "Above and below" the stairs that divided servants from their masters in many London homes. The Town swells who attended Angelo's school to master the dances and movements that would allow them to imitate the spatial practices of their social betters and ascend London's social ladder should begin, the caricature implies (paradoxically, anxiously), by imitating the spatial practices of a formerly enslaved man.

Such implications—and their attendant anxieties—intensify when we consider the resemblance that Nussbaum has noted between the caricature's lunging couple and the figures used to demonstrate proper fencing form in Angelo's instruction manual, published in 1763 and pictured in parodic form next to the tricorne hat at Soubise's feet (Figure 14).[105] It is possible to read this resemblance as implying Soubise's failed attempts at racial mimicry, the laughing insinuation that a black man like Soubise can never shape himself into the precise forms stipulated by Angelo's manual and perfected by London's sophisticates. But couched within this insinuation is the anxious acknowledgment that visitors to Angelo's school imitate the movements of a formerly enslaved man just as readers of his manual imitate the poses of the figures within its pages. The Duchess of Queensberry seems already to have fallen under such an influence: in the caricature she wears a fencing mask covered in dark netting that mimics both the black mask of Harlequin (shape-shifting servant) and the color of Soubise's skin. The caricature poses in its figures' form the same question posed by the enslaved dancing-masters of Wycherley's comedy and of Bickerstaffe's opera: are white Londoners

Figure 13. William Austin, *The D———of [. . .]—Playing at Foils with Her Favorite Lap Dog Mungo* (London, 1773). Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

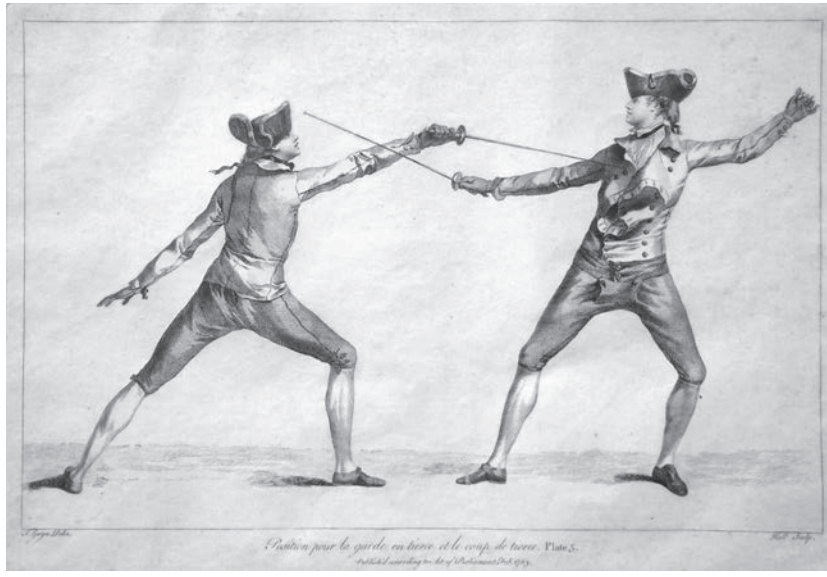


Figure 14. Illustration from Domenico Angelo, *The School of Fencing* (London, 1763). Alamy stock image.

the true cosmopolitans, or have they simply appropriated that cosmopolitanism by copying the movements of those whose membership in the polity they continually deny? And how long can they continue to claim such worldliness—and to deny such citizenship—before those whose skills they have appropriated respond with the violence implied by the foil in Soubise's hand, piercing the Duchess's heart?

A few years after this print appeared, Soubise left London to escape a rape accusation by one of the Duchess's maids. As Cohen notes in her extensive examination of Soubise's life and representations, the accusation is "impossible to confirm or deny"—rapes of lower-class women were (are) all too common (see chapter 2), though it is also true that the sexuality of Black men was (is) overly surveilled and policed.[106] But as further proof, perhaps, of the worldly adaptability of his spatial practices, Soubise landed in Calcutta, where he quickly insinuated himself into elite circles much as he had in London. Meanwhile the comic opera that spawned the name—along with the traces of the Restoration London comedy that had inspired it—journeyed across the sea.

Mungo Everywhere

The first American performance of *The Padlock* took place in May 1769; the part of Mungo was played by Lewis Hallam Jr. a white actor fresh from his stint as the manager of an English-style theater in Kingston, Jamaica.[107] The show was no less a smash in New York than it had been in London, and it soon opened in cities up and down the Atlantic seaboard. Dale Cockrell lists it among the ten "most performed [scripted] blackface productions in America" prior to 1843, with sixty-six documented performances.[108] The play was still a regular part of the American repertoire in early October 1830, when a moderately successful actor, Thomas Dartmouth Rice, smeared his white face with burnt cork to portray Mungo before audiences in Louisville, Kentucky. A review signed "Lope Tochio" and published in the *Louisville Public Advertiser* notes that Rice "entered singing a *Kentucky corn song*"—an embellishment that the reviewer dismisses as a vulgar effort to appeal to "localities."[109] No more information is provided about the specific song that Rice added to Dibdin's score, but there is some evidence that it may have offered more than local flavor. Less than two weeks earlier, on 22 September 1830, Rice had appeared on the same stage in another blackface role that would shortly make him one of the most famous actors in America.[110] This performance, too, was marked by a "*Kentucky corn song*"—possibly the same song with

which Rice would later punctuate his performance as Mungo. "Come listen all you galls and boys, I'm just from Tucky hoe," the song begins (according to a song sheet published in New York in 1833):

> I'm goin' to sing a leetle song,
> My name's Jim Crow.
> Weel about, and turn about,
> And do jis so;
> Ev'ry time I weel about,
> I jump Jim Crow.[111]

Rice's now infamous character of Jim Crow would help to establish a minstrelsy tradition intent (as Saidiya Hartman argues) on imagining black Americans as immobile, insisting that they remained on the plantations where they were enslaved because they were ill-suited to city life and not because their enslavers had constructed elaborate legal, geographical, and physically violent barriers to their escape.[112] The first line of Rice's song ("I'm just from [Ken]Tucky hoe") seems to reinforce this immobility, offering an appeal to "localities" that also fixes the character in space. Yet couched within the song's image of the enslaved man as helplessly and unchangingly "local" is the old anxiety of black uncontainability and cosmopolitanism, the image of an enslaved man "weel[ing] about, and turn[ing] about" in defiant assertion of the "rival geographies" that allow him to unmap the borders of the plantation even if he cannot escape them.

In later years Rice would tell a story of the origins of the song (and the "weel[ing]," jerking dance that accompanied it) that would quickly become part of the character's mythos: "on some occasion during 1828–1831," summarizes Cockrell, "he observed an old black stablehand (sometimes said to have been crippled), who sang a funny kind of song and danced a peculiar hopping, unjointed dance" that Rice's performance would imitate.[113] As Kellen Hoxworth points out, the story is almost certainly apocryphal, an attempt by Rice to claim the authenticity of his production.[114] If untrue, however, the story is strikingly familiar: a white man imitates the movements of one "bought . . . for a slave" and plagued by a limp; and despite the memory of the "bastinado" that marks his steps he dances and sings his way into spaces barred to him before. Rice's story—and Jim Crow's song—might seem to chain him to the local "Tucky" stage where he performs and the local enslaved man whose movements he claims to imitate, in other words. But in fact these imitations as well as the stories he tells about them reinforce his

resemblance to Bickerstaffe's Leander, who had a similar story about how he came by the halting movements through which he won a way into Don Diego's home. They reinforce, too, his resemblance to Mungo—whose own "here" and "dere" are echoed in Rice's "weel about and turn about"—and also, perhaps, to the enslaved child who had first stepped across the Dorset Garden stage more than a century and a half before.

In noting these resemblances, I do not mean to collapse the considerable distance between Restoration London and nineteenth-century Louisville, or to elide the important distinctions between the use of "blackup" or blackspeak by white English actors in eighteenth-century plays and harlequinades and the genre of blackface minstrelsy, a tradition with recognizable formal properties and thematic concerns that developed in the United States in the years leading up to and following the American Civil War.[115] As Jacky Bratton and Tracy Davis have both argued, audiences understood the meanings of the tradition quite differently depending on which side of the Atlantic they inhabited, and the very different histories of slavery and its literatures in Britain and the United States (not to mention the other former colonies throughout the Americas) demand careful study.[116] Yet in conducting such study, it is crucial that we do not overlook the performances of race and cosmopolitanism that predate the scientific racism of the Enlightenment and that we do not use national borders to circumscribe our investigations. Acknowledging the genealogies that link Jim Crow's "weeling" dance and the enslaved dancing-master's cosmopolitanism may help to explain why blackface minstrelsy found its most enthusiastic audiences not in the rural South but rather in cities in the North and (like Louisville) along the frontier. In the five decades that separated the American Revolution and Rice's performance, as the United States shuddered into being and hurtled ever westward, these cities were changing and growing nearly as rapidly as had London in the five decades that separated the Great Fire's burning of St. Paul's Cathedral from Mr. Spectator's tour of the Royal Exchange. It may have been no more the lure of the exotic than the glint of recognition that London audiences were applauding in 1836, then, when Rice crossed the ocean to perform his Jim Crow dance on the English stage. Like his "Tucky" performances, his London debut, too, included a dose of local flavor—but in the apparently "new" verses he added to his old song in honor of the occasion, it is possible to hear echoes of much older performance traditions and performance sites: "Den run along and shove along, / And do jis so," Rice sings in one verse composed expressly for his circum-Atlantic neighbors. "Or dey will roll you in de gutter / At de Lord Mayor's show."[117]

In the opening pages of this book, I explained its title as naming at once the movable property that transformed London's economy in the late seventeenth century, the movable scenery that transformed its stages at around the same time, and the moving walkers whose agile performances shaped and reshaped its spaces after the failure of the voyeurs' plans. The journey of an enslaved character from the London streets (where he rode a panther) to Wycherley's stage (where he danced a saraband) to Bickerstaffe's Salamanca (where he dragged his hamper) to the Louisville theater (where he sang a Kentucky corn song) and back again to the London "gutter," however, suggests another meaning. For as Londoners surged into the furthest reaches of the British Empire—taking their remembered homes and their urban plans with them as they did—the metropole itself began to seem movable. Wide plazas (like that conceived by Inigo Jones at Covent Garden) teetered on the swamplands of Charleston, South Carolina; gridded streets (like those that organized Wren's unrealized plans of the post-Fire City) clutched the hurricane-battered shores of Kingston, Jamaica; and proscenium stages arose in Calcutta, St. Helena, and Sydney as Londoners attempted to transform the cultures of colonial subjects who ended up transforming them.[118] As the varied terrains and determined people they encountered in these new lands upended their plans, these mislaid Londoners turned once again to the improvised spatial practices of the unpropertied—a population which now expanded to include the colonial subjects they were attempting to displace. As a result these spatial practices left their mark on cities all across the world, much as they had on London, where a city's modernity depends not only on its planning but on its capacity to change and grow and *move*.

Epilogue
London Moving

> London, as a city only, and as its walls and liberties line it out, might, indeed, be viewed in a small compass; but, when I speak of London, now in the modern acceptation, you expect I shall take in all that vast mass of buildings, reaching from Black-Wall in the east, to Tot-Hill Fields in the west; and extended in an unequal breadth, from the bridge, or river, in the south, to Islington north . . . and how much further it may spread, who knows? New squares, and new streets rising up every day to such a prodigy of buildings, that nothing in the world does, or ever did, equal it, except old Rome in Trajan's time.
>
> —Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1725)[1]

> The British must have built every place they settled according to the same city plans as London. How else would I know that walking down each main street I would come to a roundabout, that streets would angle and twist into an inner square, that the width of streets would summon in me a particular stride, that Charing Cross Road would be right where it was?
>
> —Dionne Brand, *A Map to the Door of No Return* (2011)[2]

In 1725, three years after he had imagined the plague-ravaged London of 1666–1665 in his novel *A Journal of the Plague Year*, Daniel Defoe gazed upon the "prodigy of buildings" that had grown in its place and wondered "how much further it may spread." His comparison of London "in the modern acceptation" to "old Rome" at the height of empire is a pointed one. By the 1720s, the English metropole was beginning to crack its "small compass" and stretch beyond "Black-Wall" and "Tot-Hill Fields" to lands far across the seas: to Kingston and Philadelphia, to Dublin and Bridgetown and Toronto.

The scenic technologies that William Davenant had moved from court theater to public playhouse in 1661 were beginning to break their bounds as well. Dorset Garden Theater officially closed its doors in 1709; according to

Ned Ward, it had housed none but "Rats and Mice" for some years previous.[3] Deborah Payne reads the theater's closure as symbolic of the financial difficulties that had plagued all the Restoration London theaters and that led, ultimately, to a "retreat" from the grand spectacle they had once promised the London public.[4] Instead, as Payne suggests—and as the last chapter's discussion of the Lord Mayor's Day Pageant confirms—the spectacle that had once drawn spectators to the public playhouse began to appear in pleasure gardens and panoramas, exhibitions and attractions, transforming not only the theaters but the workaday world with an ever-changing panoply that Richard D. Altick names collectively the shows of London.

Yet the theaters themselves could still, on occasion, command a crowd. One such occasion was 29 January 1728, when Lincoln's Inn Fields debuted a London comedy that made full use (as William Hogarth's famous depiction, Figure 15, indicates) of the scenic stage. John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* would run for an unprecedented sixty-two consecutive performances, launching the career of Lavinia Fenton (as Polly) and a bevy of spinoffs, imitations, and themed merchandise. Gay's title signals its chief conceit: in 1728 *opera* suggested not only virtuosic vocals but also scenic spectacle, a primary feature of the Italian examples of this theatrical form that first introduced movable scenery to England. A "Beggar's Opera," however, is one that replaces the elaborate operatic songs with everyday ballads—and that deploys the tricks and trappings of the scenic stage to suggest the cramped cells of Newgate rather than the palaces of princes and to trade the distant lands of the Orient for the familiar slums of St. Giles. In choosing this setting, Gay signals that he understood what Samuel Pepys and John Dryden and all of those who chose *Sir Martin Mar-All* for the opening of the Dorset Garden stage already knew: that movable scenery was no less transporting when it made a spectacle of the everyday.[5] While William Empson influentially described Gay's play as a parody of a pastoral tradition that imagines aristocrats as milkmaids and swains, then, we might instead see it as proof of an urban tradition that, by the 1720s, had become nearly as recognizable as the pastoral: the London comedy in which powerful men learn to survive a shifting cityscape by imitating the spatial practices of their landless neighbors.[6] Gay's satiric twist on this tradition—a move designed to insult rather than to instruct—was to draw his heroes not from the unpropertied populations of quick-thinking servants, crafty women, or enterprising immigrants that had shaped the spaces of Dryden's, Behn's, or Farquhar's stages but from the underworld gang of bawds, beggars, and thieves led by the dashing highwayman, Macheath.

Macheath's name and those of the thieves he commands signal the

Figure 15. William Blake, *The Beggar's Opera Act III* (London, 1790), after William Hogarth, *A Scene from the Beggar's Opera* (London, 1728). Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington.

characters' debt to the servants, women, religious minorities, and migrants whose familiarity with liminal spaces and repertoire of improvisatory movements had long commanded the London stage. Robin of Bagshot, Harry Padington, and Matt of the Mint bear names that connect them to the city's liminal liberties; Jemmy Twitcher, Ben Budge, and Jenny Diver share their names with furtive movements. (To twitch is to pick a pocket but also to move suddenly and seemingly without control; to budge is to steal clothes and to move something by small degrees; to dive is to steal by plunging one's hands in another's pocket or purse.) Macheath's name connects him to the heathlands around London, notorious for the crimes often perpetrated there, as well as to Irish Londoners. (*Mac* was a common Gaelic surname prefix.) After the vicissitudes brought on by civil war, by economic transformation, by invasion and plague and fire, the spatial practices of diverting and "div-

ing," twisting and turning and "twitching" one's way through labyrinthine streets, had become a "Stratagem" (as another character describes Macheath's machinations) indispensable to impoverished and empowered alike.[7] Or as Gay's Beggar puts it with a wink and a nod to the earlier comedies in the opera's penultimate scene, "[I]t is difficult to determine whether . . . the fine Gentlemen imitate the Gentlemen of the Road, or the Gentlemen of the Road the fine Gentlemen" (*Beggar's Opera*, III.xvi.57).

Even Gay's heroine Polly—the closest thing the play offers to a virtuous character—betrays an association with and dependence on movement. Early in the play, Polly admits to her parents (the thief-taker Peachum and his wife) that she has married Macheath. Forestalling their objections that such a move will dampen his desire (and thus his vulnerability to manipulation), Polly explains her decision in a song that recalls the imagery of women as real estate that Aphra Behn's discovery scenes so cleverly dismantled half a century before. "*Virgins are like the fair Flower in its Lustre*," Polly begins:

> *Which in the Garden enamels the Ground; . . .*
> *But, when once pluck'd, 'tis no longer alluring,*
> *To* Covent-Garden *'tis sent (as yet sweet,)*
> *There fades, and shrinks, and grows past all enduring,*
> *Rots, stinks, and dies, and is trod under feet.*
>
> (*Beggar's Opera*, I.vii.8)

As a "*fair Flower*" a woman is part of the landscape she inhabits, the "*Garden*" whose ground she "*enamels*." But the growth of a capitalist economy demands that she be "*pluck'd*" and sold at "Covent-Garden," a geography that links her at once to the market (Covent Garden was the site of London's flower trade), to the theaters standing cheek by jowl with brothels throughout the neighborhood, and to the history of London comedies with this precise setting. The song also links Polly to the city she inhabits—a link confirmed in the song that follows immediately after this one and that revises the lyrics of "Oh London is a fine town" to "*Our* Polly *is a sad Slut*" (*Beggar's Opera*, I.viii.9). As she makes her way from country garden to Covent Garden, Polly signals the shifting economies and shifting geographies of a city and of a nation in which movable property had begun to replace real property as the locus of power and wealth.

In the years after her debut, Polly was to move much further still; and in her movements Gay suggests the "spread" of the city she represents. In December 1728, performers at Lincoln's Inn Fields were busy rehearsing a sequel to *The Beggar's Opera* when the Lord Chamberlain intervened, for-

bidding the production ostensibly out of fear that, like its predecessor, it had Prime Minister Robert Walpole in its satiric sights. *Polly* was never performed during Gay's lifetime, but the authorities could not prevent the sale of printed copies by subscription, which earned Gay a tidy profit in 1729.[8] Though its production was canceled, however, the play's plot—which transposes Gay's underworld characters to an unspecified British colony "*in the* West-Indies"—is instructive.[9] In tracing his characters' movements from the heart of London to the colonial Caribbean, Gay follows the tentacles of empire and suggests how voyeurs of that empire continued to appropriate the spatial practices of its impoverished, enslaved, and unpropertied walkers in the new Londons popping up across the globe. As he does, he points toward the long legacy of the imagined Londons that the scenic stage brought to life and of the spatial practices that continue to shape the cities across the globe built, as Defoe predicts and as Dionne Brand confirms, in the metropole's image.

Polly opens with its eponymous heroine in servants' garb, a disguise that has facilitated her pursuit of Macheath to the colony, where he has been transported for his crimes. Unaware of Polly's presence, Macheath takes up with another lover (Jenny Diver) and takes on the persona—and the burnt-cork mask—of a black pirate captain, calling himself Morano. In her quest to defeat the pirate whom she does not recognize as her husband, Polly joins forces with an "Indian" prince, Cawwawkee, who offers the play's only example of a character uncorrupted by capitalist desires and thus, as several scholars have noted, repeats the noble savage trope already endemic on the London stage by Gay's time.[10] In its allusions to the African peoples that the English had transported to the West Indies as enslaved laborers and to the Indigenous peoples that the English had displaced and murdered to build their own plantations, *Polly* joins other London plays that use colonial populations as tropicopolitan set pieces contributing to the exoticism of the circum-Atlantic world.[11]

In the first scene after the play's introduction, however, Gay suggests the extent to which we should read *Polly* as a play about a movable London. "Though you were born and bred and live in the *Indies*, as you are a subject of *Britain* you should live up to our customs," advises the bawd Trapes to the plantation owner Mr. Ducat (his name an indication of how landed interests and moneyed interests have become aligned in the colonies) (*Polly*, I.i.1). Trapes punctuates this advice with a song that concludes by reiterating the relevance of London to life in the colonial Caribbean: "*The more in debt, run in debt the more*," she sings, "*Careless who is undone: / Morals and*

honesty leave to the poor, / As they do at London" (*Polly*, I.i.2). In an increasingly global economy and a ballooning empire, Trapes reminds us, London's customs and geographies have "spread," as Defoe anticipated. "There's not one of these common creatures," remarks Trapes's servant, referring to Polly, "but like common beggars, hath a moving story at her finger's ends" (*Polly*, I.xiv.22). Polly's story is a moving one not only in its potential to move its hearers but also as one that, like the plays in which it features and like the city that it references, has moved with her from the streets of London to the very edges of empire.

This mobility connects Polly both to "common beggars" and to the actors who similarly offer "moving stories" of doubtful sincerity. Like the players to whom the servant implicitly compares her, Polly, too, will deploy the tools of the theater to facilitate her navigation of this displaced London, donning a disguise to escape the Ducats' household.[12] That she chooses the clothes and persona of a (male) servant should remind us of Warner, Hellena, and Archer—those propertied characters who pose as lower than they are to navigate a world of shifting values. The tactic links her, as well, to Macheath/Morano, who admits to Jenny that he has "disguised myself as a black, to skreen myself from women who laid claim to me where-ever I went" (*Polly*, II.iii.32) and to Jenny herself, also in blackface and whom Macheath/Morano calls a "gipsy" (*Polly*, II.iii.31).[13] A woman turned servant, a white man in blackface turned pirate, and a sex-worker in the guise of a "gipsy": these are the characters who have absconded from the London of *The Beggar's Opera* to travel through the West Indies. Much "*as they do in* London" they have adapted to the turbulent life of a "spread[ing]" metropolis and a growing empire by taking on the personae of its unpropertied walkers: servants, racialized Others (both Roma and Afro-diasporic people), commoners whose only assets are their spatial tactics and "moving stor[ies]."

Gay does not specify which West Indian colony he imagines as the setting for *Polly*. But contextual clues suggest Jamaica—and the twinned ports of Kingston and Port Royal—as the most likely locale. As Calhoun Winton notes, Macheath's alias of Morano derives from *Maroon*, the name that European colonizers gave to the communities of formerly enslaved people and their descendants who resisted enslavers' attempts to capture them by learning to survive in the mountains and forests of various West Indian colonies.[14] Maroon communities lived throughout the British West Indies, but Jamaican Maroons were gaining a new notoriety in London newspapers in the years that Gay was writing. Mavis C. Campbell refers to the 1720s and the 1730s as "the period of the greatest danger to the planting class" as Maroons resisted

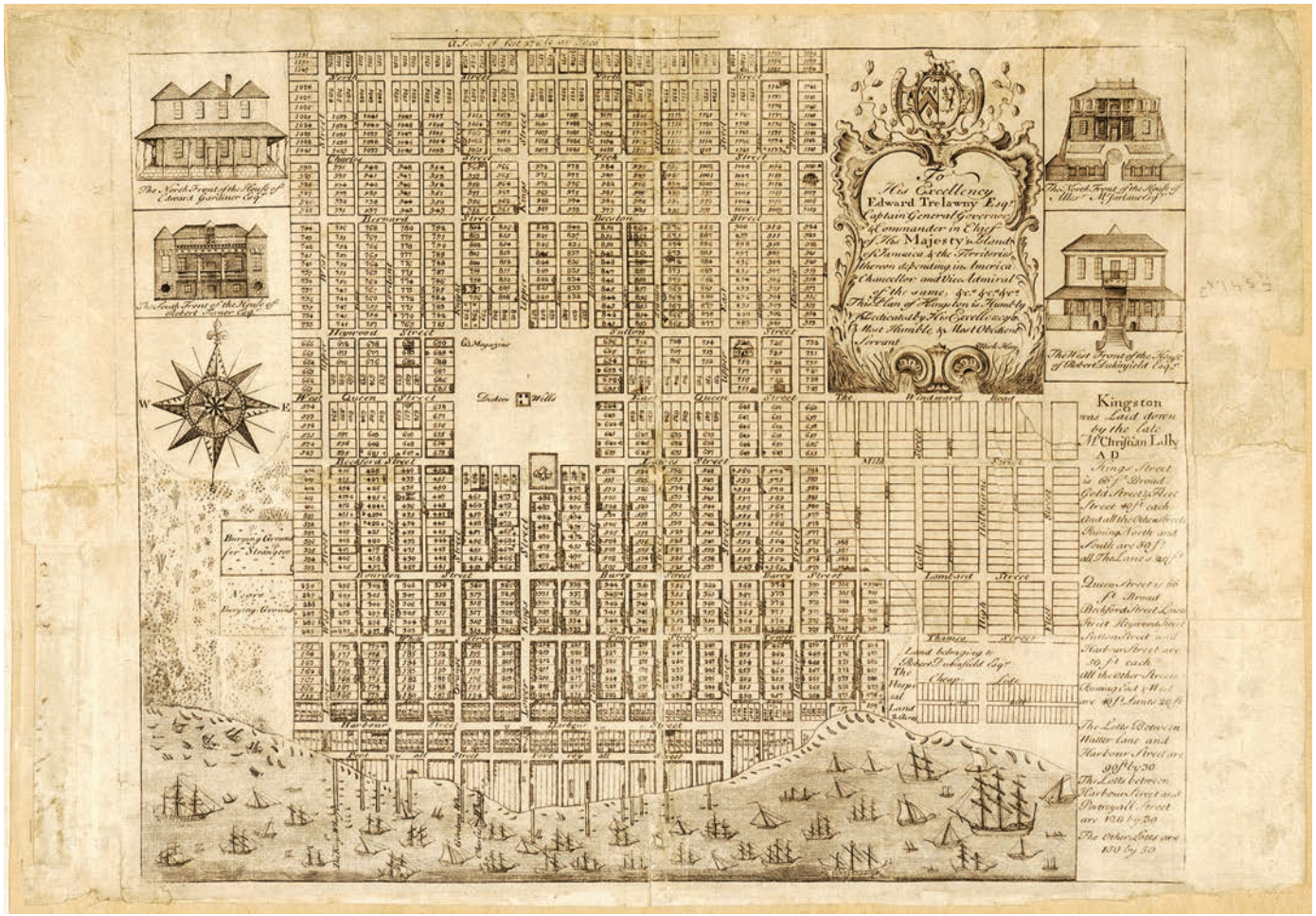
plantation owners' attempts to displace and enslave them by launching a series of attacks on the British settlements.[15] Like Gay's Macheath/Morano, the Maroons—whose ranks were rumored to have included not only formerly enslaved people who had escaped or been manumitted by their enslavers but also the Taínos with whom the formerly enslaved had intermarried—used their mobility to their advantage. Their superior geographical knowledge of the island allowed them to ambush unsuspecting British soldiers on the encroaching settlements and then to retreat into the steep wooded slopes of mountains that the settlers could not navigate. The British attempted to fight back by enlisting Miskito mercenaries as scouts—a historical fact to which Gay's imagined alliance between Ducat and Pohetohee, the father of Cawwawkee, may allude.[16] But the Maroons' guerilla tactics were effective enough that, in 1738, Britain capitulated to their demands; in exchange for the Maroons' aid in returning the formerly enslaved people who lived among them, the British signed a treaty that officially ceded territory to the Maroons, who had long inhabited it. It seems more than mere coincidence that a decade before this treaty, as Jamaica's "First Maroon War" was beginning to dominate London newspapers and London imaginations, Gay should write a play in which a white British man chooses the name and the mask of a Maroon to "skreen [him]self" from those pursuing him.

Understanding Jamaica as the imagined setting for *Polly* heightens the resonance between *The Beggar's Opera* and its sequel and, at the same time, situates *Polly* as a fitting epilogue to the London comedies that this book has elucidated. For if Gay was looking to satirize Britons' penchant for building and behaving in the colonies exactly "*as they do at* London," Kingston offered a particularly eloquent example. In 1692, an earthquake had leveled the Jamaican capital of Port Royal, built precariously on a spit of sand hugging what is now Kingston Harbor. Many refugees moved across the harbor to the mainland, founding Kingston, though others attempted to rebuild in Port Royal—until a fire destroyed the half-reconstructed city on 9 January 1703. The English colonists' memories of another thriving capital reduced to ash only to rise again convinced some to advocate rebuilding a second time, but in the end colonial authorities elected to move the Jamaican capital to Spanish Town and to divert Port Royal's commercial traffic to Kingston. The new city, they proposed, would be built on a grid plan designed by John Goffe, which arranged streets at right angles around a central square (Figure 16)—a plan that bore a striking resemblance, as Louis P. Nelson has noted, to Inigo Jones's design for Covent Garden, as well as to Wren's and others' proposals for the rebuilding of London forty years before.[17]

The design of Kingston underscores what Brand points out, what *Polly* satirizes, and what a comparison of similar city plans across the British Empire reveal: that the London built in the ashes of the Great Fire shaped urban life not only around the metropole but across the globe. What colonial authorities had not predicted was the persistence of London's legacy in colonial cities' unplanned spaces, as well—and thus the persistent relevance of the knowledge of the impoverished, the enslaved, the outcast and unpropertied and unhoused people who arrived and survived within these spaces through improvisation, innovation, and performance. For while Goffe's plan was realized in Kingston as Wren's never was in London, it had become clear by Gay's day that even the most regular urban plan could not deter enslaved people determined to break from the plantation-prisons that held them, nor could it thwart the Maroon warriors deploying guerilla tactics against the armies who had attempted to contain them. And so in imagining how his roving hero Macheath might navigate his freedom not only in the London rebuilt on the Great Fire's ashes but in the London reconstituted at the edge of Kingston Harbor, Gay gives him the disguise and spatial practices of a Maroon and invites a London audience to follow him around a distant island and (had the opera been performed as planned) in and out of a moving set.

Peter P. Reed points to Macheath's/Morano's and Polly's chosen personae to argue that, "*Polly* acts out the convergence of class resistance and emerging racial emancipation, imagining what David Armitage would later identify as the Red and Black Atlantics—the mobile worlds defined by the experiences of lower-class and darker-skinned populations"; and scholarly debates about the play have often focused on whether it obscures or subversively celebrates the non-white and unpropertied populations to which it alludes.[18] It is perhaps an exaggeration to say that the "mobile worlds" presented in Gay's opera contain anything resembling the spatial practices of the mobile populations he purports to depict; as Kristen Hanley Cardozo notes, the play "blocks out not just Black voices but Black bodies, creating a racial formation in which Blackness exists as a signifier but Black *people* do not."[19] Gay precludes even the possibility of a Maroon hero in the last scene of the play when Macheath/Morano, still caked in greasepaint, meets the ignominious death he narrowly avoided in *The Beggar's Opera*. The mere hint of Black geographical knowledge is incendiary enough, to the colonial imagination of the 1720s, that it must be extinguished by the spectacle of Black death.[20]

Gay's *Polly* can no more preserve or reveal the spatial practices or improvised lives of Jamaica's Maroons or of enslaved or Indigenous popula-


To
His Excellency
Edward Trelawny Esqr
Captain General Governor
& Commander in Chief
of His Majesty's Islands
of Jamaica & the Territories
thereon depending in America
Chancellor and Vice Admiral
of the same &c &c &c
This Plan of Kingston is Humbly
Dedicated by Her Excellency's
Most Humble & Most Obedient
Servant
Mark Kerr
The North Front of the House of
Edward Gardiner Esqr
The South Front of the House of
Robert Turner Esqr
The East Front of the House of
Alexr Aspinall Esqr
The West Front of the House of
Robert Dukinfield Esqr
Kingston
was Laid down
by the late
Mr Christian Lilly
A D
Kings Street
is 66 f. Broad
Gold Street & Hanover
Street 40 f. each
And all the Other Streets
Running North and
South are 30 f.
All The Lanes 20 f.
Queen Street is 66
f. Broad
Beckford Street Love
Street Hanover Street
Sutton Street and
Harbour Street are
50 f. each
All the Other Streets
Running East & West
are 40 f. Lanes 20 f.
The Lotts between
Water Lane and
Harbour Street are
90 f. by 30
The Lotts between
Harbour Street and
Portsmouth Street
are 120 by 30
The Other Lotts are
150 by 30
Burying Ground
for Strangers
Burying Ground
Land belonging to
Robert Dukinfield Esqr
The
Harbour
Lane
Lane
Lane

tions than any of the plays this book discusses—plays written by professional (if precarious) playwrights and staged for a (usually) paying audience—can trace the actual movements of the unpropertied Londoners who inhabited the streets just beyond the theater doors. What *Polly* and its predecessors can do, however, is to suggest that British cities and empires depended not only on the land and labors but also on the spatial practices they extracted from the unpropertied. And they can suggest, as well, how much cities like London owe to these unpropertied people who improvised new pathways through them, modeling for landed classes disoriented by war, fire, and economic change innovative tactics for survival.

Today, impoverished and precarious communities continue to innovate new ways to survive the great fires—as well as wars and economic changes—that "great men" continue to inflict on their cities, even if now such fires are attributable more to climate change and environmental extraction than to poorly extinguished ovens or thatched roofs. In light of such innovations, recent scholars have advocated a turn toward the cities and spaces beyond the metropole: AbdouMaliq Simone honors the "improvised lives" lived in the cities of the contemporary Global South, for instance; while Paul Gilroy as well as Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker follow these lives as they move across oceans; and Kathleen Wilson shifts her focus from the London stage to the theaters of Kingston and other minority-white colonies, where the "strolling players of empire" tried (and often failed) to impose British customs on indigenous populations.[21] This is crucial work. But one of the goals of *Movable Londons* has been to show that there is still more to say about the history of a metropole where religious minorities and women as well as laborers in transit, in service, or in shackles shaped an ever-changing urban scene. Modern cities, like modern stages, are made not of plans but of actions—and made by those who understand the way they move.

Figure 16. Michael Hay, *Plan of Kingston, Jamaica* (Kingston, 1745). Courtesy of Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

Notes

Introduction

1. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray (Akron, OH: St. Dunstan Society, 1901), vol. 2, 21.

2. Tom Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical: And Other Works*, ed. Arthur L. Howard (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1927), 20–21.

3. "A Description of the Play-House in Dorset Garden" (Sold by the Raven in Pater-Noster Row, 1706), https://digital.nls.uk/english-ballads/archive/74897074?mode=transcription, n.p.

4. T.F. Reddaway, *The Rebuilding of London After the Great Fire* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), 53.

5. Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: Verso, 1979); J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). See also Susan Staves, *Players' Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979); John Brewer and Susan Staves, *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. John Brewer and Susan Staves (London: Routledge, 1995); and Susan Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

6. Joseph Addison, *Spectator* 69 (19 May 1711), in *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), vol. 1, 114.

7. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1961), 389.

8. The exact percentage of the London population who succumbed to plague in 1665–1666 is difficult to determine, as Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward note in *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 312–13; they estimate the number to be about "56,000 or more than 12% of London's population" but note that the deaths are "likely under-recorded" (313).

9. *The Londoners Lamentation* (London: Printed for J. Clark, 1666), n.p.

10. Blackstone introduces the category of "things personal" in chapter 24 of his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. 2, *Of the Rights of Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979). Introducing the University of Chicago Press edition, A.W. Brian Simpson notes that this "branch of the law . . . was, in Blackstone's time, relatively less developed than that of real property" since common law had until that period been more concerned with "the aristocratic classes, and [pertaining to] their world, as contrasted with the urban world of the mercantile classes," in which "movable, tangible property" was a driving force. A. W. Brian Simpson, "Introduction," in *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, by William Blackstone, vol. 2, *Of the Rights of Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), xii.

11. The role of these economic developments in displacing peasants from the English countryside—and in leading to the colonial violence that displaced non-English peoples across the globe—was perhaps most influentially theorized in Karl Marx's *Capital*, particularly volume 1. Scholars who have extended Marx's ideas to particular historical places or populations include Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020); Paul Slack, *The English Poor Law 1531–1782* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2013); Sylvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*, 2nd ed. (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 2014); Tim Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004); Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Maureen McClane, *Balladeering, Minstrelsy, and the Making of British Romantic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

12. Cynthia Wall, *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

13. Evelyn, *Diary*, vol. 2, 21.

14. John Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders, 1666. An Historical Poem*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker, H.T. Swedenborg Jr., and Vinton Dearing, vol. 1, *Poems, 1649–1680* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), 103.

15. Edward Rooker, *A Plan for Rebuilding the City of London, After the Great Fire of 1666* (London: Publish'd & Sold by the Proprietors at Palladio's Head in Long Acre, 1749), Maps K.Top.20.20, British Library.

16. For estimates of London's population and its class divisions at this time, see Peter Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London 1650–1750* (London: Methuen, 1994).

17. *OED Online*, s.v. "movable (*adj.*)," 1a, accessed 2 January 2025, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/6614656276.

18. *OED Online*, s.v. "movable (*adj.*)," 2a, 2b, 3, accessed 2 January 2025, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/6614656276.

19. Charlotte Sussman, *Peopling the World: Representing Human Mobility from Milton to Malthus* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 7–8.

20. "Chattels personal are, properly and strictly speaking, things *moveable*, which may be annexed to or attendant on the person of the owners, and carried about with him from one part of the world to another. Such are animals, household-stuff, money, jewels, corn, garments, and everything else that can properly be put in motion, and transferred from place to place" (Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. 2, 387).

21. *London Gazette*, 3–10 September 1666, n.p., *Early English Books Online*, https://www.proquest.com/docview/2248516842/375A432426944F21PQ/1?accountid=14496&sourcetype=Historical%20Periodicals; my emphasis.

22. Francois Brunet, *Voyage d'Angleterre, 1676*, quoted in Richard Leacroft, *The Development of the English Playhouse* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973), 87.

23. For detailed discussions of Dorset Garden's scenic technologies, see William Van Lennep et al., "Introduction," in *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, vol. 1, ed. William Van Lennep et al. (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1960), xxxi–xlix; Leacroft, *English Playhouse*, 85–88; and Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 9–10.

24. Deborah C. Payne, *The Business of Restoration Theatre, 1660–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024).

25. Odai Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution: Radical Performance, Radical Politics in the English Restoration* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 22.

26. David Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 86. See also Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage, 1977, 1995).

27. Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History*, with Greg Castillo (Boston: Little, Brown, 1992), 246.

28. Reddaway, *Rebuilding of London*, 26.

29. Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1660–1720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). See also Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680–1780* (New York: Guilford, 1998).

30. Wall, *Literary and Cultural Spaces*, 4.

31. Lee Morrissey, *From the Temple to the Castle: An Architectural History of British Literature, 1660–1760* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 5–6. See also Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, 30; Paul Slack, "Perceptions of the Metropolis in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed. Peter Burke, Brian Harrison, and Paul Slack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 161–80; and Peter Clark, "The Multi-Centred Metropolis: The Social and Cultural Landscapes of London, 1600–1840," in *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500–1840*, ed. Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 239–63.

32. E.A. Wrigley, "A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650–1750," in *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, ed. Philip Abrams and E.A. Wrigley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 215–44. Peter Borsay notes that this growth was not limited to London alone during a period he famously terms "the English urban renaissance."

Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). See also Phil Withington, "Urbanisation," in *A Social History of England, 1500–1750*, ed. Keith Wrightson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 174–98.

33. Dionne Brand, *A Map to the Door of No Return: Notes to Belonging* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2011), 77.

34. Wall, *Literary and Cultural Spaces*, ix.

35. Wall, *Literary and Cultural Spaces*, xiii, 218. Other works that study the city from the perspective of printed texts alone include Max Byrd's *London Transformed: Images of the City in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978); and the essays in Clare Brant and Susan E. Whyman, eds., *Walking the Streets of Eighteenth-Century London: John Gay's "Trivia" (1716)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Catharina Löffler, *Walking in the City: Urban Experience and Literary Psychogeography in Eighteenth-Century London* (Wiesbaden: J.B. Metzler, Springer, 2017). Adam Sills discusses Aphra Behn's plays but focuses on how she "translates the order and operations of the scenic stage . . . into prose form" in *Against the Map: The Politics of Geography in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2021), 63.

36. See, most famously, Ian P. Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*, 2nd US ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); as well as Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002) and *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Tita Chico, *Designing Women: The Dressing Room in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Culture* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2005); and Danielle Bobker, *The Closet: The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Intimacy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020).

37. Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Sussman, *Peopling the World*; and Sal Nicolazzo, *Vagrant Figures: Law, Literature, and the Origins of the Police* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).

38. Stephanie M.H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 7.

39. Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), especially chapter 1; Tiffany Lethabo King, *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019); and Jennifer L. Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the Early Black Atlantic* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021). See also Annette Joseph-Gabriel's "Mobility and the Enunciation of Freedom in Urban Saint-Domingue," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 50.2 (2017): 213–29.

40. Sills, *Against the Map*; Humberto Garcia, *England Re-Oriented: How Central and South Asian Travelers Imagined the West, 1750–1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); and Rebekah Mitsein, *African Impressions: How African World-*

views Shaped the British Geographical Imagination across the Early Enlightenment (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2022).

41. Elizabeth Maddock Dillon, *New World Drama: The Performative Commons in the Atlantic World, 1649–1849* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); and Kathleen Wilson, *Strolling Players of Empire: Theater and Performances of Power in the British Imperial Provinces, 1656–1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

42. Jordana Rosenberg and Chi-ming Yang, "Introduction: The Dispossessed Eighteenth Century," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 2/3 (2014): 137.

43. James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

44. For instance: Scott R. MacKenzie's study of the middle-class home as an invention for the poor to aspire to (*Be It Ever So Humble: Poverty, Fiction, and the Invention of the Middle-Class Home* [Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013]); or Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse's study of conduct books that passed aristocratic behaviors to the bourgeoisie (*The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on Literature and the History of Sexuality* [New York: Methuen, 1987]).

45. Robert B. Shoemaker, "Gendered Spaces: Patterns of Mobility and Perceptions of London's Geography, 1660–750," in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720*, ed. J.F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 144–65. I discuss Shoemaker's findings in more depth in chapter 1.

46. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 92.

47. T. Brown, *Amusements*, 20–21.

48. I take the phrase "the right to the city" from Henri Lefebvre, who argues that this right cannot be imposed from the top down but must be seized by the lower classes—and that art is the means for seizing it. Lefebvre, "The Right to the City," in *Writings on Cities*, by Henri Lefebvre, ed. and trans. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Mebas (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1996): 147–59.

49. In her introduction to the revised edition of *The Practice of Everyday Life, Volume 2*, Luce Giard defines de Certeau's "interlocutors" as hailing "from the working class, from the lower middle class of employees and shopkeepers, and from the well-educated middle class." Luce Giard, "Introduction to Volume 2: History of a Research Project," in *The Practice of Everyday Life, Volume 2: Living and Cooking*, by Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol, trans. Timothy J. Tomasik, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), xl.

50. de Certeau, *Practice*, 92, xv. De Certeau refers to his walker as male, hence my use of male pronouns. Feminist geographers have critiqued the exclusion of women from these theories. See Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); and Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies-Cities," in *Sexuality and Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 241–53.

51. Walter Benjamin discusses his concept of the flaneur as "the scout in the marketplace" and "the explorer of the crowd" in *The Arcades Project*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Uni-

versity Press, 1999), 21; see also Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, by Walter Benjamin, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), 172; and Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), esp. pt. 3. For Mr. Spectator's relationship to the flaneur, see Nicholas Ridout, *Scenes from Bourgeois Life* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020), chapter 2; and Alison O'Byrne, "The Spectator and the Rise of the Modern Metropole," in *The Cambridge Companion to the City in Literature*, ed. Kevin McNamara (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 57–68. Stanton Garner refers to de Certeau's walkers as embodying a "transgressive *flânerie*." Stanton Garner, "Urban Landscapes, Theatrical Encounters: Staging the City," in *Land/Scape/Theater*, ed. Elinor Fuchs and Una Chaudhuri (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 105.

52. de Certeau, *Practice*, xv, xii; emphasis in original.

53. de Certeau, *Practice*, 37.

54. Giard, "Introduction," xvi.

55. de Certeau, *Practice*, xiv–xv.

56. de Certeau, *Practice*, xiv.

57. de Certeau, *Practice*, xiv.

58. de Certeau, *Practice*, 98, quoted in Kim Solga, D.J. Hopkins, and Shelley Orr, "Introduction: City/Text/Performance," in *Performance and the City*, ed. Hopkins, Orr, and Solga (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 4; emphasis is Solga's.

59. Edward A. Langhans, "The Post-1660 Theatres as Performance Spaces," in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. Susan J. Owen (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 6. See also Sybil Rosenfeld, *A Short History of Scene Design in Great Britain* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), 41–44.

60. See John Orrell, *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

61. William Davenant, *A Proposition for Advancement of Morality, by a New Way of Entertainment of the People* (London, 1654), 13–15, *Early English Books Online*, https://www.proquest.com/books/proposition-advancement-moralitie-new-way/docview/2240944409/se-2.

62. Art historians have long noted the role of landscape painting in manufacturing an imperial gaze. See W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Denis E. Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

63. Marvin Carlson, *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 22, 137–49.

64. Wiles, *Short History*, 86. See also Kathryn R. Barush, "Painting the Scene," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737–1832*, ed. Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Una Chaudhuri, "Land/Scape/Theory," in Fuchs and Una Chaudhuri, *Land/Scape/Theater*, 11–29.

65. Bridget Orr, *Empire on the English Stage, 1660–1714* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 51; and Joseph Roach, "The Global Parasol: Accessorizing the

Four Corners of the World," in *The Global Eighteenth Century*, ed. Felicity Nussbaum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 93–106; as well as "The Artificial Eye: Augustan Theater and the Empire of the Visible," in *The Performance of Power*, ed. Sue-Ellen Case and Janelle Reinelt (Iowa City: University Press of Iowa, 1991), 131–45.

66. Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (6 February 1668), ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), vol. 9, 54.

67. Harold K. Love, "Who Were the Restoration Audience?," *Yearbook of English Studies* 10 (1980): 34.

68. William Wycherley, *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*, in William Wycherley, *The Plays of William Wycherley*, ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), prologue, lines 20, 21, 23, 9.

69. The description of the Restoration stage as "ultramonarchist" is Allardyce Nicoll's in *A History of English Drama, 1660–1900*, vol. 1, *Restoration Drama, 1660–1700*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952); see also O. Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution; and* J. Douglas Canfield, *Tricksters and Estates: On the Ideology of Restoration Comedy* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 1. Aparna Dharwadker includes a discussion of these arguments and more recent refutations of them in "Restoration Drama and Social Class," in Owen, *Companion to Restoration Drama*, 140–60.

70. Lisa A. Freeman, *Antitheatricality and the Body Public* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), esp. chapter 2; and E.M. Dillon, *New World Drama.* I have borrowed the term *riotous performances* from the title of Helen M. Burke's *Riotous Performances: The Struggle for Hegemony in the Irish Theater, 1712–1784* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003). Though the stages Burke studies are located in Ireland in the period after the Restoration, Burke's methods and insights have been invaluable to me here. See also Langhans, "Post-1660 Theatres," 15.

71. E.M. Dillon, *New World Drama*, 13–14.

72. "6 November 1672. Order about entering the theater," quoted in Judith Milhous and Robert Hume, eds., *A Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660–1737* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), vol. 1, *1660–1714*, 143. See also the orders for 16 May 1668 (p. 96); 2 February 1673[/1674] (p. 161), and 14 November 1689 (p. 276). The order of 14 November 1689 specifies "Footmen & servants" as the primary offenders.

73. Davenant, "Proposition," 14; and Canfield, Tricksters, 1.

74. Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness: Early Modern Performance Culture and the Making of Race* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022), 214–17.

75. Pepys, *Diary* (5 Oct. 1667), vol. 8, 463.

76. The 1648 order is quoted in Leacroft, *English Playhouse*, 78. For similar language in the Licensing Act, see 10 Geo 11, cap. xxviii, reprinted in *Statutes at Large*, vol. 5, ed. J. Raithby (London: Eyre & Strahan, 1811), 266–68. By the 1660s such language was widespread; see Elizabeth Grice, *Rogues and Vagabonds: Or, The Actors' Road to Respectability* (Lavenham, UK: Dalton, 1977).

77. Tobyas Thomas, *The Life of the Late Famous Comedian, Jo. Hayns* (London:

Printed for J. Nutt, 1701), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0102933591/ECCO?u=ucberkeley&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=aede838f&pg=1.

78. T. Brown, *Amusements*, 33.

79. Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*, ed. David Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 267–68.

80. Tim Keenan, *Restoration Staging, 1660–74* (London: Routledge, 2017), 187. Keenan summarizes the debate about the use of the scenic stage on pages 187–88.

81. Richard Southern, *Changeable Scenery: Its Origin and Development in the British Theatre* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), 17. For a different take, see Langhans, "Post-1660 Theatres," 6. Langhans suggests that in some theaters—including, perhaps, Dorset Garden—scenery was placed through slits in the stage floor, where it was attached to wheeled carts below the stage. The seeming advantage of this arrangement is that the stagehands could change the scenery from beneath the floor, invisible to the audience. (On this point, see also Colin Visser, "Scenery and Technical Design," in *The London Theatre World, 1660–1800*, ed. Robert D. Hume [Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989], 77–78.) Southern, however, dismisses this speculation, attributing it to a misreading of the word "engine" in Davenant's description of his stage designs (122). See also Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-Century Scenic Stage, c. 1605–c.1700* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008), 48. Eleanore Boswell offers an account of the court stage and its relationship to the public playhouses in *The Restoration Court Stage (1660–1702): With a Particular Account of the Production of Calisto* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1932).

82. It is unclear from the archive exactly when spectators began sitting on the stage. Allardyce Nicoll notes that "it is not until 1690 that we find many references to the custom," though his information is somewhat unreliable (*History of English Drama*, 11–12). A proclamation dated 2 February 1673[/1674] and noted in Milhous and Hume's *Register*, vol. 1, forbid spectators from sitting on the stage, suggesting some were already doing it (161, document 827). But it is unclear how widespread a practice this was at least until the early eighteenth century, when William Hogarth's painting of a scene from *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) portrays it as a matter of course and when Colley Cibber complains of the practice in his *Apology*, 364.

83. Joanne Tompkins, *Unsettling Space: Contestations in Contemporary Australian Theatre* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

84. One example is Aphra Behn's "Preface" to *The Luckey Chance*, in which she defends herself against charges of bawdiness by claiming that the play's most objectionable scene—when the actor Anthony Leigh, as Sir Feeble Fainwou'd, turned his back on the audience and opened his robe to the female performers onstage—was not in the script.

85. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (London: Blackwell, 1984), 62. Scholars such as Marvin Carlson, Anne Ubersfeld, and Gay McCauley have led the way in applying Lefebvre's ideas to theater history by reading the spaces of the stage as texts (using methods borrowed from semiotics and linguistics) while at the same time attending to the performances that those spaces host and script. See Carlson, *Places*; Anne Ubersfeld, *Reading Theatre*, ed. Jean-Patrick Deb-

bèche and Paul J. Perron, trans. Frank Collins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); and Gay McCauley, *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000). See also Una Chaudhuri, *Staging Place: The Geography of Modern Drama* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995, 1997); and Jennifer Low, *Dramatic Spaces: Scenography and Spectatorial Perceptions* (London: Routledge, 2015). Pannill Camp, interestingly, notes a similar shift from an interest in conceived to an interest in actual space taking place some years later in mid-eighteenth-century France, where "the motion-capable space of physical optics" began to replace "the baroque symbolic field constructed by linear perspective." P. Camp, *The First Frame: Theatre Space in Enlightenment France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 7.

86. Jill Dolan, *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope at the Theater* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

87. Jean E. Howard, "Women, Foreigners, and the Regulation of Urban Space in *Westward Ho*," in *Material London, ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 153.

88. Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Janette Dillon, *Theatre, Court and City, 1595–1610: Drama and Social Space in London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) as well as *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Jean E. Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598–1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); D.J. Hopkins, *City/Stage/Globe: Performance and Space in Shakespeare's London* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Adam Zucker, *The Places of Wit in Early Modern English Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Mimi Yiu, *Architectural Involutions: Writing, Staging, and Building Space, c. 1435–1650* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2015); Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein, eds., *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Dieter Mehl, Angela Stock, and Anne-Julia Zwierlein, eds., *Plotting Early Modern London: New Essays on Jacobean City Comedy* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004); and Bronwen Wilson and Paul Edward Yachnin, eds., *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

89. See, for instance, Cynthia Wall's assertion that "the plays draw upon and reconfirm the structures and strategies of Jacobean city comedies in mapping predictable behaviors back into the *undestroyed* parts of London," which she describes as "not simply *whole* [but] more or less *new*" to the post-Fire city (*Literary and Cultural Spaces*, 150).

90. Pepys, *Diary* (5 October 1667), vol. 8, 463.

91. Pepys, *Diary* (19 March 1666), vol. 7, 76–77.

92. Christin Essin, *Working Backstage: A Cultural History and Ethnography of Technical Theater Labor* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2021). See also Natasha Korda, *Labors Lost: Women's Work and the Early Modern English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

93. Robert D. Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth*

Century (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); Laura Brown, *English Dramatic Form, 1660–1760* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981); Brian Corman, *Genre and Generic Change in English Comedy, 1660–1710* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Derek Hughes, *English Drama, 1660–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

94. "The Names of His Majesties Servants 1671," 29 May 1671, quoted in Milhous and Hume, *Register*, vol. 1, 125–27.

95. Wall, *Literary and Cultural Spaces*, esp. chapter 6; as well as Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); and J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990).

96. Joshua Reynolds, "Discourse XIII," in *Discourses on Art*, by Joshua Reynolds, ed. Robert R. Wark (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975, 1988), 243.

97. Pocock, *Virtue*, 108–9. The term *Financial Revolution* was coined by P.G.M. Dickson in *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688–1756* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1993). See also Mattie Burkert, *Speculative Enterprise: Public Theaters and Financial Markets in London, 1688–1763* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2021).

98. A brief note on terminology: I recognize the complexity of—and the ongoing scholarly debate about—trying to pin down when modern ideas of race as based on essentialized phenotypical qualities (rather than religion or geographical/climatological origins) first emerged, and thus the dangers of using words like *Black*, *black*, or even *Afro-diasporic* to describe people who may or may not have recognized themselves in these terms. Weighing in on what seventeenth- and eighteenth-century speakers meant when they talked about race—not to mention what twenty-first century scholars mean when they talk about it—is far beyond the scope of this chapter or this book. Instead, I defer to Noémie Ndiaye's useful discussion of "the racialization of Blackness" not as replacing but as "interconnected with other paradigms and tropes within the racial matrix." Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*, 15; see also Susan Dwyer Amussen, who writes that "the process of coming to see skin color as a central marker of identity began in the seventeenth century," though it was "not yet fully formed." Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society*, 1640–1700 (Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 2007), 11. For the same reason, I have adopted Ndiaye's terminology, using *African* or *Afro-diasporic* in the absence of evidence that the person or people I discuss would have recognized themselves as part of a larger community—in which case I employ the capitalized *Black*. When describing white supremacist stereotypes of Afro-diasporic people as a group I use *black*—uncapitalized (Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*, 28–29).

99. S. Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, 7.

100. David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis: Disability and the Dependencies of Discourse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

Chapter 1

1. John Dryden, "To the Metropolis of Great Britain: The Most Renowned and Late Flourishing City of London," *Annus Mirabilis*, 49. Lawrence Manley has read this

dedication as announcing not only a new age of literature but also "a new *kind* of city." See Manley, "Dryden's London," in *John Dryden (1631–1700): His Politics, His Plays, and His Poets*, ed. Claude Rawson and Aaron Santesso (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 15.

2. While most male servants wore livery to perform their duties in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, female servants tended to dress in street clothes or in the cast-off dresses of their mistresses. See Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660–1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2000), 55.

3. L. Brown, *English Dramatic Form*, 34.

4. Hughes, *English Drama*, 68. See also Kristina Straub, *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), as well as Mark Thornton Burnett, *Masters and Servants in English Renaissance Drama and Culture: Authority and Obedience*, 1st ed. (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1997); Carolyn Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), esp. chapter 1; Paddy Lyons, "What Do the Servants Know?," in *Theatre and Culture in Early Modern England, 1650–1737: Leviathan to the Licensing Act*, ed. Catie Gill (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 11–32.

5. Bruce Robbins, *The Servant's Hand: English Fiction from Below* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993); John Richetti, "Representing an Under Class: Servants and Proletarians in Fielding and Smollett," in *The New Eighteenth Century: Theory, Politics, English Literature*, ed. Felicity Nussbaum and Laura Brown (Malden, MA: Methuen, 1987).

6. Brown, "Dryden and the Imperial Imagination," in *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden*, ed. Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 59. For a chronology of these works' composition, see James Anderson Winn, *John Dryden and His World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 185; and Mary Thale, "The Framework of *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*," *Papers on Language and Literature* 8.4 (Fall 1972): 362–69. Dryden claims he wrote *Essay* to amuse himself after the "violence of the last plague" (of 1665) drove him from the city, though it was not recorded in the Stationer's Register until 1667 (and its title page mistakenly lists its publication date as 1668). Dryden, *An Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Samuel Holt Monk, A.E. Wallace Maurer, and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), vol. 18, *An Essay of Dramatick Poesie and Shorter Works*, 3. Subsequent citations are provided parenthetically in the text.

7. A notable exception is Frank Harper Moore, *The Nobler Pleasure: Dryden's Comedy in Theory and Practice* (Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 60–63.

8. John Dryden, *The Feign'd Innocence: or, Sir Martin Mar-All*, *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. John Loftis, David Stuart Rodes, and Vinton Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), vol. 9, *Plays*, act I, scene i, lines 1–8. Subsequent citations are provided parenthetically in the text by act, scene, and line number.

9. See John Loftis, "Commentary," in Loftis, Rodes, and Dearing, *Works of John Dryden*, vol. 9, 354–67; and Moore, *Nobler Pleasure*, 53–63. Dryden's contemporary John Downes claimed that Dryden's play was an adaptation of a translation of

L'Etourdi by the Duke of Newcastle, though the critics listed above question the extent of Newcastle's involvement. J. Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus; or An Historical Review of the Stage* (London: 1708), 28, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CB0127372873/ECCO?u=ucberkeley&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=8b13ad55&pg=1.

10. J.D. Canfield, *Tricksters*, 66. As James M. Rosenheim writes, the material distinctions between landed society and those who did not own land was significant—and growing more significant—in these years. See Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society, 1650–1750* (London: Longman, 1998); and Manley, *Literature and Culture*, chapters 4 and 5.

11. J.D. Canfield, *Tricksters*, 67.

12. Christopher Hill traces this phrase "masterless men" to Thomas Middleton's play *The Mayor of Queensborough* (act II, scene iii), written at the beginning of the seventeenth century though not published until 1661. C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London: Penguin, 1975), 39. A.L. Beier later incorporated the term as the title for *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560–1640* (London: Methuen, 1985).

13. C. Hill, *World*; E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon, 1964), and *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (New York: Pantheon, 1975); Beier, *Masterless Men*; and Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). See also McKeon, *Origins*, 131–75; Manley, *Literature and Culture*; William C. Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar: Representations of Poverty in the Age of Shakespeare* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Linebaugh and Rediker, *Many-Headed Hydra*, esp. chapter 1; E.M. Dillon, *New World Drama*; and Robinson, *Black Marxism*.

14. Beier, *Masterless Men*, 21.

15. Wrigley, "Model," 217.

16. J. Jean Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1956), 3.

17. D.A. Kent, "Ubiquitous but Invisible: Female Domestic Servants in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London," *History Workshop* 28 (1989): 112. Gregory King's estimates are summarized in Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, 13–14. As Meldrum notes, King's figure "clearly included apprentices and some journeymen as well as domestic servants" (14).

18. Peter Earle, "The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," *Economic History Review* 2.17 (1989): 339. For the comparison between urban and rural servants, see Kent, "Ubiquitous but Invisible," 121.

19. Lawrence Stone, "Social Mobility in England, 1500–1700," *Past and Present* 33 (April 1966): 16–55, 29, 30.

20. Shoemaker, "Gendered Spaces," 155, 159.

21. Fumerton, *Unsettled*, 11. See also McRae, *Domestic Travel*.

22. Flather, "Male Servants, Identity and Urban Space in Eighteenth-Century England," in *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience*, ed. Deborah Simonton (London: Routledge, 2017), 91–102. See also Denys Van Renan, *The*

Other Exchange: Women, Servants, and the Urban Underclass in Early Modern English Literature (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017).

23. William C. Baer, "Housing for the Lesser Sort in Stuart London: Findings from Certificates, and Returns of Divided Houses," *The London Journal* 33.1 (March 2008): 61–88. In a related article, Baer counts "17 royal proclamations between 1580 and 1671 prohibiting new building," as the population was ballooning. Baer, "Housing the Poor and Mechanick Class in Seventeenth-Century London," *The London Journal* 25.2 (2000): 16.

24. John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations*, 5th ed. (London: Printed by John Martyn, 1676), 22; quoted in Baer, "Lesser Sort," 63. See also O.L. Brownstein, "New Light on the Salisbury Court Playhouse," *Educational Theatre Journal* 29.2 (1977): 232.

25. *The Life of the Earl of Clarendon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1759), 668, quoted in Reddaway, *Rebuilding of London*, 29–30.

26. Reddaway, *Rebuilding of London*, 30.

27. See Freeman, *Antitheatricality*, esp. chapter 2; E.M. Dillon, *New World Drama*; Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater*, 1st ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 14; Dharwadker, *Companion*; Emmett L. Avery, Harry W. Pedicord, Arthur H. Scouten and Robert D. Hume, "'Restoration Comedy' and Its Audiences, 1660–1776," *Yearbook of English Studies* 10 (1980): 45–69; and Love, "Restoration Audience."

28. See J. Dillon, *Theatre, Court and City*; and (focusing on a later period) Jacky Bratton, *The Making of the West End Stage: Marriage, Management, and the Mapping of Gender in London, 1830–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Deborah C. Payne has pointed out that Killigrew's and Davenant's decision to situate their theaters in the up-and-coming neighborhood of the West End "made playgoing more difficult for Londoners outside of that privileged enclave," though this observation discounts the many servants residing in the West End houses of their employers as well as the many impoverished Londoners who continued to live in nearby neighborhoods such as St Giles. Payne, *Business*, 104.

29. Peter Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 20.

30. Harold K. Love, "Dryden's London," in Zwicker, *Cambridge Companion*, 116. See also Lawrence Stone, "The Residential Development of the West End of London in the Seventeenth Century," in *After the Reformation: Essays in Honor of J.H. Hexter*, ed. Barbara C. Malament (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980).

31. See Straub, *Domestic Affairs*, chapter 5; as well as J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), 351; and Avery et al., "'Restoration Comedy.'" Initially footmen were allowed to pay half price to enter the back gallery after the performance of the third act; in 1696, Christopher Rich began to sell half-price tickets to the entire performance.

32. Pepys, *Diary* (1 January 1668), vol. 9, 2.

33. Love, "Dryden's London," 113; Loftis, "Commentary," 362.

34. John Loftis, "Dryden's Comedies," in *John Dryden*, ed. Earl Miner (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1972), 30; Winn, *John Dryden*, 185. See also Hume's description of the play as part of a group of London comedies that "are markedly low in tone," in *Development*, 265.

35. Quoted in Loftis, "Commentary," 352.

36. Pepys, *Diary* (22 May 1668), vol. 9, 209.

37. Deborah Payne Fisk, "'Betwixt Two Ages Cast': Theatrical Dryden," *Enchanted Ground: Reimagining John Dryden*, ed. Jayne Lewis and Maximillian E. Novak (Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 2004), 226, 231.

38. Keenan, *Restoration Staging*, 119–20.

39. Van Lennep et al., "Introduction," xxxix. Milhous and Hume clarify that "Dame Mary Davenant testified in this lawsuit that from her husband's death (in April 1668) until June 1673 she 'had, used, or exercised the sole Government of' the Duke's Company, as guardian for her son Charles during his minority. [. . .] While this is to some extent true, Henry Harris also deposed . . . that he and Betterton 'were chose by all Parties interested in the said Theatre to manage the same,' after Sir William's death" (*Register*, vol. 1, 151).

40. See Gilli Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds: Actresses and Playwrights on the Late Stuart Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Thomas A. King's discussion of the actor Colley Cibber in *The Gendering of Men, 1600–1750, vol. 1, The English Phallus* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 53–54, 250–55; and Kristina Straub, *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991). I have written about the actor's ambiguous class status and bid for respectability in Julia H. Fawcett, *Spectacular Disappearances: Celebrity and Privacy, 1696–1801* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

41. The association between actors and "vagabonds" was cemented in the eighteenth century by the Licensing Act of 1737, but this language dates at least as far back as the Vagabonds Act of 1597, passed in the reign of Elizabeth I. Urvashi Chakravarty, *Fictions of Consent: Slavery, Servitude, and Free Service in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022), chapter 1; and Grice, *Rogues and Vagabond.*

42. Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 5. For discussions of the patent system as combining feudalist and capitalist structures, see J. Dillon, *Theatre, Court and City*; Matthew J. Kinservik, "Theatrical Regulation during the Restoration Period," in Owen, *Companion to Restoration Drama*, especially 47–49; Judith Milhous, "Company Management," in Hume, *London Theatre World*, 1–34; Straub, *Domestic Affairs*; Burkert, *Speculative Enterprise*; and Chakravarty, *Fictions of Consent*, chapter 1.

43. Robert Henke, "Representations of Poverty in the Commedia dell'Arte," *Theatre Survey* 48.2 (2007): 229. See also Henke, *Poverty and Charity in Early Modern Theater and Performance* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2015), chapter 5.

44. Thomas Newman, "*Promptbook for* An Evening's Love," 1691, Clark Library, PR 3417.K1 copy 2.

45. Milhous, "The Multimedia Spectacular on the Restoration Stage," in *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660–1800*, ed. Shirley Strum Kenny (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1984), 41. See also Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962), 229–38; Van Lennep et al., "Introduction," xxv–xl; Edward A. Langhans, "A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Dorset Garden Theatre," *Theatre Survey* 13.2 (1972): 74–93; Leacroft, *English Play-*

house; Diane De Marly, "The Architect of Dorset Garden Theatre," *Theatre Notebook* 29.3 (1975): 119–24; and Keenan, *Restoration Staging*, 13–18.

46. Payne, *Business*, 111.

47. Shearer West, "Manufacturing Spectacle," in Swindells and Taylor, *Oxford Handbook*, 288.

48. Essin, *Working Backstage*, 9.

49. Milhous and Hume, *Register*, vol. 1, 125–27. See also Van Lennep et al., "Introduction," in which the editors speculate that "from eight to twelve [scenekeepers] may have been on duty simultaneously" (lxxxix).

50. Juan A. Prieto-Pablos, "Antonio Brunati, King's Company Scenekeeper, 1664–65," *Theatre Notebook* 71.2 (2017): 94–110.

51. Quoted in the entry "Harris, Henry," in Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), vol. 7, "Harris, Henry," 123, 125. Subsequent references to *the Biographical Dictionary* (*BD*) are provided parenthetically in the text by volume and page number.

52. Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant*, 129.

53. West, "Manufacturing Spectacle," 298.

54. Sybil Marion Rosenfeld, *Georgian Scene Painters and Scene Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 62. This precarity was becoming more common across the artisan class; as Peter Guillery notes, the apprenticeship structures through which people entered the guilds in the seventeenth century had broken down by the end of the eighteenth century, when "a growing proportion of artisans spent their whole working lives as journeymen" (*Small House*, 14).

55. Quoted in Boswell, *Restoration Court Stage*, 76–77.

56. See Peter H. Lindert and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Revising England's Social Tables 1688–1812," *Explorations in Economic History* 19.4 (1982): 393, for a reproduction of King's table as well as of Lindert and Williamson's revisions to it. It is important to note that the accuracy of the table has been much debated in recent scholarship, with Lindert and Williamson's article constituting only one example.

57. Guillery, *Small House*, 35. Tim Meldrum cautions that "the term 'servant class' has lent domestic service the misleading appearance of homogeneity, when in fact there were vast differences in the experience and remuneration between the smallest tradesman's household and a West End mansion house." Meldrum, "London Domestic Servants from Depositional Evidence, 1660–1750," in *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640–1840*, ed. Tim Hitchcock, Peter King, and Pamela Sharpe (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 49.

58. Quoted in Keenan, *Restoration Staging*, 89.

59. Kent, "Ubiquitous but Invisible," 123. See also Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, chapter 6.

60. Pepys, *Diary* (23 March 1661), vol. 2, 58.

61. Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts, 1580–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 5.

62. H.S. Turner, *English Renaissance Stage*, 21.

63. For the connections between the poets debating in the boat and the battle

raging in the city, see Cedric D. Reverand II, "Dryden's 'Essay of Dramatick Poesie': The Poet and the World of Affairs," *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 22.3 (1982): 375–93.

64. These identifications were first proposed by Edmond Malone in *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (London: Printed for T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, 1800). They are generally accepted by modern scholars, though they have not gone entirely unchallenged. See Frank Livingstone Huntley, "On the Persons in Dryden's *Essay of Dramatick Poesy*," *Modern Language Notes* 63.2 (February 1948), 88–95; and Stanley Archer, "The Persons in *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*," *Papers on Language and Literature* 2 (1966): 305–14. Scholars such as John M. Aden ("Dryden, Corneille, and the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*," *The Review of English Studies* 6.22 [April 1955]: 147–56); Thomas Reinert ("Theater and Civility in Dryden's 'Essay,'" *ELH* 65.4 [Winter 1998]: 857–76); and Steven N. Zwicker ("Imagining a Literary Life: Dryden Dwells Among the Moderns and the Ancients," *Cambridge Quarterly* 47.2 [2018]: 99–115) read Dryden's use of the dialogue format as an attempt to give equal or near-equal credence to all four viewpoints or as (in Zwicker's article) suggesting a critical distance between Dryden and his characters. My reading is more in keeping with that of Howard Weinbrot, who describes Neander's views as most aligned with "Dryden's dramatic orientation in 1668" and the *Essay* as "an attempt to stress the limits of southern hegemony in a northern world." Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 151, 153–54.

65. Payne, *Business*, 187.

66. Jayne Lewis and Maximillian E. Novak, "Introduction," to Lewis and Novak, *Enchanted Ground*, 18; see also Stuart Sherman, "Dryden and the Theatrical Imagination," in Zwicker, *Cambridge Companion*, 15–36.

67. Scott Cutler Shershow, "Windings and Turnings: The Metaphoric Labyrinth of Restoration Dramatic Theory," *Comparative Drama* 26.1 (Spring 1992): 1–18, 15. See also Charles H. Hinnant, for whom Dryden's "labyrinth of design" suggests order for those gazing over the whole of the play but not for the characters (or the spectators) who experience it in the moment. Hinnant, "Dryden's Definition of a Play in *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*: A Structuralist Approach," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 15 (1986): 161–72.

68. Cynthia Wall, *Grammars of Approach: Landscape, Narrative, and the Linguistic Picturesque* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 12.

69. J.P. Vander Motten has used language like this to suggest another possible source for Dryden's *Essay* in Galileo Galilei's *Diologo . . . sopra i due Massimi Sistemi del Mondo Tolemaico, e Copernicano* (first published in Italian in 1632 and translated into English by Thomas Salusbury between 1661 and 1665). See Vander Motten, "'Sometimes Admiration Quickens Our Endeavours': Dryden, Galileo, and the 'Essay of Dramatic Poesy,'" *Studies in Philology* 90.4 (1993): 391–425.

70. Caleb Trenchfield, *A Cap of Gray Hairs off a Green Head; or, The Fathers Counsel to His Son, an Apprentice in London* (London: Printed by JC for Henry Eversden, at the end of Duck-lane in Smithfield, 1671), 70, 40–41, *Early English Books Online*, https://www.proquest.com/books/cap-grey-hairs-green-head-fathers-counsel-his-son/docview/2264211193/se-2.

71. Hume, *Development*, 264.

72. See the entry for "Jig," in Stanley Sadie and George Grove, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 13, 118–19.

73. Mark Franko, *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1. See also Moira Goff, "*'Actions, Manners*, and *Passions'*: Entr'acte Dancing on the London Stage, 1700–1737," *Early Music* 26.2 (May 1998): 213–28.

74. Franko, *Dance as Text*, 5.

75. J.D. Canfield, *Tricksters*, 67. The exception is Hughes, who argues that "the ruse which allows the heroine to marry the unsuspecting Warner reduces the idea of exalted station to an absurd literalness, the dupes being persuaded to immobilize themselves by standing on high stools in 'the Frolick of the Altitudes'" (*English Drama*, 67).

76. Dryden, "Of Heroique Playes: An Essay," in Loftis, Rodes, and Dearing, *Works of John Dryden*, vol. 11, *Plays*, 10. Subsequent citations are provided parenthetically in the text.

77. Virgil, *The Aeneiad*, trans. John Dryden, in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Vinton Dearing, Alan Roper, and William Frost, vol. 5, *The Works of Virgil in English, 1697* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), book 6, line 45.

Chapter 2

1. Behn was the first woman to earn her living in the theaters, though Pilar Cuder-Domínguez notes that Frances Boothby was the first woman to have an original play performed in one of the new Restoration playhouses. Cuder-Domínguez, *Stuart Women Playwrights, 1613–1713* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 11. See also Nancy Copeland, *Staging Gender in Behn and Centlivre: Women's Comedy and the Theatre* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 47–48.

2. Aphra Behn, *The Rover: or, The Banisht Cavaliers*, in Aphra Behn, *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Janet Todd, vol. 5, *The Plays, 1671–1677* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1996, 2016), act I, scene i, lines 88–93. Subsequent citations of this play are provided parenthetically in the text by act, scene, and line number. Subsequent citations from this collection are cited by editor (Todd).

3. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 45–46. See also Watt, *Rise of the Novel*; Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction*; and McKeon, *Secret History*. Habermas's categories of public and private spheres have been complicated by the essays in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992); as well as by Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace, 1678–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002); Rosemary Sweet and Penelope Lane, eds., *Women and Urban Life in Eighteenth-Century England: "On the Town"* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003); Chico, *Designing Women*; Wilson and Yachnin, *Making Publics*; Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press,

2005); Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph P. Ward, eds., *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Geography, Privacy* (New York: Routledge, 2013); and Bobker, *Closet*.

4. The quote is from de Certeau, *Practice*, n.p. Massey offers an important feminist critique in *Space, Place, and Gender*. See also Grosz, "Bodies-Cities"; Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); María Lugones, *Pilgrimages = Peregrinajes: Theorizing Coalition Against Multiple Oppressions* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), esp. chapter 10; Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2007), esp. chapter 4; Kim Solga, *Violence Against Women in Early Modern Performance: Invisible Acts* (London: Palgrave, 2009); Bratton, *Making of the West End Stage*; and Kate Barclay, "Mapping the Spaces of Seduction: Morality, Gender and the City in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience*, ed. Deborah Simonton (London: Routledge, 2017), 103–15.

5. The sociologist Edward T. Hall was the first to theorize personal space, a term he coined, in his 1966 study *The Hidden Dimension* (New York: Random House, 1990).

6. Anne Greenfield, "The Titillation of Dramatic Rape, 1660–1720," in *Interpreting Sexual Violence, 1660–1800,* ed. Anne Greenfield (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), 57.

7. Frances Ferguson, "Rape and the Rise of the Novel," *Representations* 20 (1987): 88. See also Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction*; Elin Diamond, "*Gestus* and Signature in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*," *ELH* 56.3 (1989): 519–41; Catherine Gallagher, *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670–1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Anita Pacheco, "Consent and Female Honor in *The Lucky Chance*," in *Aphra Behn (1640–1689): Identity, Alterity, Ambiguity*, ed. Mary Ann O'Donnell, Bernard Dhuicq, and Guyonne Leduc (Paris: Harmattan, 2000), and "Rape and the Female Subject in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*," *ELH* 65.2 (1998): 323–45; Misty G. Anderson, *Female Playwrights and Eighteenth-Century Comedy: Negotiating Marriage on the London Stage*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); and Jonathan Brody Kramnick, *Actions and Objects from Hobbes to Richardson* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

8. Cibber, *Apology*, 68. Many more scholars have written about the introduction of women to the stage than about the introduction of changeable scenery. A representative list includes Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama, 1660–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Straub, *Sexual Suspects*; Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds*; and Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*.

9. Peter Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 41. See also Dawn Lewcock, "More for Seeing Than Hearing: Behn and the Use of Theatre," in *Aphra Behn Studies*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 66–83; and Robert Markley's discussion of Behn's "superb sense of the theatre" in "Behn and the Unstable Traditions of Social Comedy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*, ed. Derek Hughes and Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 108.

10. For an explanation of my usage of "Black" vs. "black," please see Introduction, note 98.

11. J.D. Canfield, *Tricksters*, 77 (italics in original).

12. Susan Staves, *Married Women's Separate Property in England, 1660–1833* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 4. See also Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988); Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993); J. Brewer and Staves, "Introduction," 1–18; Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 72; April London, *Women and Property in the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); M.G. Anderson, *Female Playwrights*; and Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

13. Julia Rudolph, "Rape and Resistance: Women and Consent in Seventeenth-Century English Legal and Political Thought," *Journal of British Studies* 39.2 (April 2000): 172.

14. Miranda Chaytor, "Husband(ry): Narratives of Rape in the Seventeenth Century," *Gender & History* 7.3 (1995): 384. See also Richard Burt and John Michael Archer, "Introduction," in *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property, and Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Richard Burt and John Michael Archer (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 1–13; and Carol Blum: "Of Women and the Land: Legitimizing Husbandry," in J. Brewer and Staves, *Property*, 161–69.

15. *The Womans Advocate; Or, Fifteen Real Comforts of Matrimony* (London: 1683), 1. There has been some confusion, in recent scholarship, between this anonymous satire and the similarly titled *Womans Advocate*, an earnest work written in 1697 by the female theologist M. Marsin. See Sarah Apetrei, "A 'Remarkable Female of Womankind': Gender, Scripture, and Knowledge in the Writings of M. Marsin," in *Women, Gender and Radical Religion in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sylvia Brown (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 139.

16. Copeland, *Staging Gender*, 11.

17. For comparisons between Behn's play and Killigrew's, see Jones DeRitter, "The Gypsy, 'The Rover,' and the Wanderer: Aphra Behn's Revision of Thomas Killigrew," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 10.2 (Fall 1986): 82–92; Elaine Hobby, "No Stolen Object, But Her Own: Aphra Behn's *Rover* and Thomas Killigrew's *Thomaso," Women's Writing* 6.1 (1999): 113–27; and Claire Bowditch and Elaine Hobby, "Aphra Behn's Adaptations: Paper and Stage Sources for *The Rover* (1677) and *Sir Patient Fancy* (1678)," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 85.1 (Spring 2022): 131–50.

18. Some scholars have misread the attribution of the part to "Mrs. Guin" to mean that the part was originated by the more famous actress (and mistress to Charles II) Nell Gwyn; the editors of *The Biographical Dictionary*, however, clear up the ambiguity (*BD* 12:242).

19. For instance: Janet Todd, *The Sign of Angellica: Women, Writing, and Fiction, 1660–1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989); Thomas A. King, "'As If (She) Were Made on Purpose to Put the Whole World Into Good Humour': Reconstructing the First English Actresses," *TDR* 36.3 (1992): 78–102; Julie Nash, "'The sight

on't would beget a warm desire': Visual Pleasure in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700*, 18.2 (Fall 1994): 77–87; Deborah C. Payne, "Reified Object or Emergent Professional?: Retheorizing the Restoration Actress," in *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater*, ed. J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 13–38; Ann Marie Byrd, "Violently Erotic: Representing Rape in Restoration Drama," in *Interpreting Sexual Violence*, ed. Anne Greenfield (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 69–82; Andrew Sofer, *Dark Matter: Invisibility in Drama, Theater, and Performance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), chapter 3; and Helen E. M. Brooks, *Actresses, Gender, and the Eighteenth-Century Stage: Playing Women* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

20. Diamond, "*Gestus* and Signature," 529.

21. Diamond, "*Gestus* and Signature," 523. See also Katharine Eisaman Maus, "Playhouse Flesh and Blood: Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress," *ELH* 46.4 (1979): 595–617; and Straub, *Sexual Suspects*, esp. chapters 5–6.

22. See Derek Hughes's discussion of Behn's use of the long street in *The Theatre of Aphra Behn* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 94; and in "Aphra Behn and the Restoration Theatre," in *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*, ed. Derek Hughes and Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 39.

23. Hughes, *Theatre of Aphra Behn*, 84. For links between Willmore and Blunt, see Margarete Rubik, *Early Women Dramatists, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 43; as well as Jennifer L. Airey, *The Politics of Rape: Sexual Atrocity, Propaganda Wars, and the Restoration Stage* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2012), 101; for links between Angellica and Lucetta see Van Renan, *Other Exchange*, esp. chapter 3.

24. Jean Marsden, *Fatal Desire: Women, Sexuality, and the English Stage, 1660–1720* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

25. Langhans, "Conjectural Reconstruction," 78.

26. Stretton, *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See also Airey, *Politics of Rape*, esp. 8–10; Amussen, *Ordered Society*; and Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

27. Nazife Bashar, "Rape in England Between 1550 and 1700," in *The Sexual Dynamics of History: Men's Power, Women's Resistance*, ed. London Feminist History Group (London: Pluto, 1983), 28–42.

28. Although Hale was the first to articulate rape as a sexual crime, as Nazife Bashar notes, the distinction between rape and abduction occurred much earlier, in statutes of 1555 and 1597. Scholars such as Susan Staves (*Married Women's Separate Property*) and Julia Rudolph ("Rape and Resistance") have nonetheless identified the last decades of the seventeenth century as a watershed moment in the history of rape in England.

29. Bashar, "Rape in England," 35.

30. Matthew Hale, *Historia Placitorum Coronae: The History of the Pleas of the Crown* (In the Savoy: Printed for E. and R. Nutt, and R. Gosling, 1736), vol. 1, 633, HeinOnline, https://heinonline-org.libproxy.berkeley.edu/HOL/Index?index=beal%2Fhispcrow&collection=beal.

31. Rudolph, "Rape and Resistance," 177.

32. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2, accessed 17 November 2015), 4 November 1685, trial of Leonard Bate, t16851209–28. As Simon Dickie has shown in *Cruelty and Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), *The Old Bailey Sessions Papers* (particularly the entries on rape) are suspect as historical documents of what really occurred during trial, since they were published to entertain more than to inform their readers. Esther Snell argues, however, that their marketing as entertainment makes them not less but more useful in determining popular attitudes toward rape. Snell, "Trials in Print: Narratives of Rape Trials in the Proceedings of the Old Bailey," in *Crime, Courtrooms and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1700–1850*, ed. David Lemmings (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 23–41, 25. See also Robert Shoemaker, "Representing the Adversary Criminal Trial: Lawyers in the Old Bailey Proceedings, 1770–1800," in Lemmings, *Crime*, 71–91.

33. Rudolph, "Rape and Resistance," 177.

34. Aphra Behn, *The Luckey Chance* (1686), in Todd, ed., *Works*, vol. 7, *The Plays, 1682–1696*, act II, scene ii, lines 70–73. Subsequent citations are provided parenthetically in the text with the title abbreviated as *LC* followed by act, scene, and line number.

35. As Peter Holland emphasizes (*Ornament of Action*, 99), we should be wary of attributing all stage directions to the playwright herself—particularly in the case of *The Luckey Chance*, the printed version of which begins with a preface that denies Behn's responsibility for its most infamous stage business (in which Anthony Leigh as Feeble turned his back to the audience and opened his robe to the women onstage). Elaine Hobby, however, has suggested that Behn may have intended her denial ironically. Hobby, "'The World Was Never without Some Mad Men': Aphra Behn, Jane Sharp, and the Body," *Women's Writing* 19.2 (May 2012): 179–80. Regardless of the stage directions' origins, moreover, the detail with which they are elaborated in the printed text suggests the significance they had taken on for spectators of Restoration plays and readers of Restoration play scripts. As Bush-Bailey writes, "The intimate knowledge of theatre practice that even Behn's early plays show suggests that she must have experienced the *process* of production as well as the moment of performance" (*Treading the Bawds*, 38).

36. Susan Sontag, *Against Interpretation* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1966), 126. See also Simon Devereaux, "Arts of Public Performance: Barristers and Actors in Georgian England," in Lemmings, *Crime*, 93–117; and Andrew Majeske and Emily Detmer-Goebel, "Introduction," in *Justice, Women, and Power in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. Andrew Majeske and Emily Detmer-Goebel (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009), 11.

37. Cibber, *Apology*, 204. See also Joan Wildeblood, *The Polite World: A Guide to the Deportment of the English in Former Times*, rev. ed. (London: Davis-Poynter, 1973), esp. 93–123; Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The Development of Manners; Changes in the Code of Conduct and Feeling in Early Modern Times*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Urizen Books, 1978); David Roberts, *The Ladies: Female Patronage of Restoration Drama, 1660–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), esp. chapter 3; and Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

38. Gallagher, *Nobody's Story*; see also Laura J. Rosenthal, *Playwrights and Plagiarists in Early Modern England: Gender, Authorship, Literary Property* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), esp. chapter 3.

39. Copeland, *Staging Gender*, 72.

40. *A Comparison between the Two Stages* (London, 1702), 8.

41. Gallagher, *Nobody's Story*, 46–47.

42. Gallagher, *Nobody's Story*; see also Brian Rotman, *Signifying Nothing: The Semiotics of Zero* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993).

43. Gallagher, *Nobody's Story*, 47.

44. In her gloss to the Oxford University Press edition to the play, Jane Spencer notes, "The Royal Court production of 1984 opted for consent, ending with Lady Julia and Gayman standing together on stage. This was the actors' preference—the director, Jules Wright, had initially wanted the lovers to stand apart, indicating Julia's choice to remain independent of Gayman." See Aphra Behn, *The Rover and Other Plays*, ed. Jane Spencer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 376n.

45. M.G. Anderson, *Female Playwrights*, 54.

46. Hortense Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," in *Black, White, and in Color: Essays on American Literature and Culture, by* Hortense Spillers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 203–29.

47. Patricia Akhimie, *Shakespeare and the Cultivation of Difference: Race and Conduct in the Early Modern World* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

48. M. NourbeSe Philip, "Dis Place—The Space Between," in *A Genealogy of Resistance and Other Essays*, by M. NourbeSe Philip (Toronto: Mercury Press, 1997), 77, 76.

49. "Negroe Women's Children to Serve according to the Condition of the Mother," act XII, 1662, in William W. Herring, *Statutes at Large of Virginia* (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1819–1921), vol. 2, 170; quoted in J. L. Morgan, *Reckoning*, 4. Morgan notes that "the law was soon adopted by all English colonies as they defined the status of the enslaved. It stood as law until the abolition of slavery in 1863" (*Reckoning*, 4n).

50. Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

51. Spillers, "Mama's Baby," 225. See also Katherine McKittrick, "Plantation Futures," *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 17.3 (November 1, 2013): 1–15; and McKittrick's discussion of the relationship between body and landscape in Philip's essay in *Demonic Grounds*, 44–52.

52. J.L. Morgan, *Reckoning*, 5. See also S. Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, chapter 3.

53. See J.L. Morgan, *Reckoning*, 35; as well as Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 74.

54. J.L. Morgan, *Laboring Women*, 40. See also Felicity Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), introduction and chapter 4.

55. For the English elision of the East and West Indies—as well as of the people who resided there—see Ashley Cohen, *The Global Indies: British Imperial Culture and the Reshaping of the World, 1756–1815* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).

56. Jane Jones, "New Light on the Background and Early Life of Aphra Behn," *Notes and Queries* 37.3 (September 1990): 288–93. See also Jacqueline Pearson, "Slave Princes and Lady Monsters: Gender and Ethnic Difference in the Work of Aphra Behn," in Todd, *Aphra Behn Studies*, 221.

57. On *Abdelazer*, see Orr, *Empire*, 171–73; and Adam R. Beach, "Global Slavery, Old World Bondage, and Aphra Behn's *Abdelazer*," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 53.4 (2012): 413–31. On *The Widow Ranter*, see Margo Hendricks, "Civility, Barbarism, and Aphra Behn's *The Widow Ranter*," in *Women, "Race" and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (London: Routledge, 1994), 225–39; and Peggy Thompson, *Coyness and Crime in Restoration Comedy: Women's Desire, Deception, and Agency* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2012), especially chapter 4. On *Oroonoko*, see Ros Ballaster, "New Hystericism: Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*, the Body, the Text, and the Feminist Critic," in *New Feminist Discourses: Critical Essays on Theories and Texts*, ed. Isobel Armstrong (London: Routledge, 1992), 283–329; Charlotte Sussman, "The Other Problem with Women: Reproduction and Slave Culture in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*," in *Rereading Aphra Behn: History, Theory, and Criticism*, ed. Heidi Hutner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 212–33; Laura Brown, *Ends of Empire: Women and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), especially chapter 1; Suvir Kaul, "Reading Literary Symptoms: Colonial Pathologies and the *Oroonoko* Fictions of Behn, Southerne, and Hawkesworth," *Eighteenth Century Life* 18.3 (1994): 80–96; Margaret Ferguson, "Juggling the Categories of Race, Class and Gender: Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*," in Hendricks and Parker, *Women, "Race" and Writing*, 209–24; Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688–1804* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), chapter 1; and Sills, *Against the Map*, chapter 2. See also Catherine Ingrassia, "Aphra Behn, Captivity, and *The Emperor of the Moon*," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 41.2 (2017): 53–67.

58. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, 11. See also Gallagher, *Nobody's Story*, who reads Oroonoko's blackness as a metaphor for Behn's identity as a writer; Warren Chernaik, *Sexual Freedom in Restoration Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), who reads slavery as a metaphor for white women's experience of "prostitution and marriage alike," though without reference to the Black women for whom slavery was not a metaphor (120); and Pearson, "Slave Princes." Ania Loomba, though interested in writers who predate Behn, was an early advocate for race as marking differences (if nuanced, in her account) between women's experience of patriarchal ideologies. See Loomba, *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

59. Joyce Green MacDonald, *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. chapters 4–5. Black feminist scholars have long emphasized the exclusions of white feminist scholarship; see, for instance, bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*, 2nd ed. (Boca Raton, FL: Routledge, 2014), esp. chapter 2; Audre Lorde, "An Open Letter to Mary Daly," in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, ed. Cherry Moraga and Gloria Anzaldùa (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981), 90–93; and Hazel Carby, "White Woman, Listen! Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood," in *The*

Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in Seventies Britain, by Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (London: Hutchinson, 1982), 212–35.

60. For the relationships between Black women as laborers and white women as consumers see Charlotte Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties: Consumer Protest, Gender, and British Slavery, 1713–1833* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000). On portraits, see Roach, "Global Parasol"; and Amelia Rauser, *The Age of Undress: Art, Fashion, and the Classical Ideal in the 1790s* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020), chapter 4.

61. Noémie Ndiaye, "'Come Aloft, Jack-little-ape!': Race and Dance in *The Spanish Gypsie*," *English Literary Renaissance* 51.1 (2021): 121–51. See also Mark Netzloff, *England's Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), chapter 4; and Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England*, 1st ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

62. These less privileged women include servants as well. On Angellica's dependence on her servant Moretta (whose name recalls the "Moors" enslaved throughout London), see Rita Allison Kondrath, "Subverting Hierarchy and Vying for Agency: Mistresses and Maidservants in Pix's *The Beau Defeated* and Behn's *The Rover*," in *The Public's Open to Us All: Essays on Women and Performance in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Laura Engel (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 30–54.

Chapter 3

1. James Ralph, *A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings, Statues and Ornaments in, and about London and Westminster* (London: Printed by C. Ackers, for J. Wilford, and J. Clarke, 1734), 4.

2. Religious and literary historians have employed a variety of terms to name the diverse array of non-Anglican Protestant sects practicing in England at this time. As Michael R. Watts argues in his exhaustive taxonomy of seventeenth-century English religious sects, the term *Dissenters* was probably more common than *Nonconformists* before the nineteenth century (Watts, *Dissenters*, vol. 1, *From the Reformation to the French Revolution* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978], 1–2). *Dissenters*, however, does not necessarily include the more moderate Presbyterians, who did not recognize the king as the head of the Church but did not see themselves as actively dissenting from or protesting Anglicanism's other precepts. This did not prevent the Presbyterians, along with other Dissenters, from being ejected from the Church of England on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1662. To avoid confusion, then, I have followed N.H. Keeble in using *Nonconformist* when I am talking about all those—including Presbyterians—excluded from Anglicanism by the Act of Uniformity, as well as sects—like Quakers—who had severed ties with the Church long before the English civil wars. When discussing events that occurred before the Act of Uniformity, I have tried to use the term *Puritan* or to refer to sects individually (i.e., *Quaker, Fifth-Monarchist*), as well as following contemporary nomenclature by using *Stage Puritan* whenever I refer to the stock character of the Nonconformist on the Restoration stage. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1987), 42. See also G.R. Cragg,

Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution, 1660–1688 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), viii.

3. C. Hill, *World*, 15. See also Linebaugh and Rediker's preface to the second edition of *The Many-Headed Hydra*, ix–xiii.

4. C. Hill, *World*, 15.

5. Watt, *Rise of the Novel*, 75.

6. John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); and Pocock, *Virtue*. More recently, Steve Pincus has argued that "it would be wrong to understand 1688 or 1689 as a fundamental break in English history," given the ways the revolutionaries were drawing on previous intellectual traditions; but, he clarifies, "it would . . . be fair to say that the character of English state and society relations was fundamentally altered" through the transformation of England "from an agrarian into a manufacturing society, . . . the massive military buildup necessary" to fight a war with France, and the promotion of a religiously tolerant society. Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 8. See also Robinson, *Black Marxism*, esp. chapters 1–2; Orr, *Empire*, esp. chapter 7; Lowe, *Intimacies*; Burkert, *Speculative Enterprise*, introduction and chapter 1; Laura J. Rosenthal, *Ways of the World: Theater and Cosmopolitanism in the Restoration and Beyond* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), epilogue; and Gabriel Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation: Colonization, Politics, and English Identity, 1660–1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2023), chapter 4.

7. *Steeplehouse* as a descriptor of an Anglican Church appears throughout George Fox, *The Short Journal and the Itinerary Journals of George Fox*, ed. T. Edmund Harvey (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005). See also Sills's analysis of Nonconformist John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* as replacing the mappable parish with the more fluid "neighborhood" (*Against the Map*, chapter 1).

8. Quoted in Watts, *Dissenters*, vol. 1, 221.

9. John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558–1689* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 2000), 168.

10. Gary S. De Krey, *London and the Restoration, 1659–1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 87. N.H. Keeble notes that "this brought to some 2,000 the total 'ejected' since the return of Charles II." Keeble, "Introduction: Attempting Uniformity," in *"Settling the Peace of the Church": 1662 Revisited*, ed. N.H. Keeble (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 18.

11. Wall, *Literary and Cultural Spaces*, 186.

12. See Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 64.

13. Keeble, *Literary Culture*, 187.

14. See Keeble, *Literary Culture*; and Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 1982).

15. Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae, or, Mr. Richard Baxters Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of His Life and Times*, ed. Matthew Sylvester (London: Printed for T. Parkhurst et al., 1696), pt. 3, p. 4, *Early English Books Online*, https://

www.proquest.com/books/reliquiæ-baxterianæ-mr-richard-baxters-narrative/docview/2240939289/se-2.

16. Wall, *Literary and Cultural Spaces*, 187.

17. Richard L. Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664–1677* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 157.

18. See Keeble, *Literary Culture*, 141; and Ana M. Acosta, "Spaces of Dissent and the Public Sphere in Hackney, Stoke Newington, and Newington Green," *Eighteenth Century Life* 27.1 (2003): 1–26.

19. De Krey, *London and the Restoration*, 90.

20. See Simon Dixon, "The Priest, the Quakers, and the Second Conventicle Act: The Battle for Gracechurch Street Meeting House, 1670," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 301–18.

21. The influence of the Nonconformist spiritual autobiography on the eighteenth-century novel has become something of a truism in the field; some of the most influential works on the subject include Watt, *Rise of the Novel*, esp. chapter 3; G. A. Starr, *Defoe & Spiritual Autobiography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965); McKeon, *Origins*, esp. chapter 3; John B. Bender, *Imagining the Penitentiary: Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), esp. chapter 2; Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject*; Hunter, *Before Novels*, esp. chapter 12. Alison Conway traces similar links between the novel, Nonconformity, and the courtesan narrative in *The Protestant Whore: Courtesan Narrative and Religious Controversy in England, 1680–1750* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

22. Wall, *Literary and Cultural Spaces*, esp. chapter 6.

23. Abraham Cowley, *Cutter of Coleman Street* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1663), 71, Early English Books Online, https://www.proquest.com/books/cutter-coleman-street-1663/docview/2138575485/se-2.

24. Cowley, *Cutter of Coleman Street*, 71.

25. Cowley, *Cutter of Coleman Street*, 71.

26. David Marshall, *The Figure of Theater: Shaftesbury, Defoe, Adam Smith, and George Eliot* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), esp. pt. 2; Patrick Collinson, "Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*: The Theatre Constructs Puritanism," in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576–1649*, ed. David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 157–69; Leah S. Marcus, "Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*: Of Mire and Authorship," in Smith, Strier, and Bevington, *Theatrical City*, 170–81; and Wall, "Defoe and Drama," in *The Oxford Handbook of Daniel Defoe, ed.* Nicholas Seager and J.A. Downie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 69–90. See also J.A. Downie, "Defoe's *Review*, the Theatre, and Anti-High-Church Propaganda," *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 15.1 (1976): 24–32.

27. Misty G. Anderson, *Imagining Methodism in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Enthusiasm, Belief & the Borders of the Self* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), esp. chapter 4.

28. For evidence of *Bartholomew Fair* in early Restoration repertoire, particularly before 1674, see John Creaser, "Bartholomew Fair: Stage History," *The Cambridge*

Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online, Cambridge University Press, 2014, https://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/stage_history_BartholomewFair/.

29. Hughes, *English Drama*, 122–25.

30. Wycherley, *Love in a Wood; or, St James's Park*, in Wycherley, *Plays*, ed. Friedman, act III, scene i, lines 32–33. Subsequent citations are abbreviated: the title is given as *LW*, followed by act, scene, and line number.

31. Hughes, *English Drama*, 122.

32. Hughes, *English Drama*, 122.

33. William Wycherley, *Love in a Wood*, in William Wycherley, *William Wycherley: The Country Wife and Other Plays*, ed. Peter Dixon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 415n. Subsequent citations from this collection are cited by editor (P. Dixon).

34. J.D. Canfield, *Tricksters*, 116.

35. Hughes, *English Drama*, 231.

36. *Mr. Turbulent: or, The Melancholicks* (London: printed for Simon Neal, 1682), prologue, n.p, *Early English Books Online*, https://www.proquest.com/books/mr-turbulent-melancholicks-comedy-as-was-acted/docview/2240891661/se-2.

37. Diana Solomon, *Prologues and Epilogues of Restoration Theater: Gender and Comedy, Performance and Print* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013), 3. See also Mary Etta Knapp, *Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1961), v–vi.

38. J.D. Canfield, *Tricksters*, 103. See also Corman, *Genre and Generic Change*, 30.

39. Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, vol. 3, 84.

40. Creaser, "Bartholomew Fair," 11.

41. Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, vol. 3, 84.

42. Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, vol. 3, 151.

43. Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, vol. 3, 152.

44. Daniel Defoe, *The Family Instructor: In Three Parts*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for Eman Matthews, 1715), pt. 1, n.p, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0122893796/ECCO?u=ucberkeley&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=5d7075a3&pg=1. See Wall, "Defoe and Drama," 78–79.

45. Compare Christian and his companions making their way through the fair, in *Pilgrim's Progress*, "with their fingers in their ears, and cry[ing] Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity, and look[ing] upwards, signifying that their trade and traffic was heaven" to Zeal-of-the-Land Busy's imbrications to his fellow Puritans to "walk on in the middle way, fore-right; turn neither to the right hand nor to the left. Let not your eyes be drawn aside with vanity, nor your ear with noises . . . you must not look, nor turn toward them. The heathen man could stop his ears with wax against the harlot o' the sea; do you the like, with your fingers, against the bells of the Beast." John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress: From This World to That Which Is to Come, Delivered Under the Similitude of a Dream*, ed. Stuart Sim (Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1996), 73; and Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, in *Ben Jonson: The Alchemist and Other Plays*, ed. Gordon Campbell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), act III, scene ii, lines 27–29, 41–43.

46. Edward Terrill, *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640–1687*, ed.

Roger Hayden (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1974), 150–51, HathiTrust Digital Library. Emphasis in original.

47. Terrill, *Records*, 151.

48. Terrill, *Records*, 152.

49. Terrill, *Records*, 151.

50. Mullaney, *Place of the Stage*, 44.

51. Marcus, "Ben Jonson's," 180.

52. See George Lyon Turner, ed., *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1911, 3 vols., Vol. 1: *Texts*, 85–94, HathiTrust Digital Library. I am grateful to Crystal Song for compiling this data.

53. Juan A. Prieto-Pablos, "*Ignoramus, The Woman Turned Bully*, and Restoration Satire on the Common Lawyer," *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 48.3 (2008): 523–46.

54. G.L. Turner, *Original Records*, vol. 1, 414.

55. See, especially, Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); as well as Coffey, *Persecution*, esp. chapter 8; Watts, *Dissenters*, vol. 1, esp. chapter 4; and the articles included in Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke, eds., *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

56. Coffey, *Persecution*, 200. See also Watts, who notes that the Toleration Act also "failed to make clear the legal position of Dissenting schools and academies" (*Dissenters*, vol. 1, 264).

57. Jonathan I. Israel, "William III and Toleration," in Grell, Israel, and Tyacke, *From Persecution to Toleration*, 153–54.

58. Coffey, *Persecution*, 203.

59. The phrase was popularized by Dickson as the title of his *Financial Revolution in England*.

60. Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, chapter 5.

61. This emphasis on freedom of motion combined with increased state surveillance was cemented later by the Schism Act of 1715, as Sills notes (*Against the Map*, 18).

62. Quoted in Vaughan Hart, *Sir John Vanbrugh: Storyteller in Stone* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), xii.

63. See Caroline Dalton, *Sir John Vanbrugh and the Vitruvian Landscape*, 1st ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012). See also Wall, *Grammars of Approach*, 21.

64. Morrissey, *From the Temple*, 51. The second phrase is Vanbrugh's, quoted in Morrissey, *From the Temple*, 43. Nikolaus Pevsner has been influential on the study of Vanbrugh as a pioneer of "irregular" planning in architecture. See Pevsner, "Richard Payne Knight," *Art Bulletin* 31.4 (1949): 294.

65. Hart, *Sir John Vanbrugh*, xii. See also Hart, *Sir John Vanbrugh*, chapter 4; as well as Dalton, who speculates that Vanbrugh's Orientalist design for the mausoleum at Castle Howard "hints at Vanbrugh's skeptical view of the Church" (*Vitruvian Landscape*, 76).

66. William Tong, *Account of the Life and Death of Mr Mathew Henry* (1716), quoted in Kerry Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh: A Biography* (London: Sidgwick & Jack-

son, 1987), 38. See also K. Downes, *Biography*, 34–45; Frank McCormick, *Sir John Vanbrugh: The Playwright as Architect* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 7–8; and Hart, *Sir John Vanbrugh*, xi–xvi.

67. F. McCormick, *Playwright*, 89–95. See also Timothy Mowl's description of Vanbrugh's architecture as influenced by "the Theatre of Honour, its scenery and its ethos, that liberated his visual imagination" and that explains "the absolute *in*authenticity of his creations in medieval terms." Mowl, "Antiquaries, Theatre and Early Medievalism," in *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England, 1690–1730*, ed. Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 2000), 85.

68. Hume, *Development*, 8.

69. L. Brown, *English Dramatic Form*, 117–23. Other key contributors to the discussion of Vanbrugh's status as a transitional figure include Paul Mueschke and Jeanette Fleisher, "A Re-Evaluation of Vanbrugh," *PMLA* 49 (September 1934): 848–89; John Loftis, *Comedy and Society from Congreve to Fielding* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959), esp. chapter 3; Gerald M. Berkowitz, *Sir John Vanbrugh and the End of Restoration Comedy* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981); Derek Hughes, "Cibber and Vanbrugh: Language, Place, and Social Order in *Love's Last Shift*," *Comparative Drama* 20.4 (Winter 1986): 287–304; Derek Hughes, "Vanbrugh and Cibber: Language, Place, and Social Order in *The Relapse*," *Comparative Drama* 21.1 (Spring 1987): 62–83; and Helen Drougge, "The Deep Reserves of Man: Anxiety in Vanbrugh's *The Relapse*," *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 34.3 (Summer 1994): 507–23. Carlos J. Gómez reads Vanbrugh's first play, *The Relapse*, as a reaction to the Glorious Revolution but does not consider it or *The Provok'd Wife* in relationship to the proximate Act of Toleration. Gómez, "Kicking Conscience Downstairs: Tom Fashion's Rebellion in Vanbrugh's *The Relapse*," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700 24.2* [Fall 2000]: 98–120.

70. Alan Roper is typical in noting the "traditional language and morality . . . of homiletic literature" that pervade Vanbrugh's dialogue in *The Relapse* but in reading these elements merely as "witty inversion[s]" of religious doctrine. Roper, "Language and Action in *The Way of the World, Love's Last Shift*, and *The Relapse*," *ELH* 40.1 (Spring 1973): 59–60. See also Pieter Jan van Niel, "*The Relapse*: Into Death and Damnation," *Educational Theatre Journal* 21.3 (October 1969): 318–32; J. Douglas Canfield, "Religious Language and Religious Meaning in Restoration Comedy," *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 20.3 (Summer 1980): 385–406; Hughes, "Cibber and Vanbrugh" as well as "Vanbrugh and Cibber"; Michael Cordner, "Playwright Versus Priest: Profanity and the Wit of Restoration Comedy," in *Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 209–25; Michael Cordner, "Time, the Churches, and Vanbrugh's Lord Foppington," *Durham University Journal* 77.1 (December 1984): 11-17; and Michael Cordner, "Marriage Comedy after the 1688 Revolution: Southerne to Vanbrugh," *Modern Language Review* 85.2 (April 1990): esp. 286–87.

71. John Vanbrugh, *The Provok'd Wife, a Comedy, As It Is Acted at the New Theatre in Little Lincolns-Inn-Fields* (London: Printed by J.O. for R. Wellington . . . and Sam. Briscoe, 1697), III.i.37, *Early English Books Online*, https://www.proquest.com/books/provokd-wife-1697/docview/2138582241/se-2. Subsequent citations are provided in the text by act, scene, and page numbers.

72. Michael Cordner, "Anti-Clericalism in Vanbrugh's *The Provoked Wife*," *Notes and Queries* 28.3 (June 1981): 214–16.

73. G.L. Turner, *Original Records*, vol. 1, 84–90. Turner describes the "Inne" on p. 88.

74. John Bull, "Sir John Vanbrugh and George Farquhar in the Post-Restoration Age," in Owen, *Companion to Restoration Drama*, 438.

75. Daniel Gustafson, *Lothario's Corpse: Libertine Drama and the Long-Running Restoration, 1700–1832* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2020), 115.

76. See Jane Garrett, *The Triumphs of Providence: The Assassination Plot, 1696* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

77. As Cynthia Wall notes, the term *Covent Garden Church* was "equally a code for St. Paul's Covent Garden and a brothel" in several Restoration comedies. Wall, *Literary and Cultural Spaces*, 185.

78. A catalogue of conventicles issued by the episcopal authorities in 1669 lists one meeting a few blocks from Covent Garden "at Rich. Newby's house in the Strand" and another "at his own house in Covent Garden" (G.L. Turner, *Original Records*, vol. 1, 85). Richard L. Greaves notes that "in the mid-1660s" one Covent Garden meeting attracted in excess of "approximately 200" worshippers, making it one of the largest on record within the capital (Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet*, 127).

79. *OED Online*, *s.v.* "journey (*n.*)," accessed 3 January 2025, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/journey_n?tab=meaning_and_use#40453723.

80. John Vanbrugh, "'Revised Scenes' to *The Provok'd Wife*," in *John Vanbrugh: The Relapse and Other Plays*, ed. Brean Hammond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 180–86.

81. William Dewsbery, *The Faithful Testimony of That Antient Servant of the Lord, and Minister of the Everlasting Gospel William Dewsbery* (London: Printed for Andrew Sowle et al., 1689), 68–69, *Early English Books Online*, https://www.proquest.com/books/faithful-testimony-that-antient-servant-lord/docview/2240959944/se-2. The use of dialogue in descriptions of trials, especially, were common in Nonconformist memoirs: see, for instance, George Whitehead, *The Christian Progress of That Ancient Servant and Minister of Jesus Christ, George Whitehead* (London: J. Sowle, 1725), HathiTrust Digital Library, 323–33. Bunyan uses the dialogue form often in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. See Wall, "Defoe and Drama," 77–78.

82. Park, "Politicizing Sexuality/Sexualizing Politics: Body and Language in Vanbrugh's *The Provoked Wife*," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 18.2 (1994): 109.

83. Park, "Politicizing Sexuality/Sexualizing Politics: Body and Language in Vanbrugh's *The Provoked Wife*," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 18.2 (1994): 109.

84. The phrase *separate confinements* is Hughes's in *English Drama*, 123.

85. Carlos J. Gómez, "Courtship, Marriage Vows, and Political Metaphor in Vanbrugh's *The Relapse* and *The Provoked Wife*," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 1.2 (Fall/Winter 2001): 114. See also Hume's description of the depiction of marriage in Vanbrugh's play as "unsettling" in *Development*, 414.

86. See, for instance, Jonas Barish, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 222; and Loftis, *Comedy and Society*, 25–26.

87. Freeman, *Antitheatricality*, 131.

88. Jeremy Collier, *A Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage*, 5th ed. (London, 1738), 148–49, 63, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link .gale.com/apps/doc/CW0115114083/ECCO?u=ucberkeley&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=58594662.

89. Collier, *Short View*, 150.

90. J. Dryden, *Essay*, 49. Morrissey also notes the links between the "irregularity" and disregard for the classical rules that characterized Vanbrugh's plots, according to Collier, and similar complaints about the "irregularity" and lawlessness of his architecture (*Short View*, 43).

91. Reynolds, *Discourses*, 243.

92. Reynolds, *Discourses*, 243.

93. Reynolds, *Discourses*, 243.

94. Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*, 25th anniversary ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), chapter 2.

95. John Vanbrugh, "Mr. Van-Brugg's Proposals about Building ye New Churches," in Laurence Whistler, *The Imagination of Vanbrugh and His Fellow Artists* (London: Art and Technics Limited, 1954), 251.

96. Daniel Defoe, *A Review of the Affairs at France: With Observations on Transactions at Home*, vol. 2, no. 26 (3 May 1705), 101, *Burney Newspapers Collection*, link-gale-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/apps/doc/Z2000100878/BBCN?u=ucberkeley&sid=bookmark-BBCN&xid=da661c24.

Chapter 4

1. Joseph Haines, "Epilogue to *Love and a Bottle*," in George Farquhar, *The Works of George Farquhar*, ed. Shirley Strum Kenny (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), vol. 1, lines 3–5. Subsequent references to this play are provided parenthetically in the text with the title abbreviated as *LB* followed by act and scene (or by "epil." for the epilogue) and line numbers. Subsequent citations from this collection are cited by editor (Kenny).

2. Daniel Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen: The Controversy over Immigration and Population, 1660–1760* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 22. See also T.W.E. Roche, who describes the seventeenth century as "an interesting field of study, for it was then that a determined attempt was made to set up an organized port control," though this attempt was focused more on the comings and goings of vessels than the comings and goings of individuals. Roche, *The Key in the Lock: A History of Immigration Control in England from 1066 to the Present Day* (London: John Murray, 1969), 41.

3. David Harvey has usefully theorized capitalism as demanding a "progressively expanding geographical scale" in *Spaces of Hope* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 26; see also Harvey's *The Limits to Capital*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006). For the ramping up of England's capitalist (and colonial) ambitions after the Glorious Revolution, see J. Brewer, *Sinews of Power*; and Pincus, *1688*.

4. As Mícheál Ó hAodha has noted, indigenous Irish "Travelers" (communities with a nomadic lifestyle) have a long history that predates the Tudor conquest—almost as long is the history of comparisons between Irish Traveler communities and Romani (or "gypsy") communities. Ó hAodha, *"Insubordinate Irish": Travelers in the*

Text (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 2, ix. On the growth of Irish immigration to England at this time, see Craig Bailey, *Irish London: Middle-Class Migration in the Global Eighteenth Century*, 1st ed. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013); Derek Hirst, *Dominion: England and Its Island Neighbours, 1500–1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Michael Ragussis, *Theatrical Nation: Jews and Other Outlandish Englishmen in Georgian Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), esp. 22–24; Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750–1939*, 2nd ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); and L.M. Cullen, "The Irish Diaspora of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 113-49.

5. Helen Burke traces London's dependence on Dublin stage personnel in "Country Matters: Irish 'Waggery' and the Irish and British Theatrical Traditions," in *Players, Playwrights, Playhouses: Investigating Performance, 1660–1800*, ed. Michael Cordner and Peter Holland (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 213–28.

6. Lisa A. Freeman, *Character's Theater: Genre and Identity on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), chapter 5.

7. Shirley Strum Kenny, "Humane Comedy," *Modern Philology* 75.1 (1977): 34. See also Eric Rothstein, "Farquhar's *Twin-Rivals* and the Reform of Comedy," *PMLA* 70.1 (1964): 33–41; Alan Roper, "*The Beaux' Stratagem*: Image and Action," in *Seventeenth-Century Imagery: Essays on Uses of Figurative Language from Donne to Farquhar*, ed. Earl Miner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Hume, *Development*; L. Brown, *English Dramatic Form*, 135–40; Corman, *Genre and Generic Change*; and Bull, "Sir John Vanbrugh."

8. Kenny, "Humane Comedy," 41.

9. Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, 174.

10. Sussman, *Peopling the World*, chapter 2. For the shifts in English attitudes toward mobility, see also Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), chapter 8; and Ted McCormick, *Human Empire: Mobility and Demographic Thought in the British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

11. K. Wilson, *Strolling Players*.

12. William Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, in *Tracts, Chiefly Relating to Ireland*, by William Petty (Dublin: Printed by Boulter Grierson, 1769), 317, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0105655469/ECCO?u=ucberkeley&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=a8778017&pg=15.

13. Petty, *Political Anatomy*, 318–19.

14. William J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland c. 1530–1750* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2006), 74.

15. Petty, *Political Anatomy*, 372.

16. W.J. Smyth, *Map-Making*, 74. See also J.H. Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland: Maps and Their Makers 1564–1839* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1997), 22; and Kevin McKenny, "The Restoration Land Settlement in Ireland: A Statistical Interpretation," in *Restoration Ireland: Always Settling and Never Settled*, ed. Coleman A. Dennehy (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 35–52.

17. W.J. Smyth, *Map-Making*, 83.

18. See Richard Ansell, "The 1688 Revolution in Ireland and the Memory of 1641," in *Constructing the Past: Writing Irish History, 1600–1800*, ed. Mark Williams and Stephen Paul Forrest (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2010), 73–94; and Burke, *Riotous Performances*, introduction.

19. A brief note on terminology: I capitalize *Indigenous* when I use it as a proper noun, referring to the peoples or descendents of the who inhabited the Americas, specifically, before European colonization (though where available I name the particular community I am discussing); I use *indigenous* (lower-case) as a descriptor for any peoples disrupted or displaced by colonization, though not necessarily in the Americas. As several scholars have discussed, however, there were similarities between the strategies that the English deployed against the Irish and those they used in the Americas. "Observers have long noted connections between Ireland and England's New World expansion, and indeed, mention of Ireland has become de rigueur for Atlantic histories," writes Audrey J. Horning (*Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013], 1). See, for instance, Robinson, *Black Marxism*, introduction; Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560–1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), and *From Reformation to Restoration: Ireland, 1534–1660* (Dublin: Helicon, 1987), chapter 4; Linebaugh and Rediker, *Many-Headed Hydra*, chapter 2; Daniel O'Quinn, *Staging Governance: Theatrical Imperialism in London, 1770–1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 331–36; Jeffrey H. Richards, *Drama, Theatre, and Identity in the American New Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); Nini Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: 1612–1865* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Suvir Kaul, *Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 3–15; Ian McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009); Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013); Jane Ohlmeyer, "Introduction: Ireland in the Early Modern World," in *The Cambridge History of Ireland: Volume II (1550–1730)*, ed. Jane Ohlmeyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1–19; and Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*. The comparison to England's other colonies was in circulation throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well: Ted McCormick notes that Petty himself gestured toward how his experiments in Ireland might be applied to the American colonies. T. McCormick, "'A Proportionable Mixture': William Petty, Political Arithmetic, and the Transmutation of the Irish," in Dennehy, *Restoration Ireland*, 137.

20. Games, *Web of Empire*, chapter 8. Games differs from other historians such as Canny in seeing Irish colonialism less as an "inspiration" for later efforts in the Africa and the Americas than as "a culmination of prior experiences" that informed Cromwell's newly violent approach (256).

21. W.J. Smyth, *Map-Making*, 377.

22. See Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685* (London: Penguin, 2005).

23. David Roberts, *George Farquhar: A Migrant Life Reversed* (London: Methuen Drama, 2018), 148.

24. W.J. Smyth, *Map-Making*, 351.

25. W.J. Smyth, *Map-Making*, 99.

26. David O'Shaughnessy, "Introduction: 'Tolerably Numerous': Recovering the London Irish of the Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth Century Life* 39.1 (2015): 6–7. Leslie Page Moch notes that the building improvements taking place across European cities at this time—including and especially the rebuilding on London after the Fire—"had a most dramatic and direct impact on migration, because they required great teams of seasonal construction workers in addition to the laborers and artisans of the city" (*Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 2nd ed. [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003], 49). See also Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen*, 30; and Laura Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London: Routledge 1996), 116.

27. Lowe, *Intimacies*. The classic work on this subject is Raymond Williams's *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); see also Orr, *Empire*; Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011); Robbie Richardson, *The Savage and Modern Self: North American Indians in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018); and Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*.

28. The question of Ireland's status as kingdom versus colony has become a truism; for a helpful summary of the debate see Jane Ohlmeyer, "Introduction: For God, King or Country? Political Thought and Culture in Seventeenth-Century Ireland," in *Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ireland: Kingdom or Colony*, ed. Jane Ohlmeyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–31, and "Ireland in the Early Modern World," 7–12. See also Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986), chapter 2; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, rev. ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), chapter 1; and Ragussis, *Theatrical Nation*.

29. William Shakespeare, *The Life of Henry the Fifth*, in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Katharine Eisaman Maus (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), act III, scene iii, line 61.

30. Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman: A Satyr* (London: 1700), 20, *Early English Books Online*, https://www.proquest.com/docview/2248541835/11987849?parentSessionId=22OcHHozkwFGHN%2FmLW%2FlOk%2FVGhgWnyHfCELoqaS8mRs%3D&pq-origsite=primo&accountid=14496.

31. Stephanie DeGooyer, *Before Borders: A Legal and Literary History of Naturalization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2022), 14; Srinivas Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, chapter 3.

32. K. Wilson, *Strolling Players*, 56.

33. Quoted in Roberts, *Migrant Life*, 43. Statt notes that, particularly after the turn into the eighteenth century, "the Irish came, often at first as seasonal laborers for the day harvest, and settled in fairly close-knit communities, the largest of which was in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields in London" (*Foreigners and Englishmen*, 31).

34. Humberto Garcia, *England Re-Oriented: How Central and South Asian Travelers Imagined the West, 1750–1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Kaul, *Postcolonial Studies*, chapter 1; Roach, "Global Parasol"; and Orr, *Empire*.

35. Roberts, *Migrant Life*, 43.

36. See Shirley Strum Kenny, "Introduction to *Love and a Bottle*," in Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 1, 11.

37. Annelise Truninger, *Paddy and the Paycock: A Study of the Stage Irishman from Shakespeare to O'Casey* (Bern: Francke, 1976), 15. See also George Chester Duggan, *The Stage Irishman: A History of the Irish Play and Stage Characters from the Earliest Times* (London: Longmans, Green, 1937); J.O. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney: Being an Historical Study of the Earliest Irish, Welsh and Scottish Characters in English Plays* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1954); Leerssen, *Mere Irish*; and Christopher Morash, *A History of Irish Theatre, 1601–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 41.

38. Owen Dudley Edwards, "The Stage Irish," in *The Creative Migrant*, ed. Patrick O'Sullivan (London: Leicester University Press, 2018), 91.

39. See Ragussis, *Theatrical Nation*.

40. Susan C. Harris, "Mixed Marriage: Sheridan, Macklin, and the Hybrid Audience," in Cordner and Holland, *Players, Playwrights, Playhouses*, 189–212; and Truninger, *Paddy and the Paycock*, 38. Other scholars who emphasize the importance of Farquhar's characters in the trope's history include Helen Burke, "Crossing Acts: Irish Drama from George Farquhar to Thomas Sheridan," *A Companion to Irish Literature*, ed. Julia M. Wright (Hoboken: Wiley, 2010), vol. 1, 125–41; and Miki Iwata, "The Stage-Irishman's Stratagem: George Farquhar and the Emergence of the Smock Alley School," *Studies in English Literature* (2009): 25–43. See also David Hayton, "From Barbarian to Burlesque: English Images of the Irish c. 1660–1750," *Irish Economic and Social History* 15 (1988): 5–31.

41. Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, "Dismantling Irena: The Sexualizing of Ireland in Early Modern England," in Andrew Parker et al., eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 164. See also S.C. Harris, "Mixed Marriage," 192–93; and Declan Kiberd, "The Fall of the Stage Irishman," *Genre* 12.4 (1979): 451–72.

42. Robert Graves, "The Stage Irishman among the Irish," *Theatre History Studies* 1 (1981): 34.

43. Shirley Strum Kenny notes this resemblance in the notes to her edition of the play (Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 1 582–83). See also Hannah Smith, "Politics, Patriotism, and Gender: The Standing Army Debate on the English Stage, circa 1689–1720," *Journal of British Studies* 50.1 (January 2011): 48–75.

44. Games, *Web of Empire*, 264. See also Seamus Deane, *A Short History of Irish Literature* (London: Hutchinson, 1986), 120–21; Christopher J. Wheatley, *Beneath Iërne's Banners: Irish Protestant Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999); Patrick McNally, "'The

Whole People of Ireland': Patriotism, National Identity, and Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," in *Ireland in Proximity: History, Gender, Space*, ed. Scott Brewster et al. (London: Routledge, 1999), 28–41; Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689–1764* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Burke, *Riotous Performances*, 15–16.

45. C. Bailey, *Irish London*; O'Shaughnessy, "Tolerably Numerous." See also the other essays in *Eighteenth-Century Life* 39.1 (2015), a special issue on the London Irish, edited by O'Shaughnessy.

46. Helen Burke, "The Irish Joke, Migrant Networks, and the London Irish in the 1680s," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 39.1 (2015): 61. Scholars have debated whether Farquhar and other Irish playwrights presented their Stage Irishmen as imitation or as critique. See Ragussis, *Theatrical Nation*; Paul Goring, "'John Bull, pit, box, and gallery, said No!': Charles Macklin and the Limits of Ethnic Resistance on the Eighteenth-Century London Stage," *Representations* 79.1 (Summer 2002): 61–81; and Christopher Morash, "Theatre in Ireland, 1690–1800: From the Williamite Wars to the Act of Union," in *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature*, ed. Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), vol. 1, 372–406.

47. Leerssen, *Mere Irish*, 39.

48. Roberts, *Migrant Life*, 17.

49. D.T. Mitchell and Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis*. On the trope of the "'lame' soldier," see Katherine Schaap Williams, *Unfixable Forms: Disability, Performance, and the Early Modern English Theater* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021), 57; as well as Derek Hughes, "Body and Ritual in Farquhar," *Comparative Drama* 31.3 (1997): 414–45.

50. Desmond Slowey reads Lovewell not as English but "just as Irish as Roebuck," but this point seems dubious: Lovewell owns land in Ireland, like many English colonizers, but the play indicates he has not lived there for some time (if ever) and identifies him strongly with the city of London, where he is studying the law. Slowey, *The Radicalization of Irish Drama, 1600–1900: The Rise and Fall of Ascendancy Theatre* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008), 61. As Susan Cannon Harris notes, the Irish theater often staged the "uncontainable sexuality" of the beau as "a weapon in the battle between the Irish and/or Catholic gentry and their Anglo-Protestant competitors." S.C. Harris, "Clearing the Stage: Gender, Class, and the Freedom of the Scenes in Eighteenth-Century Dublin," *PMLA* 119.4 (2004): 1270.

51. As Leerssen notes, "the combined usage of two different, wholly opposite Stage Aliens, the uncivilized Irishman and the overcivilized Frenchman," had become a common trope by Farquhar's day (*Mere Irish*, 98).

52. Derek Hughes, "Who Counts in Farquhar?," *Comparative Drama* 31.1 (1997) 11. See also Hughes, "Body and Ritual."

53. Hughes, "Who Counts?," 12, 8.

54. Eugene Nelson James, "The Burlesque of Restoration Comedy in *Love and a Bottle*," *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 5.3 (Summer 1965): 469–90.

55. T. McCormick, *Human Empire*, 5.

56. See, for instance, Sussman, *Peopling the World*, chapter 2, which traces the links between census taking in the city, census taking in the Irish colonies, and em-

pire building in the Americas; as well as Molly Farrell, *Counting Bodies: Population in Colonial American Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

57. Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, in Petty, *Tracts*, xviii.

58. See Marx, *Capital*; E.P. Thompson, *English Working Class,* and *Whigs and Hunters*; Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*; and Slack, *Invention of Improvement.*

59. Beier, *Masterless Men.*

60. Sussman, *Peopling the World*, 58.

61. Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 23.

62. See Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen*; Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton, eds., *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550–1750* (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 2001); Lien Bich Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London, 1500–1700* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005); Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Longman, 2010), 12–21; and Jacob Selwood, *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010).

63. Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 133. See also Gerry Smyth, *Space and the Irish Cultural Imagination*, 1st ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), chapter 2.

64. William Deringer, *Calculated Values: Finance, Politics, and the Quantitative Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018).

65. Petty, *Treatise of Taxes*, 26.

66. Petty, *Political Anatomy*, 321.

67. T. McCormick, "'Proportionable Mixture,'" 132. See also Ted McCormick, *William Petty: And the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), chapter 5.

68. Sussman, *Peopling the World*, 60.

69. Sussman, *Peopling the World*, chapter 2; and Sills, *Against the Map*, chapter 3.

70. Morash describes Wildair as Irish (*History*, 37). But because his origins are never stated explicitly in the play (aside from a few references to Catholicism, which may have more to do with Wildair's travels to France and Italy), there seems to be little effort by the performers or playwright to ensure that audiences understood him as such.

71. Hughes, "Who Counts?," 22–23.

72. George Farquhar, *The Twin Rivals*, in Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 1, act III, scene ii, 186–89, 192–93. Subsequent citations appear parenthetically in the text with the title abbreviated as *TR* followed by act, scene, and line numbers.

73. Elizabeth B. Bearden, *Monstrous Kinds: Body, Space, and Narrative in Renaissance Representations of Disability* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2019), 10; and Jason S. Farr, *Novel Bodies: Disability and Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century British Literature* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2019).

74. Shirley Strum Kenny clarifies that while the original performance used the name Mother Midnight, the quarto version of the printed play changed the character to Mother Mandrake. The 1716 revival of the play at Lincoln's Inn Fields relied on this copy as its promptbook and so used the second name. When Drury Lane revived

the comedy again in 1725, however, the company seems to have returned to the original promptbook, for Mother Midnight replaces Mother Mandrake in this later version. Kenny, "Introduction to *The Twin-Rivals*," in Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 1, 485. I use Mother Midnight since it was the name used in the original performance, which is my primary concern here.

75. Kenny, "Introduction to *The Twin Rivals*," in Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 1, 485; Vicky Bancroft, "Mrs. Midnight, Mrs. Mandrake, and the Serious Presentation of the 'Drag Role' in *The Twin Rivals*," *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 11.1 (Summer 1996): 22–31. See also Elizabeth Savage, "'For Want of Clelia': Re-Placing the Maternal Body in *The Twin-Rivals*," *Comparative Drama* 42.4 (2008): 481–507.

76. See Sophie Gee, *Making Waste: Leftovers and the Eighteenth-Century Imagination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

77. Here I differ—for reasons that I hope are apparent—from Savage's reading of Young Wou'dbe, not his older brother, as the twin most associated with "foreign customs and foreign climes" as "a debased form of English masculinity" (496).

78. Hughes, *English Drama*, 409.

79. See Edwards, "The Stage Irish," 97–101.

80. Quoted in Kenny, "Introduction to *The Constant Couple*," in Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 1, 133.

81. Leerssen, in *Mere Irish*, describes Bowen as Irish (115), and Iwata repeats this attribution in "Stage-Irishman's Stratagem" (37); but the editors of the *Biographical Dictionary* are less sure that the Bowen born in Dublin in 1666 was the same Bowen who appeared, some thirty years later, on the London stage (vol. 2, 251). Bowen played Teague in *The Committee* for his benefit performance at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 6 March 1701, just over a year before he played the Irish servant in *The Twin Rivals* at Drury Lane in December 1702 (Van Lennep et al., *London Stage*, vol. 2, 8, 29).

82. Bruce Robbins and Paulo Lemos Horta, *Cosmopolitanisms* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 1–17.

83. For the controversy around and the publication history of the "Discourse on Comedy," see Kenny's "Introduction to *Love and Business*" in Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 2, 292.

84. Farquhar, "A Discourse Upon Comedy, In Reference to the English Stage. In a Letter to a Friend," in Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 2, 379. Subsequent citations appear parenthetically in the text. Corman also notes Farquhar's resemblance to Dryden here (*Genre and Generic Change*, 93).

85. Roach, *Cities*, chapter 3; T. Brown, *Amusements*, 10.

86. The centrality of such sentiments to English dramatic theory is clear not only in the resemblance of the "Discourse" to Dryden's *Essay* but also in its resemblance to Samuel Johnson's later (and more famous) preface to *The Plays of William Shakespeare*: "The truth is that the spectators are always in their senses, and know, from the first act to the last, that the stage is only a stage, and that the players are only players. . . . [W]here is the absurdity of allowing that space to represent first Athens, and then Sicily, which was always known to be neither Sicily nor Athens, but a modern theatre?" (Samuel Johnson, "Preface," in *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, Accurately Printed From the Text of the Corrected Copies, Left by the Late*

Samuel Johnson, George Steevens, Isaac Reed, And Edmond Malone, a new ed. in one volume (Leipsic: E. Fleischer, 1833), viii.

87. Bridget Orr, *British Enlightenment Theatre: Dramatizing Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 190.

88. George Farquhar, *The Stage-Coach*, Appendix A, in Kenny, *Works*, vol. 1, 369. Kenny discusses the extent of Farquhar's versus Motteux's contributions in "The Mystery of Farquhar's *Stage-Coach* Reconsidered," *Studies in Bibliography* 32 (1979): 219–36.

89. Farquhar, *The Stage-Coach*, in Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 1, act I, scene i, line 31.

90. Farquhar, *The Beaux' Stratagem*, in Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 2, *dramatis personae*, p. 161. Subsequent citations appear parenthetically in the text with the title abbreviated as *BS* followed by act, scene, and line numbers.

91. Ward, "'Our Darkest Century': The Irish Eighteenth Century in Memory and Modernity," in *Irish Literature in Transition, 1700–1780*, ed. Moyra Haslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 389. See also Jason Shaffer, *Performing Patriotism: National Identity in the Colonial and Revolutionary American Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), chapter 3.

92. Farquhar, *The Recruiting Officer*, in Kenny, ed., *Works*, vol. 2, act V, scene vii, lines 175–78. Timberlake Wertenbaker, too, would allude to forced migration as a tool of empire in the title of her play, taken from a new prologue to *The Recruiting Officer* that one of the characters (the Jewish—and thus outlandish—poet Wisehammer) composes: "From distant climes o'er wide-spread seas we come, / Though not with much éclat or beat of drum, / True patriots all; for be it understood, / We left our country for our country's good." Wertenbaker, *Our Country's Good*, in *Plays One*, by Timberlake Wertenbaker (London: Faber and Faber, 1996), act II, p. 279.

93. Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 4.

94. For the connections between the Stage Irishman and the Stage African—particularly in the American theater—see Richards, *Drama, Theatre, and Identity*.

95. Isaac Bickerstaffe, *The Padlock: A Comic Opera*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for W. Griffin, at Garrick's Head, 1768), act I, scene vi, p. 10, *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*, https://go-gale-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Monographs&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=16&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=3&docId=GALE%7CCW0116476237&docType=Monograph&sort=Pub+Date+Forward+Chron&contentSegment=ZCEX&prodId=ECCO&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CCW0116476237&searchId=R1&userGroupName=ucberkeley&inPS=true. Subsequent references appear parenthetically in the text by act, scene, and page number.

Chapter 5

1. Parliament declared the rebuilding of St. Paul's officially complete on 25 December 1711 (though in fact building continued on the structure for some years); this date is often taken to mark the symbolic end of the city's rebuilding as well. See, for instance, James W.P. Campbell, *Building St. Paul's* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007), 161.

2. Addison, *Spectator* 69 (19 May 1711), in *The Spectator*, vol. 1, 114.

3. Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*, 219. Central to Rosenthal's reading, interestingly, is the way that Addison "looks back to the Restoration for the origin of the cosmopolitanism that Mr. Spectator embraces" (217). For more on this essay as a statement of English cosmopolitanism, see Erin Mackie's introduction to chapter 2, "Getting and Spending: Commerce, Finance, and Consumption," of Erin Mackie, ed., *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from The Tatler and The Spectator* (Boston: Bedford/St Martin's: 1998), 170; Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Vintage, 2000, 2001), 306–7; and Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 90–91. Roach has also described Mr. Spectator's wanderings through the Royal Exchange, influentially, as a performance; see *Cities of the Dead*, 87–88; others interested in the theatricality of cosmopolitanism and interculturalism include Mita Choudhury, *Interculturalism and Resistance in the London Theater, 1660–1800: Identity, Performance, Empire* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2000), 18; Orr, *Empire*; and Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*, 3–7 and chapter 1.

4. For an explanation of my usage of "Black" vs. "black," please see Introduction, note 98.

5. Black Lives Matter activists have recently emphasized the links between William Garrard, who helped to finance the founding of the Royal Exchange, and slavery; see Alan Crawford, Greg Ritchie, and Viren Vaghela, "'Some Inexcusable Connections': London and Its Slavery Problems," *The Independent*, 30 June 2020, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/slavery-london-black-lives-matter-lloyds-barclays-a9591011.html.

6. Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*. See also Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*; Clifford, *Routes*; Linebaugh and Rediker, *Many-Headed Hydra*; the essays collected in Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, eds., *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Lowe, *Intimacies*, chapter 2; and the essays contained within "Exoticism, Cosmopolitanism, and Fictions of Diversity," edited by Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins, a special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (25.1 [2012]); Bruce Robbins and Paulo Lemos Horta, "Introduction," in Robbins and Horta, *Cosmopolitanisms*; and Achille Mbembe, "Afropolitanism," trans. Paulo Lemos Horta, in Robbins and Horta, *Cosmopolitanisms*, 102–7.

7. Monica L. Miller, *Slaves to Fashion: Black Dandyism and the Styling of Black Diasporic Identity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 56.

8. The boy is never explicitly described as enslaved, but those scholars who have written about him presume him to be so; Laura Rosenthal notes that Don Diego is said to have acquired his wealth in part in the Canary Islands, an archipelago off the coast of Northwest Africa and thus a crucial stop for ships transporting enslaved people across the Atlantic. See Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*, 65. The obliqueness of Wycherley's references to slavery here were typical at the time: as Amussen notes, "In their correspondence with England, planters, merchants, and officials tended to assume the existence of slavery rather than to justify or even explain it. Referring to African slaves as 'servants' elided the differences between free and chattel labor. Finally, the repeated use of the term 'Negro' instead of 'slave' served to foreground the workers' origins, rather than their legal status. The distinction between free and enslaved labor rested on what came to be known as race." Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges*, 91.

9. Thomas Jordan, *London's Resurrection to Joy and Triumph, Expressed in Sundry Shews, Scenes, Speeches, and Songs in Parts: Celebrious to the Well-Meriting Magistrate Sir George Waterman KT. &c* (London: 1671), 3, *Early English Books Online*, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A46255.0001.001/1:2.2?rgn=div2;view=fulltext.

10. *OED Online*, "master (*v.*), 1.7b, accessed 3 January 2025, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/master_v?tab=meaning_and_use#37754199.

11. As Kim F. Hall and Peter Erickson summarize succinctly in their introduction to a special issue of *Shakespeare Quarterly* on "Rereading Early Modern Race," scholars are currently engaged in a heated debate about when modern conceptions of race and Blackness can be said to emerge—and thus to what extent modern critical race theory (such as the work of W.E.B. Dubois and Franz Fanon) can be applied to earlier texts. Hall and Erickson, "A New Scholarly Song: Rereading Early Modern Race," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 67.1 (Spring 2016): 1–13. Proponents of the idea that racial essentialism emerged only near the end of the eighteenth century include, most influentially, Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004); and George Boulukos, *The Grateful Slave: The Emergence of Race in Eighteenth-Century British and American Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Early modern scholars who have insisted on the applicability of a category like "race" to earlier texts and particularly to earlier performances include Loomba, *Gender*; Margo Hendricks, most famously in "Surveying 'Race' in Shakespeare," *Shakespeare and Race*, ed. Catherine M.S. Alexander and Stanley Wells (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–22, as well as in Hendricks and Parker, *Women, "Race" and Writing*; Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); K. Wilson, *Island Race*; Ayanna Thompson, *Performing Race and Torture on the Early Modern Stage* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Amanda Bailey, *Of Bondage: Debt, Property, and Personhood in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), esp. chapters 4–5; Emily Weissbourd, "'Those in Their Possession': Race, Slavery, and Queen Elizabeth's 'Edicts of Expulsion,'" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 78.1 (2015): 1–19; Cassander L. Smith, *Black Africans in the British Imagination: English Narratives of the Early Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016); Akhimie, *Shakespeare*; the essays collected in Cassander L. Smith, Nicholas R. Jones, and Miles P. Grier, eds., *Early Modern Black Diaspora Studies: A Critical Anthology*, 1st ed. (Cham: Springer International, 2018); Chakravarty, *Fictions of Consent*; and Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*.

12. The first entry for the play in *The London Stage* is for 6 February 1672, but the editors note, "There is no indication as to whether this is the premiere" (Van Lennep et al., *London Stage*, vol. 1, 192). J. Powell describes this as the first new script to receive a production at Dorset Garden (*Restoration Theatre Production*, 16).

13. Wycherley, *Gentleman Dancing-Master*, I.i.1–12. Subsequent references are provided parenthetically in the text by act, scene, and line number.

14. James Thomson's ode "Rule, Britannia!," later set to music by Thomas Arne, was first published as part of Thomson's and David Mallet's *Alfred, a Masque* (Thom-

son and Mallet, *Alfred, a Masque* [London: Printed for A Millar, 1740], 42), See Suvir Kaul's analysis of Thomson's 1740 verse in *Poems of Nation, Anthems of Empire: English Verse in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Press of Virginia, 2000, 1–8.

15. Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 112.

16. Wycherley, *Gentleman Dancing-Master*, prologue, 125.

17. See John Loftis, *The Spanish Plays of Neoclassical England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973), 121–30; Graham Thomas, "William Wycherley in Spain: Some New Evidence," *Notes and Queries* 45.1 (1998): 53–54; and Nora Rodríguez Loro, "Calderón's and Wycherley's Dancing-Masters," in *English and American Studies in Spain: New Developments and Trends*, ed. Alberto Lázaro Lafuente and María Dolores Porto Requejo (Alcalà: Universidad de Alcalà Servicio de Publicaciones, 2015), 136–43.

18. Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, 121–30. For a longer history of the significance of Spanish settings to English drama, see Eric J. Griffin, *Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Jorge Riera Braga, "The Adaptation of Seventeenth-Century Spanish Drama to the English Stage During the Restoration Period: The Case of Calderón," in Gill, *Theatre and Culture*, 119–30; and Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature*, 1st ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

19. Although an earlier charter dating from 1663 listed the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa's business as humans as well as gold, James Walvin argues that the 1672 charter marked a significant moment in which "official terminology began at last to reflect the reality of the African's chattel status. Henceforth, decreed the Charter, only the African Company was permitted to 'import any redwood, elephants' teeth, negroes, slaves, hides, wax, guinea grains, or *other commodities*.'" Walvin, *Black and White: The Negro and English Society, 1555–1945* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), 38; emphasis is Walvin's. Rosenthal reads Wycherley's play as referencing "the monarch's massive recommitment to a previously weak venture [the Royal African Company]" (*Ways of the World*, 69). See also Michael Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen: Human Bondage in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

20. Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 3.

21. Some recent examples include E.M. Dillon, *New World Drama*; K. Wilson, *Strolling Players*; and Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*.

22. Holly Brewer, "Creating a Common Law of Slavery for England and Its New World Empire," *Law and History Review* 39.4 (November 2021): 765–834. See also Abigail L. Swingen, *Competing Visions of Empire: Labor, Slavery, and the Origins of the British Atlantic Empire*, 1st ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).

23. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and Sidbury James, eds., *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

24. Imtiaz H. Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008); and Gretchen Gerzina, *Black London: Life*

Before Emancipation (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995) as well as Gerzina, ed., *Britain's Black Past* (Oxford: Liverpool University Press, 2020). See also the "Mapping Black London" digital project, led by Nicole N. Aljoe and Oliver Ayers at Northeastern University, which traces the presence of Black Londoners in the latter half of the eighteenth century, focusing on the lifetime and travels of Black London author Ignatius Sancho (ca. 1729–1780). Aljoe and Ayers, "Mapping Black London," https://mappingblacklondon.org, accessed 10 April 2024. The list of scholars and writers who have studied the longer history of Black people's presence in England (not necessarily limited to London) include Edward Scobie, *Black Britannia: A History of Blacks in Britain* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing, 1972); Folarin Olawale Shyllon, *Black People in Britain, 1555–1833* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977); Walvin, *Black and White*; Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto, 1984); St. Clair Drake, *Black Folk Here and There: An Essay in History and Anthropology* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987); Anthony Gerard Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race: The Representation of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987); David Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth-Century English Art* (Mundelstrup, Denmark: Dangaroo Press, 1985); Kathleen Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales during the Period of the British Slave Trade, c. 1660–1807* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (London: Macmillan, 2016); and Hakim Adi, ed., *Black British History: New Perspectives* (London: Zed Books, 2019).

25. Philip D. Morgan, "British Encounters with Africans and African-Americans, circa 1600–1780," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 159. P.D. Morgan notes that this number "constituted the largest urban concentration of blacks in the British Empire" outside of African cities (159).

26. See Charles Foy, "Britain's Black Tars," in Gerzina, *Black Britain's Past*, 63–80. James Walvin notes that "in the early years after the Restoration" Afro-diasporic people "became everyday sights on the streets of London" (Walvin, *Black and White*, 10); Jennifer Germann draws a similar conclusion about Black women in particular (though in a slightly later period) in "'Other Women Were Present': Seeing Black Women in Georgian London," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 54.3 (2021): 535–53. It is perhaps this visibility that made contemporary estimates of the Black population of London so wildly divergent; and Kathleen Chater notes that "in 1764 the *Gentleman's Magazine* estimated that there were 'near twenty thousand Negroe servants' in the capital, and in the following year the *Morning Chronicle* said there were some thirty thousand in the whole country" (*Untold Histories*, 25).

27. Zacharias Konrad von Uffenbach, *London in 1710: From the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach*, ed. and trans. by W.H. Quarrell and Margaret Mare (London: Faber and Faber, 1934), 88.

28. Gretchen Gerzina mentions St. Giles as among the neighborhoods with higher Black populations in *Black London*, 24; see also P.D. Morgan, "British Encounters," 159. As David Olusoga notes, however, "the sources for this are vague" (*Black and British*, 86).

29. Habib, *Black Lives*, 116.

30. Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*, 42.

31. Miller, *Slaves to Fashion*, 56. See also Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks*, 84–88; Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans*, 34–38; Roach, "Global Parasol" as well as *Cities of the Dead*, 128; Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges*; Gikandi, *Slavery*, chapters 1 and 4; Ann Lafont, "How Skin Color Became a Racial Marker: Art Historical Perspectives on Race," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 51.1 (2017): 89–113; and Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*, chapter 2.

32. Jean E. Howard, "*Dancing-Master*s and the Production of Cosmopolitan Bodies in Caroline Town Comedy," in *Localizing Caroline Drama: Politics and Economics on the Early Modern Stage, 1625–1642*, ed. Adam Zucker and Alan B. Farmer (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 188.

33. Rose A. Zimbardo observes in the play "Wycherley's characteristic obsession with mask" in *Wycherley's Drama: A Link in the Development of English Satire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1965), 58. See also W. Gerald Marshall, "The Idea of Theatre in Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 6.1 (Spring 1982): 1–10; and James Thompson, *Language in Wycherley's Plays: Seventeenth-Century Language Theory and Drama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1984), 55–70.

34. The phrase is Peggy Thompson's, introduced and elaborated in "'Why Say We No?': The Trope of Insincere Resistance in *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* and *The Plain Dealer*," *Papers on Language and Literature* 42.4 (Fall 2006): 420–39; and *Coyness and Crime*. See also Virginia Ogden Birdsall, *Wild Civility: The English Comic Spirit on the Restoration Stage* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), 106–30; Robert Markley, *Two-Edg'd Weapons: Style and Ideology in the Comedies of Etherege, Wycherley, and Congreve* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); and Aspasia Velissariou, "Patriarchal Tactics of Control and Female Desire in Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* and *The Country Wife*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 37.2 (Summer 1995): 115–26.

35. Norman N. Holland, *The First Modern Comedies: The Significance of Etherege, Wycherley and Congreve* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 64–65. See also Claude Rawson, *Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress: "Nature's Dance of Death" and Other Studies* (London: Routledge, 1972), 27–28; J. Thompson, *Language*; and Jeremy W. Webster, *Performing Libertinism in Charles II's Court: Politics, Drama, Sexuality*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave, 2005), esp. chapter 3.

36. Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*, 64. See also Cynthia Lowenthal, *Performing Identities on the Restoration Stage* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003), chapter 3; and Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*, 231–33.

37. Roach, "Global Parasol," 94; see also Orr, *Empire*. Laura Brown (*English Dramatic Form*, 49) sees the play as one parodying "nationalism" rather than cosmopolitanism and poking fun at Spanish dons and French fops rather than at Londoners.

38. *Pinacotheca Bettertonaeana: or, a Catalogue of the Books, Prints, Drawings, and Paintings of Mr Thomas Betterton, that Celebrated Comedian, lately Deceased* (London, 1710), quoted in Roach, "Global Parasol," 100.

39. Orr, *Empire*, 51; Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place: Representing the Colonial Caribbean, 1770–1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

2014). Supporting this view is the fact that, as Barthelemy notes, "the first recorded use of perspective scenery in England" (though in a private, court theater) coincided with "the first recorded use of blackening to actually darken the skin of the royal maskers" in Ben Jonson's and Inigo Jones's *Masque of Blackness* (1603) (*Black Face*, 20). See also Wiles, *Short History*, chapter 7; Choudhury, *Interculturalism and Resistance*; Hughes, *English Drama*, 3–5; and Carlson, *Places*, chapter 2.

40. Derek Higginbotham argues that the entrance of England into the slave trade is central to *The Country Wife*, specifically, though much of his evidence is based on a somewhat dubious assumption that we should read the white women in the play as stand-ins for enslaved Africans. See Higginbotham, "Women/Animals/Slaves: Race and Sexuality in Wycherley's *The Country Wife*," in C. Smith, Jones, and Grier, *Early Modern Black Diaspora Studies*, 37–61.

41. Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans*, 1–25; see also Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500–1800 (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 6; and Anu Korhonen, "Washing the Ethiopian White: Conceptualizing Black Skin in Renaissance England," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T.F. Earle and K.J.P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 94–112.

42. There is some ambiguity in the stage directions. Although an initial set of stage directions have Don Diego removing Monsieur's cravat and the child replacing it with the golilla (IV.i.115), a second stage direction after Monsieur's line has Don Diego "*put[ting] on the Golilla*" (presumably around Monsieur's neck, not his own, IV.i.120). In his Oxford World's Classics edition, Peter Dixon has resolved the issue by adding another stage direction between these two that directs Monsieur to "*pull . . . off*" the golilla that the child has placed on him so that Don Diego can replace it. It may be, however, that the two different stage directions are remnants of an earlier draft that Wycherley never deleted. If so, it is difficult to determine whether Don Diego or the child would have dressed Monsieur in the *golilla* in the original performance. See William Wycherley, *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*, in P. Dixon, ed., *William Wycherley*, lines 124–25.

43. Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 28–33.

44. See, for instance, John Bryce Jordan, "'Is He No Man?': Toward an Appreciation of Male Effeminacy in English Dance History," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 30.1 (2001): 201–22.

45. Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); and Games, *Web of Empire*, conclusion.

46. Robert Markley describes Gerrard as "a passive figure of good sense" with none of the "conventional attributes of the wit" (*Two-Edg'd Weapons*, 153); Hughes notes that "the chief focus of sympathy in the play is Diego's vivacious daughter Hippolyta, who far outshines her rather put-upon gentlemanly lover, Gerrard" (*English Drama*, 125); and Webster describes the play as one which "ultimately tames the libertine's excesses" (*Performing Libertinism*, 67). For comparisons between Gerrard and Horner, see Velissariou, "Patriarchal Tactics."

47. P. Dixon uses this line as evidence that "Thomas Betterton, the company's lead actor" and a notoriously poor dancer "may have created the role of Gerrard" and

that "Mary Betterton, excellent as both coquette and sweet young girl, could have played Hippolyta" (*William Wycherley*, 417n).

48. In addition to Peggy Thompson (*Coyness and Crime* and "Why Say We No?"), Birdsall, Markley, and Velissariou, see John A. Vance's *William Wycherley and the Comedy of Fear* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 48–68.

49. Swingen, *Competing Visions of Empire*, 21. For the relationship between slavery and indentured servitude see Chakravarty, *Fictions of Consent*, chapter 4.

50. E.M. Dillon, *New World Drama*, 99. See also John Wareing, "'Violently Taken Away or Cheatingly Duckoyed'. The Illicit Recruitment in London of Indentured Servants for the American Colonies, 1645–1718," *The London Journal* 26.2 (2001): 1–22.

51. "A number of historians have noted that voluntary migration to English colonies peaked during the 1650s, when approximately seventy thousand people migrated," writes Swingen. "Thereafter, the numbers of English and all European migrants diminished, especially after 1660. . . . In striking contrast, the percentage of Africans arriving in English colonies increased exponentially during those decades" (*Competing Visions of Empire*, 19). See also David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 81; Robin Blackburn, *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (New York: Verso, 2011), 62–65; and Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen*, 163–67.

52. Spillers, "Mama's Baby," 203. Spillers uses the term to describe the names she, as a Black woman, is called on the street and that mark her as *property*—and therefore inscrutable within other discourses of gender, kinship, or identity. At the same time, she hints at the end of the essay that this very inscrutability leaves open the possibility of fugitivity—the possibility that she "might rewrite after all a radically different text" that refuses the oppressive grammars of the colonizer (229).

53. Elliot H. Tokson uses Wycherley's refusal to name the black child as leaving "little doubt about his subhuman condition" in *The Popular Image of the Black Man in English Drama, 1550–1688* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982), 114.

54. "Although in some texts early modern writers distinguished between 'tawny' Moors of northern Africa and 'blackamoors' from the sub-Saharan region," writes Virginia Mason Vaughan, "the two were often conflated in the popular mind." Vaughan, *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4–5. For a detailed discussion of the many terms used for Afro-diasporic peoples at this time, see Barthelemy, *Black Face*, 6–17; as well as Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*, 12–13.

55. Rosenthal, *Ways of the World*, 71.

56. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 86.

57. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 86. See also K. Wilson, *Island Race*, for a discussion of national identities as necessarily "episodic and unstable" (4).

58. See Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 135.

59. Miller, *Slaves to Fashion*, 56. See also Rodreguez King-Dorset, *Black Dance in London, 1730–1850: Innovation, Tradition and Resistance* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008).

60. K. Wilson, *Strolling Players*, 21–23.

61. See S. Howard, *Politics of Courtly Dancing*, 113; J.B. Jordan, "'Is He No Man?,'"

211; and Dorothy Couchman, "'Mungo Everywhere': How Anglophones Heard Chattel Slavery," *Slavery & Abolition* 36.4 (2015): 714. Also relevant here is Ndiaye's discussion of the English morris dance—similarly rumored to have originated in Africa—as "express[ing] choreographically the identity of [gypsies as] simultaneously 'strange,' exotic, connected to Africa, and yet, profoundly English" ("'Come Aloft,'" 133; as well as *Scripts of Blackness*, chapter 4); and Ester J. Terry's discussion of the links between West African ceremonial dance and the Portuguese *moresco*. Terry, "Choreographies of Trans-Atlantic Primitivity: Sub-Saharan Isolation in Black Dance Historiography," in C. Smith, Jones, and Grier, *Early Modern Black Diaspora Studies*, 65–82. P.D. Morgan notes that "White Londoners began dancing to black dance music, not in the twentieth, but in the late eighteenth century, when the 'black hops' became the latest craze" ("British Encounters," 208).

62. See N.N. Holland, *First Modern Comedies*, 64–65.

63. P. Dixon, *William Wycherley*, 417n.

64. It is also possible that the actor who played the role was one of the Afrodiasporic performers regularly employed by the acting companies for (non-speaking) roles in the entr'acte spectacles; in his *London-spy*, Ned Ward mentions a "*Black*" woman performing as a rope-dancer at Bartholomew Fair around the turn into the eighteenth century. See Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat, in Eighteen Parts*, 5th ed. (London: Printed for A. Bettesworth, 1718), pt. 10, 241, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CB0127160737/ECCO?u=ucberkeley&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=b144ce4d&pg=245. Rosenthal speculates that the dancers who appeared in Elkanah Settle's *The Empress of Morocco*—staged the next year—as well as illustrations of its performance, were "enslaved people from the English court" (*Ways of the World*, 124).

65. Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 26.

66. Vaughan, *Performing Blackness*, 4. See also Jill Lane and Marcial Godoy-Anativia's discussion of "racial impersonation" in their introduction to "Race and Its Others," their special issue of *e-misfèrica* 5.2 (2008), http://www.emisferica.org.

67. Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585–1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), esp. 21–26. Other scholars of the shows who have stressed their connection to the stage include Mullaney, *Place of the Stage*, 13–14; Manley, *Literature and Culture*, chapter 4; J. Dillon, *Theatre, Court and City*; and David Moore Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558–1642*, rev. ed. (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 2003).

68. Amrita Sen, "Locating the Rhinoceros and the Indian: Strangers, Trade, and the East India Company in Thomas Heywood's *Porta Pietatis*," in *Civic Performance: Pageantry and Entertainments in Early Modern London*, ed. J. Caitlin Finlayson and Amrita Sen (London: Routledge, 2020), 45. See also Tracey Hill, "'To the Honour of Our Nation Abroad': The Merchant as Adventurer in Civic Pageantry," in Finlayson and Sen, *Civic Performance*, 13–31.

69. Ian W. Archer, "The Social and Political Dynamics of the Lord Mayor's Show, c. 1550–1700," in Finlayson and Sen, *Civic Performance*, 100.

70. T. Jordan, *London's Resurrection*, 5.

71. T. Jordan, *London's Resurrection*, 3. As Jennifer Linhart Wood notes, Orpheus—

along with Apollo and Arion—were frequent figures in the Lord Mayor's Day shows. Wood, "Arion's Harp, Apollo's Lute: The Instrumental Sounds of London's Lord Mayor's Shows," in Finlayson and Sen, *Civic Performance*, 116.

72. T. Jordan, *London's Resurrection*, 3.

73. Barthelemy, *Black Face*, 50. See also Fryer, *Staying Power*, 27–31; Gerzina, *Black London*, 68; Miller, *Slaves to Fashion*, 45–48; and Ramesh Mallipeddi, *Spectacular Suffering: Witnessing Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016), 27–28.

74. Sukhdev Sandhu, *London Calling: How Black and Asian Writers Imagined a City* (London: HarperCollins, 2003), 2.

75. Roach notes that Betterton is known to have owned several of Ogilby's atlases; Roach also reminds us that Ogilby began his career as a theater manager—and, interestingly, also as a dancing-master—in Dublin ("Global Parasol," 93).

76. Wiles, *Short History of Western Performance Space*, chapter 2.

77. Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods, "No One Knows the Mysteries at the Bottom of the Ocean," in *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, ed. Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2007), 5.

78. See especially McKittrick's *Demonic Grounds*; and *Dear Science and Other Stories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021). See also Sylvia Wynter's foundational essay "Novel and History: Plot and Plantation," in *We Must Learn to Sit Down Together and Talk about a Little Culture: Decolonising Essays, 1967–1984*, ed. Demetrius L. Eudell (Leeds: Peepal Tree, 2022): 291–99.

79. S. Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, 7.

80. T.L. King, *Black Shoals*, 105.

81. T.L. King, *Black Shoals*, 110.

82. I use the term *resistance* advisedly here, noting both Jenny Sharpe's and Saidiya Hartman's discussions of its complications when applied to enslaved people—especially women—whose enslavers refused them both agency and humanity. See Sharpe, *Ghosts of Slavery: A Literary Archaeology of Black Women's Lives,* 1st ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), especially xv–xxii; and Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection.* What might constitute resistance among an enslaved population has been up for debate at least since Sidney W. Mintz proposed that most "resistance" in this context was simply surviving what humans were not meant to survive. Mintz, "Slave Life on Caribbean Sugar Plantations: Some Unanswered Questions," in *Slave Cultures and the Cultures of Slavery*, ed. Stephan Palmié (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 12–22. It is certainly true that the unruly movement of an unfree performer out of a pose could not present a truly viable challenge to English colonialism. Instead I mean to suggest that such movements interrupted—if only momentarily—English representations of colonial power and thus exposed vulnerabilities in the representational (though not necessarily the actual) economies of English enslavement.

83. See Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London: Routledge, 1993), 148.

84. Mallipeddi, *Spectacular Suffering*, 15. Mallipeddi elaborates on this idea in his discussion of movement and dance in chapter 5.

85. These events coincided with a growing interest in African lands and lives: "Between 1700 and 1750," notes Roxann Wheeler, "about four times as many books were published on Africa as were published during the seventeenth century" (*Complexion of Race*, 94).

86. *Somerset v. Stewart* Lofft 1, 98 ER 499 (1772), quoted in Derek A. Webb, "The *Somerset* Effect: Parsing Lord Mansfield's Words on Slavery in Nineteenth Century America," *Law and History Review* 32.3 (August 2014): 457. Webb notes, however, that although this was the "official" report of Mansfield's words published at the time, it was "somewhat problematic" and has been "highly contested" (456). As Couchman notes, several commentaries on the case refer directly (if derogatorily) to Bickerstaffe's character and to Mungo's refrain of "here, dere, every where" ("'Mungo Everywhere,'" 704).

87. For the impact (or lack thereof) of the Somerset case on English laws and Black lives, see Dana Rabin, "'In a Country of Liberty?': Slavery, Villeinage and the Making of Whiteness in the Somerset Case (1772)," *History Workshop Journal* 72 (Autumn 2011): 5–29.

88. Jerry White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London: Bodley Head, 2012), 128.

89. This connection is supported as well by the fact that on its third night, 5 October 1768, *The Padlock* was performed as the afterpiece to *The Plain Dealer*. See Van Lennep et al., *London Stage*, vol. 4, 5 October 1768. As Ndiaye notes, the English translation of Cervantes did not render the enslaved character's speech in broken English, though both Wycherley's play and Bickerstaffe's opera did, suggesting again that Bickerstaffe was as familiar with *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* as he was with the Spanish play *El Maestro de Danzar* or the English translation of *El Celoso Extremeño*. See Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*, 303*n.*

90. Prompter and memoirist John Downes notes that Wycherley's play "lasted but 6 Days, being lik't but indifferently" (*Roscius Anglicanus*, 32). Bickerstaffe's remake, however, was an instant hit. Theater historian Robert Fahrner describes it as "one of the most popular and lucrative works presented during Garrick's twenty-nine year regime" as manager, noting that it "was performed more times in a single season—54 in 1768–1769—than any other work of any type produced by Garrick at Drury Lane." Fahrner, "David Garrick Presents *The Padlock*: An 18th-Century 'Hit,'" *Theatre Survey* 13.1 (May 1972): 52, 53.

91. See Roxann Wheeler, "Sounding Black-*ish*: West Indian Pidgin in London Performance and Print," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 51.1 (2017): 63–87; as well as Felicity Nussbaum, *Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 6–9; and Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 19–20.

92. *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 5–7 October 1768, quoted in Van Lennep et al., *London Stage*, vol. 4, 3 October 1768.

93. T.L. King, *Black Shoals*, 77.

94. Cohen, *Global Indies*, 95. See also Christian DuComb's brief discussion of Mungo as "part black, part oriental, part Spanish, and wholly imaginary" in *Haunted City: Three Centuries of Racial Impersonation in Philadelphia* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 49.

95. Marianne Cooley, "An Early Representation of African-American English," in *Language Variety in the South Revisited*, ed. Cynthia Bernstein, Thomas Nunnally, and Robin Sabino (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014), 51–58; Couchman, "'Mungo Everywhere'"; Wheeler, "Sounding Black-*ish*." See also Couchman's discussion of Dibdin's music as cosmopolitan in that it incorporates "musical references to Spain, the Caribbean, or Africa" as well as England ("'Mungo Everywhere,'" 708).

96. Wheeler, "Sounding Black-*ish*," 75. Ndiaye has traced English versions of what she terms "blackspeak" back as far as Richard Brome's city comedy, *The English Moor, or The Mock-Marriage* (1637) (*Scripts of Blackness*, chapter 3).

97. Douglas A. Jones Jr. disputes the idea that minstrels' "blackspeak" began as an attempt to render African-American speech faithfully; see Jones, *The Captive Stage: Performance and the Proslavery Imagination of the Antebellum North* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), especially chapter 2; and "Black Politics but Not Black People: Rethinking the Social and 'Racial' History of Early Minstrelsy," *TDR: Drama Review* 57.2 (Summer 2013): 21–37. Jones corrects early work by Cockrell (*Demons of Disorder)*, Eric Lott (*Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, 20th anniversary ed. [New York: Oxford University Press, 2013]), W.T. Lhamon (*Raising Cain: Blackface Performance from Jim Crow to Hip Hop* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000]), and Christopher J. Smith (*The Creolization of American Culture: William Sidney Mount and the Roots of Blackface Minstrelsy* [Urbana: Univ of Illinois Press, 2013]) that argues that minstrelsy arose out of white working classes' admiration for and collaboration with enslaved Black workers, before economic hardships and external pressures dissolved the solidarity between these groups.

98. See Couchman, "'Mungo Everywhere,'" 707. As Robert Hornback notes in *Racism and Early Blackface Comic Traditions: From the Old World to the New* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), *Mungo* was a variation on *Mingo* or *Domingo*, a name common among enslaved Londoners (12).

99. Miller, *Slaves to Fashion*, 31.

100. Miller, *Slaves to Fashion*, 32.

101. Nussbaum, *Limits of the Human*, chapter 8.

102. K. Wilson, *Strolling Players*, 265.

103. A 1780 playbill from Soubise's Calcutta days notes that "Mr. SOUBISE will appear . . . in the Character of Othello. And afterwards perform the part of Mungo in the entertainment"; and though most scholars regard this playbill as facetious its existence suggests the extent to which Soubise was associated not only with the two most prominent black characters on the English stage at the time, but also with the stage itself. *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, 23 December 1780, quoted in Cohen, *Global Indies*, 107.

104. As Nussbaum, notes, the print "appears in the memoirs of Soubise's fencing and riding master, Domenico Angelo" (*Limits of the Human*, 6).

105. Nussbaum, *Limits of the Human*, 6. Cohen makes a similar comparison, *Global Indies*, 101.

106. Cohen, *Global Indies*, 96.

107. See Errol Hill, *The Jamaican Stage, 1655–1900: Profile of a Colonial Theatre* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 6, 23–24.

108. Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 16. See also Loften Mitchell, who writes

about Mungo, a British import, as the first black character on the American stage—though he dismisses the depiction as "a profane clown of little authenticity." L. Mitchell, *Black Drama: The Story of the American Negro in the Theatre*, 1st ed. (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1967), 16.

109. *Louisville Public Advertiser*, 4 October 1830, quoted in Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 76.

110. Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 76. Though Cockrell describes this as Rice's first *recorded* performance of Jim Crow, he clarifies that the character may have emerged in Rice's repertoire any time after 1828 and anywhere from Louisville to Cincinnati to Pittsburgh, "depending on the telling" (63).

111. Thomas Dartmouth Rice, "Jim Crow" (New York: Atwill's, ca. 1833), n.p.

112. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 30–31.

113. Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 63.

114. Kellen Hoxworth, "The Jim Crow Global South," *Theatre Journal* 72.4 (December 2020): 449–50.

115. "Blackup," like "blackspeak," is Ndiaye's term; see *Scripts of Blackness*, chapter 1.

116. Jacky Bratton, "English Ethiopians: British Audiences and Black-Face Acts, 1835–1865," *Yearbook of English Studies* 11 (1981): 127–42; and Tracy Davis, "'I Long for my Home in Kentuck': Christy's Minstrels in Mid-19th-Century Britain," *TDR: Drama Review* 57.2 (Summer 2013): 38–65. See also Michael Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008); J.H. Richards, *Drama, Theatre, and Identity*, 25–26; and Heather Nathans, *Slavery and Sentiment on the American Stage, 1787–1861: Lifting the Veil of Black* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 34–35. Hornback (*Racism and Early Blackface*, chapters 2 and 4) as well as John O'Brien (*Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690–1760* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004]) and David Worrall (*Harlequin Empire: Race, Ethnicity and the Drama of the Popular Enlightenment* [London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007]) have complicated the pathways from early modern blackface to American minstrelsy by noting that blackface was also used to characterize the trickster Harlequin throughout the early modern period and into the nineteenth century. See also Sarah Meer (*Uncle Tom Mania: Slavery, Minstrelsy, and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s* [Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005]); Jenna M. Gibbs (*Performing the Temple of Liberty: Slavery, Theater, and Popular Culture in London and Philadelphia, 1760–1850* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014]); and Hoxworth, "Jim Crow," for minstrelsy as a global tradition.

117. Quoted in Bratton, "English Ethiopians," 135.

118. K. Wilson, *Strolling Players*.

Epilogue

1. Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, ed. Pat Rogers (London: The Folio Society, 1983), vol. 2, 67.

2. Brand, *Map*, 77.

3. Ward, *London-Spy*, pt. 1, 148.

4. Payne, *Business*, 119–26.

5. Dianne Dugaw shows that Gay drew heavily on another of Dryden's plays, his heroic tragedy *All for Love*. Dugaw, "The Anatomy of Heroism: Gender Politics and Empire in Gay's *Polly*," in *History, Gender & Eighteenth-Century Literature*, ed. Beth Fowkes Tobin (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 39–63.

6. William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (New York: New Directions, 1968), chapter 6. See also Janet Sorensen, *Strange Vernaculars: How Eighteenth-Century Slang, Cant, Provincial Languages, and Nautical Jargon Became English* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), chapter 3.

7. John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera* (London: Printed for John Watts, at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court, near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 1728), act I, scene xi, p. 15, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0109713725/ECCO?u=ucberkeley&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=232e7296&pg=19. Subsequent citations are provided parenthetically in the text by act, scene, and page number.

8. *Polly* was staged for the first time in 1777, fifty-five years after Gay's death. Interestingly, Peter Reed lists Isaac Bickerstaffe's *The Padlock* (discussed in chapter 5) as one of the plays that "left [its] mark on *Polly*'s performance" and particularly its use of blackface. Reed, "Conquer or Die: Staging Circum-Atlantic Revolt in *Polly* and *Three-Finger'd Jack*," *Theatre Journal* 59.2 (May 2007): 248.

9. John Gay, *Polly: An Opera. Being the Second Part of The Beggar's Opera* (London: Printed for the author, 1729), dramatis personae, 9, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0113148662/ECCO?u=ucberkeley&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=4ac13475&pg=1. Subsequent citations are provided parenthetically in the text by act, scene, and page number.

10. See, for instance, Albert Wertheim, "*Polly*: John Gay's Image of the West," in *Theatre West: Image and Impact*, ed. Dunbar H. Ogden, Douglas McDermott, and Robert K. Sarlos (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990), 195–206; Dugaw, 53; Calhoun Winton, *John Gay and the London Theatre* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 137; John Richardson, *Slavery and Augustan Literature: Swift, Pope, Gay* (London: Routledge, 2004), 117; and Kristen Hanley Cardozo, "Unmasking *Polly*: Race and Disguise in Eighteenth-Century Plantation Space," *ABO: Interactive Journal of Women in the Arts, 1640–1840* 12.1 (2022).

11. For an explanation of my use of *Indigenous* vs. *indigenous* see chapter 4, note 19. "Tropicopolitan" is Aravamudan's useful term. Aravamudan briefly mentions *The Beggar's Opera* as a work, like Defoe's *Captain Singleton*, that is critical of Walpole (*Tropicopolitans*, 84–85).

12. For the metatheatricality of Polly's (and Macheath's) disguises, see Frederick Burwick and Manushag N. Powell, *British Pirates in Print and Performance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 124–32.

13. Jenny is also compared to a "gipsey" by Hacker, one of the pirates in Macheath's gang, in *Polly*, II.i.29.

14. Winton, *John Gay*, 141. See also Robert G. Dryden, "John Gay's *Polly*: Unmasking Pirates and Fortune Hunters in the West Indies," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34.4 (2001): 546.

15. Mavis C. Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655–1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration & Betrayal* (Granby, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1988), 6.

16. See M.C. Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, 9; as well as J. Richardson, *Slavery and Augustan Literature*, 118.

17. Louis P. Nelson, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 83. Colin G. Clarke describes Kingston, similarly, as "a transplanted European town." Clarke, *Kingston, Jamaica: Urban Development and Social Change, 1692–1962* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 8.

18. Reed, "Conquer or Die," 248. R.G. Dryden sees the play as celebrating the colonial underclasses; while Empson, Sorensen, and Cardozo all argue that Gay ultimately "foreclose[es] a connection between transatlantic wandering and liberal freedoms," as Sorensen puts it (*Strange Vernaculars*, 89). See also Rob Canfield, "Something's Mizzen: Anne Bonny, Mary Read, *Polly*, and Female Counter-Roles on the Imperialist Stage," *South Atlantic Review* 66.2 (2001): 45–63; Marcus Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004); and Richard Frohock, "John Gay's *Polly* (1729), Bernard Mandeville, and the Critique of Empire," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 46.1 (2017): 147–62.

19. Cardozo, "Unmasking *Polly*," n.p.

20. Here I am in accord with scholars such as R.G. Dryden (*Strange Vernaculars*, 552) and Cardozo rather than with Reed, who sees Morano's choice to remain in disguise to his death as demonstrating the hybridity of all racial performances and "mythologiz[ing] . . . the lived experiences of large segments of the early modern Atlantic world" ("Conquer or Die," 251).

21. AbdouMaliq Simone, *Improvised Lives: Rhythms of Endurance in an Urban South* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2019); Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*; Linebaugh and Rediker, *Many-Headed Hydra*; K. Wilson, *Strolling Players*.

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Index

Note: Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations.

absolutism, 2, 5, 18, 57, 120, 174
Act of Indulgence (1672), 115
Act of Naturalization (1709), 148
Act of Toleration (1689), 99, 115–16, 119, 125–27, 129, 248n56
Act of Uniformity (1662), 100–102, 111, 115, 244n2
actresses: courtesans as, 21–22; discovery scenes and, 69, 74–76, 83–84, 97, 213; introduction of, 238n8; personal space and, 79–82. *See also* performers; *specific actresses*
Addison, Joseph, 13, 168, 260n3; writing as "Mr. Spectator," 2, 13–14, 168–69, 174, 175, 186, 208, 260n3
Africa, 174, 183, 269n85. *See also* Royal African Company
Africa (Ogilby), 190, *191*
African and Afro-diasporic people: cosmopolitanism and, 168–209; in England, 174–75, 196, 260n8, 263n28, 263nn24–26; in English colonies, 167, 174–75, 182; performers, 31–32, 175, 188–96, 267n64; spatial practices, 169–71, 184, 186–87, 192–96, 199, 202, 266n52; use of term, 230n98; women, 89–90, 266n52. *See also* Maroons; race; Stage African
Agnew, Jean-Christophe, 2
Akhimie, Patricia, 89
Altick, Richard D., 211
American colonies, 137, 166–67, 190. *See also* English colonialism; Indigenous Americans; slavery; Spanish colonialism
Amussen, Susan Dwyer, 230n98, 260n8
Anderson, Misty, 89, 105
Anderson, Perry, 2
Angell, Edward, 186
Angelo, Domenico, 203–4, *205*, 270n104
Anglican Church, 2, 4, 41, 100, 110, 129; steeplehouses, 99, 127. *See also* Act of Uniformity (1662); Clarendon Code
anti-theatricality, 97, 105, 111, 126, 177
Aravamudan, Srinivas, 139, 179, 272n11
Archer, Ian, 189
architecture, 9–10; improvisation in gardens, 56–58; toleration and flexibility in, 116–18; Vanbrugh and, 127–30, 248nn64–65, 249n67, 251n90. *See also* Clarendon Code; Dorset Garden Theater; Nonconformists; Wren, Christopher
aristocrats, 4, 5, 42; dispossessed, 28, 35, 38, 41, 97, 100; Restoration playhouses and, 17–22, 25, 42–44; social mobility and, 12
Aristotle, 152, 162, 164
Armitage, David, 217
Armstrong, Nancy, 67
Arne, Thomas, 261n14
artisans, 26, 52–53, 148, 235n54, 254n26
atlases, 178, 190, 192, 268n75. *See also* maps
Austin, William, *205*

backstage laborers, 36–37, 47–54, 139. *See also* "house servants"; stagehands
Baer, William C., 233n23
Bailey, Craig, 142
Bancroft, Vicky, 153
Barbados, 90, 148, 169, 181–82
baroque style, 117
Barry, Elizabeth, 21, 72, 82, 85, 87, 118, 131
Barthelemy, Anthony Gerard, 190, 265n39
Bashar, Nazife, 77, 240n28
Bate, Leonard, 78–79
Battle of the Boyne, 138
Baxter, Richard, 101, 111–12, 119
Bearden, Elizabeth, 152
Bedford, Earl of, 17
beggars, 32, 121, 139, 202, 211–19
Behn, Aphra, 12, 63, 66–94, 118, 161, 213; *Abdelazer*, 92; *The Luckey Chance*, 29, 69, 79–89, 93, 228n84, 241n35; movable scenery and, 72–76, 83–85, 94, 113; *Oroonoko*, 92, 243n58; *The Rover*, 29, 66–76, 78, 81, 83, 84, 89, 91–94, 114, 242n44, 244n62; *The Widow Ranter*, 92
Beier, A.L., 39, 147, 232n12
Benin, *191*, 192
Benjamin, Walter, 13–14, 225n51
Betterton, Mary, 182, 187
Betterton, Thomas, 22, 48, 118, 131, 178, 187, 265n47, 268n75
Bhabha, Homi, 184
Bickerstaffe, Isaac, *The Padlock*, 31–32, 167, 171, 196–204, *200*, 206–9, 269n86, 269nn89–90, 272n8
biopolitics, 146
blackface: American minstrelsy and, 171, 199–200, 206–8, 270n97, 271n116; *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*, 187–88; Harlequin and, 271n116; *The Masque of Blackness*, 21, 265n39; *The Padlock*, 199, *200*, 206, 272n8; *Polly*, 215, 217
Blackness, 217; use of term, 230n98. *See also* African and Afro-diasporic people
Blackstone, William, 4, 6, 222n10, 223n20
Bohls, Elizabeth, 178
Book of Common Prayer, 100
Boothby, Frances, 237n1
Borsay, Peter, 224n32
Boucicault, Dion, 140–41
bourgeoisie: comedy and, 133; consumerism, 13–14; domestic space and, 11 (*see also* domesticity); social mobility and, 12, 177. *See also* haute bourgeoisie ("Town"); petit bourgeoisie ("City")
Bowen, William, 156, 258n81
Bracegirdle, Anne, 82
Brand, Dionne, 10, 210, 214
Bratton, Jacky, 208
Brecht, Bertolt, 166
breeding, 132–34, 139–40, 143–44, 146, 150, 159, 166
Brewer, Holly, 174
Brewer, John, 98
Bridewell workhouse, 20, 42, 44
Bridges Street Theater. *See* Theatre Royal
Bridgetown, 210
British South Sea Company, 196
Brome, Richard, 270n96
Brown, Laura, 27, 35, 118, 264n37
Brown, Tom, 1, 13, 22, 163
Brunet, François, 7
Bucholz, Robert O., 221n4
Buckhurst, Lord (Charles Sackville), 54
Bull, John, 120
Bullock, William, 153
Bunyan, John, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 112, 247n45
Burke, Helen M., 142, 227n70
Bush-Bailey, Gilli, 241n35

Calcutta, 186, 206, 209
Calderón de la Barca, Pedro: *El Maestro de Danzar*, 173, 175, 196–97
Camp, Pannill, 229n85
Camp, Stephanie M.H., 11, 191–92, 195
Campbell, Mavis C., 215
Campbell, R., 51
Canaletto: *The River Thames with St. Paul's Cathedral on Lord Mayor's Day*, *96*
Canfield, J. Douglas, 20, 27, 38, 63, 70, 108, 110, 145
Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge, 174
Canny, Nicholas, 253n20

capitalism, 2, 6–8, 30, 48, 62, 98–99, 116, 132–33, 145–48, 155, 213–15, 251n3
Cardozo, Kristen Hanley, 217, 273n18, 273n20
Caribbean. *See* West Indies
Carlson, Marvin, 19, 23, 228n85
Carolinas, 90, 148
Catholics, 4, 97, 100–101, 115–16; Irish, 137–38, 142, 148
Cavaliers, 38, 71–74, 92, 100
Cervantes, Miguel de, 173, 196–97, 269n89
Chamberlain, Lord, 213–14
changeable scenery. *See* movable scenery
Charles I, King, 20, 22, 41, 48, 95
Charles II, King, 2–5, 17, 41, 95, 100, 115, 118, 173, 189, 239n18
Charleston, South Carolina, 10, 186, 209
Chater, Kathleen, 263n26
chattels, 4, 6, 70, 90, 223n20
chattel status, 7, 260n8, 262n19
Chaytor, Miranda, 70–71, 76
Childs, Matt D., 174
Church of England, 95, 117, 244n2. *See also* Anglican Church
Cibber, Colley, 22, 69, 81, 152, 228n82
City. *See* petit bourgeoisie ("City")
city comedy genre, 26–27
Civil Wars, English, 4, 8, 14, 25, 71, 73, 95, 119; dispossession of Royalist aristocrats, 28, 35, 41, 97, 100; Nonconformists and, 97–98, 100
Clarendon, Earl of, 41
Clarendon Code, 29, 95, 98, 100–106, 112, 115, 118–21, 123, 128–29, 182
Clarke, Colin G., 273n17
Clifford, James, 12
Clowes, Butler, *200*
Cockrell, Dale, 206–7, 271n110
Coffey, James, 116
Cohen, Ashley L., 199
Collier, Jeremy, 122, 126–28, 133, 143, 251n90
Collinson, Patrick, 105
colonialism. *See* English colonialism; Spanish colonialism
commedia dell'arte, 37, 49
common lands, 39, 41
Congreve, William, *Way of the World*, 27
Conventicle Acts, 101, 102
Conway, Alison, 246n21
Cooke, Sarah, 79–82
Copeland, Nancy, 71, 84
Cordner, Michael, 119
Corman, Brian, 27
Corporation Act (1661), 100, 104
corporeality, 145, 157–58
cosmopolitanism: African and Afro-diasporic people and, 168–209; dancing and, 172, 180; Irish immigrants and, 132–33, 155–60; movable scenery and, 178–81, 198–99; as performance, 177–86; of privileged classes, 7; theatricality of, 175
Couchman, Dorothy, 269n86
Court. *See* aristocrats
court masques, 53, 60–61, 121, 189
Covent Garden (neighborhood), 44, 53, 213, 216, 250nn77–78; Nonconformists and, 114, 121–22, 126–27
Covent Garden Square, 17, 44
Covent Garden Theatre, 121
Cowley, Abraham: *Cutter of Coleman Street*, 104–6, 108–10
Cowley, Hannah: *The Belle's Stratagem*, 14
critical race theory, 261n11
Cromwell, Oliver, 2, 17, 31, 41, 56, 71, 97, 100, 189; Ireland and, 134, 137–38, 147–48, 253n20
Cuder-Domínguez, Pilar, 237n1

Dalton, Caroline, 248n65
dancing, 59–62, 177, 179–81, 197, 201–3, 266n61
Davenant, Mary, 22, 48, 234n39
Davenant, William, 8, 17–19, 21–23, 30, 34, 50, 56, 63–64, 112, 189, 210, 233n28. *See also* Dorset Garden Theater; Duke's Company
Davis, Tracy, 208
de Brahm, William, 192, *193*
decadence, 152–53
de Certeau, Michel, 12–16, 19, 24, 27, 55–56, 64, 67, 73, 79, 94, 137, 162, 225nn49–50
Declaration of Breda (1660), 100
decline, 20, 131, 137, 150, 152

Defoe, Daniel, 10, 104, 116, 139, 154, 163, 214–15; *Captain Singleton*, 272n11; *The Family Instructor*, 112; on Haymarket Theater, 130; *Journal of the Plague Year*, 13; *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 210
deGooyer, Stephanie, 139
De Krey, Gary S., 102
Denmark, 198
Deringer, William, 149
"A Description of the Play-House in Dorset Garden" (1706), 1, 8–9, 13
deus ex machina, 59–60
Dewsbery, William (or Deusbery), 123–24
Diamond, Elin, 72–73
Dibdin, Charles, 197, 199–200, *200*, 202, 203, 206, 270n95
Dickie, Simon, 241n32
Diggers, 97
Dillon, Elizabeth Maddock, 11, 20–21, 182
disability, 33, 143–44, 152, 154, 202–3, 207
disciplinary power, 15
discovery scenes, 69, 74–76, 83–84, 97, 109, 113, 213
dispossessed Londoners, 9–16; aristocrats, 28, 35, 38, 41, 97, 100; common people, 39–41; migrants, 4. *See also* unpropertied classes
Dissenters, 244n2. *See also* Nonconformists
Dixon, Peter, 107, 265n42, 265n47
Dolan, Jill, 24
domesticity, 10–11, 107, 125–26, 134–35, 138–39, 143–46, 151–52, 156–59, 165–66
Dorset, Earl of, 41
Dorset Garden Theater: backstage laborers, 47–50; closure, 210–11; construction of, 22; grounds, 41–42; illustration of, *43*; movable scenery, 8, 17–20, *18*, 23, 47–50, 60, 131, 133, 178, 228n81; opening of, 7, 25, 27–28, 34–36, 42, 65, 170; trapdoors, 75–76
Dorset House, 20, 41
Downes, John, 44–45, 231n9, 269n90
Drury Lane Theater. *See* Theatre Royal
Dryden, John, 5, 34–65, 72; *All for Love*, 272n5; *Annus Mirabilis*, 34, 36, 54; *Conquest of Granada*, 63; *Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, 28, 36–37, 54–59, 62–63, 161, 231n6, 236n64, 258n86; *Essay on Heroique Plays*, 63–65; *An Evening's Love*, 49; *Indian Princess*, 140; "labyrinth of design," 55–57, 62–65, 127, 236n67; *Mack Flecknoe*, 156; movable scenery and, 46–50, 53–54, 72; *Sir Martin Mar-All*, 25, 27–28, 34–37, 44–49, 53–54, 56–63, 94, 105, 113, 121, 159, 161, 170, 178, 211, 237n75; *The Spanish Friar*, 71; *Tyrannic Love*, 141
Dryden, R.G., 273n18, 273n20
Dublin, 10, 157
Dubois, W.E.B., 261n11
Dugaw, Dianne, 272n5
Duke's Company, 8, 17, 21–22, 34, 45, 48, 118, 173, 188, 189. *See also* Dorset Garden Theater
The Duke's Theatre in Dorset Gardens (Page), *43*
Dutch colonialism, 92
Dutch wars, 54

Earle, Peter, 40
East India Company, 4, 189
East Indies, 91, 138, 199
Edwards, Owen Dudley, 140
Elizabeth I, Queen, 188
Empson, William, 211, 273n18
Enclosure Acts, 39
England, Dorothy, 78–79, 81, 85
English colonialism, 2, 11, 93, 98; cosmopolitanism and, 175; expansion of, 10, 137, 171; forced migration, 42, 160, 166–67, 259n92; population monitoring and control, 146–50; voluntary migration to colonies, 266n51. *See also* American colonies; capitalism; Ireland, colonization of; slave trade
enslaved people, 6, 25, 30; attendance at theaters, 21; capitalism and, 148; chattel status, 7, 260n8, 262n19; in England, 174–75, 196, 260n8; in English colonies, 90, 167, 169, 174–75, 182, 190, 214, 242n49; language and, 200–201; resistance, 184, 215–17, 268n82; spatial practices and mobility, 12, 32,

169–71, 191–96; women, 29, 77, 89–94, 244n62
Erickson, Peter, 261n11
Essin, Christin, 27, 50
Etherege, George, *Man of Mode*, 27
Evelyn, John, 1, 5, 12

Fahrner, Robert, 269n90
Fanon, Franz, 261n11
Fanshawe, Richard, 64
Farquhar, George: *The Beaux' Stratagem*, 14, 30, 140, 165–66; *The Constant Couple*, 150; "Discourse on Comedy," 31, 134, 160–64, 258n86; *The Inconstant*, 150; Irish origins, 133, 138–40, 142–43; *Love and a Bottle*, 30, 131–32, 134, 140–46, 149–50, 152–53, 155–57, 160, 162, 202; *Love and Business*, 160–61, 164; movable scenery and, 151, 160; *The Recruiting Officer*, 30, 140, 165–67, 259n92; *Sir Harry Wildair*, 150; *The Stagecoach*, 165; Stage Irishmen and, 256n46; *The Twin Rivals*, 30, 134, 150–60, 164, 257n74, 258n77, 258n81
Farr, Jason, 152
Fenton, Lavinia, 211
Ferguson, Frances, 68
fertility, 69–71, 90, 138–39, 143, 145–46, 148, 152–55
feudalism, 8, 99, 147, 155
Feuillet, Raoul-Auger, *61*
Fideli, Segismundo, 132
financial institutions, 2. *See also* Royal Exchange
Financial Revolution, 30, 32, 116
Five Mile Act (1665), 101–2
flaneur, 13–14, 225n51
Flather, Amanda, 40
Flecknoe, Richard, 56
Footmen's Gallery, 43
Foucault, Michel, 8, 13, 15, 55, 146
Fox, George, 99
France, 175–77; *Code Noir*, 173; colonies of, 196; court theater, 8, 57–58
Franko, Mark, 60–61
Freeman, Lisa A., 20, 126, 133
French Huguenots, 148, 165
Fuentes, Marisa J., 11
Fumerton, Patricia, 40

Gallagher, Catherine, 82, 86
Gambia, 91, 173
Games, Alison, 137, 142, 179, 253n20
Garcia, Humberto, 11, 139
Garrard, William, 260n5
Garrick, David, 203
Gay, John, 272n5; *The Beggar's Opera*, 32, 211–13, *212*, 215–17, 272n11; *Polly*, 32, 214–19, 272n8, 272n13, 273n18; *Trivia*, 13
gender. *See* masculinity; women
gentry, 20, 25, 42, 111, 137, 185, 256n50
Georgia, 192, *193*
Germann, Jennifer, 263n26
Gerzina, Gretchen, 174, 263n28
Giard, Luce, 225n49
Gikandi, Simon, 169
Gillo, Mary (or Gillow), 73, 76
Gilroy, Paul, 219
Glickman, Gabriel, 116
Glorious Revolution (1688), 30, 98, 115–16, 125, 138, 245n6
Goffe, John, 216–17
Goldsmith, Oliver, 134
Gracechurch Street Meetinghouse, 102, 107
Grand Tour, 132–33, 158
Graves, R.B., 141
Great Fire of London (1666), 1–9, 14, 41–42, 102, 189, 208, 229n89
Greaves, Richard L., 102, 250n78
Greenfield, Anne, 68
Guildhall (London), 188–89
Guillery, Peter, 235n54
Guinea, 183, 192, *194*
Gustafson, Daniel, 120
Gwyn, Nell, 21, 239n18
Gypsy (or Gipsy), 67–68, 89, 93, 132, 215, 239n17, 244n61, 251n4, 267n61, 272n13. *See also* Roma

Habermas, Jürgen, 67
Habib, Imtiaz, 174–75
Haines, Joseph, 21–23, 131–34, 139, 146, 149, 157, 162
Hale, Matthew, 68, 77–78, 82, 88, 240n28
Hall, Edward T., 238n5
Hall, Kim F., 261n11
Hallam, Lewis, Jr., 206

Harris, Henry, 22, 28, 34–36, 44, 48, 50, 234n39
Harris, Susan Cannon, 141, 256n50
Hart, Charles, 187
Hart, Vaughan, 117
Hartman, Saidiya, 187, 207, 268n82
Harvey, David, 251n3
haute bourgeoisie ("Town"), 2, 5, 25, 42, 130, 172, 204
Havana, 196
Hay, Michael, *219*
Haymarket Theater, 130, 131
Hecht, J. Jean, 39
Hédelin, François, abbé d'Aubignac, 52
Henke, Robert, 49
Henrietta Maria, Queen, 21
Henry, Mathew, 117
heroic tragedy, 26–27, 63–64, 75
Higginbotham, Derek, 265n40
Hill, Bridget, 48
Hill, Christopher, 39, 97–98, 232n12
Hill, Tracey, 188–89
Hinnant, Charles H., 236n67
Hobby, Elaine, 241n35
Hogarth, William, 154, 211, *212*, 228n82
Holland, Norman N., 177, 180
Holland, Peter, 241n35
Hollar, Wenceslaus, 102, *103*
Hopkins, D.J., 16
Hornback, Robert, 270n98
Horta, Paulo Lemos, 158
"house servants," 28, 37, 47, 52
Howard, Jean E., 26, 177
Howard, Robert, 54, 161; *The Committee*, 141, 156, 258n81
Howard, Skiles, 172
Hoxworth, Kellen, 207
Hughes, Derek, 27, 35, 73, 106–7, 145, 155, 237n75, 265n46
Hughes, Thomas, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, 140
Hume, Robert D., 27, 59–60, 118, 234n39

immigrants, 6, 30–31, 131–32, 148; from English countryside, 39–41; mobility of, 12. *See also* Irish immigrants
imperialism, 65, 178; landscape painting and, 226n62; movable scenery and, 18–19. *See also* English colonialism
Indigenous Americans, 166, 214; use of term, 253n19
Interregnum, 56; closure of theaters during, 17, 21, 48, 105; Nonconformists and, 97–98
Ireland, colonization of, 4, 31, 133–38, 141–42, 147–50, 156–57, 253nn19–20, 254n28
Irish immigrants, 6, 131–67; cosmopolitanism and, 132–33, 155–60; labor by, 138, 254n26, 255n33; spatial practices and mobility, 135–37, 140–47, 149–50, 157–58, 164–66, 251n4
Israel, Jonathan I., 116
Italian court theater, 8, 16, 19
Iwata, Miki, 258n81

Jamaica, 90, 148, 184, 215. *See also* Kingston, Jamaica
James, C.L.R., 192
James, Eugene Nelson, 145
James, Sidbury, 174
James I, King, 188
James II, King, 2, 115, 137–38
Jews, 97, 154–55, 259n92
Jim Crow (character), 32, 171, 271n110
Johnson, Odai, 8, 20
Johnson, Samuel, *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, 258n86
Jones, Ann Rosalind, 141
Jones, Douglas A., Jr., 270n97
Jones, Inigo, 17, 21, 44, 53, 121, 209, 216, 265n39
Jonson, Ben, 21, 26, 53, 189, 265n39; *The Alchemist*, 105–6; *Bartholomew Fair*, 105–6, 111–12
Jordan, Thomas, 189–95

Kaul, Suvir, 139
Keeble, N.H., 101, 244n2, 245n20
Keenan, Tim, 22, 47
Keneally, Thomas: *The Playmaker*, 166
Kenny, Shirley Strum, 133, 145, 153, 160–61, 257n74
Kent, D.A., 40, 52
Killigrew, Thomas, 17, 21, 233n28; *Thomaso*, 71–72, 74
King, Gregory, 40, 51–52, 232n17
King, Tiffany Lethabo, 11, 192
King's Company, 17, 21–22, 48, 54, 118. *See also* Theatre Royal

Kingston, Jamaica, 10, 32, 186, 206, 209, 210, 215–19, *218*, 273n17
Knepp, Elizabeth, 21, 26
Kostof, Spiro, 9

labyrinths, 5, 34–35, 118, 144, 196, 198, 213; Dryden's "labyrinth of design," 55–57, 62–65, 127, 236n67
landed elites. *See* propertied classes
landscape paintings, 18–19, 178, 226n62
Langhans, Edward A., 16, 23, 75, 228n81
Laud, William (archbishop of Canterbury), 95, 100
Leerssen, Joep, 142, 256n51, 258n81
Lefebvre, Henri, 24, 66–67, 225n48, 228n85
Leigh, Anthony, 228n84, 241n35
Levant Company, 189
Levellers, 97
Lewcock, Dawn, 50
Lewis, Jayne, 55
libertines, 14, 27, 82, 93, 118–20, 122–23, 143, 145, 265n46
Licensing Act (1737), 21, 234n41
Lincoln's Inn Fields, 17, 19, 36, 43, 47, 49, 52, 104, 114, 130, 131, 157, 173, 211, 213, 257n74, 258n81
Linebaugh, Peter, 219
Lintot, Bernard, 160
livery: actors in, 22, 28, 34–36, 48–49, 62; servants in, 34, 231n2; stagehands in, 34, 46–47, 49
Loftis, John, 44, 173
London, Restoration-era, 37–44; changeability and instability of urban space, 1–10, 30, 54, 59, 85, 98, 105–7, 112, 129, 132, 165; death and decay in, 152–54; diversity in, 161–63; economic changes, 4, 11, 39–41, 138, 222n11 (*see also* capitalism); housing crisis, 40–41, 233n23; legacies of, 32, 171, 186, 209, 210, 214–19; political instability, 56, 118; population growth, 10, 40–41, 132, 154; rebuilding after Great Fire, 2–6, 29–30, 41, 138, 168, 210, 254n26, 259n1; theater district, 130; theaters in West End, 233; theatrical representation of, 47. *See also* propertied classes; unpropertied classes
Loomba, Ania, 243n58
Lord Mayor's Day Pageant, 170–71, 188–95, 199, 208, 211, 268n71
Love, Harold K., 20, 42, 44
Love in a Tub, 45
Lowe, Lisa, 11, 138
Lowenthal, Cynthia, 177
lower classes. *See* unpropertied classes

MacDonald, Joyce Green, 92
machinists, 50–51
Macklin, Charles, 134
Mallet, David, 261n14
Mallipeddi, Ramesh, 195
Manley, Lawrence, 2, 230n1
Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice, 196, 269n86
maps: Afro-diasporic people and, 190–92, *191*, *193*, *194*, 207; imperialism and, 172; Ireland and Irish immigrants, 134–36, *136*, 141, 147–48, 157, 164, 166; Kingston, Jamaica, *218*; Nonconformists, 97, 124–26; Restoration London, *103*; women, 84–86, 88; Wren's plan for rebuilding London, *3*. *See also* atlases; unmappings
Marcus, Leah S., 105, 114
Markley, Robert, 265n46
Maroons, 215–17
Marsden, Jean, 75
Marshall, David, 105
Marsin, M., 239n15
Marx, Karl, 31, 39, 133–34, 147, 222n11
Mary II, Queen, 98–99, 115, 118, 133
Maryland, 90
Mary of Modena, 115
masculinity, 143–46, 152–55, 162, 179, 258n77
The Masque of Blackness, 21, 265n39
masques, 83–84. *See also* court masques
Massey, Doreen, 67
McCauley, Gay, 228n85
McCormick, Frank, 117
McCormick, Ted, 146–47, 149, 253n19
McKeon, Michael, 67
McKittrick, Katherine, 11, 190–92, 195
Meldrum, Tim, 232n17, 235n57
metatheatricality, 47, 53, 107, 160, 175, 177–78
Methodists, 105

middle class. *See* bourgeoisie
Middleton, Thomas, 189, 232n12
Mignard, Pierre, 175, *176*
Milhous, Judith, 49, 234n39
Miller, Monica, 169, 175, 184, 199, 201–2
Mintz, Sidney W., 268n82
Miskito, 216
Mitchell, David T., 143
Mitchell, Loften, 270n108
Mitsein, Rebekah, 11
mobility, 9–16, 58; bourgeois capitalist values of, 133; of enslaved people, 12, 32, 169–71, 191–96; freedom of movement, 6–7; global trade and, 132 (*see also* capitalism; English colonialism); of immigrants, 12; of Irish immigrants, 135–37, 140–47, 149–50, 157–58, 164–66, 251n4; of servants, 12, 28, 35–36, 39–40, 45–46, 63. *See also* social mobility
Moch, Leslie Page, 254n26
Molière: *L'Étourdi*, 37
Moody, John: *High Life Below Stairs*, 199
Moors, 183, 266n54
Morash, Christopher, 257n70
Morgan, Jennifer L., 11, 90–91, 242n49
Morgan, Philip D., 263n25, 266n61
Morrissey, Lee, 9, 117, 251n90
Motteux, Peter, 165
movable, meanings of, 6–7, 170
movable performers, 170–71
movable property, 4, 16, 157–60, 209, 213; meanings of, 6–7, 223n20
movable scenery, 16–25, 32–33, 209; city comedy genre and, 26–27; cosmopolitanism and empire, 178–81, 198–99; everyday subjects and, 211; flat-and-groove system, 50; Nonconformist meetinghouses and, 97, 104, 110–15; novelty and, 108; Spanish comedies and, 173; stagehands and, 46–50, 53–54, 170; trapdoors, 75–76, 83, 114; women's personal space and, 69, 71–76, 81–85, 94, 113. *See also* backstage laborers; Dorset Garden Theater
Mowl, Timothy, 249n67
Mr. Turbulent; or, the Melancholicks (anonymous), 108–10, 124
Mullaney, Steven, 114, 130
Mumford, Lewis, 2
Mungo (character), 167, 171, 196–209, *200*, *205*, 269n86, 269n94, 270n95, 270n98, 271n108

Ndiaye, Noémie, 93, 175, 177, 187, 200, 230n98, 267n61, 269n89, 270n96, 271n115
Nelson, Louis P., 216
neoclassical theater, 161–64
Newcastle, Duke of, 232n9
Newman, Thomas, 49
New Model Army, 137, 147
Nicolazzo, Sal, 11
Nicoll, Allardyce, 20, 228n82
Nokes, James, 186
Nonconformists, 2, 4, 95–130; meetinghouses, 29–30, 99–104, 129–30; movable scenery technologies and, 97, 104, 110–15; persecution of, 101–2, 116; playhouses and, 104–10; spiritual autobiographies, 246n21; use of term, 244n2; in Vanbrugh's *The Provok'd Wife*, 118–27. *See also* Presbyterians; Puritans; Quakers; Stage Puritan
Novak, Maximillian E., 55
novels, 36, 98, 139
Nussbaum, Felicity, 92, 93, 202, 204

Ogilby, John, 190–95, *191*, *194*, 268n75
Ó hAodha, Mícheál, 251n4
O'Keeffe, John, 134, 140
The Old Bailey Sessions Papers, 241n32
Oldfield, Anne, 81
Olusoga, David, 263n28
Orpheus myth, 189–90, 196, 199, 267n71
Orr, Bridget, 19, 73, 139, 165, 177–78, 190
Orr, Shelley, 16
O'Shaughnessy, David, 138, 142
Othello (character), 187, 203, 270n103

Page, Robert J.D., *43*
Palladianism, 117
Park, You-me, 125
Patterson, Orlando, 90
Payne, Deborah C., 8, 47–49, 54–55, 211, 233n28
Peace of Ryswick, 141, 143
peasants, 39–41, 222n11
Peele, George, *The Battle of Alcazar*, 140
Penal Laws, 138, 142

Pepys, Samuel, 19, 21, 23, 26, 43–45, 50, 52–53, 211
performance studies, 24
performers, 16, 36; Black, 31–32, 175, 188–96, 267n64; itinerant, 105; movement on scenic stage, 22–25, 53–54; precarity, 48–49, 114; as "rogues and vagabonds," 21–22, 48, 234n41. *See also* actresses
Perkinson, Richard H., 165
personal space, 238n5; in changing city, 80; colonized, 94; defined, 67–68; women and, 66–94
perspective scenery, 16–25, 65
petit bourgeoisie ("City"), 2, 5, 42
Petty, William, 31, 134–38, *136*, 140, 144, 146–50, 157, 253n19
Pevsner, Nikolaus, 248n64
Phelan, Peggy, 195
Philadelphia, 210
Philip, M. NourbeSe, 90
picturesque style, 117, 118, 178
pidgin, 199–201
Pincus, Steve, 245n6
plague (1665), 4, 10, 14, 21, 48, 102, 189, 210, 221n8, 231n6
plot, meanings of, 28, 37–38, 46, 48, 53, 55–57, 59–61, 64–65
Pocock, J.G.A., 2, 98
"political arithmetick," 146–50
Poor Laws, 147
Poovey, Mary, 31, 148–49
population science, 133–34, 146–50
Port Royal, Jamaica, 215–16
precarity, 14, 219; artisan class, 235n54; Nonconformists and, 110–12; of performers, 48–49, 114; of playhouses, 111; of post-Fire London, 60; Restoration theater and, 54–59; threat of, 48
Presbyterians, 244n2
Prieto-Pablos, Juan A., 50, 114
privacy, 11, 67, 84, 104, 107–8, 126
propertied classes, 2, 5–7; strategies of (spatial practices adopted from unpropertied classes), 7, 13–16, 19, 24, 25, 28–33, 35, 55–56, 61–64, 73, 79, 89, 94, 130, 162, 170–71, 201–4, 215, 219. *See also* aristocrats ("Court" of Whitehall Palace); gentry
proscenium, 22–23, 34, 60, 209
prostitution, 20, 22, 73–74, 78, 81–82, 86, 92–93, 121, 124, 126, 130, 152, 175, 243n58
Protestants, 95, 105, 115–16. *See also* Nonconformists
Ptolemy, 57
public/private binary, 67, 113
public theaters, 7–8
Puritans, 48, 95, 100, 105, 189, 244n2, 247n45. *See also* Nonconformists; Stage Puritan

Quakers, 97, 99–102, 107, 116, 123, 244n2
Queensberry, Duchess of, 203–6, *205*
Queen's Theatre, 52
Quin, Anne, 72, 76
Quinault, Philippe, *L'Amant Indiscret*, 37

race: imitation and cosmopolitanism, 169–71, 184–87, 202–4, 207–8; modern conceptions of, 197–98, 261n11; names and, 182–83; slavery and, 167; terminology, 230n98; women and, 69, 89–94, 266n52
racism, 169, 171, 179, 183–84, 208
Ragussis, Michael, 141
rape, 159, 206; of enslaved women, 77, 90–91; non-consent and, 78–79, 87–89; popular attitudes toward, 241n32; threat of, 72, 74
rape laws, 28–29, 68, 76–77, 240n28
real property, 4, 213
Red Bull Theater, 52–53
Reddaway, T.F., 41
Rediker, Marcus, 219
Reed, Peter P., 217, 272n8, 273n20
religious minorities, 6, 25; toleration of, 30, 99–100, 115–16, 122, 125. *See also* Nonconformists
religious uniformity, 95, 99, 118, 125, 127. *See also* Act of Uniformity (1662); Clarendon Code; Wren, Christopher
resistance, 15–16, 170, 184, 215–17, 268n82
Reynolds, Joshua, 30, 127–28
Rhodes, Richard, *Flora's Vagaries*, 26
Rice, T.D., 171, 188, 206–8, 271n110
Rich, Christopher, 22, 131, 233n31
Richard III (character), 152

Richetti, John, 36
right to the city, 13–14, 225n48
riotousness, 20–21, 30
Roach, Joseph, 19, 129, 139, 163, 177–78, 190, 268n75
Robbins, Bruce, 36, 158
Roberts, David, 142–43
Robinson, Cedric, 148, 167
Roche, T.W.E., 251n2
Rochester, Earl of, 72
Roma, 29, 93–94, 215, 251n4. *See also* Gypsy (or Gipsy)
Rooker, Edward, *3*
Roper, Alan, 249n70
Rosenberg, Jordana, 11–12
Rosenfeld, Sybil, 51
Rosenheim, James M., 232n10
Rosenthal, Laura J., 168, 177, 183, 260n3, 260n8, 262n19, 267n64
Royal African Company, 4, 91, 169, 173, 182, 185, 189, 190, 262n19
Royal Exchange, 2, 168–69, 178, 208, 260n3, 260n5
Rudolph, Julia, 70, 78–79, 240n28
"Rule, Britannia!" (Thomson), 261n14

Said, Edward, 191
Salamanca, 197
Sancho, Ignatius, 203, 263n24
Sandhu, Sukhdev, 190
Satyricon, 64
Savage, Elizabeth, 258n77
scenekeepers, 51–52
scene painters, 37, 47, 48, 50, 51
scenic stage: expanding definition of, 31; location of actors in, 22–23. *See also* movable scenery
Schism Act (1715), 248n61
Scots, 154–55
Sedley, Charles, 54
Sen, Amrita, 189
Sequestration Committees, 41
servants, 6, 34–65, 215; attendance at theaters, 21; differences within servant class, 235n57; female, 231n2, 244n62; income, 52; mobility of, 12, 28, 35–36, 39–40, 45–46, 63; spatial geographical knowledge, 35–36, 45–46, 63
set designers, 16, 37, 53
Settle, Elkanah: *The Empress of Morocco*, *18*, 26–27, 267n64
Seven Years' War, 196
sexual violence, 67–68. *See also* rape
Shadwell, Thomas, *The Lancashire Witches*, 156
Shakespeare, William, 140, 152; *Henry V*, 139. *See also* Othello (character)
Sharpe, Jenny, 268n82
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 134, 140
Sheridan, Thomas, *The Brave Irishman*, 141
Shershow, Scott Cutler, 56–57
she-tragedy, 75
Shoemaker, Robert B., 12, 40
Sidney, Philip: *Defense of Poesy*, 54
Sills, Adam, 11, 150, 248n61
Simone, AbdouMaliq, 219
Simpson, A.W. Brian, 222n10
Slack, Paul, 39
slavery: colonialism and, 90, 167, 169, 174–75, 182, 190, 214, 242n49; laws on, 7, 89, 173–74, 196, 260n8, 262n19; as metaphor, 91–92, 182, 185, 243n58; race and, 167; reproductive labor, 90–91; Royal Exchange and, 260n5. *See also* enslaved people
slave trade, 4, 169, 173, 190, 196, 199, 265n40
Slowey, Desmond, 256n50
slums, 20, 42, 44, 211. *See also* St. Giles; St. Martin's
smallholder farmers, 39–41
Smallwood, Stephanie, 173
Smock Alley Theatre (Dublin), 140
Smyth, William J., 135, 137
Snell, Esther, 241n32
Snyder, Sharon L., 143
social mobility, 12, 177, 204
Societies for the Reformation of Manners, 118, 143
socioeconomic diversity, 44–45, 51, 121
Solga, Kim, 16
Solomon, Diana, 109
Sontag, Susan, 81
Sorensen, Janet, 273n18
Soubise, Julius, 203–6, *205*, 270nn103–4
South Carolina, 90, 192, *193*

Southern, Richard, 23, 228n81
Southerne, Thomas, 92
Spanish colonialism, 173, 185, 196
Spanish comedies, 71–72, 173, 175–77, 196
spatial practices in Restoration London, 1–9, 170. *See also* propertied classes; unpropertied classes
spectators, 16, 42–44, 47, 49, 53–55, 61, 62, 82–87, 89, 195, 228n82, 233n31, 258n86
Spencer, Jane, 242n44
Spillers, Hortense, 89–90, 182, 266n52
Stage African, 31–32, 167, 175–203, *200*. *See also* blackface; Mungo (character)
Stage Frenchman, 256n51
stagehands, 16, 23, 25, 27, 28, 31, 46–50, 53–54, 139, 170. *See also* backstage laborers
Stage Irishman, 30–31, 134, 139–46, 150, 156–60, 165–67, 256n46, 256nn50–51, 257n70
Stage Puritan, 105–10, 244n2
Stallybrass, Peter, 141
Statt, Daniel, 132, 255n33
Staves, Susan, 70, 240n28
St. Giles, 42, 44, 52, 78–79; Afro-diasporic residents, 174, 263n28; Irish residents, 138–39, 174, 255n33
St. Helena, 209
St. James Park, 2, 45, 47, 107, 112, 125, 127
St. Martin's, 42
Stoler, Ann, 179
Stone, Lawrence, 40
St. Paul's Cathedral, 2, 6, 13, 95–97, *96*, 168, 208, 259n1
stratagem (in theater), 14–15
strategies (of privileged classes), 14–15, 28, 35, 62, 94, 162
Straub, Kristina, 35
Stretton, Tim, 76–77
St. Serfe, Thomas: *The Coffee House*, 26
Stuarts, 174
supernumeraries, 16, 27, 36
Sussman, Charlotte, 6, 11, 134, 147, 149, 150
Swift, Jonathan, 154; "A Modest Proposal," 134
Swingen, Abigail L., 266n51

tactics (of unpropertied classes), 14–15, 28, 35–36, 46, 57, 89, 94, 133, 137, 157–60, 162, 219. *See also* mobility
Taínos, 216
Taylor, Diana, 179
Terrill, Edward, 112–14
theater: attendance, 21–22, 211 (*see also* spectators); compared to criminal court, 81; contingencies of live performance, 24; live performance in margins, 27; patent system, 8, 48; portable companies, 157; stratagem in, 14–15; unreliability of, 104–10; "unsettled spaces" of, 24–25; variety in, 161–64, 258n86. *See also* Dorset Garden Theater; Duke's Company; King's Company; movable scenery; scenic stage; Theatre Royal; *specific playwrights*
Theatre Royal, 17, 22, 26, 49, 52, 63, 69, 79, 118, 121, 131–34, 151, 157, 167, 257n74, 258n81
Thompson, E.P., 39
Thomson, James, 261n14
Tokson, Elliot H., 266n53
Tompkins, Joanne, 24
Tories, 118, 129
Town. *See* haute bourgeoisie ("Town")
Treaty of Limerick, 138
Trenchfield, Caleb: *A Cap of Gray Hairs off a Green Head*, 58
Truninger, Annelise, 140–41
The Tryal of Skill (anonymous), 156
Tudors, 137
Turner, George Lyon, 114, 119
Turner, Henry S., 53

Ubersfeld, Anne, 228n85
Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad von, 174
Ulster Scots, 142
Underhill, Cave, 104–6, 109–10, 124
Unitarians, 116
United Company, 118, 131
unmappings, 28, 78, 97, 110, 125, 128, 141, 162, 164, 166, 207

unpropertied classes, 9–16; adaptation and improvisation by, 25, 28, 38, 40–41, 46–47, 106, 217, 219; geographic knowledge of, 35–36, 45–46, 63, 170; intersections between race, gender, religion, and class, 26, 63; spatial practices (tactics of walkers), 6–9, 13–16, 23–33, 35–36, 46, 56–57, 79, 89, 94, 118, 128–30, 133, 137, 157–63, 170–71, 209, 211–19. *See also* dispossessed Londoners; enslaved people; Irish immigrants; mobility; precarity; religious minorities; servants; women
urban planning, 2, 9–10, 129, 216–17; birthplace of, 44; geometric patterns in, 61–62; imperial power and, 19. *See also* architecture; Jones, Inigo; Wren, Christopher

Vagabonds Act (1597), 234n41
vagrancy laws, 11, 48, 147
Vanbrugh, John, 12, 152, 161; architecture, 127–30, 248nn64–65, 249n67, 251n90; *The Provok'd Wife*, 19–20, 99, 110, 118–27, 129, 145; *The Relapse*, 117, 249n70
Vaughan, Virginia Mason, 187, 266n54
Virgil: *Aeneid*, 64
Virginia, 90, 148
voyeur (de Certeau's concept of), 13–16, 19, 24, 55–56, 61, 64, 73, 79, 94. *See also* strategies

walkers (de Certeau's concept of), 13–16, 23, 24, 27, 56, 79, 118, 128–30, 137, 157, 162–63, 171, 209. *See also* mobility; tactics
Wall, Cynthia, 4, 9–11, 56, 101–2, 104, 105, 229n89, 250n77
Walpole, Robert, 214, 272n11
Walvin, James, 262n19, 263n26
Ward, James, 166
Ward, Joseph P., 221n4
Ward, Ned, 13, 211, 267n64
War of the Spanish Succession, 164, 196
Watt, Ian, 67, 98
Watts, Michael R., 244n2
Webb, Derek A., 269n86
Webster, Jeremy W., 265n46
Weinbrot, Howard, 236n64
Wertenbaker, Timberlake: *Our Country's Good*, 166, 259n92
West, Shearer, 50–51
West End, 42, 233
West Indies, 91, 138, 198, 199, 214–19. *See also* Kingston, Jamaica
Westminster, 130
Wheeler, Roxann, 197, 200, 269n85
Whigs, 117–18, 126, 129
White, Jerry, 196
Whitefriars (Alsatia), 20, 42
white supremacy, 187–88, 199
Wiles, David, 8, 19, 73, 190
Wilks, Robert, 140, 142, 150, 156, 164
William III, King (William of Orange), 30, 98–99, 115, 118, 120, 133, 141
Williams, Joseph, 140
Wilson, Kathleen, 11, 134, 139, 184, 203, 219
Winn, James Anderson, 44
Winton, Calhoun, 215
The Womans Advocate (anonymous), 71, 239n15
women: abduction of, 70, 72, 240n28; enslaved, 29, 77, 89–94, 244n62; marriage and, 182, 185; movement and performances of personal space, 6, 12, 28–29, 66–94, 215; property law and, 28–29, 68, 70, 77, 180–81; racially othered, 69, 89–94, 266n52; real estate metaphors and, 69–71, 74, 76, 82–84, 88, 90, 213; self-possession, 86, 89; servants, 40; upper-class white, 68–69, 89–94. *See also* actresses; prostitution; rape; rape laws
Wood, Jennifer Linhart, 267n71
Woods, Clyde, 191
working class, 6, 12, 36, 42–43. *See also* unpropertied classes
Wren, Christopher: Monument to the Great Fire, 13; *Plans for Rebuilding the City of London*, 2–5, *3*, 7, 9, 12–13, 17–19, 24, 27, 168, 209, 216–17; religious uniformity, 29–31, 95–97, 99, 115, 117–18, 125, 127–29; as Surveyor of the Royal Works, 8, 117. *See also* St. Paul's Cathedral

Wren, Matthew, 95
Wright, Jules, 242n44
Wycherley, William: *The Country Wife*, 27, 178, 180, 265n40; *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*, 20, 31, 71, 169–98, 204, 208–9, 260n8, 262n19, 264n37, 265n42, 266n53, 269nn89–90; *Love in a Wood*, 106–8, 125; *The Plain Dealer*, 180; Vanbrugh and, 118–19
Wynter, Sylvia, 192

Yang, Chi-ming, 11–12