Spencer 1927 Hazelton Spencer, Shakespeare improved: the Restoration versions in quarto and on the stage (Cambridge MA, 1927), pp. 78--81, 152--74.

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Our first reference to the acting of *Macbeth*/30 on the Restoration stage is to be found in a list of plays drawn up by Sir Henry Herbert and dated November 3, 1663./31 It includes the following item: "Revived Play. Mackbethe . . . [£]1."/32 This reference agrees with Downes's assertion that, before its presentation at Dorset Garden with "new Cloath's, new Scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches; with all the Singing and Dancing in it," the play had been acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields. In the older theatre Pepys saw it on November 5, 1664, December 28, 1666, January 7, 1667, April 19, 1667, October 16, 1667, November 6, 1667, August 12, 1668, December 21, 1668, and January 15, 1669.

D'Avenant's alteration was published in quarto in 1674 "As it's now Acted at the Dukes Theatre."/33 Yet his name does not appear on the title page, nor was this play included in the posthumous folio of D'Avenant's works, published in 1673. There can, however, be little doubt that the text of 1674 represents the version referred to by Downes, who, as prompter of D'Avenant's company, could hardly be misinformed regarding its authorship. Moreover, as we shall see when we examine the text, the alterations are of precisely the same sort as those which disfigure D'Avenant's *The Law against Lovers*.

The first question, then, is, did Pepys see D'Avenant's version or an unaltered revival? Downes tells us that a special production of D'Avenant's version was made after the opening of the Duke's company at Dorset Garden. This event took place on November 9, 1671. Downes mentions five new plays acted there before *Macbeth*, and says besides that several stock plays were sandwiched in between the new ones. He describes *Macbeth* as follows:

> The Tragedy of Macbeth, alter'd by Sir William Davenant; being drest in all it's Finery, as new Cloath's, new Scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches; with all the Singing and Dancing in it:

/30 My observations on the Restoration *Macbeth* originally appeared in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xl, 619-644 (Sept., 1925).

/31 Mr. William Jaggard describes (*Shakespeare Bibliography*, p. 676), as

an imitation of *Macbeth*, an anonymous play published in 1662. ......

/32 Adams, *Dram. Rec.*, p. 138.

/33 It is entered in the *Term Catalogue* for July, 1674 (Arber's ed., i, 179).

The first Compos'd by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Channell and Mr. Joseph Preist; it being all Excellently perform'd, being in the nature of an Opera, it Recompenc'd double the Expence; it proves still [1708] a lasting Play.

Note, That this Tragedy, King Lear and The tempest, were Acted in Lincolns-Inn-Fields; Lear, being Acted exactly as Mr. Shakespear Wrote it; as likewise the Tempest alter'd by Sir William Davenant and Mr. Dryden, before 'twas made into an Opera./34

Genest asserts that *Macbeth* was acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields unaltered; but there is no warrant in Downes for this assumption./35 On the contrary, the references of Pepys point with reasonable clearness to D'Avenant's version:/36

[November 5, 1664]: with my wife to the Duke's house to a play, *Macbeth*, a pretty good play, but admirably acted./37

[December 28, 1666]: to the Duke's house, and there saw *Macbeth* most excellently acted, and a most excellent play for variety.

[January 7, 1667]: to the Duke's house, and saw *Macbeth*, which, though I saw it lately, yet appears a most excellent play in all respects, but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here, and suitable.

[April 19, 1667]: Here we saw *Macbeth*, which, though I have seen it often, yet is it one of the best plays for a stage, and variety of dancing and musique, that ever I saw.

The last three entries, at least, with their reference to "variety" and "divertisement" point to D'Avenant's alterations./38 Thus 1663-1664 becomes our date for the production of *Macbeth* at Lincoln's Inn Fields,/39 and 1672-1673 for its revival with new trappings at Dorset Garden.

The Quarto of 1674, the first edition of D'Avenant's version, gives the names of only a few of the players: Macbeth, Betterton; Macduff, Harris; Banquo, Smith; Malcom, Norris; Duncan, Lee;/40 Lennox, Medbourne; Donalbain, Cademan; Seward, Husband; Seyton, Bickerstaffe; Fleance, Mrs. B. Porter; murderers, Fairbank and Cross; Lady Macbeth, Mrs. Betterton; Lady Macduff, Mrs. Long; Ghost of Banquo, Sandford. It is highly remarkable that Banquo and his gory shade were

/34 Downes, p. 33.

/35 Genest, i, 139.

/36 Professor Odell doubts this because the publication of the play after its production at Dorset Garden suggests that much of the machinery may have been added at that time for the larger stage. (Odell, i, 28.) But the publication (in 1674) was not directly after the performance. As I shall show, it was probably occasioned by the appearance of an

unauthorized Quarto in 1673. It is likely enough that after the removal of the Duke's company to Dorset Garden the mechanical features of their performance of *Macbeth* were further elaborated; the state of the text, however, is in my opinion quite another matter.

/37 Wheatley (Pepys's *Diary*, iv, 264, n. 1) assumes this to be D'Avenant's version.

/38 The other entries throw no light on the question.

/39 This is the conclusion of William Archer. See his "*Macbeth* on the Stage," *English Illustrated Magazine*, vi, 234 (Dec., 1888).

/40 This was Nathaniel Lee, the dramatist, whose ill success as an actor, as well as that of Otway and of Downes himself, the old prompter describes with gusto (p. 34).

performed by different actors. Did Smith and Sandford quarrel for the part, and compromise by splitting it? Probably Waldron's solution is the right one: "Sandford's countenance," he suggests, "was naturally formed to inspire terror; while the representative of the living Banquo had, as was necessary, a placid mein."/41

Concerning Betterton's performance of †*Macbeth*, I find little testimony. That Pepys admired it is shown by his entry of October 16, 1667, when he was discontented with its performance by an understudy. Of Mrs. Betterton's success as Lady Macbeth, Colley Cibber tells us; he writes of performances shortly after he joined the company, that is, in the early nineties:

> Mrs. Betterton, tho' far advanc'd in Years, was so great a Mistress of Nature that even Mrs. Barry, who acted the Lady Macbeth after her, could not in that Part, with all her superior Strength and Melody of Voice, throw out those quick and careless Strokes of Terror from the Disorder of a guilty Mind, which the other gave us with a Facility in her Manner that render'd them at once tremendous and delightful./42

Genest records several interesting performances of *Macbeth* in the last decade of Betterton's career./43 On December 27, 1707, the distinguished company at the Haymarket acted *Macbeth* with the following cast, perhaps the finest that has ever played it: Macbeth, Betterton; Macduff, Wilks; Banquo, Mills; Duncan, Keen; Lennox, Booth;/44 Seyton, Cory; Hecate, Johnson; Witches, Norris, Bullock, and Bowen; Lady Macbeth, Mrs. Barry; Lady Macduff, Mrs. Rogers./45 The performance of all the witches by men shows how gradually women won their way on the stage. Betterton continued to act Macbeth till the end of his life. Genest notes his appearance in that rôle as late as December 17, 1709./46 The Quartos after 1674 follow the first edition in their casts till the Quarto of 1710, which has: Macbeth, Betterton; Macduff, Wilks; Banquo, Mills; Malcom, Corey; Duncan, Keen; Donalbain,

/41 Waldron's note in the 1789 ed. of Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 43. Mr. Archer justifies the bifurcation of Banquo, in the following terms: "Hamlet's father naturally appeared to his son 'in his habit as he lived,' but Banquo shaking his gory locks at Macbeth should certainly be repulsive rather than 'majestical.' We should be shown the horrid vision of his victim as it appears to the murderer's heated imagination. The elegant Smith probably declined to 'bedabble his face with gore.'" "*Macbeth* on the Stage," *Eng. Ill. Mag.*, vi, 234.

/42 Cibber, i, 161 f.

/43 We know more about performances at this time than earlier because they were often advertised in the *Daily Courant*.

/44 In D'Avenant's version Lennox is a more important part than in the original.

/45 Genest, ii, 394.

/46 Ibid., 447.

Bullock, Jr.; Lennox, Griffin; Lady Macbeth, Mrs. Knight; Lady Macduff, Mrs. Rogers; Heccate, Mr. Johnson.

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2. MACBETH

The true relation of the first two separate editions of *Macbeth* has been correctly stated by several scholars. Furness, in 1873, makes the distinction clearly. But since a number of more recent writers have confused the two texts and still others appear to be uncertain, it seems worth while to elaborate at this point in order to settle the question once for all./8

D'Avenant's version of *Macbeth* was first printed in 1674, not in 1673, as is asserted by the latest handler of Shakespeare alterations, Mr. Montague Summers,/9 who with some justice warns his readers against the "blunders and absurdities" of Maidment and Logan's critical preface to it in the fifth volume of their edition of D'Avenant's plays. Mr. Summers follows Mr. William J. Lawrence, who appears to have misread one of Dr. Furness's notes. Mr. Lawrence writes:

No copy of the D'Avenant *Macbeth* was issued until 1673, early in the spring of which year W. Cadman published his anonymous quarto (Quarto 1). A little better than a year later, P. Chetwin printed another version, "with all the alterations, amendments, additions and newsongs. As it is now acted at the Duke's theatre."/10 (Quarto 2). Beyond some transpositions of the scenes and some alterations in the sequence of the "business," Quarto 2 does not differ very materially from its immediate predecessor. For the variations see Furness, *Variorum Shakespeare*, vii. (1873), introduc-

tion. In the same volume will be found the text of Quarto 2. My impression is that the discrepancies between the two arose from the fact that Cadman, in his haste to take advantage of the ornate revival at Dorset Gardens in 1673, derived his text from a copy of D'Avenant's first version of the tragedy, and that Quarto 2 represents the maturer revisal./11

Leaving for the moment Mr. Lawrence's conclusion, let us examine his facts. Quarto 2, he asserts, is not very different from Quarto 1. The latter edition I have not seen, though I have examined with care its variant readings as recorded by Dr. Furness./12 I might hesitate therefore to controvert Mr. Lawrence's remarks if it were not that he refers to Furness as

/8 I reprint portions of my article, "D'Avenant's *Macbeth* and Shakespeare's," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n of Am.*, xl, 619-644 (Sept., 1925).

/9 Montague Summers, *Shakespeare Adaptations*, pp. xxxv f. Captain Jaggard's great bibliography entertains the same error. (William Jaggard, *Shakespeare Bibliography*, p. 381.)

/10 There were at least two issues in 1674, one for P. Chetwin, the other for A. Clark. Whether these contain minor variations I cannot say, not having thought it worth while to collate them carefully. They appear to be identical.

/11 W. J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse* [First Series], p. 211, n. 2.

/12 I have since examined copies of this Quarto in the British Museum and in the Bodleian.

his own authority. Now Dr. Furness, so far from asserting the *similarity* of the two Quartos, lays stress on their *difference*:

In 1673 [he writes] there appeared "Macbeth: A Tragedy. Acted At the Dukes-Theatre." This has hitherto been cited as D'Avenant's Version, even by the very accurate Cambridge Editors, and in sooth it may be that it is, but it is very different from the D'Avenant's Version published in the following year, to which almost uniformly all references apply, and not to this edition of 1673. *The only points of identity between the two* [my italics] are to be found in the Witch-scenes, and there they are not uniformly alike, nor are the Songs introduced in the same scenes at the same places; and of the Song "Black Spirits and white," &c., only the first two words are given. In other respects the edition of 1673 is a reprint of the First Folio. ... As a general rule ... the readings of F 1 [in Furness's textual notes] include the edition of D'Avenant of 1673./13

Dr. Furness next expresses regret that he has not more clearly distinguished the two versions by giving the earlier some other title in his citations; "Betterton's," he suggests, but why he does not specify. Certainly the suggestion is misleading. He continues:

It is a mere suspicion of mine that the success which attended the representation of this earlier version induced the Poet Laureate in the following year to "amend" it still more, and prefix an "Argument" which, by the way, he took word for word from Heylin's

Unfortunately for this theory, the Quartos are dated 1673 and 1674, while D'Avenant died in 1668.

Dr. Furness returns to the differences between Quarto 1 and the First Folio. I quote in full:

> The first divergence from the First Folio in Betterton's version (if I may be permitted so to term it for the nonce, to avoid repetition and confusion)/14 occurs at the end of the Second Scene in the Second Act, where the Witches enter and "sing" the song found in D'Avenant's Version's/15 (see p. 324/16 [519/17]), beginning "Speak, Sister, is the Deed done?" &c., down to "What then, when Monarch's perish, should we do?"/18

/13 H. H. Furness, New Variorum Ed., vol. ii (revised ed., 1903), pp. vii, viii.

/14 He means the Quarto of 1673, that is, Quarto 1.

/15 That is, Mr. Lawrence's Quarto 2, of 1674.

/16 *Macbeth*, New Var. Ed., 1873.

/17 Ibid., revised ed., 1903.

/18 The whole song appears as follows in Q 1674, pp. 26, 27:

"1 Witch. Speak, Sister, speak; is the deed done?
2 Witch. Long ago, long ago:
Above twelve glasses since have run.
3 Witch. Ill deeds are seldom slow;
Nor single: following crimes on former wait.
The worst of creatures fastest propagate.
Many more murders must this one ensue,
As if in death were propagation too.
2 Witch. He will.
1 Witch. He shall.
3 Witch. He must spill much more bloud;
And become worse, to make his Title good.
1 Witch. Now let's dance.
2 Witch. Agreed.
3 Witch. Agreed.
4 Witch. Agreed.
Chorus. We shou'd rejoyce when good Kings bleed.
When cattel die, about we go,
What then, when Monarchs perish, should we do?"

> At the end of the next scene/19 occurs the second divergence, consisting of the Witches' Song (see p. 325/20 [519/21]), beginning "Let's have a Dance upon the Heath," &c., down to "We Dance to the Ecchoes of our Feet," as it is in D'Avenant's version, except that "the chirping Cricket" is changed into the "chirping Critick."/22
>
> The third and last addition, which is not wholly unauthorized, since it is indicated in the Folios, is to be found at III, v, 33. Here the extract from Middleton (see pp. 337/23 [376/24] and 401/23 [525/24]) is given: "Come away Heccat, Heccat, Oh, come away," &c., down to "Nor Cannons Throats our height can reach."/25 As I have before said, with these three exceptions, Betterton's version [i. e., the Quarto of 1673] is a more or less accurate reprint of the First Folio./26

Since to this plain statement Mr. Lawrence refers as his authority, it is evident that his assertion that the Quartos of 1673 and 1674 are in virtual agreement is one of his very rare slips.

Dr. Furness continues with a list of "some of the most noteworthy discrepancies" between Q 1673 and F 1, selected from the first Act./27 He lists the following passages:

.....

The following variant readings in the remaining acts are recorded in Furness's textual notes:/28

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/19 In Q 1673, that is; in Q 1674 it is a few lines farther on in the same scene.

/20 Macbeth, New Var. Ed., 1873.

/21 Ibid., revised ed., 1903.

/22 The entire song is as follows (Q 1674, p. 27):

"Let's have a dance upon the Heath;
We gain more life by Duncan's death.
Sometimes like brinded Cats we shew,
Having no musick but our mew.
Sometimes we dance in some old mill,
Upon the hopper, stones, and wheel.
To some old saw, or Bardish Rhime,
Where still the Mill-clack does keep time.
Sometimes about an hollow tree,
A round, a round, a round dance we.
Thither the chirping Cricket comes,
And Beetle, singing drowsie hums.
Sometimes we dance o're Fens and Furs,
To howls of wolves, and barks of curs.
And when with none of those we meet,
We dance to th' ecchoes of our feet.
At the night-Raven's dismal voice,
Whilst others tremble, we rejoyce;
And nimbly, nimbly dance we still
To th' ecchoes from an hollow Hill."

/23 *Macbeth*, New Var. Ed., 1873.

/24 Ibid., revised ed., 1903. For Furness's 525, read 528, 529.

/25 This song is taken, with a dozen verbal alterations, from Middleton's *The Witch* (ed. Bullen, v, 416-418), III, iii, 39-74. It had probably been used in *Macbeth* as early as before the publication of the First Folio. It appears in Q 1674 on pages 44, 45.

/26 Furness, New Var. *Ed.* (revised ed.) of *Macbeth*, pp. vii, viii.

/27 These are not recorded in Dr. Furness's *textual* notes (1873), since he did not recognize the difference between Q 1673 and Q 1674 until he had made some progress in collation.

/28 The text first cited is in each case the reading of Q 1673, and the second is that of F 1, both as given by Furness.

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The variations of Quarto 1673 from the First Folio we thus find to be inconsiderable. Both Dr. Furness and Mr. Lawrence are wrong, the latter in asserting the similarity of the two

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Quartos, the former in suggesting that D'Avenant made some additional alterations in 1674, being emboldened by the success of the version of the previous year.

In lieu of their conclusions I can offer only a conjecture, which has, however, this warrant, that it is compatible with the textual condition of both Quartos. Soon after the gorgeous revival of D'Avenant's *Macbeth* at Dorset Garden (1672-1673), a publisher apparently decided to reprint Shakespeare's original play as found in the First Folio, and thus take advantage of its renewed popularity. He included, perhaps without authority, three additions (carefully distinguished by Furness), which may have been taken down in the theatre, but which had probably got attached to the play long before D'Avenant began tampering with it. The proprietors of D'Avenant's version, unwilling to allow this text to circulate under the name of their recent theatrical success and to reap the publishing profits thereof, gave the D'Avenant text to the printer. This, the text of Quarto 1674, must have been written at least before 1668, when D'Avenant died, and probably before 1663-1664, when it appears to have been produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Quarto of 1673, accordingly, as Furness distinctly states, is not an alteration but a reprint of the First Folio, with the addition of three songs and with a few of those minor changes inevitable in every such reprint. Though published before the Quarto of 1674, it was undertaken by the printer long after that version had been prepared. It is in fact not improbable that Quarto 1673 represents the play as it was acted even before the Wars; for Shakespeare's text appears to have been tampered with before its original publication in the First Folio.

The Quarto of 1674, on the other hand, is D'Avenant's version of *Macbeth*, probably written, or at any rate overhauled, c. 1663-1664. It was not included in the posthumous D'Avenant folio of 1673 for the same reason that denied inclusion to

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D'Avenant's version of *Hamlet*. Compared with *The Law against Lovers*, which was included, both the *Hamlet* and the

Macbeth are chiefly distinguished by verbal alteration and cutting. The editor felt (as very likely D'Avenant himself did) that *The Law against Lovers*, though based on two of Shakespeare's plays, was really a new play, while the *Hamlet* and the *Macbeth* were still Shakespeare's./29

The *Macbeth* Quarto of 1674 was reprinted in 1687,/30 1689, 1695, and 1710. I have not collated these texts. I have, however, examined those of 1687, 1695, and 1710 with sufficient care to be sure that they represent D'Avenant's version. They appear to be faithful reprints of Quarto 1674.

Let us now turn to that text and examine the changes introduced by William D'Avenant in order to "reform and make fit" the *Macbeth* of William Shakespeare.

ACT I

The first act is not much altered structurally, but, as will be apparent from a glance at the verbal "improvements" I shall cite, the text is badly garbled. The Bleeding Sergeant (I, ii) becomes Seyton; Macduff takes over Ross (I, ii and iii); Angus is excised, though his name appears among the dramatis personae. Angus's speech, I, iii, 110-113, is cut; but I, iii, 121-129, is given to Macduff. The evil thought of Macbeth is expressed more definitely as early as scene iii. At the end of scene iv, in the Prince of Cumberland aside, D'Avenant inserts another couplet before the final one, which he alters considerably:

> The strange Idea of a bloudy act
> Does into doubt all my resolves distract.
> My eye shall at my hand connive, the Sun
> Himself should wink when such a deed is done.

Professor Kittredge calls my attention to the source of the first of these couplets; it is *Macbeth*, I, iii, 155-157:

/29 H. T. Hall (*Shakspere's Plays: The Separate Editions of, with the Alterations Done by Various Hands*, p. 43) asserts that D'Avenant altered the play in 1672. This was four years after D'Avenant died.

/30 Mr. Lawrence doubts the existence of a Quarto of 1687 (*The Elizabethan Playhouse*, I, 212, n. 1), but there is a copy so dated in the Boston Public Library.

> My Thought, whose Murther yet is but fantasticall,
> Shakes so my single state of Man,
> That Function is smother'd in surmise.

Such structural alterations as appear in this play are due principally to D'Avenant's passion for balance in characterization. This obsession is a natural consequence of the systematic creation of typical rather than complex characters. Shake-

speare's faculty of viewing whole not only life in general but the isolated personality was simply beyond the horizon of the critics from whom the dramatists of the Restoration derived their standards. It is not permissible, Dryden declares, to set up a character as composed of mighty opposites:

> When a Poet has given the Dignity of a King to one of his persons, in all his actions and speeches, that person must discover Majesty, Magnanimity, and jealousy of power; because these are sutable to the general manners of a King. . . . When Virgil had once given the name of Pious to Aeneas, he was bound to show him such, in all his words and actions through the whole Poem. . . . A character . . . is a composition of qualities which are not contrary to one another in the same person: thus the same man may be liberal and valiant, but not liberal and covetous./31

The principle thus unqualifiedly laid down leads eventually to the personification of dominant characteristics. It comes, in fact, pretty close to the humours theory of Ben Jonson, and I for one am convinced that his methods influenced Restoration tragedy as well as comedy. Dryden, for instance, examining the merits of Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Jonson, awards the palm for characterization to the last, on account of the "consistency" of his persons -- even the minor ones. This significant opinion, as well as the last passage quoted, is to be found, not in a treatise on comedy, but in Dryden's preface to his alteration of *Troilus and Cressida*, which contains a formal essay on the *Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy*.

D'Avenant never went so far as Dryden, who worked in Shakespeare revision with a freer hand than did his prede-

/31 Dryden, Preface to *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. 1679, sig. a 3 *verso* f.

cessor; but the older Laureate was powerfully influenced by this canon of consistency. Once you surrender to it, composition becomes largely a matter of antithesis: if A stands for Pride, let B represent Humility; if A incarnates pure Malignity, B shall broadcast Benevolence. Thus in *Macbeth* D'Avenant saw the hero's Lady as a symbol of wicked ambition. Very well, then, let us have a good woman, quite unscorched by any spark of self-interest, and available to lecture the other characters and the audience on the cinerary consequences of worldly hope. And since Shakespeare proposes an unobjectionable figure in Lady Macduff, D'Avenant selects her to be all that Lady Macbeth is not. In his hands she become a most sanctified dame, and a much more important character than Shakespeare had made her.

This pious matron's first opportunity comes in I, v, in a scene of 37 lines which precedes the reading of Macbeth's letter./32 The notorious *love and honour* (or more accurately,

love *or* honour) motive appears in all its glory in her first speech. Soon, in response to Lady Macbeth's martial enthusiasm, Macduff's domestic angel begins her lecture:

> The world mistakes the glories gain'd in war,
> Thinking their Lustre true: alas, they are
> But Comets, Vapours! by some men exhal'd
> From others bloud, and kindl'd in the Region
> Of popular applause, in which they live
> A-while; then vanish: and the very breath
> Which first inflam'd them, blows them out agen.

Having thus impressed us with her insusceptibility to ambitious temptings she retires, Lady Macbeth breaks into the letter, and the action proceeds as in Shakespeare's play, though the diction is horribly mutilated.

ACT II

The sleepy Porter is contemptuously ejected from his station in this act. The scene is replaced by the following awkward lines:

/32 D'Avenant failed to observe that Lady Macbeth is well into the letter when she enters.

> *Enter Lenox and Macbeth's Servant.*
>
> *Lenox.* You sleep soundly, that so much knocking
> Could not wake you.
> *Serv.* Labour by day causes rest by night.
>
> *Enter Macduff.*/33

In II, iv, the Old Man's lines are reduced and bestowed on Seyton. As in the original, Macduff announces his departure for Fife.

The next scene is D'Avenant's own. Once more we see the heath, where "Lady Macduff, Maid, and Servant" await their lord. "Here," says the Servant,

> He order'd me to attend him with the Chariot.

The children are not presented:

> They are securely sleeping in the Chariot.

Macduff arrives. It soon appears that he has chosen an uncanny spot for the rendezvous: the witches (four of them) bounce in and present the "divertisement" which Mr. Pepys found not only entertaining but appropriate. Their lyrics

have already been quoted. The Thane of Fife sourly pronounces their first selection "an hellish Song," but stays for the encore. After that the Witches dance. Macduff is next treated to a triple-barrelled prophecy in the manner of those addressed to Macbeth and Banquo:

1 Witch. Saving thy bloud will cause it to be shed;
2 Witch. He'll bleed by thee, by whom thou first hast bled.
3 Witch. Thy wife shall shunning danger, dangers find,
And fatal be, to whom she most is kind.

Then the Witches vanish, and after a brief lecture by Lady Macduff on the folly of believing these "Messengers of Darkness," the doomed family troops off to the waiting chariot.

/33 Weber approves of this excision, which he attributes to D'Avenant's desire to condense the action. Weber here, as elsewhere in his dissertation, forgets the influence of the canons on D'Avenant's methods. The excision of the Porter was directly required by the principle of strict separation. (G. Weber, *Davenant's Macbeth im Verhältnis zu Shakespeare's gleichnamiger Tragödie*, Rostock, 1903, p. 65.)

ACT III

D'Avenant was not inclined to trust his audience to take any save the broadest of hints. A good instance of his little faith occurs in III, i, after Banquo has departed on his fatal ride, and the courtiers have been dismissed. Macbeth thereupon reveals his intentions unmistakably:

Macduff departed frowningly, perhaps
He is grown jealous; he and Banquo must
Embrace the same fate.

Immediately after the interview with the murderers comes another of D'Avenant's original Macduff scenes, neatly versified in rhyming couplets. The Thane has made up his mind:

It must be so. Great Duncan's bloudy death
Can have no other Author but Macbeth.
His Dagger now is to a Scepter grown;
From Duncan's Grave he has deriv'd his Throne.

Lady Macduff, in her character of good counselor, never lets an opportunity slip:

Ambition urg'd him to that bloudy deed:
May you be never by Ambition led:
Forbid it Heav'n, that in revenge you shou'd
Follow a Copy that is writ in bloud./34

Macduff feels bound to avenge the murdered King, but his wife would leave all to Heaven. The Thane longs to rescue his country from "the bloudy Tyrants violence." She has her answer pat:

> I am affraid you have some other end,
> Than meerly Scotland's freedom to defend.
> You'd raise your self, whilst you wou'd him dethrone;
> And shake his Greatness, to confirm your own.

Macduff replies that it would be no usurpation to assume the sceptre for the nation's good. But his Lady stands firm against ambition in any form. She is, in fact, a thoroughgoing Restoration loyalist.

/34 Fairness compels the admission that if we must have couplets this is in excellent vein; at least it is eminently actable.

The action then proceeds as in the original till the scene of Banquo's assassination, in which the conference of the murderers before the deed is greatly reduced; the Third Murderer's appearance is not accounted for. Banquo is pursued and killed off stage. After the banquet, a short scene in couplets shows Macduff's leave-taking. Next comes the expository interview between Lennox and a Lord -- in D'Avenant's version, Seyton (III, vi). The act closes with III, v. Hecate's long harangue to the Witches is greatly reduced, in order to make room for the song, "Come away, Heccate, Heccate! Oh come away," and her flight with the Witches on a "machine." The text is taken, with a few slight alterations, from Middleton's *The Witch*, III, iii, 39-74./35

ACT IV

The first scene opens, as in the original, with the brewing of the hellish broth; this is enriched by still another excerpt from Middleton's play (V, ii, 60-78). There are new and spicier ingredients: "Of Scuttle Fish the vomit black," and instead of a tiger's, a "fat Dutchman's Chawdron," an inelegant but eminently topical reference to England's chief competitor at sea. Then Hecate appears, and the song mentioned in the First Folio as "Blacke Spirits, &c." is sung by the Witches. How much of this Middletonian embellishment had been in use before D'Avenant's time is problematical. The text, according to the Quarto of 1674, is as follows:

> *Musick and Song.*

Hec. Black Spirits, and white,
Red Spirits and gray;
Mingle, mingle, mingle,
You that mingle may.
1 Witch. Tiffin, Tiffin, keep it stiff in,
Fire drake Puckey, make it luckey:
Lyer Robin, you must bob in.
Chor. A round, a round, about, about,
All ill come running in, all good keep out.

/35 Bullen's ed. of Middleton, v, 416 f. Weber (pp. 64 f.) points out that D'Avenant has shifted this scene with the preceding in order to close the act on these "wunderhübscher Hexengesänge." Shakespeare's ending of the act is undeniably weak -- that is, if we are to assume that the Elizabethans knocked off for a cigarette four times during the course of a performance.

1. Here's the blood of a Bat!
Hec. O put in that, put in that.
2. Here's Lizards brain,
Hec. Put in a grain.
1. Here's Juice of Toad, here's oyl of Adder
That will make the Charm grow madder.
2. Put in all these, 'twill raise the stanch;
Hec. Nay here's three ownces of a red-hair'd Wench.
Chor. A round, a round, &c.

When Macbeth arrives he demands:

What Destinie's appointed for my Fate?

He is answered by Hecate, for the apparitions do not appear. This omission is puzzling -- they afford an obvious chance for the display of mechanical ingenuity. The "shaddow of eight Kings, and Banquo's Ghost after them" is, however, presented. It is Seyton, not Lennox, who comes in with the news of Macduff's flight. This change is made to enable Lennox, whose part is distinctly "fattened," to take the place of Ross in the next scene as the friend of Lady Macduff. Seyton then comes in as the messenger./36 This scene ends with the warning, since the murderers do not appear. Their excision may be due to the theoretical objection to scenes of violence, or to a desire to make room for new material.

Next comes the interview, greatly reduced, between Malcolm and Macduff. It takes place, not in England, but

In these close shades of Birnam Wood./37

It is broken, after the reference to Edward's success in touching, by an original scene in halting blank verse between Macbeth and Seyton. This is perhaps the most ludicrous of D'Avenant's structural changes in this play; for we see the grim Macbeth hesitating in the conventional manner between love and honour. His army needs his presence, but his Lady

is indisposed. And so:

/36 Kilbourne remarks that it is no wonder Seyton finally rebels against D'Avenant's Macbeth -- he has been given so much extra work in this version. (F. W. Kilbourne, *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare*, p. 150.) The Restoration adapters are in fact much more economical than Shakespeare; almost invariably they reduce the number of characters.

/37 Williams says the reason for this change is inexplicable, but it seems fairly obvious: D'Avenant here exhibits a certain deference to the unities of time and place. (J. D. E. Williams, *Sir William Davenant's* [*Literary*] *Relation to Shakespeare*, p. 45.)

Macb. The Spur of my Ambition prompts me to go
And make my Kingdom safe, but Love which softens
me
To pity her in her distress, curbs my Resolves.
. . . . . .
Yet why should Love since confin'd, desire
To controul Ambition, for whose spreading hopes
The world's too narrow, It shall not; Great Fires
Put out the Less; Seaton go bid my Grooms
Make ready; Ile not delay my going.
Seat. I go.
Macb. Stay Seaton, stay, Compassion calls me back.
Seaton. He looks and moves disorderly.
Macb. Ile not go yet.
Seat. Well Sir . . . [*Exit Seat.*]

And now Lady Macbeth comes in, not yet sleep-walking, but so broken by remorse that she heaps reproaches on her husband for having committed the initial crime. Her first words are: "Duncan is dead." She thinks his ghost pursues her. Taking his cue from Shakespeare's great banquet scene, D'Avenant makes her see the ghost, though the stage directions do not indicate that it was actually brought on at this point. Macbeth assures her:

It cannot be My Dear,
Your Fears have misinform'd your eyes.
Lady Mb. See there; Believe your own.
Why do you follow Me? I did not do it.
Macb. Methinks there's nothing.
Lady Mb. If you have Valour force him hence.
Hold, hold, he's gone. Now you look strangely.
Macb. Tis the strange error of your Eyes.
Lady Mb. But the strange error of my Eyes
Proceeds from the strange Action of your Hands.

Let him resign, she urges, his "ill gain'd Crown." He reminds her that she incited him to the crime. But her reply is unanswerable:

You were a Man.
And by the Charter of your Sex you shou'd

Have govern'd me.

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Against the counsel of the Witches she warns him earnestly. Now the Ghost actually appears, and the distracted woman raves. Macbeth finally summons her attendants to lead her off, and then offers the following diagnosis and prescription:

She does from Duncons death to sickness grieve,
And shall from Malcolms death her health receive.
When by a Viper bitten, nothing's good
To cure the venom but a Vipers blood.

On this homeopathic principle the scene ends. One must confess that from †theatrical point of view it is highly effective.

Finally, we return to Birnam Wood. Lennox is still in the shoes of Ross and brings the terrible news from Fife.

ACT V

The sleep-walking scene is reduced to 36 lines from 81. The witnesses are Seyton and a lady; both Doctors are omitted from D'Avenant's version.

Scene ii shows us, instead of the rebellious thanes, Donalbain and "Flean" met by Lennox. The scene is brief, original, and writ in most villainous blank verse./38

And now follows V, iii, but this Macbeth is not Shakespeare's. Vanished is that fierce contumely which reveals the extremity of his bewildered spirit: we get instead such insipidities as

Now Friend, what means thy change of Countenance?

For:

The diuell damne thee blacke, thou cream-fac'd Loone:
Where got'st thou that Goose-looke.

It is when considering such passages as this and the one following that the modern admirer of Shakespeare's poetry finds it difficult to remain judicial:

V, iii, 24-34:

Take thy Face hence.
He has Infected me with Fear

/38 Weber (p. 69) observes that the scene is in one respect an improvement: at least the reappearance of the two sons to avenge their murdered sires is justifiable dramatically.

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I am sure to die by none of Woman morn.
And yet the English Drums beat an Alarm,

As fatal to my Life as are the Crokes
Of Ravens, when they flutter about the Windows
Of departing men.
My Hopes are great, and yet me-thinks I fear
My Subjects cry out Curses on my Name,
Which like a North-wind seems to blast my Hopes.

This twaddle, we must suppose, was turned off by the Laureate with the greatest satisfaction, in the firm belief that he was writing "with the very spirit of Shakespeare." His creaking lines replace:

Take thy face hence. Seyton, I am sick at hart,
When I behold: Seyton, I say, this push
Will cheere me euer, or dis-eate me now.
I have liu'd long enough: my way of life
Is falne into the Seare, the yellow Leafe,
And that which should accompany Old-Age,
As Honor, Loue, Obedience, Troopes of Friends,
I must not looke to haue: but in their steed,
Curses, not lowd but deepe, Mouth-honor, breath
Which the poore heart would faine deny, and dare not.

Since the Doctor is excised, we lose the great passage beginning,

Can'st thou not Minister to a minde diseas'd . . . ?

In an aside Seyton announces his intention of deserting, and the scene ends. It is followed by a scene largely original with D'Avenant, showing the united forces under "Seymor," and including the order to hew the boughs.

The great fifth scene is, like the third, hopelessly garbled, as witness the speech in which Macbeth's numbed mind reacts, or fails to react, to the news of his wife's death -- surely one of the most profoundly tragic sentences ever composed for an actor's lips. It appears thus transmuted in D'Avenant's version:

She should have Di'd hereafter,
I brought Her here, to see my Victines,/39 not to Die.
To Morrow, to Morrow, and to Morrow,
Creeps in a stealing pace from Day to Day,
To the last Minute of Recorded Time:
And all our Yesterdays have lighted Fools
To their Eternal Homes: Out, out that Candle . . . etc.

From this point on the text is left unchanged, but the havoc already made is unforgivable.

The final scene is no less objectionable. Lennox assumes the rôle of Young Siward, and his death; but his lines are D'Avenant's. Macbeth falls on stage, and dies with a moral on his lips:

Farewell vain World, and what's most vain in it, Ambition.

For obvious reasons Macduff presents the new sovereign with, not his enemy's head, but his sword.

Several of the stage directions in the Quarto of 1674 indicate the "operatic" (that is, mechanical) nature of the performances of this adaptation.

I, i, 15: "[Ex. flying."
I, iii, 2: "Enter three Witches flying."
III, iv, 92: "[the Ghost descends."
III, iv, 116: "the Ghost of Banq. rises at his feet."
III, v, 40: "[Machine descends." [For the flight of the Witches.]
IV, i, 155: "[Musick. The Witches Dance and Vanish. The Cave sinks."

The verbal changes made by D'Avenant are on the whole very like those in *The Law against Lovers* and in his version of *Hamlet*. The categories I suggest are in many cases not especially accurate, for some alterations belong to more than one type, and in many cases a guess at the motive rather than an appraisal of the result is responsible for my classification. I give, of course, only samples.

/39 Victims, vict'ries (?).

Some changes owe their existence to D'Avenant's desire to modernize his text./40 Example:

I, iii, 87: "what seem'd Corporeal."
For: "and what seem'd corporall."

Other revisions appear to be attempts to correct Shakespeare's grammar. Others are rhetorical improvements; for instance, the historical present seems to have been objectionable to D'Avenant. Examples:

I, ii, 59: "Whence *com'st* thou, worthy Thane?"
For: "cam'st."

I, iii, 9: "the rump-fed Ronyon *cry'd*."
For: "cryes."

I, iii, 55 "who."
For: "that."

I, iii, 167: "*Patience and time run* through the roughest day."
For: "Time, and the Houre, runs."

Metrical improvements are aimed at in many of D'Avenant's changes. Too much importance should not, however, be attached to these, for they are often ignored both in altered and in original lines. Examples:

I, i, 14: "To us fair weather's foul, and foul is fair!"
For: "faire is foule, and foule is faire."

I, ii, 75: "Until at Colems-Inch he had disburs'd."
For: "Till he disbursed, at Saint Colmes ynch."

There are numerous changes like this, as a consequence of the weakening of the suffix of the past participle.

The great principle of decorum, D'Avenant found, clashed with several passages in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.

I, v, 47, 48: "Empty my Nature of humanity,
And fill it up with cruelty."
For: "And fill me from the Crowne to the Toe, top-full
Of direst Crueltie."

I, v, 57: "steel." For "Knife." Cf. I, vii, 20: "sword" for "knife."

/40 In each case, unless the contrary is stated, the text first quoted is that of Q 1674. The words replaced are quoted from the First Folio as given by Furness. Weber (p. 15) concludes that the source of Q 1674 is all but certainly F 1.

I, vii, 51, 52: "You dare not venture on the thing you wish:
But still wou'd be in tame expectance of it."
For: "Letting I dare not, wait vpon I would,
Like the poore Cat i' th' Addage."

We have already noticed D'Avenant's irritating practice of literalizing Shakespeare's figures of speech. This trick has the same effect on the reader as explaining the point of a joke. The worst case I have met occurs in *Macbeth*:

II, iii, 85, 86: "Approach the Chamber, and behold a sight
Enough to turn spectators into stone."
For: "Approch the Chamber, and destroy your sight
With a new Gorgon."

But by far the largest number of D'Avenant's explicable alterations are due, apparently, to his zeal in elucidation. Shakespeare's text seemed full of obscurities in language and thought, and for the sake of making it transparent to the audience at Lincoln's Inn Fields the Laureate was willing to sacrifice metre, imagination, or anything else. Examples:

I, ii, 5-7: "if we may guess
His message by his looks, He can relate the
Issue of the Battle!"
For: "he can report,
As seemeth by his plight, of the Reuolt
The newest state."

I, ii, 78: "Our *confidence*." For: "Bosome interest."

I, iii, 62: "With which he seems surpriz'd."
For: "That he seemes wrapt withall."

I, iii, 65, 66: "who neither beg your favour,
Nor fear your hate."
For: "who neyther begge, nor feare
Your fauors, nor your hate."

I, iii, 135-137: "If all be true,
You have a Title to a Crown, as well
As to the Thane of Cawdor."

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For: "That trusted home,
Might yet enkindle you vnto the Crowne,
Besides the Thane of Cawdor."

I, iii, 170, 171: "I was reflecting upon past transactions."
For: "Giue me your fauour:
My dull Braine was wrought with things forgot-
ten."

I, v, 50: "no relapses into mercy."
For: "no compunctious visitings of Nature."

II, iii, 141-143: "who could then refrain,
That had an heart to love; and in that heart
Courage to *manifest his affection*."
For: "make's loue knowne?"

II, iv, 6: "Has made that knowledge void."
For: "Hath trifled former knowings."

III, i, 59: "I am no King till I am safely so."
For: "To be thus, is nothing, but to be safely thus."

III, ii, 47: "But they are not Immortal."
For: "But in them, Natures Coppie's not eterne."

These examples might be greatly multiplied. Acts IV and V are, however, more D'Avenant's own than the first three, and I have not thought it worth while to make further citations under this head.

Not a few of D'Avenant's verbal changes defy, for me at least, reasonable classification except as wanton tampering. Perhaps the example which follows may serve as well as any to show how unrestricted the improver felt:

III, ii, 25-33: Better be with him
Whom we to gain the Crown, have sent to peace;
Then on the torture of the Mind to lye
In restless Agony. Duncan is dead;
He, after life's short feavor, now sleeps; Well:
Treason has done it's worst; not Steel, nor Poyson,
No Ferreign force, nor yet Domestick Malice
Can touch him further.

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For: Better be with the dead,

Whom we, to gayne our peace, haue sent to peace,
Then on the torture of the Minde to lye
In restlesse extasie.
Duncane is in his Graue:
After Lifes fitful Feuer, he sleepes well,/41
Treason ha's done his worst: nor Steele, nor Poyson,
Mallice domestique, forraine Leuie, nothing,
Can touch him further.

The chorus of disapproval of this outrageous alteration began at least as early as 1674, when Thomas Duffett's *The Empress of Morocco* was printed./42 This was a burlesque of the very successful *The Empress of Morocco* by Elkanah Settle, which had been produced shortly before at Dorset Garden. The Theatre Royal thereupon employed Duffett to ridicule their rivals' success, as at about the same time they used his *Mock Tempest* to satirize the D'Avenant-Dryden-Shadwell opera. Though his game was Settle, he could not resist a shot at the great Elizabethan./43 To his *Empress* is appended:

An Epilogue spoken by Witches, after the mode of Macbeth.
[Title page:] Epilogue. Being a new Fancy after the old, and most surprising way of Macbeth, Perform'd with new and costly machines, Which were invented and managed by the most ingenious Operator Mr. Henry Wright. P. G. Q. London, Printed in the Year 1674.

There is a sort of wit in the cast of characters; it includes: Hecate, Mr. Powel; 1 Witch, Mr. Harris; 2 Witch, Mr. Adams; 3 Witch, Mr. Lyddal; Thunder, Mr. Goodman; Lightning, Mr. Kew; Spirits, Cats, and Musicians. The *Epilogue* begins:

The most renowned and melodious Song of John Dory, being heard as it were in the Air sung in parts by Spirits, to raise the expectation, and charm the audience with thoughts sublime, and worthy of that Heroick Scene which follows. The Scene opens. Thunder and lightning is discover'd, not behind Painted Tiffany to blind and amuse the Senses, but openly, by the most excellent way of Mustard-bowl, and Salt-Peter. Three Witches fly over the Pit Riding upon Beesomes. Heccate descends over the Stage in a

/41 Lord Morley praised this line as "the most melting and melodious single verse in all the exercises of our English tongue." It seemed otherwise to D'Avenant.

/42 "The Empress of Morocco. A Farce. Acted by His Majesties Servants. London . . . 1674."

/43 On page 22 there is a silly burlesque of Hamlet's ranting speech to Laertes at Ophelia's grave.

Glorious Charriot, adorn'd with Pictures of Hell and Devils, and made of a large Wicker Basket.

Then follows a burlesque of Hecate's reproaches and instructions to the Witches, with parodies of their songs, which, to

borrow the trusty formula of John Genest, must not be quoted here.

But, "being in the nature of an opera," the D'Avenant *Macbeth* delighted the public, and remained, as we have noticed, a stock piece with Betterton throughout the remainder of his career. Not, in fact, till Shakespeare's play was revived by David Garrick in 1744 did D'Avenant's version relinquish its usurped place in the repertory./44

It can scarcely be denied that some of D'Avenant's interpolations are theatrically effective. Among these are the appearance of Duncan's Ghost to Lady Macbeth, and her accusation of her husband. I have little doubt that as acted by Mr. and Mrs. Betterton this scene was more than merely theatrically effective. Indeed, what makes D'Avenant's version contemptible is not so much the structural alteration, unhappy as a great deal of it is. In the first place, the Witches lose their mysterious flavor -- they become vaudevillians. They sing, they dance, and, above all, they cavort on the "machines." The delight of the Restoration in these contraptions seems to us childish enough -- till we think of our own theatre, where material accessories have come to dominate the stage even more than in D'Avenant's time, though now our mechanics sometimes achieve a pictorial prettiness which the Restoration producer only dreamed of.

The other depressing thing about D'Avenant's version is the ruin of some of Shakespeare's finest poetry. In spite of its apparent incompleteness and general appearance of having been tampered with, the Shakespearean *Macbeth* has several scenes which for tragic oppressiveness have seldom been equalled in all the literature of the drama. This overpower-

/44 See Odell, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, i, 30.

ing intensity of despair comes, not from the unforgettable fact of a terrible or hideous situation (as it frequently does in Greek tragedy), but from the sheer weight of the phrasing. Macbeth is past the breaking-point in the fifth act, though in the second and third he is repeatedly near it -- and knows it. He does not break, but he bends to the burden of horror that is crushing him; and his momentary collapses are made vocal by Shakespeare in those frantic outbursts like the great passage on sleep, when to the mind of the guilty thane comes the awful conviction that his crime is to isolate him.

In the last act, breaking is no longer possible; unlike his wife, King Macbeth cannot find surcease in madness or in death. She snaps under the strain; he crumbles. And the utter bleakness and blankness of his despair are, again, phrased perfectly. Sound and disordered sense combine to reveal a man

dying daily, and out of the world long before his battered harness yields to the avenging sword. Of these great periods D'Avenant ruins line after line. Now smoothing the excited, tumbling verbiage into decorous decasyllabics, now sacrificing even smoothness to matter-of-factness, he trims and clips with complete assurance, only pausing now and then to let his own fancy, such as it is, soar to bombastic heights and swoop to bathetic vales with equal facility and equally disastrous consequences to the necessary question of the play.

By far the largest number of his verbal changes appears to be attributable to his passion for perspicuity. This, rather than subservience to the critical canons, seems to animate him chiefly. The canons, however, are not without their influence. A certain deference to the unities of place and time may be inferred from D'Avenant's removal to Birnam Wood of the conference between Malcolm and Macduff. Yet, as in Shakespeare, the action is now at Forres, now at Inverness, now at Fife. Strict separation dictated the excision of the Porter, yet it allowed the aërial gyrations of the Witches, which must

have been comic in effect, though perhaps not in intention. The rules were supposed to prohibit scenes of violence, yet Macbeth is killed on stage. This precept, indeed, never appealed to English audiences, and was rejected by many English critics. It remains the great barrier to British and American appreciation of the classical tragedy of France. Our blindness to the often dazzling brilliance of this drama is a deplorable failing which Mr. John Masefield has lately been endeavoring to correct.

Contemptible as this version of Macbeth assuredly is, it is far less outrageous than some of the alterations which followed it -- those of Nahum Tate, for example. D'Avenant rarely penned absolutely idiotic lines, as Tate often did; yet when we compare with its source the result of his efforts to refine and improve, he seems puny and impertinent. How this Laureate, whose technique could change "After Lifes fitful Feuer, he sleepes well" into "He, after life's short feavor, now sleeps: Well," ever managed to achieve "The lark now leaves his watery nest,"/45 one of the finest aubades in English, is a question which I confess still troubles me.

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/45 This beautiful lyric has been set to music with notable success by Horatio Parker, *Old English Songs*, op. 47.