Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of English Language and Literature

MASCULINITIES FROM THE LIBERTINE TO THE DANDY
IN THE COMEDY OF MANNERS:
GEORGE ETHEREGE'S *THE MAN OF MODE*,
OLIVER GOLDSMITH'S *SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER* AND
OSCAR WILDE'S *LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN*

Şafak HORZUM

Master's Thesis

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KABUL VE ONAY

Şafak HORZUM tarafından hazırlanan "Masculinities from the Libertine to the Dandy in the Comedy of Manners: George Etherege's *The Man of Mode*, Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* and Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan*" başlıklı bu çalışma, 10 Temmuz 2015 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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_____

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Laurence RAW

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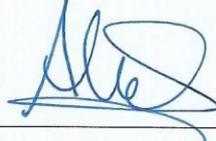
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Şafak HORZUM

To my twin self,

who is always willing to follow me

to the infinity…

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ÖZET

HORZUM, Şafak. *Töre Komedisinde Çapkın'dan Züppe'ye Erkeklikler: George Etherege'ın* The Man of Mode, *Oliver Goldsmith'in* She Stoops to Conquer *ve Oscar Wilde'ın* Lady Windermere's Fan *Adlı Oyunları*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2015.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Restorasyon döneminden geç Viktorya devrine kadar İngiliz soylu sınıf ve üst sınıf erkekliklerinin tarihsel evrimini temsili töre komedileri olan George Etherege'ın *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter* (1676, Moda Adamı ya da Sör Fopling Flutter), Oliver Goldsmith'in *She Stoops to Conquer; or, the Mistakes of a Night* (1772, Fethetmeye Tenezzül Eden Kadın ya da Yanlışlıklar Gecesi) ve Oscar Wilde'ın *Lady Windermere's Fan, a Play about a Good Woman* (1892, Lady Windermere'ın Yelpazesi, İyi Bir Kadın Üstüne Bir Oyun) adlı oyunlarda, erkek ve erkeklik kuramları bağlamında incelemektir. Bu oyunlar, erkek karakterler aracılığıyla dönemlerinin erkeklikle ilişkilendirilen belli başlı davranış biçimlerini ve görgü kurallarını yansıtmaktadır. Bu sebeple, tezin başlangıcında, oyunlardaki erkek karakterlerin incelenmesine zemin hazırlamak için erkek ve erkeklik kuramlarında yer alan kavramlar açıklanmaktadır.

Giriş bölümünün ilk kısmında erkeklik kavramını sorunsallaştırmanın ve zorunlu karşıt cinselliğe yöneltilen itirazlar sürecinde erkek ve erkeklik çalışmalarının gelişimi tüm boyutları ile ele alınmaktadır. Daha sonra, erkekliğin diğer toplumsal cinsiyet kavramlarıyla olan değerler sarmalıyla ilgili olarak hegemonyacı (baskın) erkekliklerin tanımları verilmektedir. İkinci kısım, töre komedisi bağlamında, İç Savaş, Muhteşem Devrim, sömürgecilik ve Sanayi Devrimi gibi İngiliz toplumunun yaşadığı belli başlı siyasi olaylar çerçevesinde on yedinci yüzyıldan on dokuzuncu yüzyıla İngiliz erkekliklerini ele almaktadır.

Çalışmanın birinci bölümünde, libertin (çapkın) erkeklik kavramı Restorasyon töre komedyası bağlamında, sosyo-kültürel önemi vurgulanarak tartışılmaktadır. Ardından, George Etherege'ın *The Man of Mode* adlı komedisinin derinlemesine bir incelemesi

verilmektedir. Libertin kültürün, Restorasyon dönemi sosyal statü anlayışı bağlamında, erkek hegemonyasının bir göstergesi olduğu tartışılmaktadır.

İkinci bölümde, libertin erkeklerin ve sahnedeki temsillerinin ahlaksızlığına yönelik tenkitleri bir arada verilmektedir. Bu tenkitlerin, toplumu bir asırdan fazla etkisi altına alacak olan Püriten duygusal maneviyata zemin hazırladığı öne sürülmektedir. Bu yeni davranış politikası sonucunda, sahneye çok az sayıda yeni töre komedisi konduğu ve Oliver Goldsmith'in yazdığı *She Stoops to Conquer* adlı oyunun, Richard Brinsley Sheridan'ın yazdığı *The Rivals* (1775, Rakipler) ve *The School for Scandal* (1777, Dedikodu Okulu) adlı oyunlarıyla birlikte, bu az sayıdaki eserden biri olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Tiyatro sahnesinin Whig Püritenlerin manevi kaygıları sebebiyle geçen yüzyılın oyunlarına yabancılaşmasıyla ilintili olarak, bu oyundaki soylu ve üst sınıf erkek karakterlerin duygusal erkeklik ve manevi ahlak ve görgü kurallarıyla arıtılan libertinizm unsurlarına sahip oldukları ileri sürülmektedir.

Tezin üçüncü bölümünde ise, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl toplumunda değişen iktisadi güç yoluyla orta sınıfların üst sınıflara baskın çıktığı ve bunun tiyatronun yozlaşmasına yol açtığı iddia edilmektedir. Yeni yol yordam kurallarının betimlemesi züppe olan yeni bir soylu ve üst sınıf erkekliğinin ortaya çıkmasına sebep olduğu tartışılmaktadır. Viktorya dönemi sonunda, Oscar Wilde çok sayıda züppe karakter içeren *Lady Windermere's Fan* adlı, yüzyılın ilk töre komedisini yazmıştır. Böylelikle, hegemonyacı erkeklikler çerçevesinde, oyunun karakterleri öncelikle manevi ahlakla ilgili olan ama daha sonra kapitalist iktisadi kaygılarla şekillenen erkekliğin dönüşümünü göstermektedir.

Çalışmanın sonucunda, incelemesi yapılan üç komedinin İngiltere'deki belli başlı sosyo-politik deneyimlerle bağlantılı olarak libertin erkekliği ile başlayıp duygusal ile kaynaşan ve züppe olarak şekillenen üst sınıf erkekliklerinin değişiminin bir panoramasını sunduğu belirtilmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Töre komedisi, erkeklik, çapkınlık, duygusallık, züppelik, George Etherege, *The Man of Mode*, Oliver Goldsmith, *She Stoops to Conquer*, Oscar Wilde, *Lady Windermere's Fan*

ABSTRACT

HORZUM, Şafak. *Masculinities from the Libertine to the Dandy in the Comedy of Manners: George Etherege's* The Man of Mode, *Oliver Goldsmith's* She Stoops to Conquer *and Oscar Wilde's* Lady Windermere's Fan, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2015.

The aim of this study is to examine the historical evolution of the British aristocratic and upper-class masculinities from the Restoration period to the late-Victorian era with respect to the theories of men and masculinities and to make an analysis of the transformation of these masculinities in such representative comedies of manners as George Etherege's *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter* (1676), Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer; or, the Mistakes of a Night* (1773) and Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan, or a Play about a Good Woman* (1892). These plays reflect the specific representations and manners of masculinities of their ages. For this reason, at the beginning of the thesis, concepts in the theories of men and masculinities are introduced in order to provide a theoretical background for the analysis of these male characters.

In the first section of the introduction, the development of the studies of men and masculinities is scrutinised with reference to the processes of the problematisation of the concept of masculinity and the challenges mounted to compulsory heterosexuality. Then, the description of hegemonic masculinities is established with regard to the paradigm of masculinity and other gender concepts. In the context of the comedy of manners, the second section deals with British masculinities from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth in relation to certain political events British society experienced like the Civil War, the Glorious Revolution, colonialism, and Industrial Revolution.

In the first chapter of the work, the notion of libertine masculinity is discussed with an emphasis on its socio-cultural significance in relation to the Restoration comedy of manners. Then, it provides an in-depth analysis of George Etherege's *The Man of Mode*. It is argued that libertine culture is the indicator of the masculine hegemony in the

context of the Restoration social status.

The second chapter combines the eighteenth-century criticism of the libertines' licentiousness and their representations on the stage. These criticisms are argued to have provided the basis for the Puritan sentimentalism which would dominate English society for more than a century. In line with this new politics of manners, it is discussed that few new comedies of manners have been produced and staged, one of which was *She Stoops to Conquer* by Oliver Goldsmith, the others being The Rivals (1775) and *The School for Scandal* (1777) by Richard Brinsley Sheridan. With regard to the defamiliarisation of the stage from the plays of the previous century due to the sentimental concerns of the Whig Puritans, the aristocratic and upper-class male characters in Goldmith's play are depicted as embodying the elements of sentimental masculinity and libertinism which was refined with sentimental morality and manners.

In the third chapter of the thesis, it is contended that by means of the changing economic power in the nineteenth-century society, the middle classes prevailed over upper classes, and this caused the devolution of drama. It is argued that the new norms of manners enabled the birth of a new aristocratic and upper-class masculinity defined as dandy. At the end of the Victorian era, Oscar Wilde provided the first comedy of manners of the age with *Lady Windermere's Fan* which includes a multiplicity of dandy characters. Thus, it is discussed in this chapter that, within the framework of hegemonic masculinities, the characters of the play present the transformation of manliness which was primarily concerned with sentimental morality, but later on shaped by the capitalist economic interests.

In the conclusion of this thesis, it is stated, in relation to certain socio-political experiences in Britain, that these three comedies provide a panorama of the metamorphosis of aristocratic and upper-class masculinities which has begun with libertine masculinity, fused with the sentimental, and been remodelled as the dandy.

Key Words

Comedy of manners, masculinities, libertinism, sentimentalism, dandyism, George Etherege, *The Man of Mode*, Oliver Goldsmith, *She Stoops to Conquer*, Oscar Wilde, *Lady Windermere's Fan*

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INTRODUCTION

In the context of unstable gender hierarchies, the transformation of aristocratic and upper-class masculinities in British socio-political history started at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Theatre as a particular kind of social space has functions that are "not merely representational," but "also transactional" (Mangan 20). While performing masculinities, it expects and relies on an imaginative contract between the actors/playwrights and the spectators/readers. Such an alliance, or mutual participation, "between the sender and the receiver of dramatic message" allows "the conventions of theatrical narrative" to be comprehended and conveyed (20). Within the framework of "a wider economy – both a literal economy and an economy of meaning" (20), theatrical transaction enables one to locate the exploration of historical masculinities which portrays a man as an independent individual, or a member of a certain group.

Following the above-mentioned relations between the theatre and masculinities, this thesis will attempt to combine the changing characteristics of the masculinities of the young aristocracy and upper classes from the Restoration period to the end of the Victorian era, and it will analyse these masculinities by looking at the significant socio-political events of the said period which affected the gender relations in the English society, and the masculinity-centred gender hierarchies not only between men and women, but also among men in terms of hegemonic masculinities. These events – such as the Restoration, the Glorious Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution – can be regarded as gender-bending and patriarchally definitive and also represented in both non-literary and literary works such as journals, pamphlets, poems, and plays. However, one representative play from each century will be used as the application areas of the theories of men and masculinities in each chapter of this study. The plays will provide the portrait of how English aristocratic masculinity gradually changed from the seventeenth-century libertine figure to the nineteenth-century dandy. These plays consist of Sir George Etherege's *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter* (1676), Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer; or, the Mistakes of a Night* (1773), and Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan, a Play about a Good Woman* (1892). These

plays are especially chosen in consideration that Etherege produced *The Man of Mode* as the best and the first comedy of manners in every aspect in the Restoration era, Goldsmith was the first to produce in this genre in the eighteenth century, and Wilde was the only playwright of the comedy of manners in his age, and his play provides various male characters for a scrutiny of dandies.

In order to make a complete analysis of the mentioned three plays according to the period's concept of masculinity in each chapter, the introduction of this thesis is divided into two sections. In the first section, the historical background of the studies of men and masculinities is provided together with the relevant terminology which crucially constructs a basis for an in-depth discussion and comparison of each century and play. In the second section of the introduction, the socio-cultural transformation of British masculinities from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century is given in relation to the comedy of manners. In this second section, the historical transformation is provided with reference to the above-mentioned socio-political and economic events to present their effects on the construction of gender hierarchies.

I. THEORIES OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES

As an interdisciplinary field that involves the questions of sexuality, identity, and culture, the study of men and masculinities has attracted the attention of many scholars, theoreticians, and researchers since the 1990s. Basically surveying the uniformity of all men, their desires, and the construction of male identities, this field is accepted to have become an independent research area in 1995 with the Australian sociologist R. W. (Raewyn) Connell's *Masculinities*. Until the publication of Connell's inaugural book and the valuable contributions of such prominent figures as Michael Kimmel, Chris Haywood, Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, Tim Hitchcock, Michèle Cohen, Jeff Hearn, and Todd W. Reeser, the study of men and masculinities have been sidestepped when compared to the flourishing of feminist scholarship. In fact, due to the discussions that inevitably flared up on the woman question, female identities, and femininities, the field of gender studies mainly focused on the patriarchal appropriation of the female body as a commodity, neglecting the questions regarding the male. Thus, gender studies, in

general, has been translated into women's studies, overshadowing the discussions on men and masculinities until about three decades ago. Despite being underestimated for a long time, however, the study of men and masculinities has its roots in the ephemeral Men's Liberation Movement, as stated by both Connell, and Kimmel and Aronson. This was originally a follow-up effort to the encompassing umbrella undertaking of Women's Liberation Movement in the late 1960s and the early 1970s (Kimmel and Aronson xxi; Connell, *Masculinities* 23-24).

In fact, all the discussions regarding sex and gender relations have started when women and the non-heterosexual communities in Europe and in the USA subversively questioned the concept of compulsory heterosexuality and the heteropatriarchal system during those two decades. Defining heterosexuality as "an institution that creates a structural order of gender binarism, heterosexual-homosexual division, male dominance, and heterosexual privilege [which is] embedded in Western psyches, classification schemes, social organizations, and public rituals – from dating and weddings to immigration laws and medical-scientific knowledge" (Seidman 21), women's movements have argued against the institutional obligations on the side of the heterosexual structure. Together with women's argumentation, homosexuals, especially gay men, took part in this challenge, too, by stating that compulsory heterosexuality creates its others like women, and gay, lesbian, and transsexual people within its constructed binary gender hierarchy.

Subversive voices, then, set off questioning gender structures, and it is widely accepted now that gender, as a multidimensional phenomenon, has been diversely illustrated "in terms of patterns of behaviors, attitudes, personality features, and dispositions that are typical for biological males and females [and, for that reason, t]here are more sexes than male and female" (Sandfort 599). Accordingly, the concept of gender is "multiple, context-specific, . . . purpose-specific" (Hale 68), and out of the limitations of heterosexuality. Determining that the construction of gender is deeply rooted in "individuals' inner life – their psyches, desires, and fantasies – . . . [as] a primary driving force of human action" (Seidman 21), Women's and Men's Liberation Movements have proposed the transcendental nature of gender which accompanies

individuals any time and any place. Then, it is acceptable to express that Men's Liberation Movement basically aimed to reform the "male sex role," and thus it gave rise to "interesting political discussions about men, power and change" (Connell, *Masculinities* xii).

First, gay liberationists and lesbian feminists mainly in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Australia, and the Netherlands started to discuss the concept of "compulsory heterosexuality" alongside "the social inequalities produced by the institutional enforcement of heterosexuality" (Seidman 18) with the belief that no one could be forced to the rules, norms, and expectations of the heteropatriarchal system. Moreover, in the development of the discipline, Chris Haywood and Máirtín Mac an Ghaill emphasised the significance of some late exposures of gender-related cases, which were thought to be non-existent previously, in their book *Men and Masculinities: Theory, Research, and Social Practice* (2003):

> Social and cultural shifts such as the separation of sexual pleasure from reproduction and marriage (the sexual as plastic [aesthetic]), the development of reproductive technologies, the increasing spatial visibility of lesbians and gays, the mass production of sexual products and pornography and the emergence of HIV/AIDS have had a major impact upon meanings of manhood. . . . The cultural possibilities of sexual violence against men, alongside a new set of media representations such as "absent fathers", "child abusers" and "laddism" have emerged through these sexual fractures. Social and cultural transformations are making tears in the social fabric of sexual meanings, leading to frayed understandings of what it means to be a man. For instance, the emergence of "hard gays" with tough masculinities in multipartner sexual cultures interrogates a traditional understanding of manhood that fuses tough masculinities and heterosexuality. (12-13)

Manifestation of such cases in societies have not limited the time and scope of the studies of masculinities in contemporary researches, but it enabled them to stretch into the past centuries as well. Secondly, this criticism of the prevalent dominant system has aimed to present "a socially formed structural order of patterned sexual-gender divisions and hierarchies" (Seidman 18). Finally, it has taken some time to get integrated into the line of traditional disciplines and to have a few, but crucially joint, shares with gender studies. By means of the researches in business, education, sexualities, sports, and retrospective narratives of perpetually changing definitions, practices of masculinity are observed to have historically been situated at a higher level within a structure of

gendered hierarchies (Connell, *Masculinities* xiv; Mac an Ghaill 1). In order to revise and subvert this hierarchical understanding, the study of men and masculinities have moved out of a mere sex role structure and turned into a comprehensive, specialised, and multi-vocal discipline of observing men in gender relations.

To begin with the terminology, men and masculinities are words deliberately used in the plural form. That is because this field of study – accepted by a consensus as highly complicated (Connell, *Masculinities* xix-xx, 37, 43; Kimmel and Aronson xiv, xvi; Brittan 2-3) – depends on a number of individual experiences. Here, gender identity considered as "a performative accomplishment" moving "fluently between and often mix[ing] idealizations of men and women" assumes "a more agentic, fluid, uneven pattern than is possible in the binary model" (Seidman 22). At this point, Andrew Tolson articulates the multiple perspectives of masculinity, as gender

> allows us to appreciate the highly particular ways in which "masculinity" is commonly understood. . . . "[M]asculinity" is not simply the opposite of "femininity" but there are many different types of gender identity . . . and different expressions of masculinity within and between different cultures. (12)

The multiple sources and perspectives of the materials complicate the investigation and their reports in this area due to the "elusiveness, fluidity and complex interconnectedness of masculinity in modern societies" (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 4).

As regards the terms sex and gender, sex is "our chromosomal, chemical, and anatomical organisation" whereas gender consists of "the meanings that are attached to those differences within a culture" (Kimmel and Aronson xvi). Sex is the biological formation of the human beings, and is divided into two as male and female. On the other hand, gender is the social and cultural construction around which life is organised and through which people understand one another (xv-xvi). Cultures in which people grow up interpret, shape, and modify the biological differences both between men and women and between same-sex people. In other words, people "may be born males or females;" however, they "become men and women in a cultural context" (xix). In an attempt to distinguish the basic difference between sex and gender, Judith Butler examines that distinction stemming from the biological and cultural contexts in *Gender*

Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (1999). She emphasises that "gender is neither the causal result of sex nor as seemingly fixed as sex" (*Gender Trouble* 10). Although a foetus has a biological sex as female or male, its biological sex does not gain a social existence until its declaration to its parents. Therefore, there can be "no 'natural body' that pre-exists its cultural inscription" (Salih 55). Butler clarifies the notion of gender by highlighting that it is not what one "is," but rather what one "does" (*Gender Trouble* 33). The difference between the terms men and masculinities is parallel with the distinction between sex and gender. Men are "corporeal beings" without any cultural citations of gender (Kimmel and Aronson xvi) while masculinities are socially and culturally constructed ideological and political attitudes which correlate with those corporeal beings since their births.

At this point, what primarily needs to be clarified is the historical and critical development, and the problematisation of the term "masculine." It is important to acknowledge Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) as the pioneer of the modern understanding of masculinity. Indeed, Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) marks the advent of the discussions concerning the concept of gender (Gagnon 25). In *Three Essays*, he contends that adult heterosexuality and the concept of gender are "not fixed by nature;" they are "constructed through a long and conflict-ridden process" (Connell, *Masculinities* 9). Freud defines what masculine is in the phallic (third) stage of the five-stage psychosexual development of a child while investigating the sexual manifestations of childhood (*Three Essays* 270).[1] The child's dominance over the mother in the phallic stage provides the child with the idea that s/he is the active side of this relationship. This activeness turns into passiveness with the fear of castration due to a more active and third character, the father, in this relationship. For Freud, libido is totally "active" and "masculine" (*New Introductory Lectures* 96); he, hence, defines the moments of inactivity to survive under certain threats like the father's as "passive" and "feminine."[2] Furthermore, the state of being active and passive is not specific to only one sex since both boys and girls go through similar experiences, and they both use these modes interchangeably. At this moment, it is comprehended that masculinity and femininity are versatile demeanours rather than stabilised identities (Thurschwell 51; Chodorow 226-27); for that reason, both sexes are eligible to possess either demeanours at specific

times under specific circumstances regardless of their sexual identity biologically determined at birth.[3] While Freud defines the concepts of "masculine" and "feminine" as reducing these terms to "active" and "passive" (Freud, *Three Essays* 273) by trying to settle the grounds for adult heterosexual gender concepts which he also realises to be "a complex and fragile construction" (Connell, *Masculinities* 11), R. W. Connell regards this attempt of Freud's as building "a [first] scientific account of masculinity" (8).

Another psychoanalyst who problematised masculinity is Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961). Establishing his theories of archetypes and the collective unconscious in relation to the psyche, Jung uses the Gnostic theory and emphasises the significance of opposites such as good and evil, conscious and unconscious, and masculine and feminine for one's psychological development (Douglas 34). He proposes that the psyche of a human being, regardless of being a man or a woman, has equally important feminine and masculine aspects since these primarily separate aspects attain a harmony after a dense process of conflicts (D. A. Davis 65; Goss 48). In his analysis of the woodcuts of the *Rosarium Philosophorum* (*The Rosary of the Philosophers*, 1550) which is one of the most precious alchemical works and which depicts the phases of the "chymical (sacred) marriage" (Jung, *Mysterium Coniunctionis* 461), Jung gives an illustration of the union of two opposites: conscious and unconscious, the sun and the moon, king and queen, man and woman, or masculine and feminine.[4] He explains this union with the concepts of transference and individuation by means of the terms "anima" and "animus" in his studies of archetypes.

According to Jung, "masculine and feminine elements are united in our human nature… None the less, the feminine element in man is only something in the background as is the masculine element in woman" (*Civilization* 118), from which it can be understood that this polarity is the psychological continuation of human's bisexuality proposed by Freud (Samuels 170). In the androgynous psyche of a man, there is an unconscious feminine side, anima, and in the androgynous psyche of a woman, there is an unconscious masculine side, animus (Jung, *Part 1* 69-71). Animus is associated with the tree of knowledge, reason, and action whereas anima is argued to have the characteristics of the tree of life, emotions, and interpersonal relations (Shamdasani 68,

98; Samuels 26; Odajnyk 161). At the stage of individuation in the process of the union of binaries,[5] aspects of anima/animus are transferred to the persona, the social and conscious side a person presents to others (Jung, *Two Essays* 192). This interactive relation called transference (Jung, *Practice* 323) enables these opposites to unite finally at the top of individuation in order to capacitate any psyche's full development and growth.[6] The end product is not the neutralisation of the contraries because the male-female separation is overwhelmed, and an equilibrium is achieved between the feminine and masculine aspects within the psyche just as in the case of the archetype of human wholeness.

Jung describes his masculine and feminine principles with the archetypal concepts of anima and animus as stated above; thus, he creates a metaphor for the reconciliation between opposites, the prerequisite complementary characteristics for individuation. However, it has been inevitable for him to be regarded as and called by feminists an essentialist (Rowland 16) because, first, he tends to explain the psyche and the unconscious by means of dualism; second, he uses the classical female archetype in his theory of psychoanalysis; third, he is torn between the cultural assertions and actual cases of gender identities such as relating emotional acts to femininity and intellectual acts to masculinity; and last, he defines feminine/woman as related to masculine/man in the majority of his works (Rupprecht 282; Culbertson 223-24).

Alfred Adler (1870-1937), an Austrian psychotherapist and the founder of individual psychology, also bases his argument on the Freudian opposites of masculine-feminine, or active-passive. According to him, this is one of the most important principle polarities in the mental life of people. Adler adds that children stay on the feminine side of this polarity compared to adults (Connell, *Masculinities* 16-17) and they "are thus forced to inhabit the feminine position" which has always been underrated by culture (Connell, "Psychoanalysis" 18). With the anxiety of inferiority raised by "childish value judgement" (Adler, "Psychological Hermaphroditism" 2) and the primordial cultural gender assumptions, children will intermittently attempt to grasp masculinity that is characterised by independence, hegemony, activeness, and strength. This rebellious and revolutionist action, for children, is termed "masculine protest" by Adler (4-5). For

girls, it is the struggle to obtain equal grounds with men as well as adults; yet for boys, it mostly turns into a social strife, which gets managed under the hegemony of masculinity, to deliberate the superior one among men. Adler places this anxiety at the centre of the individual gender construction of people by declaring that "[t]o this [uncertainty of gender roles] is added the arch evil of our culture, the excessive pre-eminence of manliness. All children who have been in doubt as to their sexual role exaggerate the traits which they consider masculine, above all defiance" (*The Individual Psychology* 55). R. W. Connell clarifies in *Masculinities* that resistance against inclusion of social sphere into the psychoanalytic approach towards the individual has led to the emergence of various movements such as existential psychoanalysis (17). These new approaches deal with the socially-related gender issues not previously seen as the subject matter of psychoanalysis which has been limited to the emotional life, not including the social one.

In the course of transferring gender development issues into the socially experiential context rather than limiting them into an empirical, individual case study of one's psycho-emotional experiences, Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986) investigates the position of man and, accordingly, masculinity in a psychoanalysis of existentialist ontology in *The Second Sex* (1949). She articulates the first man's self-definition: "There can be no presence of an other unless the other is also present in and for himself: which is to say that true alterity – otherness – is that of a consciousness separate from mine and substantially identical with mine" (159). Then, the existence of women becomes obligatory for the recognition of manhood, therefore masculinity and hegemonic power. For that reason, the subjugated female is cornered within "immanence" which is associated with domesticity, inferiority, passivity, interiority, and the feminine whereas the liberated male is destined to achieve "transcendence" which is fitted into liberty, sovereignty, activity, exteriority, and the masculine (Changfoot 393-95). Transcendence is not merely a process actualised between the two sexes, or male over female; it is mostly practiced among human males in order to outmanoeuvre one another and prove the value of one's existence in the eyes of other men. To explain this existential struggle, de Beauvoir states, "It is the existence of other men that tears each man out of his immanence and enables him to fulfil the truth of his

being, to complete himself through transcendence, through escape towards some objective, through enterprise" (159). Thus, the ever-changing meaning of masculinity according to each practitioner of it demonstrates itself through these practices by self-confirmation, peer-approval, and ratification of the power-holders.

The issue of masculinity is first based on only one individual's lifetime emotional experiences within case studies, and then the outcomes are argued to be applied to all the humans by Freud and Jung. However, Adler and de Beauvoir's breaking this concept out of the singularity of emotional circle enables application, observation, and evaluation of individual, psychological, social, and economic shifts in the psychoanalytic masculinity traits provided by means of the transcendence among men. From that point onwards, masculinity has begun to be seen as part of sex role theory according to which people act in society in order to fulfil the "internalised" role norms and expectations depending on specific settings such as home, school, work, and battlefield (Shimanoff 433; Connell, *Masculinities* 23-25). If "[r]oles are defined by expectations and norms," then sex roles based on "a gender polarity of fixed notions of masculinity and femininity, in which gender identity is seen as an attribute of the individual" (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 7) are determined by social expectations and norms adhered to one's biological status (Connell, *Masculinities* 25). Judith Butler also draws a distinction between the naturalness and constructedness of gender by stating that "while the body and nature are considered to be the mute facticity of the feminine," "reason and mind are associated with masculinity and agency," which signifies and then calls an opposing feminine subject into being (*Gender Trouble* 48). Role enactments, thence, are primarily thought to have sprung from the male-female separation, in other words, from biological/natural differences.

This corporeal materiality of gender related to its biological aspect is exclusive because it limits the sexual politics to the unquestioned foundation of culture in the frame of Cartesian dualism (Butler, *Gender Trouble* 164-65). Connell further explains the situation by suggesting that "[i]t is the global subordination of women to men that provides an essential basis of differentiation. One form of [femininity] is defined around compliance with this subordination and is oriented to accommodating the interests and

desires of men" (*Gender and Power* 183). With such a mindset of this difference, according to sex role theoreticians, males and females socialise with one another within a given socio-cultural structure, within the binary of nature/culture (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 7); and they are habituated to the convenient impersonations of predestined behaviours (Connell, *Masculinities* 26-35). Still, the approach of role theory provides a relaxing arena neither for men nor for women to act because having to act according to a pre-established gender role and meet the expectations of society brings "failed" masculinity or femininity with itself. By the last quarter of the twentieth century, researchers and theoreticians of gender, and men and masculinities reached the deduction that the mentioned dichotomous perspective leads to a reductionism in the studies of masculine social behaviour because "it is important to capture the diversity of [the] signs and forms of behaviour by understanding that masculinity can not be treated as something fixed and universal" (Archetti 113). To scrutinise this established and essentialist notion of gender, Butler has introduced and developed the concept of gender performativity in her books *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* and *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (1993).

Butler first deconstructs the distinction between sex and gender by explaining that sex as a notion is not separate from gender because these two notions are constructed together, and sex is shaped by the cultural codes of gender (*Gender Trouble* 32-33). She states:

> Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being. A political genealogy of gender ontologies, if it is successful, will deconstruct the substantive appearance of gender into its constitutive acts and locate and account for those acts within the compulsory frames set by the various forces that police the social appearance of gender. (*Gender Trouble* 43-44)

Gender is, thus, presented to be a regulatory framework which leaves a subject no opportunity "to choose which gender she or he is going to enact" (Salih 56). The subject has a limited number of costumes to form itself around a specific gender style. Regarding that gender shapes the subject without any biological determination, Butler explicates gender acts to be performances, "that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject

who might be said to pre-exist the deed" (*Gender Trouble* 33).

Performativity which is "the discursive mode by which ontological effects are installed" (Butler, "Gender as Performance" 112) and "cannot be understood outside of a process of iterability, a regularized and constrained repetition of norms" (Butler, *Bodies That Matter* 60) consists of oppositional categories like female/male, woman/man, and girl/boy that "are not imported into culture or society from the 'nature' outside but rather are fundamentally shaped through discourse" (Brickell 26). This conceptualisation of performativity offers a corollary on Nietzsche's idea of the absence of subject, in *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887), that "there is no 'being' behind doing, acting, becoming; 'the doer' is merely a fiction imposed on the doing – the doing itself is everything" (29). Butler further elaborates on this idea as follows: "there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (*Gender Trouble* 33). This claim for the absence of the subject has disturbed gender theoreticians and critics since Butler argues that there is "no ontological status" outside performative gender acts which is a sequence of the repeated acts of predestined gender signs constructing a gendered reality around a neutral body, and the subject is left with no potential to change its acts consciously and voluntarily at a later age (173). This strictness of the nonexistence of an autonomous subject and its power of subversion is loosened in *Bodies That Matter* (xxi-xxiv) by replacing an old, stable subject with a new, constructed one characterised by the subversive, contingent, and performative acts of an unstable subject with reference to Jacques Derrida's citationality.

Derrida, in his essay "Signature Event Context" (1972), claims that performative acts which are the citations, or summonings, of normative and culturally constructed gender attitudes on a subject have the potential to leave the context and intention of the prevalent culture (97) since all material and discursive signs are "vulnerable to appropriation, reiteration and . . . *re-citation*" (Salih 62-63). Butler, thence, argues Derrida's citationality as re-contextualising an act of gender performativity which was primarily "cited" or constructed as a norm (*Bodies That Matter* xxii). With examples parodying gender performativity, Butler refers to such subversive recitations as drag

queens and emphasises the recitation of gender performatives which are "cited" onto, or implanted into, other contexts separate from the ones approved by culture (*Gender Trouble* 174-75). In addition to this, Erving Goffman, in *Gender Advertisements*, emphasises the place of the self – separate from its gendered ontology – in social interaction, which is mostly absent from Butler's theory (Jackson and Scott 16; McIlvenny 133). Goffman suggests that one "might just as well say there is no gender identity. There is only a schedule for the portrayal of gender" (8). He, hence, suggests that one is aware of gender performatives s/he does and chooses convenient acts in a given social context and within social interaction. Therefore, his/her use of gender by filtering through a variety of available performatives enables her/him to be characterised "as a member of a sexed category by others" (Brickell 31) as long as s/he shows a "competence and willingness to sustain an appropriate schedule of displays" of gender (Goffman 8). That is the individual does her/his deeds and is described within particular frames of social organisation. Thus, the departure from sex role theory leads to the comprehension of gender as not derived from "presocial biological essences," but from the "effects of norms and power relations" within language and society (Brickell 29). The subject's capacity for action is beyond the binary structures defined in culture. In contrast to the disruption of the naturalness of gender as in heterosexual concepts of male and female, the gender performativity reveals the absence of original sexuality and gender, but the idea of originality; therefore, all the gender styles are copies just like "gay is to straight *not* as copy is to original, but, rather, as copy is to copy" (Butler, *Gender Trouble* 41).

The study of men and masculinities is in close contact with "the possibility of subverting and displacing those naturalized and reified notions of gender that support masculine hegemony and heterosexist power" (Butler, *Gender Trouble* 44). Todd W. Reeser, in his *Masculinities in Theory*, questions the "nature" of the concept "masculinity" with a post-structuralist approach to social sciences by attempting to subvert the long-established naturalisation of the concept by society. The traditional correlation between the concept of masculinity and its naturalness has stemmed from the assumption of masculinity's being "commonsensical, produced by testosterone or by nature" (1). At first glance, masculinity seems easy to be defined with such adjectives as

muscular, strong, tough, courageous, dominant, and possessive, and with its opposition to femininity. When a muscular, aggressive, hairy, sombre, or cool-headed man is encountered, the common sense about the gendered personality of that person is focused on his abundant "masculine" attributes. But then, masculinity is generally noticed if there is a lack of it in a man. Its "perceived absence" (1) in situations like a crying, house-cleaning, fashion minded, stylish, overexuberant, warm-blooded or dancer man makes masculinity visible as well. Then, it socially becomes true to state that "the bodybuilder is taking the male body to its natural extreme and the effeminate man is naturally unmasculine" (1). These assumptions lead the emergence point of masculinity to the physicality it is attached to as the concept has been made sense of with its suitability to the male body, or with its discordance on the female body.

Socio-cultural assumptions are mostly based on the most familiar physical vessel of masculinities, which is the body of a male subject. "True masculinity" of a "real" man, a "natural" man, or the deep masculine (Connell, *Masculinities* 45) is presumed to arise from the male body. Because of masculinity's relation to the male body, especially in modern times, bigger, better, harder, and hairier male bodies contribute to the morphology of the "masculine" (Reeser 11). Dominant gender ideology recognising that "the body is a natural machine which produces gender difference – through genetic programming, hormonal difference, or the different role of the sexes in reproduction" (Connell, *Masculinities* 45) strategically attributes certain aspects to men and their masculinities to domineer nonconformist subjects. The inconspicuousness of this dominant gender ideology can be overcome through these physically-visualising methods. On the contrary, the social perspective arguing that "the body is a more or less neutral surface or landscape on which a social symbolism is imprinted" (45-46) expresses the functioning of masculinity by hiding the physical corporality and by employing the social symbols imprinted on it. In this sense, the concealment of masculinity is the other significant way of reaffirmation of masculinity in such situations as overcoming injuries, sicknesses, hiding weaknesses, or ignoring nipples and prostate. Reeser makes a deduction about the concept of masculinity's relation to its "most common corporal home," the male body: "it is not that masculinity requires hiding the male body, nor that it requires displaying it either" (12). Both revealing and

concealing the male body contribute to the socio-cultural construction of the concept of the masculine. Its presence in female and/or transsexual bodies also complicates its pseudo contiguity with the male body. The perplexing uses of masculinity such as declaration of power, expression of freedom and sexual identity orientation depend on this bodily discourse. They additionally illustrate the long-standing argument over materiality although the same discourse has obviously failed to create a changeless "one" format of masculinity over centuries, however hard one has struggled to keep the concept in a steady state, because of its "elusiveness, fluidity and complex interconnectedness" (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 4).

The power of society to determine the traits of masculinity is as unstable as the concept itself. Since masculinity has different characteristics and therefore definitions depending on time and space, and history and culture, it can only be studied as a variety and complexity. A person's gender construction by one culture according to that person's biological sex is highly affected by other cultures – as seen in colonial and postcolonial researches – as well as its historical accumulation of notions of gender.[7] These notions depend on each person's understanding of them, and they stay particularly relative since settling only one definition for any gender is quite difficult. Masculinity is no different from these interactive, relative, and fluid gender assumptions. To give an example,

> The nineteenth-century dandy is an important figure of masculinity which, to modern eyes, might seem odd: a man who makes the male body into a work of art might appear to many in the twenty-first century as an incarnation of the made-up, anti-masculine man. Yet, for people of the time, this would not necessarily have been the case, and the dandy was one figure of what a man could or should possibly be. (Reeser 2)

This example of the late-nineteenth-century dandy demonstrates the changing nature of masculinity over time as he is different from his counterparts – the Restoration libertine and eighteenth-century sentimental man. Reeser asserts that a "stereotype of masculinity is an attempt to stabi1ize a subjectivity that can never ultimately be stabilized, to create a brand of masculinity as not in movement, and as such stands as proof of the unstable nature of masculinity" (15) in order to express the impossibility of stereotyping the concept of masculinity (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 5). Then, the main objective of the theories of men and masculinities is to destabilise masculine stereotypes, to observe them in the currency of altering meanings. Regarding that "meanings can not be simply

'read off' from an identifiable [material] source" (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 5), one can observe the examination of the concept out of its physical vessel – the male body – by spreading it over linguistic, social, political, economic, cultural arenas, and over non-heterosexual male communities through the studies of masculinities.

For Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, the significance of the studies of men and masculinities lies in "more traditional sociological concerns with conceptions of power and stratification, alongside more recent questions of the body, desire and subjective identity formation" (6). It is observed that masculinity is mainly nourished by the male-female, masculine-feminine binary dichotomies explained above in the problematisation of the concept. When Arthur Brittan explores the plurality of the concept and the matrix of power relations in his *Masculinity and Power*, he clarifies the difference between "masculinity" and "patriarchy" providing an explanation which is different from the basis of binary oppositions (1-5). "Deconstruction is a strategy for displacing the hierarchy, for revealing the dependence of the privileged or ascendant term on its other for its own meaning: deconstruction moves to disrupt binary logic and its hierarchical, oppositional constitutive force," say Davies and Hunt (389). Moving beyond the gender binary systems, Brittan accordingly proposes that what is fixed, difficult to change or to displace is "masculinism," or the ideology that male subjects make use of to maintain and legislate manly positions of "power"; "what has challenged is not male power as such, but its form, the presentation and the packaging" (2). Therefore, "[i]t is the ideology of patriarchy," masculinism, (4) that is challenged and struggled against, not masculinities which are only varying forms of self-presentation.

This means the erasure of the determinism of the class system over individual gender roles. So much so that "the transcendence of ideologies over class relations" comes into prominence (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 11). For Brittan, masculinism, or the ideology of patriarchy, is not only applicable by the upper-class, rich, ruling gentlemen to their equal-class female counterparts and lower subjects, but also practiced by the men of lower classes on the women of lower classes. Correspondingly, interactive, relative, and fluid assumptions about masculinity reveal the challenge of masculinity to itself, its ever-lasting hegemony problem. Pierre Bourdieu makes the point below in

Masculine Domination:

> Masculine domination finds one of its strongest supports in the misrecognition which results from the application to the dominant of categories engendered in the very relationship of domination and which can lead to that extreme form of *amor fati*, love of the dominant and of his domination, a *libido dominantis* (desire for the dominant) which implies renunciation of personal exercise of *libido dominandi* (the desire to dominate). (79-80)

The perceived superiority of masculinity, then, can be explained with its support by the subjugated members of this domination. In this condition of *amor fati*, it is prevalent to encounter a *libido dominantis* because the male figure as the practiser of hegemony is praised by his subjects who are devoid of his power and who envy him. With the dream of *libido dominandi*, the subordinates back up the system of the heteropatriarchal supremacy. What has been attempted to be established here at first can be explained with Connell's words: "[The] exaltation of [masculine domination] stabilizes a structure of dominance and oppression in the gender order as a whole. To be culturally exalted, the pattern of masculinity must have exemplars who are celebrated as heroes" ("An Iron Man" 94). Then, the fixation attempt for the "superior" male domination requires male pacemakers who keep the related ideals of this discourse by transferring them from one generation to another, from one culture/society to another. On the other hand, there is a reality not to be overlooked, which is the breaks and intervals of the dominant masculinity. Even the most masculine person like a soldier falters and hesitates about success either "on the battlefield or in his psyche" (Reeser 3). At these moments, the person that was seen as "masculine" before, gets regarded as lacking masculinity. A male subject's domination over another one is the core of this masculine domination. To achieve this end, though, the once-subordinated subject always attempts to reach at a higher level over the subordinator, which brings out an unstable hegemony and ever-climbing tension of masculinities as well. Yet again, this dominating masculinity can embody subordination as a tool just to display its masculinity (15). For that reason, domination becomes indistinguishable from subordination from time to time in terms of the competition for the hegemonisation among masculinities.

One can observe that in order to avoid an overgeneralisation about the attachment of masculinities to oppression and domination, profeminist prospects attempt to regard the concept of oppression as a practice method of heteropatriarchal social structure. As

argued in "Critique of Compulsory Heterosexuality" by Steven Seidman, "gender inequality was rooted less in men's attitudes or law than in a sex role system that systematically privileges men" (19). Putting the blame of gender oppression on the shoulders of heterosexual men obeying the prevalent heteronormativity would simply be an escape from the greater system of gender structure fostering these norms and shaping individuals accordingly. In "Socialism, Feminism and Men," Peter Middleton, assuming the dual nature of oppression consisting of an oppressor and an oppressed, remarks that "oppression results in a double bind for those who are accused of being oppressors, because they are assumed to have intentionally violated rights which everyone can agree to, and to have constructed the system of those rights for their own aggrandizement" (9). Comprehending the dynamism of gender relations within social structures, subjects of the studies of masculinities ought to be observed in a multidimensional way including global multiplier effects of a case to be analysed in addition to varying relations of social status, periodical conditions, personal backgrounds, and economic places of individuals. It is possible to see such a perspective in postcolonial black feminism, as Avtar Brah states in her article "Difference, Diversity and Differentiation":

> As a result of our [black women in Britain] location within diasporas formed by the history of slavery, colonialism and imperialism, black feminists have consistently argued against parochialism and stressed the need for a feminism sensitive to the international social relations of power. . . . [A] certain type of western feminism can serve to reproduce rather than challenge the categories through which "the West" constructs and represents itself as superior to its "others". (136)

The problematisation of masculinity carries the same concerns with Brah's statement because masculinities of different cultural backgrounds affect a great number of individuals all over the world regardless of and despite their individual experiences and socio-cultural differences. The fact that "[c]ompeting representations and performances of masculinity are taking shape within the context of the growth of western capitalism, with cultural imperialism, articulated in and through hegemonic masculinities, traversing international boundaries" (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 16) should not be overlooked at a time when personal, social, and cultural interactions are easily and comfortably conducted in an age of highly technological and global media devices.

Recognising the basis of the study of masculinities as the problematic platform of a

multifaceted heteropatriarchal social structure rather than a sheer discussion of male domination over female is therefore of crucial importance, especially when this male-female dichotomy is insufficient to express the tension between/among solely male subjects. In the political sense, gender differences between/among men prepare the grounds for the application of hegemonic masculinity. Yet, what is "Hegemonic Masculinity"? The emergence of the term "hegemonic masculinity" is essentially based on the criticism of heterosexual men's repressive power over women and non-heterosexual people. It mainly derives its meaning from Antonio Gramsci's analyses of class systems and relations. The domination of a certain part of society at gun point or with the threat of unemployment does not fully correspond to the hegemony of a group of men. For a complete and absolute hegemony, that very dominating group expects to shape that very society by means of indoctrinating their own ideologies about life, politics, economics and other significant aspects of ontology.

> Most of the time, defence of the patriarchal order does not require an explicit masculinity politics. Given that heterosexual men socially selected for hegemonic masculinity run the corporations and the state, the routine maintenance of these institutions will normally do the job. This is the core of the collective project of hegemonic masculinity, and the reason why this project most of the time is not visible as a project. Most of the time masculinity need not be thematized at all. What is brought to attention is national security, or corporate profit, or family values, or true religion, or individual freedom, or international competitiveness, or economic efficiency, or the advance of science. Through the everyday working of institutions defended in such terms, the dominance of a particular kind of masculinity is achieved. (Connell, *Masculinities* 212-13)

The ideologies of this project are commonsensically accepted, and they become inherent in the members of that society because the ideals of the determinant male group seem natural and reasonable. Thus, the oppressed people consent to the set of norms established by the constructors of hegemony, and they live through their subordination mostly without realising or feeling discomfort at the prevalent system (Gramsci 189-98). Connell clarifies the relation of hegemony to the marginalised, out-of-hegemonic-system groups such as homosexuals and feminists by stating that "'hegemony' does not mean total cultural dominance, the obliteration of alternatives. It means ascendancy achieved within a balance of forces, that is, a state of play. Other patterns and groups are subordinated rather than eliminated" (*Gender and Power* 184). This subordination is mainly practised by means of the illusioned, hegemonised members of the subordinated group. Thus, the system supposedly proves to be true and on the right path in socio-

cultural and politico-economic terms.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the challenge by feminism and homosexuality has incited the questioning of sexual objectification. Sexual objects for heterosexual men are women, and it, therefore, seems suitable to fantasise and dominate over them. Nonetheless, sexual objects for women and homosexual men are men, and the objectification of a male "subject" is deemed improper and out of the context of masculinity by the straight male community, and also by some certain percentage of women (Donaldson 645). In order to fight against such power-subverters and perturbators, hegemony which has been established for hundreds of years becomes the most appropriate means via hetero-masculine, in other words heteropatriarchal, discourse. This discursive and socially, politically, and economically practical struggle has been countered with the examination of this issue of domination, leading to the studies of "hegemonic masculinity." Mike Donaldson provides a comprehensively definitive response for the question above in "What is Hegemonic Masculinity?":

> A culturally idealized form, [hegemonic masculinity] is both a personal and a collective project, and is the common sense about breadwinning and manhood. It is exclusive, anxiety-provoking, internally and hierarchically differentiated, brutal, and violent. It is pseudo-natural, tough, contradictory, crisis-prone, rich, and socially sustained. While centrally connected with the institutions of male dominance, not all men practice it, though most benefit from it. Although cross-class, it often excludes working-class and black men. It is a lived experience, and an economic and cultural force, and dependent on social arrangements. It is constructed through difficult negotiation over a life-time. Fragile it may be, but it constructs the most dangerous things we live with. Resilient, it incorporates its own critiques, but it is, nonetheless, "unravelling." (645-46)

What is meant by hegemonic masculinity is the power of the heteropatriarchal system over gender identities. It has the capability to impose definitions of situations, to establish boundaries according to which things can be thought of, discussed, evaluated, and comprehended, and to originate ideologies around which people will be led to gather and express themselves according to prefabricated ethics and ideals (Connell, *Gender and Power* 107; Donaldson 645). In terms of gender relations, the structure of power is an object of hegemonic masculinity, "imposing order in and through culture is a large part of this" patriarchal system (Connell, *Gender and Power* 108). For Donaldson, hegemonic masculinity is used in various ways in favour of men because it can "fascinate, undermine, appropriate some men's bodies, organize, impose, pass itself

off as natural, deform, harm, and deny. (But not, seemingly, enrich and satisfy)" (646). The studies of hegemonic masculinity analyse, negate, challenge, construct, confirm, and subvert the way certain male groups occupy certain positions of power and prosperity, and the means they use to legalise and recreate their actions and social connections which regulate and reinforce their dominance (Carrigan, Connell, and Lee 592).

Understanding the definition and scope of hegemonic masculinity, it should now be worthwhile to verbalise that the concept is quite separate from the sex role of a man. It is unnecessary to attach hegemonic masculinity to the binary opposition of man-woman or masculine-feminine. Notwithstanding this multidimensional face of hegemonic masculinity, the correlation of the male physicality/materiality with the concept is actualised by sociobiological researchers. In *Men in Groups*, Lionel Tiger argues patriarchy as the natural outcome of the biological differences between sexes by exemplifying his approach with the animals' lives in nature. Animals' aggression, domination, hierarchical social order, territorial bonds, and competition for power are revealed to be the issues of the male members of the herd (Tiger 19-22, 95-97). From the Darwinist evolutionary perspective, heterosexual male human beings naturally tend to be more aggressive, protective, powerful, decision-making, and superior to female and non-heterosexual human beings. Far from being objectively scientific, this approach can be regarded as "a complete biological-reductionist theory of masculinity" (Connell, *Masculinities* 46) due to the fact that chromosomal differences between sexes are no longer considered to be all-determining characteristics for the courses of socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-historical events. In addition, in terms of gender structuring, "[d]ifferent masculinities are constituted in relation to other masculinities and to femininities through the structure of gender relations" (Connell, "A Very Straight Gay" 736); for that reason, the sociobiological approach to hegemonic masculinity is proven invalid with regard to the construction of gender identity which is actualised within a complicated interactive web of relationships regardless of individuals' biological sexes.

If it is argued that hegemonic masculinity does not have direct or unbroken bonds with the male body, how it is constructed is another aspect to be concentrated on, then. The

socio-cultural ideals of masculinities created by socially powerful figures such as politicians, writers, scientists, and journalists do not match with the real personalities of the male majority. This leads to the founding steps, to be more precise, the creation of cultural ideals of masculinity and the cultural, and preferably international, "icons" of masculinity. Today it is possible to observe these ideals anywhere at any moment, on the billboards while driving, in the advertisements placed into any possible gap, books read, songs listened to and many other similar examples. To grasp an opinion, these ideals can briefly be described as successful, rich business men with successful, domesticated, highly pretty women next to them, or muscled, white, blonde, aggressive, seductive young gentlemen who are free to womanise using their brand-new cars and houses in trendy residences, or – at least – a father figure sitting comfortably at the dining table with his children waiting for a mother figure who is seemingly very content with serving to the authority figure, and some heterosexual types mocking the effeminacy of some gay and/or transsexual characters (Butler, *Undoing Gender* 54-56). As can be understood from the exemplary ideals and icons, these pictures do not correspond to the majority of society. On the contrary, the strength of hegemonic masculinity demonstrates itself precisely here: "The ideals may reside in fantasy figures or models remote from the lives of the unheroic majority, but while they are very public, they do not exist only as publicity" (Donaldson 646). The majority of the public does not comply with the normative standards of the ideally presented masculinity. The public countenance of hegemonic masculinity is not about the identification of the powerful male subject, but about the operating manners of this power, its sustainability and effectuality for the sake of men. Because "[h]egemonic masculinity is naturalised in the form of the hero and presented through forms that revolve around heroes: sagas, ballads, westerns, thrillers" by those creaters (Connell, *Which Way* 185-86) in order to legitimise these ideals and stimulate large communities craving dominating power, the side effects of hegemonic masculinity are not only excogitated for the nonconforming "minor" groups, but also cause these groups to be cast aside, disdained, and suppressed at the expense of their evanescence at times.

In determination of the theories of men and masculinities, Brittan's term "masculinism" (4) is given as the ideology emphasising the so-called natural and intrinsic superiority of

men and serving the justification and legitimisation of females and non-heterosexual community (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 10). In a similar manner, hegemonic masculinity is structured according to women and different forms of overpowered masculinities. Connell postulates that "[t]hese other masculinities need not be as clearly defined – indeed, achieving hegemony may consist precisely in preventing alternatives gaining cultural definition and recognition as alternatives, confining them to ghettos, to privacy, to unconsciousness" (*Gender and Power* 183). In order to raise men above women and others commonly defined with effeminacy, hegemonic masculinity has established its power dynamics and individual identities of the members of any society. The Third World Gay Revolution (Chicago) and the Gay Liberation Front (Chicago) proclaim the issue as follows:

> The oppression of women and that of gay people are interdependent and spring from the same roots [heterosexism], but take different forms. Women . . . are oppressed by how they fit into the sex-class structure. Gay people are persecuted because we don't fit into that structure at all. . . . Every effort has been made to exterminate us. (255)

When the first handover of this oppressing power was encountered due to the lack of sufficient "manpower" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the practitioners and defenders of this ideological concept were stunned. This means that the main factor in the course of social change in terms of gender was taken as a shift in the economic status (Hochschild and Machung 257). "[T]he decline in the purchasing power of the male wage, the decline in the number and proportion of 'male' skilled and unskilled jobs, and the rise in 'female' jobs in the growing services sector" (Donaldson 643) have enabled women to be integrated into the socio-economic sphere previously occupied largely by men (Brückner 1; Rubery 22; Jacobs 32). This handover was followed by another blow to the dominant system with the explicit profession of the sexual objectification of men by women and homosexual males who are "socially defined as effeminate and any kind of powerlessness, or a refusal to compete" by the very system (Donaldson 648). Recalling that "'[h]egemonic masculinity' is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women" (Connell, *Gender and Power* 183), these crushes exhaust and overturn the previously established subordination.

"Hegemony relates to cultural dominance in the society as a whole," says Connell in *Masculinities* and continues arguing about hegemonic gender relations: "Within that overall framework there are specific gender relations of dominance and subordination between groups of men" (78). In this sense, homophobia becomes the most relevant and prevalent form of political attitudes to hegemonic masculinity. Heterosexual, or straight, men's hostile attitudes towards homosexual, or gay, men stem from this irrational fear of losing masculinity in case of any contact with a non-heterosexual individual. For Donaldson, there are "three main reasons why male homosexuality is regarded as counter-hegemonic. Firstly, hostility to homosexuality is seen as fundamental to male heterosexuality; secondly, homosexuality is associated with effeminacy; and thirdly, the form of homosexual pleasure is itself considered subversive" (648). Not reacting against homosexuality in a disapproving way is thought to diminish the unshakeable public hetero-masculinity for a straight man since homosexual masculinity is seen at the bottom of the gender hierarchy among men. Therefore, this heterosexual enmity "involves real social practice, ranging from job discrimination through media vilification to imprisonment and sometimes murder" (Connell, *Masculinities* 40). Because binary thought is deeply embedded in this homophobia of heteropatriarchy, any "womanly" act, demeanour, feeling and alike can harm again the stern, active, dominating, oppressive manhood according to the mindset of a straight male.

> Such hostility is inherent in the construction of heterosexual masculinity itself. Conformity to the demands of hegemonic masculinity, pushes heterosexual men to homophobia and rewards them for it, in the form of social support and reduced anxiety about their own manliness. In other words, male heterosexual identity is sustained and affirmed by hatred for, and fear of, gay men. (Donaldson 648)

This reaffirmation subsequently and, in most cases, inevitably leads to violent actions to erase any "effeminate" male subject from the social life. The answer to the question "what sort of anxiety is prompted by the public appearance of someone who is openly gay, or presumed to be gay, someone whose gender does not conform to norms, someone whose sexuality defies public prohibitions, someone whose body does not conform with certain morphological ideals" (Butler, *Undoing Gender* 34) becomes the system reproducing hegemonic masculinity.[8] Thus, heterosexual masculinity primarily draws boundaries around homosexual masculinity and then attempts to elevate itself as the "real" and dominant masculinity maintaining social order.

Connell clarifies this hegemonic relation in homophobic ideology by stating that "the boundary between straight and gay is blurred with the boundary between masculine and feminine, gay men being imagined as feminized men and lesbians as masculinized women" (*Masculinities* 40). Although this embranglement of gender identities attempts to construct one stereotypical homosexual in the public eye, it fails to do so because highly masculine men, such as jocks and army members, demonstrate themselves as gay, too. The fluidity of masculinity is also seen in this homophobic ideology, even only describing non-heterosexual people; it is difficult to locate the concept in a stable area since the tension and contradictions between bodies and identities revolve around masculinities. In the hegemonic sense, mainstream heterosexual masculinity is essentially concerned with power and its exertion (42). So as not to lose any strength in the socio-political arena, it resists other masculinities and change itself.

All these objections of hegemonic masculinity against its perverters and subverters, then, can be said to stem from the supposed binary opposite of masculinity: femininity. According to the mindset of a practitioner of structural hegemonic masculinity, a man's being sexually desired, commodified, and objectified by either women or gay men puts that man into the position of the subordinated feminine and/or the condition of the oppressed marginalised masculine. The reason for that assumption of feminisation of the heteropatriarchal male subject again emerges from the binary structure of the hegemonic masculinity project. Other than that, if a man sees himself as not fulfilling the goals and ideals of this concept, he will similarly consider himself to be pacified, neutralised, and broken off his violent hegemonic and dominant masculine side. Eventually, any of those situations leads to the realisation of the failure of oppression on women, subordination of the marginalised, non-white masculinities, and the defeat of hegemonic masculinity itself.

II. A SOCIO-POLITICAL CRITIQUE OF BRITISH DRAMA
FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
IN RELATION TO THE COMEDY OF MANNERS

In "The 'Crisis' of Masculinity in Seventeenth-Century England," Michael Kimmel ascertains that "crises in gender relations occur at specific historical junctures when structural changes transform the institutions of personal life, such as marriage, sexuality, and the family, and hence the possibilities of gender identity" (90-91). One of the most significant historical crises in gender relations was experienced in English history in the mid-seventeenth century as the English Civil War (1642-1651) between the Royalists and Parliamentarians. Aristocratic masculinity was, then, led by the male monarch, and it had the characteristics of a successful administration of the state and reasonable relations with the public. However, this aristocratic masculinity began to be questioned during the reign of Charles I. The legitimacy of the monarch's hegemony was regarded as insufficient especially because of the king's doubted allegiance to Protestantism after his marriage to a Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria (Carlton 216). The king's patriarchal hegemony as the supreme masculine representation of the heavenly rule was inadequate to establish a political settlement of the union of two kingdoms, England and Scotland, lack of compromise between the royalty and commoners. In addition to these, Charles I made the mistake of dissolving Parliament (1640), failed at the Bishops' Wars (1639-1640), caused the separation and polarisation of society and the kingdoms, and he impaired his own reputation and majesty (Russell 13-24). The tension eventually brought the Royalists and the Puritan Parliamentarians into an unavoidable conflict. This contestation was actually a rivalry among masculinities, mainly between the aristocratic, upper-class masculinity and the puritanical, middle-class masculinity, for the summit of patriarchal gender hierarchy.

In the first part of this introduction, the concept of masculinity is identified to be plural and ever-changing as long as socio-political and cultural milestone events are experienced. Diane Purkiss clarifies this fact in *Literature, Gender and Politics during the English Civil War*:

> [T]here is no one masculinity, though any pocket of masculinity – a regiment, a republican group, a Cavalier drinking-party – will try to pretend that its ideology of

masculinity is the only possible one, that to fall below it is to yield to the shame of femininity. It is part of all masculinities to deny this plurality of ideals, to wish to appear single, whole, unitary, and well armoured. (1)

With this attitude, one can rightfully describe the Civil War as the portrayal of the struggle of several masculinities to be accepted as the ultimate hegemonic masculinity rising over the others. The hegemonic masculinity before the Commonwealth, or in other terms the Interregnum (1649-1660), was the self-endorsement of Charles I as *paterfamilias* to the English nation, which was approved of by the aristocracy as a royalist, absolutist monarchic masculinity (Purkiss 124). However, the acclaimed divine masculinity of the monarchy was grovelled by Parliamentarians whose masculinity was a strict component of a republic including various figures of family chiefs and military members without a modicum of femininity (Purkiss 2). In terms of social structure in seventeenth-century England, two classes contested each other to determine the ruling values of the state and nation. One of these was the upper class including the royalty, peerage, landed gentry, hereditary landowners, all of which can be named "old money"; and the other was the middle classes consisting of merchants, the administrative, clerical, and judicial communities of professionals, and some high- and low-rank members of the military, who could be called the *nouveau riche*, or "new money" (Hill and Dell 240-41).[9] All the disputes resulting from this masculine contestation between the absolutist monarch and the English Parliament eventually led to the English Civil War between the years 1642 and 1651 including the trial and beheading of Charles I, and the defeat and exile of Charles II to the Continent (Peacey 292-93).

The dominant masculinity of the royalty and therefore of the aristocracy was harmed with the unrighteous, feminised, and incapable figuration of the king by means of the still- or deformed-born children throughout the state (Levack 147; Romack 214-15), and his long lamentation after the assassinated George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham (Kenyon 105; Carlton 112-13). The feminisation of the monarch's hegemonic masculinity accompanied the disposal of the monarchic rhetoric in which feminine aspects such as flamboyance and passiveness were embedded. The execution of Charles I and the exile of the Royalists enabled Oliver Cromwell to emphasise the legitimacy and hegemony of the Republican masculinity by bringing it to its extremes (Kent 29) via scrutinising practices against any disorderly women and effeminate men in society.

The English Civil War – as a class war in which "a very great part of the knights and gentlemen of England . . . adhered to the King" and "the smaller part . . . of the gentry . . . and the greatest part of the tradesmen and freeholders and the middle sort of men" sided with Parliament fought to define hegemonic masculinity to rule and form the supreme ideals of the nation (Hill and Dell 240-41) – resulted in the deliberate rise of the middle classes in social and political arenas.

First and foremost, the Puritan Interregnum was a radical change in the social order in England rather than a religious securing of the state. Parliamentarians were not mere middle-class Puritan fanatics, or "fools who have gone mad on religion"; they were "'new gentry' who have unfairly gained access to a style of living entirely beyond their birth and breeding, and exercise power solely for personal gain"; for that reason, the Interregnum was regarded to be an "institutionalized theft: the sequestration, composition and sale of 'malignant' estates" by the monarchist circles (Dharwadker 153). It was a period full of political, religious, military, and social upheavals which the generals of the era strained to deal with although none was taken under control permanently. Most of the public became discontented with the strict practices of the administration such as the steep taxation system similar to the Stuart monarchy's and its mismanagement, the abolishment of cultural entertainment activities and severe punishment for disobeyers, and the strict observation of church practices under the Lord Protector's military power (J. C. Davis 391-92). The new hegemonic masculinity connected to the unmitigated masculinity of Cromwell was seen as extreme and unreasonable even by its proponents because it took a route towards cruelty and tyranny without any sensibility and sentiment rather than a purely Protestant ideal of hetero-patriarchy (Purkiss 2). Such catastrophic experiences inevitably welcomed the former patriarchal dominance even though it had been accused of being not masculine enough.

In addition to the overall discomfort about the fact that the Commonwealth period resembled the reign of the monarchy, the death of Oliver Cromwell and the lack of administrative capabilities in state and military politics of his son, Richard Cromwell led to the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660. The restoration of the Stuart monarch, Charles II, who was associated with feminine aspects more than his father,

became unavoidable and justifiable in 1660. The crisis of order not only in the socio-political arena, but also in gender relations was re-formulated after the eleven-year interim (Underdown 136). The new codes of politics brought by the Puritan government of the Commonwealth were appropriate to Parliamentarians' ideals which were associated with restrictions based on religion, but not to the restored courtiers' libertine values. However, these codes did not bubble up just before the Interregnum; they had already started to be practised in the political, religious, and social fields before the 1640s. Due to the tenacious symbolic and pragmatic connection between the theatre as a socio-cultural institution and the royalty (Dharwadker 140), so widespread was the interest in the fight against the theatre and so varied were the authors who expressed themselves on the subject that one of the early commands of Parliament was the closing of theatres in 1642, during the War.

Similarly, the Puritan debate about the undesirability of the stage actually was not a matter of the seventeenth century; it can, in fact, be dated to the times prior to the beginning of the age. In order to comprehend the Puritan discontent over the stage, the closing of theatres, and the importance of this closure for the Restoration era, it is necessary to look at the process of the Puritan criticism, together with the reasons for their criticism of performing arts, before the Civil Wars and during the Interregnum, and to overview the attempts at reviving the theatre in the Commonwealth and the re-opening of theatres in 1660. The Puritan criticism of the stage was expressed in a quite open way during Queen Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603). However, it was not generally acknowledged. There were many critics dwelling on the appropriateness of the theatres and their staff, and the criticism made by one them – by Simon Smel-Knave around 1590 – is an interesting, yet uncomplimentary, allusion to actors worth to be cited here: "Poets and Players shall be Kinges by this meanes for the one may lye by authoritie, the other cogge without controle; the one as necessary in a Commonweale, as a candle in a strawbed, the other as famous in idlenes, as dissolute in liuing" (qtd. in Graves 143). Similarly, Anthony Nixon gives a prophetic criticism of actors' manners in *The Blacke-Year* (1606): "Players shal haue libertie to be as famous in pride and idlenes, as they are dissolute in liuing, and as blest in their marriages for communitie, as vnhappy in their choyces for honesty" (qtd. in Graves 143). Furthermore, Richard Middleton begins to

portray the actor as "whor[ing]" and as drinking in "[h]is maister's cellers" during " the high time of sermon" in his epigram "In Histrionanum" (1608) (19). In the article "Notes on Puritanism and the Stage," Thornton S. Graves, as another example, emphasises that plays were preferred to prayers on Sundays, and he quotes in *The Gallants Burden* that, a sermon preached at Paul's Cross during Lent, 1612, Thomas Adams asks whether "the Benches in Tauerns, & Theatres" were not "well replenished" when those at the Old St Paul's Cathedral were almost empty. In addition, Graves opens up the subject by explaining that "the epicure is accustomed to visit first the tavern, then the ordinary, next the theatre, and finally the stews," and he emphasises that "the theatre is the 'contemplation' of libertines" (142). One can, as a result, argue that theatres were preferred to conventional religious practices by some non-Puritan public in London, and this situation caused a distress among the clerics and critics who placed religion above all social activities.

Together with the overwhelming effect of the theatre on religious practices, the closing of theatres also stemmed from the royalist support of the theatre and way of acting which was, according to the Cromwellian doctrine, immoral. The fact that boys were to be apprentices to play female roles and women, although very few, were attracted to the acting business meant the exceeding of conventional gender norms by means of the actor's art of impersonation. The imitative art suggested "participating in lies, and thus [shattering] the necessary correspondence between inner essence and outward manifestation at the core of Puritan belief" (Fisk, "The Restoration Actress" 71). From the perspective of the traditional English society in the seventeenth century, to cross-dress even for the sake of performing a fictional character was not acceptable because it was a denial of one's own identity, and the concern was greater if this denial was on the male identity (Barish 92). In addition to the actor's art of impersonation at the expense of changing his sexual identity on stage to play a woman, there was a Puritan accusation that adult actors enacted love scenes with cross-dressed boys, which was interpreted as "the possibility of male same-sex desire and sodomy on the stage," and probably the real one off it (Mangan 98). For such reasons, "all stage players" were announced as "rogues" and "vagabonds" who could "be publicly whipped" in case they were convicted of acting, and "a penalty of five shillings was imposed on every person who

should be present at any dramatic representation" ("Brief Account" 370-371). Even though musical dramatic entertainments continued to be permitted in the court of Oliver Cromwell, dramatic performances were in general kept limited to tragedies in support of the Commonwealth, and the closet drama became popular during the eighteen-year hiatus enforced by Parliamentarians (Munns 110).

During the Interregnum years, theatres did not entirely vanish; plays were still being written and private performances in private homes still lasted (Van Lennep et al. xxi). Defenders of the stage were not as idle as they were sometimes, or by a particular group, considered, and it must not be thought that "play lovers were to give up their amusement, and authors their livelihood, without protest" (Graves 157). So as to keep alive an interest in drama and to arouse popular sentiment against the narrowness and oppression of the Cromwellian rule, a great deal of endeavours were made by the champions of drama like James Shirley (1596-1666), Richard Flecknoe (c. 1600-1678), Sir William Davenant (1606-1668), William Cartwright (1611-1643), Thomas Killigrew (1612-1683) (Wiseman, *Drama* 115-17; Wiseman, "Women's Poetry" 128-29), and Lady Elizabeth Claypole (1629-1658) who was Oliver Cromwell's apparently liberal-minded daughter and who quarrelled with him supporting the opposite side of the argument about theatrical issues (Wiseman, *Drama* 132-33). In addition, players continuously petitioned Parliament for permission to perform; despite the prohibitive legislations, they frequently gave their performances and entertainment in secrecy, and new plays were inspired and written (Clare 5-7). According to these supporters of the theatre, the stage was not corrupt itself; it was corrupted by people's opinions of it. As a case in point, in his *Miscellania* (1653), Flecknoe claims that "the Gentry of our Nation were as much civiliz'd by the Stage, as either by *Travail*, or the *University*, in beholding the abridgement there of the best Fashions, Language, and Behaviour of the Time" (qtd. in Graves 158), and he points out in "The Preface to the Reader" to *Love's Dominion* (1654) that the public should be reformed even more than the theatre (qtd. in Graves 159). As well as attempting to revive theatrical performances, the friends of the stage, who had taken the royal court as "a major center for artistic performance and patronage, for the display of fashion, and for a constant flowering of the aristocratic way of life" (Sharpe 10-11), also sought to spread royalist propaganda among the available readers

and audiences in this period. In their view, only when the king-in-exile was restored to his throne in England, would they be restored to their privileged position.

The opening of theatres with the restoration of Charles II was actually more than a reinvention of dramatic works and performances, or the rebirth of the theatre business in London (Langhans 3). It became a political statement for the re-established monarch. "Masculinity," R. W. Connell states, "is not just an idea in the head, or a personal identity. It is also extended in the world, merged in organized social relations" (*Masculinities* 29). Just as in Connell's statement, Charles II performed his masculinity through all the apparatuses the state and society provided him with. It would not be wrong to state that he patterned his rule on the king of France's (Trofimova 242). During the years after his banishment from Britain, Charles II and his supporters were accepted to the royal circle of France by his cousin King Louis XIV. Charles and his courtiers observed that the king was embraced by his people because he was "a king of their own race who governed with justice, revived languishing industries and commerce, and later made French arms victorious wherever they appeared" (Miles 20). Louis represented a powerful example of patriarchal monarchy, a rightful king in possession of centralised hegemony and therefore a model for Charles.

Charles had the opportunity to show his people the benefits of the monarchy by drawing his politics in line with the practices of his cousin which led France from a period of socio-political turmoil into a period of socio-economic welfare (Trofimova 242). It is necessary to remember the political indeterminacy of the Restoration depicted in the memoirs of Ralph Josselin, a vicar in Essex, who noted on 25 January 1660 that

> our poor England unsettled, and her physicians hitherto leading her into deep waters. Cromwell's family cast down with scorn to the ground, none of them in command or employment, the nation looking more to Charles Stuart, out of love to themselves not him, the end of these things God only knoweth; we have had sad confusions in England, the issue only God knoweth. (qtd. in Webster, *Performing Libertinism* 125)

The hegemonic struggles for authority between the monarchy and Parliament, and the social struggles between the priority of the aristocracy and the supremacy of Puritans inevitably became the central foci for the administrative circles of the Restoration. Charles personally took part in these struggles by making use of such "hegemonic

apparatuses" as royal ceremonies, civic events, and by showing the operating system of the government to the public (Backscheider 2). The trials and executions of the Interregnum regicides "became hideous but magnificent theatre" (7). The French influence on the restored king in terms of the governmental reconstruction of England was to start a metamorphosis not only in politics, but also in performing arts (Webster, *Performing Libertinism* 24). On the basis of the fact that Charles became the primary actor of Restoration England and used London as its vital stage, it is possible to suggest that he used professional theatres as instruments of the ideology of his monarchic patriarchy.

Michel Foucault defines the new method of government employed in the seventeenth century in *The History of Sexuality* (1976-1984). The monarchy of that age became aware of the fact that there was a switch in a ruler's right to determine the lifespan of a person who would be against their regime (Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* 135). Knowing that a monarch could not have the administrative and legislative power alone any longer, the monarch directed his attention to the theatre as a socially powerful instrument in order to establish his hegemony. According to Foucault, this employment of public exhibition and theatrical performances reflected a growing emphasis on the royalty's duty to secure, retain, and promote the dynamics of society (136). The sovereign, thus, permitted playwrights the use of the theatre as a centre for propagating the patriarchal ideology of the aristocracy against the constantly increasing political power of Parliament. In order to determine the power relations "between the traditional members of the governing elite (the king, members of Parliament, and the aristocracy) and the more recent additions (bankers, financiers, and merchants)" (Webster, "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage'" 23), the Court Wits attempted to circulate the monarchy's philosophy of hegemonic masculinity through their poetics and to popularise the ideology of "libertinism" by means of transmitting its ideals into the socio-political arena. In keeping with this attitude to the dissemination of this aristocratic ideology over all the population regardless of gender differences, handwritten and unpublished texts composed of poems, masques, and plays strengthened "groups of like-minded individuals into a community, sect or political faction, with the exchange of texts in manuscript serving to nourish a shared set of values and to enrich personal allegiances"

(Love, *Scribal Publication* 177).

In addition to the theatre, the English royalists took pleasure in "the balls, concerts, promenades, and various *fêtes* provided for their entertainment at Fontainebleau or in the vicinity of the Louvre" in France for a long time (Miles 58). When Charles transferred a patriarchal ideology of monarchical authority shaped by his exile in patriarchally monocratic France, a great many of his subjects "conceived the nature of the monarchy and the right of the monarch in a different way" (Backscheider 1) and initiated various changes in social forms from architectural modes to new literary styles during the Restoration period (Trofimova 243-45). In keeping with this, the new theatre buildings such as Bridges Street (1663), Dorset Garden (1671) and Drury Lane (1674) were primarily funded and constructed anew after the removal of the ban (Langhans 3). Charles sent his men, Sir William Davenant and Thomas Killigrew, to France to study all the new stage techniques and developments about theatres (Kinservik 37). Later on, these two men would found two theatre companies, the King's Men under Killigrew's administration and the Duke's Men under Davenant's management (47). The literary circle around the royalty, hereafter, began to introduce novelties to the Restoration spectators.

Until the creation of new dramatic genres peculiar to the period, it was common to see the reproductions or adaptations – alterations and imitations as they were known in the Restoration – of the plays by William Shakespeare (1564-1616), Ben Jonson (c. 1572-1637), Thomas Middleton (1580-1627), James Shirley (1596-1666), Francis Beaumont (1584-1616) and John Fletcher (1579-1625) (Clark 274-75). However, the theatre managers and writers of the Restoration endeavoured to set themselves apart from the tragedies and comedies of the above-mentioned previous generations so as to heighten the social spirit of drama and to invent cultural and literary forms adequate to the new order (Marsden 229; Dharwadker 141). They, therefore, translated and adapted the tragedies of French dramatists, Pierre Corneille (1606-1684) and Jean Racine (1639-1699), and the comedies of Spanish dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) and French playwright Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, aka Molière (1622-1673) (Corman 55). In contrast to the revivals of the English Renaissance drama, these plays brought the

neoclassical aspects of the seventeenth century to the English audience (Marsden 229).
In *An Essay of Dramatick Poesy*, John Dryden underlines a significant characteristic of
the choice of the plays by the above playwrights:

> [W]hat is nearest to the Nature of Comedy, which is the Imitation of common
> Persons and ordinary Speaking, and what is nearest the Nature of a serious Play:
> This last is indeed the Representation of Nature, but 'tis Nature wrought up to an
> higher Pitch. The Plot, the Characters, the Wit, the Passions, the Descriptions, are
> all exalted above the Level of common Converse, as high as the Imagination of the
> Poet can carry them, with proportion to Verisimility. (90)

As is seen here, the Restoration theatre had the consciousness of the class it served as it
was restored together with the king and it became suited to the festivity of the upper-
class and courtly values. The adaptations and translations were intentionally prepared to
demonstrate the supremacy of aristocratic manners as well as the political prolificacy of
the aristocracy (Rosenthal 6-7).

One popular dramatic form in the Restoration was heroic drama dependent on
"extravagant language and impossible characters"; it awoke "the enthusiasm of
thousands of playgoers and absorbed much of the energy of the leading poet of the age,"
John Dryden (Miles 31-32). For English dramatists, tragedies were "instructive" for the
public since they dwelled on national politics and especially emphasised the importance
of having a monarch at the head of the state for the prosperity of the public (Marsden
230). Furthermore, heroic dramas were concerned with displaying the significance of
language in any medium of writing, especially for the satires of Parliament by the
Crown (Hughes 199-201). Other than tragedy, comedy, and heroic drama, it was
possible to see (1) tragicomedies, which reflected the double nature of politics regarding
the execution of and mourning for the martyrdom of Charles I and the restoration and
celebration of his son, Charles II (Maguire 3; Hughes 204), and (2) a substantial number
of masques as either autonomous pieces or integrated to a larger play on the stage
(Gilman 253), and (3) semi-operas imported from France and Italy in the last decade of
the century (Gilman 256). In consideration of the social class structure "not as the
ultimate subject of history but as a key element in the critique of ideology, which
reveals how literature (as institution and genre) serves the interests of a dominant
culture, social group or gender" (Dharwadker 140), the common thread to almost all the
dramatic forms of the period is the experience of monarchic dispossession and

temporary political disablement because of Parliamentarians' unsanctioned expropriation of royal hegemony by violating social hierarchy (Dharwadker 141-53).

Given the theatre's engagement in the textual, societal, and ideological influences of the Restoration, what was firstly and predominantly seen through these dramatic performances consisted of the king's support of heroic drama, tragedy and comedy "to bolster his regime" (Webster, *Performing Libertinism* 28). The ideology of the Restoration Stuart court presented itself as libertinism which disapproved of the major puritanical doctrines of the era. Libertines in Charles II's court naturally participated in these struggles. Yet, it was futile for them to try to influence Charles's and his ministers' policies, because the king had to follow a delicate scheme in the administration of his subjects which mostly included the representatives of the previous Commonwealth period (19). Hereafter, the libertine Court Wits turned to the public and found the opportunity "to influence English society more broadly by attempting to change the populace's ideas of authority, religion, and morality" (19) by means of their public manners and literary works like poems and plays filtered through their imported philosophies. So as to disseminate their royalist ideology, theatres provided them an exclusive arena "in which to subvert the dominant discourses of their day, one with a potentially more coherent ideological focus than the platforms afforded in the alehouse or coffeehouse and with less potential oppression and domination than the magistrates' bench or the gallows" (19). They dramatised their way of life, culture, and ideology in order to foster their new philosophy formed around the masculinity of libertinism. Eventually, the dramatic efforts of the libertine Court Wits demonstrated that the success of the Restoration theatre lied in its comedy which would later be named the Restoration comedy of manners.

The comedy of manners, as Ashley H. Thorndike points out in *English Comedy*, consists of "plays whose chief interest lies in the exhibition of the habits, manners, and customs of the society of the time. Manners is a word which may mean almost anything from fashion to character, but . . . as having less reference to the individual, and more to society, less to moral decisions than to habits and modes" (259). The comedy of manners mirrors the life, manners, and intellectual prospects of the upper-class society;

therefore, it is regarded to be a faithful representation of that coterie's traditions and ideas. However, although absent from Thorndike's definition, the characters and perspectives of playwrights, too, are of importance. For that reason, Newell W. Sawyer clarifies in his book *The Comedy of Manners from Sheridan to Maugham* that comedy of manners is

> intellectually and dispassionately conceived, in the nature of a detached commentary, in which the only moral considerations are sincerity and fidelity to the facts of the society represented. The attitude of the playwright is, at least theoretically, unpartisan, although it is difficult for a latent flavor of satire to be kept out entirely. Characters may emerge into complete individuality, but more often universal traits give way to those types into which the world of fashion inclines to reproduce itself. Dialogue is naturally of more than ordinary importance, for the leisure of this world promotes the cultivation of verbal smartness, and this smartness dialogue must display, even at the expense of naturalness. And lastly one feels a certain idealization of the whole picture – a heightening of values, a seasoning of effects, an acceleration of tempo. (4)

As for the treatment of its subject matter, the Restoration comedy demonstrates the manners of fashionable life and imitates the social customs revolving around intrigues of love after the return of the Stuart court (Miles 40-41). Because this form of comedy is composed for, addressed to, and written by the members of English aristocracy and the upper class, the portrayal of the real people from the court of Charles II in these plays was regarded as quite natural (Scott 6). To illustrate their lives, the playwrights made the settings of their plays indoors, and places frequented by upper-class people; for instance, in "coffeehouses or boudoirs or reception halls, [rather] than . . . fields or streets or perhaps the undesignated rooms of a house" (Miles 41-42).

In terms of its acceptance by the nation, the comedy of manners was not performed only to a group of upper-class spectators, but to a wide range of people from various backgrounds since the Restoration audience did not consist of exclusively one group. It is true that its audience was socially less varied than that of the early seventeenth century because of the Stuart court's domination of theatrical culture. However, "it [the audience] was in no sense a coterie" (Dharwadker 145) because Restoration London had several unique and self-contained venues in which people from a number of different backgrounds found "their own local sense of belonging and their own local mode of participation" (Love, "Who" 43). Also, the Restoration comedy which has been labelled immoral has distinctive and conflicting voices reflecting the late seventeenth- and the

early eighteenth-century ideas (Howling 5, 14). During the Restoration, there were fewer people criticising and condemning the genre compared to those approving of and delighting in it. It was only after the last decade of the century that critics focused on the licentiousness accounts of the comedy of manners and tried hard to remove it from the English stage (Scott 88).

While describing the genre, the English writer and essayist Charles Lamb appraisingly compares it to a "Utopia of gallantry" where pleasure is duty and manners perfect freedom, but he at the same time implicitly criticises its negligence of the social classes other than the aristocracy by referring it to as a "fairy-land" that "has no reference whatever to the world that is" (143). Literary critic William Hazlitt, nonetheless, acknowledges the Restoration's achievement on the English stage arguing that the audience and the readers were "almost transported to another world, and escape from this dull age to one that was all life, and whim, and mirth, and humour" (170) despite fierce political strife, the Great Fire, the Great Plague, continuous rebellions and the final revolution. However much Hazlitt criticises the Restoration monarch, Charles II, as one of the most "arbitrary and worthless monarchs" (62) just as Lamb does, he definitely compliments the art of comedy produced during this era:

> The curtain rises, and a gayer scene presents itself, as on the canvass of Watteau. We are admitted behind the scenes like spectators at court on a levee or birthday: but it is the court the gala day of wit and pleasure, of gallantry and Charles II! What an air breathes from the name! what a rustling of silks and waving of plumes! what sparkling of diamond ear-rings and shoe-buckles! What bright eyes. (ah, those were Waller's Sacharissa's as she passed!) what killing looks and graceful motions! How the faces of the whole ring are dressed in smiles! how the repartee goes round! how wit and folly, elegance and awkward imitation of it, set one another off! Happy, thoughtless age, when kings and nobles led purely ornamental lives: when the utmost stretch of a morning's study went no farther than the choice of a sword-knot, or the adjustment of a side-curl: when the soul spoke out in all the pleasing eloquence of dress: and beaux and belles, enamoured of themselves in one another's follies, fluttered like gilded butterflies, in giddy mazes, through the walks of St. James Park! (Hazlitt 70)

This lengthy and detailed description clarifies that the Restoration comedy of manners cannot be thought without or separately from the court of Charles II although the royalty and its rule have been inevitably chastised due to the bad management of socio-politics and the perceived immorality it brought from France. Sir George Etherege and William Wycherley were able to mirror this Restoration atmosphere in their plays since

they were gentlemen dramatists accepted into the aristocratic libertine circle.

This conflicting appraisal of the Restoration comedy of manners arises from the real, original personalities and events of the Restoration because the genre is "homogeneous in terms of class and ideologically conservative," and additionally, it involves inequalities of "gender (men against women), social success (self-serving town wits against fops and country bumpkins), virtue (self-possessed young heiresses against cast-off mistresses, hypocritical wives and jealous guardians) and intelligence (cultivated young men against libertine posers)" (Dharwadker 150). The comedy of manners somehow stages a blind criticism of the state governance during the Restoration although it was produced as an apparatus of the libertine ideology, or as one of the "symptoms of the immorality of the courts of Charles II and James II in particular, and of Restoration England more generally" (Gieger 9). As political satire, the genre is concerned with the Puritan, common people who did not get integrated into the aristocratic and upper-class codes of socio-political life (Hodgart 188); however, the playwrights do not explicitly satirise the follies of the upper class because they, as the supporters of the monarchy, thought that "the Puritan was politics: he was the chief problem with which the Crown had to deal" (Jones 665). Jason Curtis Gieger puts this dichotomy in terms of modern aesthetic evaluation as

> this is precisely what the association between the Restoration period and the Restoration comedy of manners tends to proclaim: within a single historical formation, the fundamental difference between historico-ethical and aesthetic standards of value. Posterity's negative assessment of Restoration culture and its celebration of Restoration comedy are two sides of the same coin. Indeed, the difference between the two may be taken to represent what modernity broadly conceives the aesthetic process to achieve: the transvaluation of life by art. (9-10)

The genre as a form of satire is principally cautious in its adherence to upper-class values and to the status quo, yet boldly excessive in its publicity of the perceived immorality and materialism of that very class (Brown 42). The common approach, thus, acknowledges the corruption of the Stuart court and also defends the comedy of the era as the successful, artistic creation emerging from, but at the same time contaminated by, that very court. In other words, it is seen that Restoration comedies do not explicitly and politically satirise the elite, libertine coterie, but they target the Puritan Parliamentarians. Gieger clarifies this approach by asserting that it "is only the gradual

separation of, and heightened distinction between, the historical and the aesthetic that allows for both the continued devaluation of Restoration England and the eventual elevation of 'the Restoration comedy of manners'" (11).

The Restoration comedy of manners appeared with Sir George Etherege's *The Comical Revenge; or, Love in a Tub* (1664) and *She Wou'd if She Cou'd* (1668), and it advanced with John Dryden's *Marriage à la Mode* (1672), William Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (1675) and *The Plain Dealer* (1676), Etherege's *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter* (1676), Thomas Shadwell's *The Libertine* (1676), Aphra Behn's *The Town Fop; or, Sir Timothy Tawdrey* (1676), *The Rover; or, the Banish'd Cavaliers* (1677), *The City Heiress; or, Sir Timothy Treat-all* (1682), and *The Lucky Chance; or, an Alderman's Bargain* (1686). In consideration that the Restoration corresponds to the era which began with the reclamation of the administration of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland by Charles II, the comedies written in this period are referred to as Restoration comedies of manners. However, the characteristics of such comedies were written in the following years during the reigns of the successors of Charles II, that is James II and William III. To make a distinction between the comedies written during the reigns of different monarchs, the plays produced until 1685 are categorised as the early Restoration comedy of manners, and the ones written between 1685 and 1710 as the late Restoration comedies of manners (Lynch 182). For that reason, the genre continued on for about a quarter of a century with William Congreve's *The Old Bachelor* (1693), *The Double Dealer* (1694), *Love for Love* (1695), *The Way of the World* (1700), John Vanbrugh's *The Relapse; or, Virtue in Danger* (1696), *The Provok'd Wife* (1697), George Farquhar's *The Constant Couple; or, a Trip to the Jubilee* (1699), *The Beaux' Stratagem* (1707), and Susannah Centlivre's *The Busie Body* (1709). As the "dawn" of "this style of comedy" in English literature (Hazlitt 70), Etherege provided one of the best representative comedies of manners "in its most concentrated form" (Gibbons xv) revealing the aspects of the Restoration society and culture in his *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter* which is analysed in the first chapter of this thesis.

The early Restoration comedy undergirded by the upper class created an inclination towards "royalist ideology, aristocratic norms and elite forms" in the Restoration

society until the last decade of the seventeenth century (Dharwadker 140-41). However, James II's accession to the English throne shook the supposedly firm ground of the Stuart court and the Restoration stage as his Catholic favouritism created a tense politico-religious atmosphere between the court and the Puritan Parliament, and led the statesmen into two parties as the Tories, the king's supporters, and the Whigs, the king's opponents (Knights 347-49). The eventual displacement of James by William of Orange and Mary II with the Glorious Revolution of 1689 enabled English people's Protestant non-aristocratic masculinity to triumph. This change of the monarch was the end of the old century together with its ideals and the beginning of a new long century and the construction its new standards. Investigating the dynamics of hegemonic masculinity and state and power relations from the early seventeenth century to the start of the eighteenth, Erin Mackie acknowledges in *Rakes, Highwaymen, and Pirates* that "the modern civil gentleman emerges to make his claim on patriarchal power from a set of historical changes" (5) and affirms that all the socio-political upheavals during the Stuart era like the Civil War, the Commonwealth, the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution indicated "changes in the conception, exercise, and representation of authority" (6). The patriarchal and hegemonic authority of Parliament was strengthened with the Bill of Rights of 1689, which subjected the Crown to the supremacy of Parliament obliging the monarchy to be Protestant and not to marry any Catholic. Thus, Parliament proved its stability with the legislation of the Act of Settlement in 1701 for the succession of Queen Anne (1665-1714) and with the Act of Union of 1707 for the parliaments of England and Scotland (Harris 216-17). Thus, the contest between the court and the landed aristocracy on one hand, and Parliament and mercantile interests on the other showed the changing social structure in England and proved the socio-political importance of the expanding middle classes who, with their wealth, could purchase ancestry and prestigious status (Lowenthal 24).

The moment the libertine morals of the Court Wits started to reign over any social constraint, the conventional, Puritan authority of morality interfered this propagation of royalist patriarchal hegemony and attempted to refine the unconventional wit, the aristocracy of the king (Schmidt 14-15). In keeping with this attitude, the pamphleteers, the politicians and the philosophers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth

centuries began to attack the relative licentiousness of the courts and theatres of the Restoration, and the Catholic affinity of the Stuart court. These attacks would invite a new kind of monarchy to the English throne, and lead to the introduction of new worldviews.

At the end of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of a major cultural shift, Jeremy Collier provided the first record against the Restoration society and drama with his essay *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage Together with the Sense of Antiquity on This Argument* in 1698. In his work, he criticised "[t]he English Theatre from Queen *Elizabeth* to King *Charles* II" (50) and "look[ed] over our own Country-men [Cromwell and his generals] till King Charles the Second" (125). Because the comedy genre was expected to offer models of human folly, Collier opposed the high eloquence of the libertine characters and their mischievous plots in the Restoration comedy of manners due to the fact that the play-going society inclined to imitate misbehaviours represented in such plays (Collier, *A Short View* 161-65). As for the immodesty of the plays, he states that "I'm sorry the Author should stoop his Wit thus Low, and use his Understanding so unkindly. Some People appear Coarse, and Slovenly out of Poverty: They can't well go to the Charge of Sense. They are Offensive like Beggars for want of Necessaries" (3-4). By denigrating the intelligence of the late Stuart courtiers, he prepared the ground for the satire and rectification of their Hobbesian philosophy of pleasure and desire. In another essay of his, *Mr. Collier's Dissuasive from the Play-House* (1703), Collier's longing for the past when the state, church, and theatre were unified suggested a similar unity among these three in the late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth.[10] He was primarily interested in the state-church politics. He was against the Williamite period because of his belief in the divine right of kings and "Arbitrary Power," and he also denounced the abasement of the clergy by the "rakes and Strumpers" (Collier, *Mr. Collier's Dissuasive* 10): "luscious Songs will make Psalms flat Entertainment" (14).

Another attempt to reform the corruption of the stage came from a religious writer and physician, Richard Blackmore in his preface to *Prince Arthur: An Heroick Poem in Ten Books* (1695). He considers the Restoration poets and playwrights worthless as can be

understood from his expression: "I think these Poets, if they must be called so, whose Wit as they manage it, is altogether unuseful are justly reproach'd; but I am sure those others are highly to be condemned, who use all their Wit in *Opposition* to Religion, and to the *Destruction* of Virtue and good Manners in the World" (par. 6). The focal point of Blackmore's criticism of these writers is the fact that they were cynical about and could mock "*Religion* and *Virtue*, and bring *Vice* and *Corruption of Manners* into Esteem and Reputation" (par. 6). As the panegyrist of the Williamite government, he continues to lecture on a true poet's nature, works, and efficacy for society:

> [The Poet's] chief business is to instruct, to make Mankind Wiser and Better; and in order to this, his Care should be to please and entertain the Audience with all the *Wit* and *Art*, he is Master of. . . . Poets must Starve if they will not in this way humour the *Audience*. The *Theater* will be as unfrequented, as the *Churches*, and the Poet and the Parson equally neglected. . . . Whoever makes this his Choice, when the other was in his Power, may he go off the Stage unpity'd, *complaining* of *Neglect* and *Poverty*, the just Punishments of his *Irreligion* and *Folly*. (par. 11)

The Restoration stage was obviously under the attack of pro-religious pamphleteers and writers who did not hesitate to express their discontent with the aristocratic and upper-class values after the rise of the middle class that "varied greatly in wealth, culture, and influence" (Prall and Willson 483) under the rule of a new monarch.

A Scottish journalist, George Ridpath, was among the reformers of the stage. He wrote a book entitled *The Stage Condemn'd* in 1698 to support the cause stated in *A Short View* by Collier. In this book, he held three institutions responsible for the corruption of the nation: the late Stuart monarchy, the errantry of the Anglican clergy, and the British stage after 1660:

> If all our Church-men had done their Duty as well as Mr. *Collier* has done his, in this Matter. Stage-Plays had never been suffered in the Nation, nor had there been the least pretence for their Usefulness: But in K. *Charles* I. Time, they were necessary to Ridicule the Puritans, and run down the Patrons of Liberty and Property. And in K. *Char*. II. Reign, they were no less wanted to lash the Dissenters and Whiggs that oppos'd Tyranny, and needful to promote the Glorious Design of Debauching the Nation, and to baffle the Evidence of the Popish Plots. (Ridpath 3-4)

So there was an ongoing social and cultural change in the English society. Moreover, this change could closely be followed through the English stage which was also undergoing a transition from the past to the present, from the reminiscences of medieval

feudalism and monarchic absolutism to modernity.

When the Reverend Jeremy Collier, Richard Blackmore and George Ridpath harshly criticised the Restoration theatre for its delinquency and obscenity on the stage, the Restoration stage was defended first by a historian, John Oldmixon, with his *Reflections on the Stage, and Mr. Collyer's Defence of the Short View* in 1699. Oldmixon accuses Collier of clearing his name as a non-juror by writing against the Restoration period and says: "he has worn off the prejudice people had against him, by his generous undertaking, to reform our pleasures" (2). Reminding Collier's approval of and attachment to the Stuarts, Oldmixon states "Mr *Collier* himself knows the only *Royal Martyr* that has honour'd the Christian Religion with his sufferings for these thousand years, was very kind to the Stage and the Poets . . . not to mention his Sons, whose Memories I'm sure are dear to Mr *Collier*" (72). He upbraids Ridpath as "this Republican Letter Writer" for "affronting the Church of England in her Ministers, and abusing the Education of our Universities" due to his fanatic partisanship in his writings (Oldmixon 152, 153). By blaming Ridpath for the conspiracy against the past monarchy, the creation of an uneasy atmosphere in the country, and for "Sowing Sedition, Inspiring mens minds with the desire of Revolution, Preaching against the Government, or for those who to the utmost of their power," Oldmixon denounces the passions of such Whigs because, according to him, "such passions as are more dangerous freaks and fancies both to the State and our selves" than the libertine passions seen on the stage (82-83). While defending the theatre, Oldmixon does acknowledge that "[a]ll our pleasures have been of late corrupted, even those that were design'd to cure us of our Vices and Follies" and that "[t]his proceeds from the licentiousness of the Age, and whence that proceeded, any who are acquainted with the Liberty of the *Restoration* can inform you" (158).

One can state that the controversy over the immorality of the stage at the end of the seventeenth century and the turn of the eighteenth was caused by the moralists, who criticised theatre because the perceived licentiousness of the Restoration stage relied on the personal consciousness and varying ethics of the moralists according to their educational, cultural, and socio-political backgrounds. In keeping with this attitude,

John Dryden put forward another point in defence of the Restoration stage in his epilogue for John Vanburgh's revision of *The Pilgrim* (1700):

> Perhaps the Parson stretch'd a point too far,
> When with our *Theaters* he wag'd a War.
> He tells you, That this very Moral Age
> Receiv'd the first Infection from the Stage.
> But sure, a banish'd Court, with Lewdness fraught,
> The Seeds of open Vice returning brought. (Dryden, "Epilogue" 1)

Refuting the argument that the corruption of the English society resulted from the profaneness of theatres,[11] Dryden revealed the origins of the "Infection" as the "banish'd Court" that returned home along with its "Vice"s from France. However, Dryden accuses not only the Stuart monarchy of the salient manners of the Restoration, but also the Puritan Parliamentarians of the Cromwellian era during which there was an austere retribution for public indecency; "Nothing but open Lewdness was a Crime," yet rather "A *Monarch*'s Blood was venial to the Nation" (Dryden, "Epilogue" 1). For Dryden, the moral depravation began behind the closed doors of the Cromwellian puritans. "In blaming the excesses of the Restoration on the excesses of the Interregnum," Jason Curtis Gieger says, "Dryden's epilogue stakes out a counter-argument to the argument that blames the Stuarts" (62-63).

From the time of Queen Anne to the beginning of the Victorian era, there was an emerging empire economy increasingly driven by the industrial and commercial forces. This economy brought about changes in the social structure of Britain. The newly rich people from trade or business – named the middling walks of life, or the middling class,[12] with the terms of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Rogers 173) – started a social mobilisation (R. G. Wilson 158-59). These newcomers, who consisted of "bankers, brewers and industrialists who became millionaires and half-millionaires in increasing numbers" (168) and preferred to purchase large lands and to create an elite culture for their families, were few in number compared to the competitive bourgeois elite that preferred to invest its money in industry and commercial enterprises. The middling class which referred to the independent small producers in industry and agriculture at the beginning of the seventeenth century was reformulated with the economic decline of these producers after the improvements in agricultural capitalism. Therefore, in the eighteenth century, the middling class contained merchants who

distributed Britain's various products, tradesmen, substantial shopkeepers, wealthy manufacturers, and medical, academic, judicial and military professionals (Rogers 172-73).[13] These people occupying the middle ground in the hierarchies of wealth, status and power aspired to establish their own values in society. Their contribution to economic cycle of production and consumption was critical, and they had the financial means to fashion certain tastes on their own terms (177). Also, the settlement of the Hanoverian dynasty as the monarchy of Great Britain thoroughly eliminated the Jacobite rebellions and the royalist mindset of the inherited country and patrilineal primogeniture, which were contrary to the benefits of the middling class. It was a total "disenchantment with aristocratic ideology" (McKeon 297).

What can be understood from these fluctuating occasions in British politics and accordingly culture is that "eighteenth-century Britain was a vibrant, multi-faceted and multi-layered society" and therefore the ground of the struggle for hegemony between "the old and the new, the traditional and the dynamic, the changes and the continuities" (Dickinson xvi). In "The Background of the Eighteenth-Century Drama," John Harold Wilson expresses the dichotomous atmosphere of this century as follows:

> We like to think of the eighteenth century in England as the new Augustan Age, the Age of Reason, the Enlightenment, the period of Deism, the Idea of Progress, [and] the Rights of Man. . . . We like to think of it, too, as an age of social graces, good fellowship, sprightly conversation, and mannered decorum. We tend to forget that under its polished surface the eighteenth century was a materialistic, often brutal age, given to drunkenness, bribery, corruption, and gambling. It was an era marked by the decay of the aristocracy and the rise to power of the new middle classes, the nation of shopkeepers who proudly paraded their wealth, deemed poverty a crime, and – however sinfully they behaved in private – insisted on the forms of bourgeois morality. (vii)

The hypocritical practices of the community were mainly seen in the newly emerging middling class. The prestige attached to commerce was acutely felt in this period, and money started to overrule the previous conventions of morality, taste, and manners. The new, socially and politically hegemonic class could now shape the new codes of modesty, pleasure and civilities which would later be labelled as puritanical. Henceforth, it became possible to see playwrights who were supported by these newcomers from trade and industry, and plays which were written in accord with the codes of the middling classes.

By means of the middle-class patrons of theatre, new laws were enforced against bawdiness and blasphemy in theatres in the eighteenth century. John Harold Wilson summarises the extremity of this moralisation process:

> Decency returned to the theatres, and dullness came along for company. In the new century most of the old stock plays were cleansed and purified; Shakespeare – more popular than ever – was methodized and improved almost out of recognition; and those Restoration comedies which survived their day were trimmed with antiseptic shears. An age of callous cynicism had passed, replaced by an age of specious sentiment. ("The Background" vii)

Dramatic works and theatrical performances were made to instil moral principles to the spectators who needed to learn proper behaviours so as to live in a civil society (Combe 294). Unlike in the previous century, the theatre did not represent desire in love relations and intrigues. On the contrary, it presented "the right examples – virtuous heroes and heroines who constituted good models of behavior; obviously ridiculous or reprehensible comic foils and villains who instructed us in what to avoid – be embodied on stage" (O'Brien 187), which would derive significant characteristics from sentimentalism.

During the reigns of George I (1714-1727) and George II (1727-1760), the political hegemonic struggle of masculinities reached a stability on the side of the Whigs. The new gentlemen of the country as well as Robert Walpole in Westminster were at the centre of the political dynamics, and that is why their philosophy regarding the refinement of British society was reflected in all the literary works of the period to encourage conformity throughout the nation. British society was exhausted of politicians' and intellectuals' battles. Therefore, it became interested in reinforcing stability and a shared state of mind, or a common sense. Due to the fact that the literary works of the Restoration theatre appeared to be "scandalous and licentious, but archaic, old-fashioned, the residue of a less civilized culture" (O'Brien 193), sentimentalism was perceived as the system of values to replace the philosophy of the previous age. This new worldview enabled the establishment of the new ruling system under the imported Hanoverian monarchy. In this less intense political atmosphere of the first half of the eighteenth century, the land-owning, gentry-centred, and merchant-supported polity formulated its ideals and used literary means such as stories, pamphlets, novels, and

plays in order to transform the culture (Solinger 41-42). What was emphasised in this period were the innate goodness of man, the display of emotions, and perfection that could not be reached through knowledge and senses, but through feelings.

The change in administrative positions from the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie brought its own intellectual class of managers and writers for the theatres, especially after the theatrical Licensing Act of 1737 (Downie 336). Differently from most of the writers' profiles in the previous century, there emerged non-upper-class writers who penned plays for the sake of earning their lives; therefore, they wrote according to the desires of the new ruling class (Sherburne and Bond 883-84). Among these playwrights and plays, there were Colley Cibber and his *Love's Last Shift* (1696) and *The Careless Husband* (1704), Sir Richard Steele and his *The Tender Husband* (1705) and *The Conscious Lovers* (1722), George Lillo and his *The London Merchant* (1731), *The Christian Hero* (1735) and *Fatal Curiosity* (1737), and William Whitehead and his *The Roman Father* (1750), *The School for Lovers* (1762) and *The Trip to Scotland* (1770). These plays, examples of both sentimental tragedies and comedies, avoided bawdiness and wit, and they made use of sentimentalism to promote moral dignity and make the public weep, which they believed could make the universe more benevolent, not to accept the existing conditions of the present universe (Schmidt xxii; Sherburne and Bond 884). Sentimentalism was intentionally designed to indulge in the emotions of "pity for distressed virtue and admiration for innate human goodness" (Sherbo 100). Its efforts in literature primarily carried a moral function. For the sake of reforming morality, these plays usually presented illogical and impossible plots, highly good or perfectible characters, exaggerated emotions over intelligence. As another aspect, hyperbole was the most regular rhetorical device of sentimental drama (Erämetsä 64).

Sentimental drama had a powerful effect on the middle-class playgoers. There was such a strong connection between the actors and the audience that the plays were performed in a highly realistic manner for the audience to absorb the virtues represented on the stage (Ousby 845; O'Brien 189). For that reason, sentimental comedy came into prominence as the new dominant genre. It offered virtuous, rather than scandalous heroes and heroines. The essence of sentimental comedy lied in its possession of a

philanthropic worldview which included weeping at the cruelties and follies of the characters on the stage, regardless of the weeper's hypocritical self-pity. For the sentimental mentality, the comedy of manners was "cruel and cynical, just because it select[ed] esoteric and undemonic elites" (Schmidt xvi). The sentimental perspective under the domination of the Whig Parliament implemented a collection of common values and expectations with the support of the new landed gentry and middling class, who spread these sentimental traits over the nation as the indicator of a significant break with the past.

With the accession of George III (1738-1820), a self-consciously British king unlike the previous Georges, in 1760, modifications about the rule over a newly expanded empire began, and the Whigs fell from power. This monarchic awareness of the new king brought a societal confidence; as a result, conventional sentimentalism began to be questioned because of its excesses (Schmidt xix). For half a century, the whole British society was obliged to conform to the doctrines and appetites of the new rich that gained its strength from the wealth of colonialism and industrialisation rather than a rooted, noble heritage. After the long-standing domination of morality and sentimentality, there was now a reaction against these sentimental plays which were mocked as Good Friday Sermons (Gassner 311) due to their monotonous dialogues and unconvincing plotlines (Scott 100). Thus, the messages delivered by sentimental literature sounded too benevolent and too kind to entertain or to provide coherence. Hegemony passed again into the hands of aristocracy. Typically, theatre also changed its forms after this hegemonic shift. It was only in the 1770s that the "eighteenth-century comedy briefly escaped from the doldrums" of sentimentalism and partially saw the cultivation of the Restoration comedy with Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer; or, the Mistakes of a Night* (1773), which is scrutinised in the second chapter of this study, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1775) and *The School for Scandal* (1777).

With the expansive practice of colonialism, the discoveries of new trade lands and routes as well as the invention of new manufactural, industrial methods, the formation and establishment of the middle class – mainly consisting of commercial and industrial capitalists – in the late seventeenth century had an inevitable importance for the

continuation of the recent economic politics in Britain (Earle 3-10). From the perspective of the theories of men and masculinities, the eighteenth-century British manliness set a precedent for

> the transition from a genteel masculinity grounded in land ownership to a bourgeois masculinity attuned to the market. The new commercial society was made possibly, and in turn reinforced, a new manhood. The man of substance and repute came to be someone who had a steady occupation in business or the professions, instead of receiving lands or trading in stocks. (Tosh 219)

The new code of masculinity belonged to the emergent middle classes, and this new powerful class had its own ideals of gender patterns which would prevail in the British society for more than a hundred years. British politics increased in importance and had a say in the northern Atlantic region by means of the establishment of a global empire estates and a global capitalist economy which triggered tremors in gender hierarchies in irreversible ways (Rubinstein 32-33).

As a natural consequence of the increasing common practice of colonialism and commercial capitalism in the late eighteenth century, London witnessed an immense growth with the population migrating from the country (Connell, *Masculinities* 187-88). In the early nineteenth century, the primarily agricultural society dependent on the aristocracy of the peerage and landed gentry began to transform into a modern industrial nation relying on the middle-class newcomers from trade and industry. It is seen that the aristocratic patriarchal hegemony was gradually displaced by the middle-class masculinity from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth.[14] With the succession of Queen Victoria (1819-1901) in 1837, the British Empire entered a period of high industrialisation and economic growth as well as perpetual and various troubles. In this era, Britain, as a world power towards the end of the century, went through such an immense change of industrialisation and modernisation that the industrial improvements almost ended the monopoly of aristocratic masculinity, and the power centrally fell from landowning upper classes to mercantile and industrial middle classes.

This gradually rising class set such Victorian values as matrimony in which orderly family relations were designed and kept according to "separate spheres" for the public and masculine world and the feminine and domestic worlds (Richardson 175), and

religious and moral dignity like humility, honesty, self-sacrifice, sexual repression (Kucich 216), low tolerance of crime and failure, and a strong sense of social ethic. Victoria, "the safe and motherly old middle-class queen" as described by Henry James (184), embodied the principles of the period such as sobriety, moral responsibility and domestic rectitude, and thus became the model of middle-class values and devotion to one's duty and domesticity (Richardson 174, 179-80). Similar to the rise of the middle classes from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth, the hegemonic masculinity of this class proved itself to be dominant in almost all social spheres in the nineteenth century.

In the context of the presuppositions of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sentimentalism, the immorality of an individual could be reformed with the restrictions by leading that person to believe that "sexuality was on the side of the norm, knowledge, life, meaning, the disciplines, and regulations" (Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* 148), and, for that reason, sexuality should be restrained not only by women, but also by men. However, the continual attacks on the "impertinence" of British drama throughout the eighteenth century could not reduce the number of theatres. There were ten theatre buildings at the beginning of the new age and this number rose to fifteen within a decade (Donohue 219). The comedy was deplorably "almost extinct" in the "legitimate" theatres (Thorndike 474) after the Stage Licensing Act of 1737 because the audience was able to see comedies, pantomimes and French melodramas, which were prevalent throughout the century, in the "illegitimate" theatres (Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre* 54). In *The Old Drama and the New*, William Archer describes a quarter of the century "from about 1810 to about 1835" as "the very barrenest period in the history of the English drama," and continues that "the twenty-five years from 1840 to 1865 were almost as barren" with "the five years in between the two periods [which] had been redeemed from utter insignificance by the plays of Bulwer[-Lytton]" (244). The reason for such futility was embedded in the previous century.

The Stage Licencing Act of 1737 constituted a monopoly of theatres under the rule of the Lord Chamberlain's Office which could censor any play if it had an impression of a political, satirical, or immoral remark in the play, and it "continued to cast a long

shadow over metropolitan [theatrical] production" (Moody, "The Theatrical Revolution" 200). In *Early Victorian Drama, 1830-1870*, Ernest Reynolds emphasises the lack of serious plays, be it tragedy or comedy, and the discouragement to possible playwrights by giving the example of a play instructed by the Lord Chamberlain's Office in the first half of the nineteenth century: "When an author could be commissioned to write a tragedy around the central incident of a dog jumping into a tank to save the heroine, little could be expected in the way of serious drama" (33-34). With such boundaries regarding the dramatists and players, theatregoers shifted their attention to the novel genre which provided the rising middle classes with the panoramic views of the town and the country together with its puritanical values.

After the Theatre Regulation Act in 1843 which limited the authority of the Lord Chamberlain's Office, new provisions permitted theatres to perform any dramatic genre (Moody, "The Theatrical Revolution" 199). "There can be no doubt but that the censorship had grown . . . more tolerant," Allardyce Nicoll states in *A History of Late Nineteenth-Century Drama, 1850-1900*, "and that it displayed a willingness to permit the public representation of dramas which would have shocked early society into convulsions" (21). Following this, the limelight and later electricity were introduced into the London theatres. With the new technological developments in theatrical equipment, some Shakespearean plays and adaptations of Greek mythology and fairy tales composed "the nineteenth century burlesques" (N. James 11) which "re-told old romances extravagantly and absurdly, in exactly the same spirit as [the French poet Paul] Scarron had retold stories of antiquity" (Clinton-Baddeley 111). Such plays were modified in order to appeal to a larger number of middle-class customers.

The high population of London which helped theatres to manage their expenses and lead writers to produce in any type of work they like did not have much contribution to theatre in terms of theatrical taste as quantity did not accompany quality (N. James 5). That lack of quality does not mean that all the audience lacked theatrical manners, but even "a dozen" of those lacking the theatrical culture were sufficient to ruin the performance and dramatic atmosphere (Reynolds 53). As a consequence, the aristocracy and the intelligentsia almost abandoned theatres. In addition, the early Victorian

audience did not enjoy the idle elegance of aristocratic and upper-class manners on the stage. Therefore, libertines and fops were either missing from the time's theatrical word or presented as villains. This approach suited the taste of the bourgeois spectator, but not to the upper class that relished watching themselves on the stage (N. James 8-9). In this period, there were few comedies such as *Society* written in 1865 by Thomas William Robertson who criticised the mannerism of the period in witty dialogues. Following Robertson, in the 1880s, Arthur Wing Pinero wrote his true-to-life, farcical comedies such as *The Magistrate* (1885) and *Dandy Dick* (1887). Lastly, Sir William Schwenck Gilbert is considered to have brought the comic spirit onto the Victorian stage with his comic operas like *H. M. S. Pinafore; or, the Last that Loved a Sailor* (1878), *The Pirates of Penzance; or, the Slave of Duty* (1879), and *The Mikado; or, the Town of Titipu* (1885) (Scott 121-22). These comic operas achieved to gather the aristocracy in playhouses with their representations of the upper-class shortcomings and paradoxes. However, the absence of the comedy of manners which would show the upper class in its full luxury and liberty continued until the last decade of the century.

On the threshold of the twentieth century, the values and doctrines of the Victorian era began to be questioned loudly. In the preface to *Yeast: A Problem*, Charles Kingsley defines the questioning of the old principles by the new generation by expressing that

> the young men and women of our day are fast parting from their parents and each other; the more thoughtful are wandering either towards Rome, towards sheer materialism, or towards an unchristian and unphilosophic spiritualist Epicurism which . . . is the worst evil spirit of the three, precisely because it looks at first sight most like an angel of light. (vi)

Masculinity as a historical experience altering over time parallel to social, cultural, and economic circumstances came to include a new concept. The sentimental masculinity which was strictly linked to the middle classes was replaced by dandyism that resembled neo-Epicurean libertine philosophy with certain variations (Buchbinder 148-49). The dandy masculinity was welcomed by the upper-class gentlemen and gentlewomen who, with an artistic attitude, stood against the values of the conventional Victorian society. Eventually, Oscar Wilde appeared in the 1890s with his witty dialogues, aesthetic concerns, and dandy characters in his comedies of manners. His first play *Lady Windermere's Fan, a Play about a Good Woman* (1892), which is

examined in the third chapter of this thesis, was so successful that he produced three more comedies *A Woman of No Importance* (1893), *An Ideal Husband* (1895) and *The Importance of Being Earnest, a Trivial Comedy for Serious People* (1895). It is true that his comedies do not resemble Restoration comedies of manners since he integrated some melodramatic aspects into these plays in order not to violate the Victorian society that gave a lot of importance to its normative values.

After the socio-cultural changes examined above, it can be said that the British aristocratic and upper-class masculinities went hand in hand with the political struggles with the male representatives of lower ranks. In the first chapter of this study, Charles II's courtiers are shown to employ the time's philosophy of manliness – libertinism – not only in their private and public relations, but also in their dramatic works. In keeping with that attitude, the motives of the libertine masculinity are analysed in Sir George Etherege's best comedy of manners *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter*. In the second chapter, the new code of masculine manners, sentimentalism, is introduced after the eighteenth-century public's discomfort with libertine rakes. As regards the comedy of manners, the change in the genre and the libertine's reformation is discussed through a comparative scrutiny of male characters in Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer; or, the Mistakes of a Night*. In the third chapter, a new masculine epoch is argued to have begun with dandyism as a reaction to the changing hegemonic social strata. The last chapter, thus, presents an analysis maintaining the connection between socio-cultural changes and the British masculinities in Oscar Wilde's first comedy of manners *Lady Windermere's Fan, a Play about a Good Woman*.

CHAPTER 1

THE DAWN OF LIBERTINE MASCULINITY
IN GEORGE ETHEREGE'S *THE MAN OF MODE*

Sir George Etherege who gained recognition as the English initiator of the Restoration comedy of manners was probably born in 1634 according to John Dryden (Ward et al. 25), possibly in 1635 as stated in *Encyclopædia Britannica* ("Sir George Etherege"), or allegedly in 1636 as reported by his first biographer William Oldys (Barnard 1). The reason why the scholars have been unable to pinpoint his year of birth is that there is a controversial load of information about the early years of Etherege, up until the age of thirty. It is known that he went to France with his father, the purveyor of Queen Henrietta Maria, following her in 1644 during the Civil War in England (Scott 44), and remained there until after the Interregnum during which he became fluent in French language, as well as knowledgeable about French literature, and got acquainted with the French court culture (Bozer, "Sir George" 155). Upon returning to his homeland, he composed his first play *The Comical Revenge; or, Love in a Tub* in 1664, which was acted in the same year. The play was regarded so successful that Etherege became famous overnight and found a place for himself in the noble circle of the gentlemen fraternity which included such literary and political figures as John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester; Charles Sackville, Sixth Earl of Dorset, or Lord Buckhurst; George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham; and Sir Charles Sedley. These men were recognised as the "Merry Gang," as Andrew Marvell indicates (qtd. in Ray 170-173), or as the Court Wits since "the King preferred [their company] to that of his Ministers of State" (Palmer 65). What brought success to Etherege in his first play was his keen observation and representation of his day; the Restoration audience realised that the characters were from "their own day, society, and temper. Here was no reflection of Puritan drama or a pre-Cromwellian figure; this was an image of themselves" (Scott 46).

Strengthening his pen thanks to his relations to the circle of upper-class rakes, Etherege resumed playwriting in London four years later with *She Wou'd if She Cou'd* (1668).

Thomas Shadwell puts his appreciation of this play into words in the preface to his *The Humorists* (1671) as "[t]his play, I think, and have the authority of some of the best judges for it, is the best comedy that has been written since the reformation of the stage. . . . Etherege drew his characters from what they called the *beau monde*; from the manners and modes then prevailing with the gay, and voluptuous part of the world [London]" (qtd. in Palmer 75). Despite being badly acted, the play was acknowledged as the best comedy since the Restoration and the first finished epitome of the new comedy (Scott 48). Etherege was assessed as the "Comical writer of the present Age; whose Two Comedies, *Love in a Tub*, and *She would if she could*, for pleasant Wit, and no bad Economy, are judged not unworthy of the Applause they have met with" (Phillips 53). Only eight years later, he wrote his third and final play, *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter* (1676), about the success of which there is a consensus among dramatic critics. As William Oldys states, "the play met with extraordinary success upon the stage" (qtd. in Palmer 81), and it kept the court society quite busy in guessing the real identities of the characters in the play (Scott 52). In an attempt to correlate this very society and the playwright, Bonamy Dobrée states in *Restoration Comedy, 1660-1720* that Etherege's plays are

> pure works of art, directed at no end but themselves, meant only to give delight. He was not animated by any moral stimulus, and his comedies arose from a superabundance of animal energy that only bore fruit in freedom and ease, amid the graces of Carolingian society. He was a hot house product and knew it. "I must confess," he once wrote, "I am a fop in my heart. I have been so used to affectation that without the help of the air of the court, what is natural cannot touch me." . . . Seen through the haze, Etherege appears a brilliant butterfly, alighting only upon such things as attract him; a creature without much depth, but of an extraordinary charm and a marvellous surety of touch. (58)

During the period *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter* was staged, Etherege was in his early forties and continued to live as a real rake by finding an old, ugly, rich woman for money and marrying her as well as gaining a knighthood in 1679 (Gildon 53). Having ended his diplomatic business in Europe after the Glorious Revolution, Etherege joined James II in Paris although he was not recorded in the list of the Court in exile. As regards his end, his death also remained a mystery making it impossible to decide whether he died in 1691 or 1692 (Barnard 4).

The dedication part of *The Man of Mode* is addressed to Mary Beatrice of Modena, the

Duchess of York, and the future Queen of James II, as Etherege was in her service and she held him "in particular esteem" (Gildon 53). Etherege states that "I am very sensible, Madam, how much it is beholding to your indulgence for the success it had in the acting, and your protection will be no less fortunate to it in the printing" (41). In this address to the Duchess, it is clearly seen that the members of the Restoration royalty supported literary practices and the stage performances just as before the Commonwealth, and that Etherege was under the patronage of the Duchess during the staging and publication time span of his last work. Etherege's attachment to the Court Wits is also an indicator that he could support himself by means of his plays since these men were regarded to be the most important patrons of the stage arts during that period. As John Dennis recalled in his article "The Causes of the Decay and Defects of Dramatic Poetry, and the Degeneracy of the Publick Taste," "When these [Wits] or the Majority of them Declared themselves upon any new Dramatick performance, the Town fell Immediately in with them, as the rest of the pack does with the eager cry of the staunch and the Trusty Beagles" (423). That way, the influence of elite society was witnessed in the performative arts and continued to be represented in the Restoration works of literature.

As the first comedy of manners with the full potential of the new form and a complicated plotline on the Restoration stage, *The Man of Mode* starts in the protagonist Dorimant's dressing room. Dorimant, the male libertine of the play, has written a billet-doux to his late mistress, Mrs Loveit, with whom he plans to break up. After an Orange-Woman who is a well-known matchmaker and talebearer in the town comes to his house, Dorimant learns about the newcomers to the town, that is Lady Woodvill and her daughter Harriet from Hampshire. With the arrival of his friend Medley, another libertine rake, he receives the details about two women and also mentions his friends about his plot to break up with Mrs Loveit. Dorimant states that he has been seeing another woman, Bellinda, who will help him to make away with Mrs Loveit. Afterwards, the audience meets a sensible, young gentleman, (Harry) Young Bellair who is in love with Emilia, a sensible, young lady. Although his aunt, Lady Townley, acknowledges their relationship, his father, Old Bellair, has no information about that. Meanwhile, Young Bellair is told that his father has arrived in the town and desires his

son to get married to someone he does not know; otherwise, he will disinherit his son. The first act closes with the three gentlemen – Dorimant, Medley, and Youg Bellair – setting out their own ways to actualise their plots for love relations.

The first scene of the second act opens in the house of Lady Townley who is having a conversation with Emilia about Old Bellair, a cit, which is a word for citizens of upwardly mobile, puritanical merchants and entrepreneurs in the City of London (Dawson 29-30). At that moment, Young Bellair arrives and informs his beloved that his father wants him to marry Harriet and he will seemingly obey him to gain some time for a plot to deactivate the old man. Just then, the father enters and is seen to praise the good manners of Emilia. He sounds to be interested in this young woman despite being at the age of fifty-five. He leaves the house with his son for Lady Woodvill's. Before long, Medley comes and delivers the latest news about the affairs of the townspeople to Lady Townley and Emilia. Scene two opens at the place of Mrs Loveit who is discussing Dorimant's letter with Pert. The audience understands Pert's dislike of Dorimant and his rakish nature through her words against him while talking with her lady. Soon, Bellinda shows up as Mrs Loveit's close friend and reveals that she has seen Dorimant with a masked woman at a play. Mrs Loveit interrogates her about the identity of that masked woman and then has an attack of nerves. At that point in the play, Dorimant comes in and declares his true licentious nature as well as accusing Mrs Loveit of meeting with a fop, Sir Fopling Flutter. Upon his leave, Mrs Loveit once again gets into hysterics, and this last scene ends with Bellinda's fear that Dorimant would do the same to her, the libertine's new mistress.

The first scene of the third act opens at Lady Woodvill's lodgings while Harriet is obediently getting prepared for her arranged groom, Young Bellair. She quarrels with Busy about the arranged marriage for the sake of fortune and declares her desire to be with a man she loves, like Dorimant. At that moment, Young Bellair comes in, and the arranged couple agrees not to be together due to their interests in some other people. However, they flirt before their parents, Lady Woodvill and Old Bellair, in order to convince them that they are having an affair. Here the audience is able to comprehend that this courtship is the animation scene of the courting ladies and gentlemen of the

time. Satisfied with what they have witnessed, the parents leave the house to go on a collation with this seemingly perfect couple. In the second scene, Lady Townley, Emilia, and Medley are seen to have finished gossiping about the town's scandalous relations in the old lady's place. Because it is next to the playhouse, Lady Townley's house has been a common meeting place for gentlepeople; that is why Bellinda and Dorimant appear there one after the other. Dorimant continues his plot to get rid of Mrs Loveit and instructs Bellinda to bring her to the Mall that evening so as to intrigue her with Sir Fopling Flutter. Subsequent to her leave, Sir Fopling Flutter comes to the house; herein, the audience sees the true libertine nature of two rakes, Dorimant and Medley, who first approve of Sir Fopling Flutter's every foppish act, but then mock him behind his back. Next, the gentlemen leave the house just to meet at the Mall that evening. The last scene presents the Mall where Harriet and Dorimant meet and exchange some witty dialogue, and Mrs Loveit and Sir Fopling Flutter see each other, as planned. The third act ends with a Footman's bringing a letter from Young Bellair instructing Dorimant to disguise himself as Mr Courtage due to Lady Woodvill's dislike of him and to go to Lady Townley's house to see Harriet.

The first scene of the fourth act presents the disguise scene of Dorimant and his charming Lady Woodvill with some courteous manners. In this scene, one comprehends that Dorimant begins to fall in love with the country beauty Harriet and that Young Bellair and Medley are after a plot against Old Bellair for the sake of Young's love with Emilia. Sir Fopling Flutter's appearance in the house creates a comparison between a true wit and a foolish fop. At the end of the scene, Dorimant re-ascertains his libertine side by breezing away to meet Bellinda, as planned before. The next scene shows Dorimant and Bellinda after they have had sex. After Dorimant's promise to her about not seeing Mrs Loveit again, Medley, Young Bellair, and Sir Fopling Flutter appear in Dorimant's lodging to make evaluations of the night. Dorimant leaves the stage in order to finalise his plot for Mrs Loveit. The third scene of the fourth act is very short. Bellinda is driven to the house of Mrs Loveit who asked for her a few hours ago and learnt that she has not been at her own house. Without knowing that, Bellinda prepares to enter Mrs Loveit's house.

The first scene of the last act opens at Mrs Loveit's house where Pert is talking with her mistress about Sir Fopling Flutter's good manners. With the arrival of Bellinda, Mrs Loveit asks her where she was, yet Bellinda achieves to deceive her. Then, Dorimant shows up to inform Mrs Loveit about her infamy in the town due to cheating on him with a fop. While they quarrel, Bellinda realises that Dorimant has broken his promise by coming there and understands that it was a mistake to be with him. The scene ends with Dorimant's departure from the house after being insulted by the three women. The last scene of the act, and also of the play, reveals the disguise of Dorimant as Mr Courtage, his love for Harriet, her love for Dorimant, and Young Bellair and Emilia's secret marriage. Dorimant agrees to move to the country upon marrying Harriet although he is not seen to have married on stage. Because of his dialogues with Mrs Loveit and Bellinda, there remains a doubt about his assumed love for Harriet.

Some critics compare the early Restoration comedies of manners with the French comedies, especially Molière's. Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, or to refer to him with his stage name, Molière, mirrored the manners and follies of the French high societies without any attempt to judge or vilify those (Miles 33). The main difference between these English comedies and French contemporaries is that the English delight in the sagaciousness and wit of the characters in these plays, and in the unexpected sequences of these characters' paradoxical attitudes, but not in the incongruities of life (67). The Prologue to *The Man of Mode* by Sir Car Scroope also calls attention to this rich potential of the English playwrights in the following lines:

> Nature well-drawn and wit must now give place
> To gaudy nonsense and to dull grimace;
> Nor is it strange that you should like so much
> That kind of wit, for most of yours is such.
> But I'm afraid that while to France we go,
> To bring you home fine dresses, dance, and show,
> The stage, like you, will but more foppish grow.
> Of foreign wares why should we fetch the scum,
> When we can be so richly served at home? (43)

In addition, the sensibility of the French comedy and Molière is not available in their English counterparts. The French audience laughed at the ridiculous with sympathy whereas the Restoration audience "not only laughed at witty rogues but [also] applauded the crimes [extreme debauchery] of youth and pleasure" at the expense of

eradicating emotions because every "restraint was felt as an impertinence, and they who most ingeniously and successfully evaded those restraints became the most delightful figures in the theatre" (Miles 43). While establishting the originality of the Restoration comedy, it should be underlined that Molière's "lightness of touch and gaiety of spirit" (68) were embraced by the English playwrights who had witnessed the very court being staged in France during their exile.

What has commonsensically and critically been accepted about the Restoration comedy of manners is the fact that the characters in this type of play were drawn from the real life figures in the Stuart court of the Restoration. The characters in *The Man of Mode* are no different in that sense, as Etherege composed his characters out of the shortcomings and pretentions he saw in that society. In the Prologue, the audience which was mostly composed of members of the court and the aristocracy was addressed to with the following lines:

> 'Tis an old mistress you'll meet here tonight,
> Whose charms you once looked on with delight.
> But now, of late, such dirty drabs have known ye,
> A Muse o'the better sort's ashamed to own ye.
> . . .
> But your own follies may supply the stage. (43)

These lines explicitly reveal that the spectators were familiar with the characters and therefore manners because they were drawn from within the very society they dwelled in. Parallel with these recognisable connections, the consensus on the identification of the male characters was that Mr Dorimant was designed after the "delightfully infamous" John Wilmot, the Earl of Rochester (P. Davis xi, xxv-vi), Sir Fopling Flutter was modelled after a well-known court fop, Sir George (Beau) Hewitt (Nettleton and Case 153), and Mr Medley was created in order to represent Sir Charles Sedley or Etherege himself (Scott 52; Summers 334). In relation to these identifications, there is one crucial point to be highlighted here. That is these characters were not carbon copies of Rochester, Hewitt, or Etherege, but an amalgamation of the members of the fraternity circle of the Court Wits (Webster, "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage'" 32) who continued their lives with their common interests and experiences, with a common set of values, or a worldview which was named by the scholars "libertinism."

Libertinism might be misunderstood as merely the sexual freedom of the elite English gentlemen just by looking at the characters' actions in the summary above; however, as a matter of fact, it is a philosophical way of life having derived various principles from classical naturalism, Renaissance scepticism, neo-Epicureanism, and Hobbism (Bozer, "The Eclectic Nature" 225). In order to apprehend Restoration libertinism and its functioning in the dialectics of masculinities of the period, one must approach the concept first through its origins and then in the Restoration context. The word "libertine" was first used as a reference to a person with "free-thinking or antinomian opinion" in 1563 (Mintz 134). It emerged from the Protestant Reformation in order to deny "the truth and relevance of Scripture" (Turner, "The Properties of Libertinism" 78). However, the term gained a new meaning at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Italy and France. Lucilio Vanini (1585-1619), an Italian philosopher, and Théophile de Viau (1590-1626), a French poet, both objected to the scholastic doctrines of their era, questioned the immortality of souls, led a life full of enjoyment, and were finally sentenced to death due to their ideas and works (Novak 55; Westfall). De Viau's poem *Parnasse Satyrique* (1622) which led to his being sentenced expressed the secular doctrines of the libertinism: the artificial construction of society, the hypocrisy of law and institutions such as government, family and marriage, and the superiority of the senses over the mind and of the body over the soul (Long xi).

This questioning of traditional social norms and the elevation of worldly pleasures constituted a Christianised version of the hedonistic school of Greek natural philosophers Epicurus and Lucretius. Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), a French philosopher also influenced by de Viau's ideas, formulated neo-Epicureanism by integrating the philosophies of atomism and empiricism by Epicurus and Lucretius into Christianity (Novak 55). Stating that "there is nothing in the intellect which has not been in the senses" (qtd. in Wentworth de Witt 356), Gassendi expresses the value of experience through the senses in one's life, and thus pushes reason aside. In view of the fact that the court of the Stuart dynasty was banished to France after the Civil War, they were influenced by these libertine ideas and brought them to England with their restoration to their previous ranks during the 1660s (Parkin 148). Apart from foreign philosophical clout, an English scholar, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), affected the

courtiers' worldview with his *Leviathan* (1651). For him, the meaning of life was pleasure and pursuit of desire, for which libertine courtiers of the Restoration had a thirst (Hobbes 34).

This conceptual transmission from a religious connotation to a secular lifestyle demonstrates the evolution of the notion of "libertinism." James G. Turner highlights the transposable variety of the term's usage in his article "The Properties of Libertinism":

> The libertine is sometimes interchangeable with, and sometimes distinguished from, the Priapean, the spark or ranter, the roaring blade, the jovial atheist, the cavalier, the sensualist, the rake, the murderous upper-class hooligan, the worldly fine gentleman, the debauchee, the beau, the man of pleasure, and even the "man of sense." (77-78)

Due to the definitional vagueness, Turner clarifies that only one criterion is not enough to determine libertinism and that the term does not function only as a simple synonym for illicit sexuality. Still, it has critically been a common practice to define the libertine as "merely a person of loose morals" (Underwood 10). The Restoration nobility's Court Wits, who consisted of Charles II at their lead, John Wilmot, Charles Sackville, George Villiers, and Sir Charles Sedley, were tightly associated with the loose morality in the Restoration society. In the concept of gender performativity, it became hard to define their libertine masculinity as performative because performativity requires to "enter into the repetitive practices" of certain norms (Butler, *Gender Trouble* 189), but libertine culture poses itself as a choice and, in fact, "a radical proliferation of gender, to *displace* the very gender norms [of the Puritans in the seventeenth century] that enable the repetition itself" (189). Keeping in mind that they were the real libertine men of their time, one can understand their life in the light of the libertine culture which shows itself to be an original stance for that time.

In relation to the descriptions of the characteristics of libertinism, some critics prefer to call libertinism a "philosophy,"[15] some use the term "ideology,"[16] some choose both words as an organic consolidation,[17] and some avoid the differences between both of the two concepts and use them interchangeably.[18] One may, nevertheless, hesitate to use "philosophy" and "ideology" as interchangeable concepts. Therefore, within the

framework of aristocratic masculinity in the Restoration, libertinism can be divided into two phases: The first is the philosophical phase, and the second is the ideological one. About the first phase of the concept, it is accurate to state that libertinism is "the self-aware, philosophically oriented practice of more or less sexualized freedom" (Cryle and O'Connell 2) which is actually a symptom of "larger social forces, such as class tensions or royalist ideology" (Fisk, Introduction xi). As Deborah Payne Fisk describes, philosophical libertinism "merged scepticism with materialism, [and] typified continental thinking" (Introduction xiii); this continental (French and Italian) establishment of the libertine philosophy sufficiently structured the rational background for the social practices of libertinism. In "Libertinism and Sexuality," Maximillian E. Novak observes that de Viau formed most of the major principles of the libertine philosophy, such as the questioning of social institutions like the Church and marriage, neglecting social conventions because of their artificiality, and elevation of corporeal and experimental sensation over formal learning (55). Following de Viau's principles, Vanini and Gassendi contributed to the libertine philosophy with their emphasis on pleasure as "the highest good" (Richmond 355-56; Sarasohn 373). The philosophy of libertinism attempted to comprehend life by taking off its conventionally institutional skin. During the second phase of the concept, when this philosophy became dominant over the Puritan codes in the Restoration, libertinism began to change from philosophical to ideological by gradually "infiltrat[ing] the popular culture" (Fisk, Introduction xvi). Its evolution from the ideational realm to the societal one "as a fashionable and pervasive mode of thought whose freedom related to religion, politics, and society as well as to sexual life" (Foxon 49) enabled libertinism to be an ideology shaping and expressing its own worldview through social relations and literary productions.

In sociological terms, ideology performs in politics in order to legitimate its "political proposals and political institutions" (Parel 4). Louis Althusser explains that "the process of production [of an ideology] sets to work the existing productive forces in and under definite relations of production" (128); the libertine ideology had the gentlemen of the Stuart court as its productive forces within the relations of patronage. These gentlemen directed the Restoration dramatists to produce works feeding the libertine ideology by

teaching their ideals to writers, correcting dramatists' and poets' productions, and providing them with financial support (Fisk, Introduction xviii-xix). Therefore, the libertine ideology "was sufficiently potent to filter into the popular realm of lampoons, ballads, and drama without yet losing – at least not entirely – its philosophical underpinnings" (xvii). It was socially and politically built on its own philosophy and the Restoration culture. One may think that the libertine ideology presented itself as contradictory by exemplifying that the denial of socio-political institutions conflicted with the Restoration libertines' benefits resulting from their social positions – their aristocratic advantages. For this inconsistency, it would be appropriate to consider "the essential social contradictions of [the Enlightenment] time and class" (Brown 41). Within the framework of the above two-phased conceptualisation of libertinism, this study prefers to consolidate the two concepts – libertinism's philosophy and ideology – while describing the principles and practices of libertinism.

In the libertine philosophy, scepticism was a dominant telescope for one to view the socio-cultural order. Accordingly, libertines approached the governmental and social institution with an inquiring attitude. In that sense, they stood against the aristocratic ideology proposing the "assumption that birth automatically dictates worth" (McKeon 303), and yet did not get integrated into the progressive ideology of the Parliamentarian and mostly Puritan community (Webster, "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage'" 28). As Warren Chernaik indicates in his book *Sexual Freedom in Restoration Literature*, "[w]here Hobbes and Lucretius challenged false, illegitimate authority, the libertines assumed that *all* authority was illegitimate: the state, the church, the family were institutions equally parasitic on man's fear of freedom" (25). Deviating from his French counterparts' philosophies, Hobbes interprets God as defined by humanity (Chernaik 29). For him, the enigma of God cannot be comprehended by humans as "the name of God is used, not to make us conceive him; (for he is incomprehensible; and his greatness, and power are unconceivable;) [*sic*] but that we may honour him" (Hobbes 19). The libertines doubted the traditional conceptions of "reason." Reason was only a means to fill the gap which was created after the "fear of things invisible" in religion (71). According to the Court Wits, society used logic and rational thinking in order to construct structures to constrain human beings from freedom and to create a hierarchical

order in which the lawgivers followed their innate impulse for pleasure. Simply to convey the Earl of Rochester's ideas, he considered that clergymen exploited these structures and took advantage of human beings (Burnet 72-73, 100) by reducing "them to slavery" (Chernaik 24). Thus, the privileged ones benefited from the efficacy of "reason" for their own sakes, and they justified this pursuit by means of the structures they had constructed using reason (Webster, "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage'" 16). The Court Wits were anti-rationalists owing to this belief and rejected "the power of man through reason to conceive reality" (Underwood 13). For them, the only means to reach knowledge is, then, the "senses" which can be experienced by everyone.

The senses, according to the libertine philosophy embraced by the Earl of Rochester, is a constituent of the proper reason which "emphasized pleasure and sensual experience over abstract, arbitrary ideals" (Webster, *Performing Libertinism* 63). Differing from the French neo-Epicureanism, Hobbes's philosophy of determinism influenced the English libertinism in the sense that one might not control his desires through logical reasoning. The notions of true and false are entirely psychological concoctions devised by human beings, and they might considerably vary from one society to another (Montgomery 83). According to libertinism, these notions, just like religion, are used to "take advantage" of men by means of the fear of the unknown. In *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbes states:

> But whatsoever is the object of any man's appetite or desire, that is it which he for his part calleth *good*; and the object of his hate and aversion, *evil*; and of his contempt, *vile* and *inconsiderable*. For these words of good, evil, and contemptible are ever used with relation to the person that useth them: there being nothing simply and nothing absolutely so; nor any common rule of good and evil to be taken from the nature of the objects themselves; but from the person of the man. . . . (35)

Good and evil are, as seen above, determinations of human reason, and the Hobbesian philosophy regards "pleasure" as the ultimate output of the senses. As "the only admissible source of knowledge" (Wilcoxin 192), the senses lead toward pleasure which becomes the object of natural desire, and therefore they are positive and good (Chernaik 33). Experience is the only way to reach pleasure, and it can be achieved with the reverse of traditional values. This means that one cannot rely on the absolute and monocentric notions of right and wrong, and therefore all organisms attempt to pursue

desire to reach satisfaction in their experiences regardless of any hierarchical order. For that reason, the pursuit of desire is "creative, life-giving, [and] vital" (Birdsall 37). The Court Wits, similarly, considered the quest for pleasure a constructive element of life and cultivated on their own pleasures so as to move on their lives.

Restoration libertines argued that sensual pleasure was one of the fundamental goods in life. In fact, this argumentation leads to the idea that "the pursuit of pleasure is a worthy activity in and of itself, since pleasure allows us to experience and experience gives one greater knowledge" (Webster, "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage'" 18). This accumulation of knowledge provided the Wits with certain paradigms accurate enough to interpret the world around them. In line with this philosophy, the paradigms of the Court Wits enabled them to articulate their libertine ideas in their songs, poems and plays as well as to lead their lives in a licentious manner at the expense of the common norms of morality. In 1661, for example, James Butler, First Duke of Ormonde, reported to Edward Hyde, First Earl of Clarendon, that "the king spent most of his time with confident young men, who abhorred all discourse that was serious, and, in the liberty they assumed in drollery and raillery, preserved no reverence towards God or man, but laughed at all sober men, and even religion itself" (qtd. in Pinto 54). Thus, the libertine ideology accelerated "the reproduction of the means of production [of this ideological phase]" (Althusser 128) by affecting the population of the era through their social manners and their support for the production of such literary works.

Herein, it would be fitting to give an anecdote about the lives of the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Rochester. Charles II "whose private sexual libertinism was often in need of defence" (Novak 55) once sent these two libertine gentlemen to one of their periodical exiles from the court for a short while due to scandalous libels and their satirical works on the king. In this exile, Buckingham and Rochester rented an inn on the Newmarket Road and installed themselves as the hosts of the inn. "[A]ny man who could claim a female relative, with any pretension to beauty, was warmly welcomed at the ducal bar, and royally feasted for next to nothing," writes Burghclere (137). In conversation with such men, they learned about a lady named "Phyllis," "the wife of a venerable Puritan, who guarded her youth and loveliness with the same

elaborate precautions he exercised on behalf of his beloved and well-garnished strong-box" (Burghclere 137). Whenever he went out of the house, he entrusted this young wife to his "crabbed old sister" (137). Having learned that the old sister liked to drink, Rochester disguised himself as a young woman thanks to "his girlish face and form," drugged the old woman with a bottle of alcohol, and eloped with Phyllis with the Puritan's wealth while Buckingham kept the old man busy at the inn (138). When the husband learnt that and was bewildered with his loss, he hanged himself; afterwards, the noblemen took the young lady to London, believing that "she would have no difficulty in securing a new partner" (139). The town was so amused with this frolic adventure that "they were straightway reinstated in the Sovereign's good graces" (139).

The naturalisation of the libertine ideology was not only encouraged as in the case of Rochester and Buckingham's liaison with a married woman, but also prompted by the performativity of the libertine masculinity as seen in the case of Sedley. The light morality of the Court Wits extends their violation of the general populace from marriage institution to public indecency in Sir Charles Sedley's "experimentation." As the famous diarist Samuel Pepys discloses, Sedley, attended by Charles Sackville and Sir Thomas Ogle, dined at the Cock Inn on June 16, 1663. Meanwhile, Sedley was seen

> coming in open day into the Balcone and show[ing] his nakedness – acting all the postures of lust and buggery that could be imagined, and abusing of scripture and, as it were, from thence preaching a Mountebanke sermon from that pulpitt, saying that there he hath to sell such a pouder as should make all the cunts in town run after him – a thousand people standing underneath to see and hear him.
>
> And that being done, he took a glass of wine and washed his prick in it and then drank it off; and then took another and drank the King's health. (Pepys 209)

Such reckless misconducts effectuated the perceptions of the Wits as transgressively sexual revellers; therefore, by 1670, they had built a reputation as sybaritic aristocrats that took pleasure in "wine, women, and song" (J. H. Wilson, *The Court Wits* 17). As primarily being a cohesive group, they appeared themselves in the characterisation of Dorimant in Etherege's *The Man of Mode*.

Dorimant, as the male libertine protagonist of the play *The Man of Mode*, is described in various ways according to the gendered perspectives of the play's characters. The first group of these definitive figures – Medley, Young Bellair, Sir Fopling Flutter – belongs

to the same circle of male fraternity that shared the same ideals of the libertine masculinity. In the first act, the stage opens at the dressing room of Dorimant who is spending his time dressing. In the course of this scene, his servant, Handy, and his friends, Medley and Young Bellair, tell him that "You love to have your clothes hang just," that he is wearing "a mighty pretty suit," and that "No man in town has a better fancy in his clothes than you have" (I.63). At first, Dorimant tries to turn a deaf ear to these compliments. He remarks: "That a man's excellency should lie in neatly tying of a ribbon or a cravat! How careful's nature in furnishing the world with necessary coxcombs!" (I.63). As he says that "You will make me have an opinion of my genius," Medley and Young Bellair start a discussion about "a great critic . . . in these matters lately arrived piping hot from Paris," Sir Fopling Flutter (I.63). The discussion continues with the extravagances and affectations of Sir Fopling; however, the attention in this scene is attracted to Dorimant's affectations in conduct and apparel from the very beginning (Zimbardo 58). Through the criteria of the libertine circle, the first act introduces the two forms of masculinity observed in the Restoration, that is the libertine masculinity and the foppish masculinity, by mirroring images of Dorimant as "the pattern of modern gallantry" and Sir Fopling as "the pattern of modern foppery" (I.64).

When Dorimant is presented as the embodiment of the libertine masculinity, it is crucial to depict the contrast of the libertine, in other words, the "fop" character, Sir Fopling Flutter in *The Man of Mode*. Although the play takes its subtitle from him, one can hardly state that the play is about him. However, the main title hints at its central figure to be a man of fashion, Dorimant, who, as the libertine man of the Restoration, will be contrasted with Sir Fopling Flutter, the fop of the Restoration. In her works, A. Deniz Bozer defines a fop as an admirer of French manners and products ("Aphra" 139), "who, in his futile imitation of the male libertine, makes a fool of himself as he tries to flirt with women by using French words and feigning a foreign accent, by maladroitly showing off his singing, dancing and fencing, and by reciting in his pompous costume the latest poems to appeal to the ladies' intellectual tastes" ("The Double Nature" 216). In his first description by Medley, Sir Fopling is told to be wearing "a pair of gloves up to his elbows and a periwig more exactly curled than a lady's head newly dressed for a ball" (I.64). One can see that he obviously fails in his excessive fondness of clothing as

it was not appropriate even for the Restoration commodiousness. In his play *The Rehearsal* (1675), George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, satirises "those solemn Fops; who, being incapable of Reason, and insensible of Wit and Pleasure, are always looking grave, and troubling one another, in hopes to be thought men of Business" due to their interminable and futile efforts of imitating the libertine gentlemen (1). In *The Man of Mode*, one can sense another fop in a similar way: Mr Lackwit, who is the former lover of Mrs Loveit (II.ii.79). As is understood from Emilia's complaint about the foolish fops, their conversation is not witty and "grows tedious and insufferable" (III.ii.104).

In her article "A Few Kind Words for the Fop," Susan Staves mentions an additional characteristic of the fop: "As important as the fop's obsession with his appearance is what may be described as fop sensibility. Fops are delicate. Not for them the brutality of Restoration scowerers" (414). As for the sensitivity of Sir Fopling, he expresses that he is disturbed by the dirty smell of other men's tobacco besting his "pulvillo," which is sweet-scented powder (Latham 659), and by the smell of a pair of "cordovan gloves" almost poisoning him at the playhouse (III.iii.122-23). Later, he complains to Dorimant about tallow candles saying "How can you breathe in a room where there's grease frying" (IV.i.139). The last characteristic of the fop is revealed in the form of effeminacy, though not necessarily in the form of homosexuality (Staves 414-15). Laurence Senelick gives an accurate reason for the shift of focus in the fop's self-definition as follows: "A nobleman or gentleman, the Restoration fop, while no doubt a false wit, is most definitely focused on women as sexual object as well as decorative possession. His interest in them is so strong that it is projected onto women's appurtenances, such as fine lace and the mysteries of toilette" (35). Senelick's words clarify the effeminacy of the fop which originated from his close attention to female apparel in every sense, but not quite to women.

By stepping somewhat out of the circle of the libertine fraternity, one can find the description of Dorimant through his similarity to a French gentleman in the middle of the third act. Sir Fopling reminds Dorimant that he, Dorimant, gains his libertine characteristics from foreign cultures just like himself. Sir Fopling tells him that

"Without lying, I have not met with any of my acquaintance who retain so much of Paris as thou dost – the very air thou hadst when the marquise mistook thee i'the Tuileries and cried, '*Hé, chevalier*!' and then begged thy pardon" (III.ii.105) pointing out Dorimant's being mistaken for a French cavalier in the Tuileries. In the next act, one can recognise his resemblance to a French knight when Dorimant is in disguise of Mr Courtage, "a man made up of forms and commonplaces, sucked out of the remaining lees of the last age" (IV.i.142). For that reason, "Dorimant is not only the double of Sir Fopling, but Sir Fopling *recognizes* him as a double" (Zimbardo 58) in terms of their cultivation and proficiency on the Continent. Just like the depictions made by the ones of this fraternity of young gentlemen, one can identify Dorimant, the main male libertine character, as carrying the traits of a licentious, pleasure-seeking, and rakish personality.

The second group in the play comprises the female characters. Orange-Woman provides the first description of Dorimant by women in the first act as she brings him the news about Harriet and her mother Lady Woodvill. The impression of Dorimant on these women has first been damaged by himself because Dorimant "fooled with" them with his sardonic gestures and postures the previous day at the New Exchange (I.50), an arcade which was popular with visitors coming from the country (Styan, *Restoration Comedy* 32). Lady Woodvill, "a great admirer of the forms and civility of the last age [the Commonwealth]" particularly abstains from meeting him at any circumstance in order to protect Harriet, "an heiress, vastly rich" and "the beautifullest creature," because "[a] thousand horrid stories have been told her of" Dorimant (I.53). Harriet partially confirms her mother's concerns while she describes him to Young Bellair saying "He's agreeable and pleasant, I must own, but he does so much affect being so, he displeases me" (III.iii.112). Furthermore, she disapprovingly compares his manners to mimicking French attitudes, and, due to his mimicry, she thinks him to have become "Affectedly grave, or ridiculously wild and apish" (V.ii.172). Harriet's words about him indicate she "recognizes that Dorimant is so much the rake" that "he calculates every word and movement, and she therefore confronts him with the charge of affectation" (Berglund 379). At the Mall, as Harriet wanders with Young Bellair, she runs into Dorimant and reports what she has heard about him in the town, that is he is "for masks

and private meetings, where women engage for all they are worth" (III.iii.114). It becomes evident that Harriet is a keen observer, especially of him, when she counterfeits Dorimant with his own posture on women: "I do not go begging the men's, as you do the ladies' good liking, with a sly softness in your looks and a gentle slowness in your bows as you pass by 'em. As thus, sir – (*Acts him*) Is not this like you?" (III.iii.115). At the same place, the audience sees her mother ready for a hasty departure for home since "The plague [Dorimant] is here, and you [Harriet] should dread the infection" (III.iii.116). Through rumours, Lady Woodvill shapes and summarises her understanding of the libertine's reputation when she declares that Dorimant "is the prince of all the devils in the town – delights in nothing but rapes and riots" and "has a tongue . . . [which] would tempt the angels to a second fall" (III.iii.116). Dorimant confirms Lady Woodvill expressing that "Whatever I think of her, she thinks very well of me" (III.iii.117). This confirmation is a self-confession for him to be a real womaniser who himself orchestrates most of the play's carnal intrigues.

Mrs Loveit, the first cast-off mistress of Dorimant, offers a common view of him in the second scene of the second act: "I know he is a devil, but he has something of the angel yet undefaced in him, which makes him so charming and agreeable that I must love him, be he never so wicked" (II.ii.79). At this point in the play it is revealed that Dorimant may not be a pure libertine, but a rakish man with some feeling within, somehow appropriate to his era, because there are not many men who behave "so artificially as" Dorimant at least according to Mrs Loveit (V.i.162). However, she also shows that she is very much conscious of his rakish masculinity when Pert guesses what he might have done during the past two days they have not communicated:

> MRS LOVEIT: . . . 'Twas to much purpose to make him swear [of loyalty]! I'll lay my life there's not an article but he has broken—talked to the vizards i' the pit, waited upon the ladies from the boxes to their coaches, gone behind the scenes and fawned upon those little insignificant creatures, the players. 'Tis impossible for a man of his inconstant temper to forbear, I'm sure. (II.ii.79)

In spite of Pert's declaration of Dorimant's character and intentions, Mrs Loveit protects him due to his irresistible charm and wit. One cannot absolutely be sure of Dorimant's feelings which are conveyed through his and others' expressions as well as the asides in the play. While he is exposing his plot against Mrs Loveit, she asserts: "Had I not with a

dear experience bought the knowledge of your falsehood, you might have fooled me yet. This is not the first jealousy you have feigned to make a quarrel with me, and get a week to throw away on some such unknown, inconsiderable slut as you have been lately lurking with at plays" (V.i.164). Then, one can grasp that Dorimant's habit or strategy is an orchestration for his break-up with the old-mistresses at the expense of their fame in the town.

Bellinda, as a tool in his orchestration against Mrs Loveit, appears in the same scene (II.ii) to help Dorimant's plot to be actualised since she is his other mistress. Bellinda's lie about her whereabouts on the previous day holds a mirror to the general life style of the upper-class Londoners. She says she was with her "Welsh acquaintance" who asked her "a thousand questions of the modes and intrigues of the town" (II.ii.81). Gossiping about the way of the world in London is a common practice, as it is seen here. Bellinda accounts that she was at a play with them to show them the genteel coterie as if they were some show-case product:

> BELLINDA: . . . I was yesterday at a play with 'em, where I was fain to show 'em the living, as the man at Westminster does the dead. That is Mrs Such-a-one, admired for her beauty; this is Mr Such-a-one, cried up for a wit; that is sparkish Mr Such-a-one, who keeps reverend Mrs Such-a-one; and there sits fine Mrs Such-a-one, who was lately cast off by my Lord Such-a-one. (II.ii.81-2)

This exclamation presents an illustration of how the Restoration audiences delighted in theatrical representations of their lives, with all the "glories" of their lies and promiscuity. Later on, Bellinda falsely consoles her friend, Mrs Loveit, cheated on by Dorimant at the play with a vizard, which simply means a mask in the seventeenth century (Bevis 71), but the term here is used as a reference to a masked prostitute, who is, in fact, Bellinda. Her plotting with the libertine against Mrs Loveit soon backfires on herself.

It is also explicit that these women cannot avoid Dorimant despite knowing he is "a sexually predatory, attractive and emotionally callous libertine" (Mangan 105). Bellinda's seeming deploration of Mrs Loveit's situation expresses her own similar end with him. She says: "loving that wild man . . . they say he has a way so bewitching that few can defend their hearts who know him" (II.ii.83). Despite his promise to Bellinda

not to see Mrs Loveit except "in public places – in the Park, at court and plays" because it is "not likely a man should be fond of seeing a damned old play when there is a new one acted" (IV.ii.148-49), she catches him seeing Mrs Loveit in the next act and comes to the understanding that "Other men are wicked, but then they have some sense of shame. He is never well but when he triumphs – nay, glories – to a woman's face in his villainies" (V.i.168). Just like Dorimant, most probably the Restoration audience did not feel for Bellinda at the end of the play because "by seventeenth-century standards the women deserve no sympathy" (Hume 88). Nonetheless, that does not mean her emotional condition is totally ignored, either, as Judith W. Fisher notes in her article "The Power of Performance: Sir George Etherege's *The Man of Mode*." Bellinda, Fisher writes, "has nearly twice as many asides as Dorimant or Mrs Loveit while other characters have only one if any. The actress playing Bellinda, therefore, has the strongest relationship with the audience even though she does not have the strongest dramatic power" (16). After her liaison with Dorimant, "What power she does have lies in our sympathy for her self-deception" (Webster, "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage'" 121). In that sense, the audience was actually filled with gentle ladies who followed their desires for the members of the libertine fraternity, had similar experiences, and therefore built an organic connection with Bellinda.

In contrast to these two women's descriptions of Dorimant's libertine character, Lady Townley and Emilia's ideas of him seem to be rather positive. After Bellinda understands that she was deceiving herself about Dorimant, she talks to Lady Townley and Emilia about his cruelty towards women, but Emilia disagrees with her:

> BELLINDA: Well, that Dorimant is certainly the worst man breathing.
> EMILIA: I once thought so.
> BELLINDA: And do you not think so still?
> EMILIA: No, indeed. (III.ii.99-100)

Hereafter, Emilia defends Dorimant and accuses the town of doing "him a great deal of injury" (III.ii.100). She emphasises that the townspeople act according to rumours and those rumours may not include any reality (III.ii.100). Then, three ladies and Medley utter their conflicting ideas as such:

> LADY TOWNLEY: He's a very well-bred man.

> BELLINDA: But strangely ill-natured.
>
> EMILIA: Then he's a very witty man.
>
> BELLINDA: But a man of no principles.
>
> MEDLEY: Your man of principles is a very fine thing, indeed!
>
> BELLINDA: To be preferred to men of parts by women who have regard to their reputation and quiet. Well, were I minded to play the fool, he should be the last man I'd think of.
>
> MEDLEY: He has been the first in many ladies' favours, though you are so severe, madam.
>
> LADY TOWNLEY: What he may be for a lover, I know not, but he's a very pleasant acquaintance, I am sure. (III.ii.100)

Finally, Lady Townley clarifies the distinction between their views; that is she herself, Emilia and Medley regard Dorimant as a "friend," but Bellinda views him as a "lover." For that reason, they think that he has been denigrated and stained by the ignorant townspeople and that his behaviours are ordinary for such "a witty man of principles."

The significance of spreading the ideals of the new ruling class in the monarchy's maintenance of its position in the patriarchal hierarchy is emphasised by Foucault. In *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, Foucault writes of the libertine that,

> the libertine is he who, while yielding to all the fantasies of desire and to each of its furies, can, but also must, illumine their slightest movement with a lucid and deliberately elucidated representation. There is a strict order governing the life of the libertine: every representation must be immediately endowed with life in the living body of desire, every desire must be expressed in the pure light of a representative discourse. (209)

The formation and realisation of "every representation" in the libertine masculinity emphasised the mobilisation of aristocratic cultural privilege and the individual's freedom to seek pleasure during the Restoration era, just like in the characterisation of Medley in the play. Medley's libertine character, compared to Dorimant's, seems to have developed in a little reformed direction. Emilia describes him as "a very pleasant man" (II.i.74) with which Lady Townley agrees:

> LADY TOWNLEY: He's a very necessary man among us women. He's not scandalous i' the least, perpetually contriving to bring good company together, and always ready to stop up a gap at ombre. Then, he knows all the little news o' the town.
>
> EMILIA: I love to hear him talk o' the intrigues. Let 'em be never so dull in

themselves, he'll make 'em pleasant i' the relation. (II.i.74)

Medley presents himself as the messenger among the gentle populace of the town although his improvisation skills is so advanced that "one can take no measure of the truth from him. Mr Dorimant swears a flea or a maggot is not made more monstrous by a magnifying glass than a story is by his telling it" (II.i.75). The news provided by the town to Medley enables him to clarify "the state of love" in London in recent times: "Truly, there has been some revolutions in those affairs – great chopping and changing among the old and some new lovers, whom malice, indiscretion, and misfortune have luckily brought into play" (II.i.78). Medley, thus, can be regarded as a libertine in terms of both his public manners, to be more specific, his spreading this new philosophical way of life in the town's houses, and his character dependent on experimentation with the senses, drinking, gossiping, and deprecation of people outside of the libertine circle of courtiers.

During the Restoration, for the members of the Stuart court and the upper-class community, libertinism was an interpretation of the nobility's policy of the status quo. The "rhetoric of privilege" of the aristocratic ideology based on birth (Webster, "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage'" 179) provided the Restoration gentlemen with an advantage during the reign of Charles II. Despite rejecting biological determinism and the social insistence on moral purity and virtue, the Court Wits made use of their social status to influence the culture around them with their actions, works, and character. Regarding that "the Wits' status as the king's favorites" implied that "they may do as they please and that people like him had little recourse but to comply with their whims" (Webster "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage'" 89), there would be some men around the Wits to benefit from this courtly privilege like Young Bellair in *The Man of Mode*. In the first act, he comes to the stage, apologising for being late to accompany Dorimant and Medley who describes him as a "very pretty fellow" (I.66). Dorimant, in reply to Medley, emphasises his difference from true libertines like themselves by stating:

> DORIMANT: He's handsome, well-bred, and by much the most tolerable of all the young men that do not abound in wit.
>
> MEDLEY: Ever well-dressed, always complaisant, and seldom impertinent. You and he are grown very intimate, I see.
>
> DORIMANT: It is our mutual interest to be so. It makes the women think the better

> of his understanding and judge more favourably of my reputation; it makes him pass upon some for a man of very good sense, and I upon others for a very civil person. (I.66)

Here, Dorimant reveals his real intention to be acquainted with Young Bellair who is only a front for Dorimant to eradicate his own infamy. Other than clearing Dorimant's name before the elites, Young Bellair functions to unmask Dorimant's real ideas about morality and ethics in personal relationships.

After the resolution on the idea that "birth has nothing to do with internal virtue and competence – hence the depravity, corruption, and incompetence of male aristocrats" in the second half of the seventeenth century (McKeon 297), it is once again stressed that the female body is not naturally and not necessarily of "aberrant versions of a unitary male body" just because it is "physically and naturally different" (301). This idea is an affirmation of the existence of two sexes which have biologically distinct features and are beyond comparison. This understanding did not give liberty to women. On the contrary, it condemned them to a life of domesticity by preparing a platform for the modern gender hierarchy of heterosexuality which is "reciprocally inseparable from its dialectical antithesis, homosexuality" (307). Homosexuality, as the newly emerging third gender in this period, was mostly perceived as the debauchery of aristocracy and one of the excesses of the circle of the libertine fraternity. In his article "Birth of the Queen: Sodomy and the Emergence of Gender Equality in Modern Culture, 1660-1750," Randolph Trumbach explains the insight into homosexuality in this era:

> In this world the love of boys certainly did not exclude the love of women; but the love of boys was seen as the most extreme act of sexual libertinism; and it was often associated, as well, with religious skepticism, and even republican politics. It is as though sodomy were so extreme a denial of the Christian expectation that all sexual acts ought to occur in marriage and have the potential of procreation, that those who indulged in it were likely also to break through all other conventions in politics and religion. The unconventionality of that minority of rakes who were sodomitical was therefore frightening to society at large; but they were not held in contempt. It was, instead, that they were secretly held in awe for the extremity of their masculine self-assertion, since they triumphed over male and female alike. (130-31)

Because of those given reasons, the practice of homosexuality is "the physical rather than the emotional experience" (Patterson 11) among the libertines who engaged in homosocial relations in their male-dominated friendship circle more than random sexual

entanglements and romantic affairs with women (V. Smith 46). In *The Man of Mode*, this homosocial bond is shown between Medley and Dorimant with homoerotic undertones. In the first act, the introduction of Medley on the stage is primarily a matter of vulgarity between the two libertines:

> MEDLEY: Dorimant, my life, my joy, my darling sin! How dost thou?
> [*Embraces him*]
>
> ORANGE-WOMAN: Lord, what a filthy trick these men have got of kissing one another! *She spits* (I.50)

The reaction from Orange-Woman demonstrates the homosexual connotations of the two men's embrace and kiss. For libertines who were understood to be bisexual from their own memorial accounts and literary works, such homosexual acts were "natural component[s] of masculinity" in their circle (Webster, "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage'" 30). At this moment in the play, it is uncovered that the modern understanding of masculinity, which puts heterosexuality on a pedestal while situating homosexuality as its counter-gender, begins to be seen in the social sphere.

The recent visibility of homosexuality in England as "the new way of conceptualizing the relationship of gender to sexuality in males" (Trumbach, "Sex" 189) concurs with some curious statistics of marriage. Researches on the demographics incorporating "[t]he rise of literacy and individualism and the decline of infant mortality and the traditional patriarchal family" structure in the approximately second half of seventeenth century (Kimmel, "The 'Crisis' of Masculinity" 94) highlight that men "now pleased themselves marrying later; by marrying brides of their choice . . . by staying unmarried altogether if they were so inclined . . . and by limiting births in order to ease the strain on their wives and to improve the quality of care devoted to their children" (Stone 402). According to E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, in *The Population History of England, 1541-1871*, as much as 22.9 % of the population of both sexes between the ages of 40 and 44 remained unmarried in the same period (176). Owing to men's devotion to their wives due to the acceptance of the female sex as a separate entity, "the bastardy rate was at a historically low level" (Hitchcock and Cohen 10). The high rate of single men and the sexual restraint dominating the period strongly suggest alternative forms of sexual behaviours, non-penetrative and non-reproductive forms of sex, such as self-masturbation, mutual masturbation, oral and anal intercourses (Katz 38; King 157;

Hitchcock 826-27). The definitive power of the penis on male identity leaves its place to "a non-reproductive sexual competence" as "a basic measure of a man's personality" in the Restoration (Stephanson 48-9). The statistics, then, demonstrate the fact that marriage was not regarded to be a component of the masculine identity in libertinism.

Since marriage was seen as "another burdensome, ill-conceived practice to be avoided at all costs" (Novak 55) and "a mercenary and social affair" by the Court Wits (Barnard 18), "marriage has lost its good name" (V.ii.170) for the libertine rakes in the play as well. The senses were their guide in their experiences of life, and they provided "more truths than the learning promulgated by the universities" (Novak 55). Young gentlemen with the capability of experiencing senses more fully were conditioned to avoid the precepts prescribed by the old who were no longer able to experience sensuality at full capacity. The young reacted against "benefits" of marriage defined by the elderly; in terms of reason, these libertines, then, objected to such social institutions as marriage and family. Thus, it is possible to trace the Hobbesian worldview of the inexistence of "good" and "evil," together with the pleasure principle in the deduction Dorimant makes about the sensible couple, Young Bellair and Emilia: "I have known many women make a difficulty of losing a maidenhead, who have afterwards made none of making a cuckold" (I.67). Young Bellair's lover, Emilia, is told by Medley to have "the best reputation of any young woman about the town who has beauty enough to provoke detraction. Her carriage is unaffected, her discourse modest – not at all censorious nor pretending, like the counterfeits of the age" (I.66). Such aspects of a woman are enough to appeal to Dorimant. Apart from his disbelief in the credibility of the institution of marriage, he does not abandon his hope to seduce Emilia after she marries Young Bellair. He says: "Indeed, the little hope I found there was of her, in the state she was in, has made me by my advice contribute something towards the changing of her condition" (I.67). According to the Court Wits, "no man [was] honest and no woman chaste" (J. H. Wilson, *The Court Wits* 16). Given this perspective, for Dorimant, seducing a married woman and cuckolding a fellow man, which is against the morality of the old tradition and Puritan ethics, is not against the principles of the libertine masculinity.

From the male perspective, Dorimant's libertinism is a phenomenon of masculinity in terms of fulfilling the Restoration understanding of aristocratic manliness in one's relations. Medley praises Dorimant for being "a man of great employment" as he has "more mistresses now depending than the most eminent lawyer in England has causes" (II.i.76). On the other hand, the female perspective mostly focuses on the pleasure-seeking cruelty of his libertinism, especially to the women in close contact with him. Dorimant, as a perfect representation of the Restoration libertine rake, is so cruel to his mistresses that the libertine masculinity in the play appears as superior to any woman the libertine gets acquainted with. To illustrate, having written a love letter to Mrs Loveit explaining the reason for his two days' absence, Dorimant controverts his letter with his words to Handy: "What a dull, insipid thing is a billet doux written in cold blood after the heat of the business is over!" (I.47). What primarily draws attention here is the description of a love relationship as "business." Although he lives with his senses, Dorimant does not refer to his relations with women with proper names – business (I.47), *pis aller* (I.55) vizard (I.56) – because they are mere reciprocal trades of pleasure. He continues to extend that conceit by stating that "It is a tax upon [my] good nature which I have here been labouring to pay, and have done it, but with as much regret as ever fanatic paid the Royal Aid or church duties" (I.47). Medley's reference to Mrs Loveit as "*pis aller*" meaning last resource or makeshift proves the derogatory position of women in libertines' eyes since Mrs Loveit is not more than an extrinsic palliative as a temporary satisfier, a mere sexual object for Dorimant who calls her "so violent a creature" (I.55). Other than Medley and Bellinda, Pert is aware of Dorimant's abuse of her mistress, Mrs Loveit. By noting that awareness, she comments on his excuse written in the letter to Mrs Loveit: "A modish man is always very busy when he is in pursuit of a new mistress" (II.ii.80). She keeps commenting on the womanising nature of him "turning [women] into ridicule," and him to be "pleased to rally" behind Mrs Loveit and making fun of her "among his laughing companions" in order to "defame" her (II.ii.80).

Corroborating his belittling views on women, Dorimant as "a lover of business" is revealed to be with "a vizard at the playhouse" when he has not been with Mrs Loveit (I.56). "Vizard" is here used as a pejorative word for Dorimant's second mistress,

Bellinda. His plan to break up with Mrs Loveit so as to be with Bellinda is another example of the sexual libertinism of the gentlemen of the libertine court circle:

> DORIMANT: Most infinitely; next to the coming to a good understanding with a new mistress, I love a quarrel with an old one. But the devil's in't, there has been such a calm in my affairs of late, I have not had the pleasure of making a woman so much as break her fan, to be sullen, or forswear herself, these three days.
>
> MEDLEY: A very great misfortune! Let me see, I love mischief well enough to forward this business myself. I'll about it presently, and though I know the truth of what you've done, will set her a-raving. I'll heighten it a little with invention, leave her in a fit o' the mother, and be here again before you're ready.
>
> DORIMANT: Pray, stay; you may spare yourself the labour. The business is undertaken already by one who will manage it with as much address and, I think, with a little more malice than you can.
>
> MEDLEY: Who i' the devil's name can this be?
>
> DORIMANT: Why, the vizard, that very vizard you saw me with.
>
> MEDLEY: Does she love mischief so well as to betray herself to spite another? (I.56-57)

According to libertinism, the rake regards himself as the centre of society and therefore pursues pleasure at the expense of others' humiliation or annihilation. The pleasure Dorimant seeks sets two friendly women against each other for his sake. He does not refrain from exploiting Bellinda's love for him as he puts the blame of his cruelty to Mrs Loveit on Bellinda. He says he broke up with the old mistress "[i]n obeying your [Bellinda's] commands" (III.ii.101) and continues to blandish her for their secret consummation:

> DORIMANT: Nothing is cruel to a man who could kill himself to please you. Remember, five o'clock tomorrow morning.
>
> BELLINDA: I tremble when you name it.
>
> DORIMANT: Be sure you come.
>
> BELLINDA: I shan't.
>
> DORIMANT: Swear you will.
>
> BELLINDA: I dare not.
>
> DORIMANT: Swear, I say!
>
> BELLINDA: By my life, by all the happiness I hope for –
>
> DORIMANT: You will.
>
> BELLINDA: I will. (III.ii.101-02)

There is no denial that he treats Mrs Loveit and Bellinda in a conveniently cruel manner so that the audience can identify with him. In other words, he deliberately falls in line,

or depicted as doing so, with the rules of good form envisaged in a Restoration comedy (Toner 43-45).

Dorimant's libertinism is presented as condonable because he combines it with praiseworthy wit, which David L. Hirst notes in his *Comedy of Manners*:

> The subject of comedy of manners is the way people behave, the manners they employ in a social context; the chief concerns of the characters are sex and money (and thus the interrelated topics of marriage, adultery and divorce); the style is distinguished by the refinement of raw emotional expression and action in the subtlety of wit and intrigue. . . . Style is all-important in these plays. . . . The winners are always those with the most style; the sharpest wits, the subtlest intriguers . . . the conventional moral standards are superseded by the criterion of taste, of what constitutes "good form." (1-2)

From all the actions used to describe Dorimant's character, such as liaison and adultery, one can infer that such deeds "are unimportant; what matters is the way in which they are performed, or more often the style with which they are concealed" (Hirst 2). Dorimant confirms this statement when he defends himself against Mrs Loveit: "Good nature and good manners corrupt me. I am honest in my inclinations and would not, wer't not to avoid offence, make a lady a little in years believe I think her young, wilfully mistake art for nature, and seem as fond of a thing I am weary of as when I doted on't in earnest" (II.ii.86-7). These two women, then, become the constructs of the Restoration and hence of the comedy of manners. They are characters to be ridiculed.

As for Harriet, Dorimant treats her in a slightly different way. At the outset, he is interested in her beauty and wealth as required by the principles of libertinism:

> ORANGE-WOMAN: . . . I had almost forgot to tell you there is a young gentlewoman, lately come to town with her mother, that is so taken with you.
> DORIMANT: Is she handsome?
> ORANGE-WOMAN: Nay, gad, there are few finer women, I tell you but so, and a hugeous fortune, they say. (I.49)

Learning that Harriet is from the country and not a constant resident of the town, his insolent libertine side comes to surface with his generalisation about a country woman, who is, in his words, "some awkward, ill-fashioned country toad who, not having above four dozen of black hairs on her head, has adorned her baldness with a large white fruz, that she may look sparkishly in the forefront of the King's box at an old play" (I.i.49-

50). However, the arrival of the other libertine character, Medley, provides a second scene of Harriet's description in which this time beauty and wealth have the priority:

> DORIMANT: . . . Pray, what is the daughter?
>
> MEDLEY: Why, first, she's an heiress, vastly rich.
>
> DORIMANT: And handsome?
>
> MEDLEY: What alteration a twelvemonth may have bred in her, I know not, but a year ago she was the beautifullest creature I ever saw—a fine, easy, clean shape, light brown hair in abundance, her features regular, her complexion clear, and lively, large, wanton eyes; but, above all, a mouth that has made me kiss it one can understand that the flow of feelings in a rake is quite sporadic a thousand times in imagination—teeth white and even, and pretty, pouting lips, with a little moisture ever hanging on them, that look like the Provence rose fresh on the bush, ere the morning sun has quite drawn up the dew. (I.53-54)

In line with the seventeenth-century approach to women's domestication and removal from the intellectual platforms, Dorimant's last inquiry is: "Has she wit?" Medley, too, reveals the same approach with his definition of her wit: "More than is usual in her sex, and as much malice. Then, she's as wild as you would wish her, and has a demureness in her looks that makes it so surprising" (I.54). Dorimant's previous inclinations approves the seventeenth-century fact that "men desired women exclusively and . . . all masculine behavior flowed from such desire" (Trumbach, "Sex" 187); yet, this fact becomes invalid in the case of Harriet and her wit which is equal to Dorimant's.

Harriet as "Dorimant's only effective rival on the battlefield" (Neill 136) enables the ideology of the libertine masculinity triumph because the libertine masculinity here does not serve the construction of male identity. It concerns the identity formation of the female, too. For that reason, Harriet is cast throughout the play as a sort of female libertine. She knows how to hide the truth and to stage varying identities so well that she, together with Young Bellair, acts the era's common dalliance scene "to deceive the grave people [Lady Woodvill and Old Bellair]":

> YOUNG BELLAIR: Pretend to be in love with one another. 'Twill make some dilatory excuses we may feign pass the better.
>
> HARRIET: Let us do't, if it be but for the dear pleasure of dissembling.
>
> YOUNG BELLAIR: Can you play your part?
>
> HARRIET: I know not what it is to love, but I have made pretty remarks by being now and then where lovers meet. . . . (III.i.95)

One can understand from their conversation that Young Bellair, despite being aware of libertinism and choosing to be with the libertines, does not perform the rhetorics and manners of libertinism in his relations. Thus, becomes a sensible man and acts according to his own values.

Harriet's competence comes from her capability "to manipulate others into ludicrous breaches of stylistic propriety which Dorimant employs so effectively" (Neill 136). Harriet and Dorimant's battle of wits presents how further Restoration libertinism has gone in the construction of the new ideology with which a woman is affirmed intellectually almost equal to men:

> HARRIET: To men who have fared in this town like you, 'twould be a great mortification to live on hope. Could you keep a Lent for a mistress?
>
> DORIMANT: In expectation of a happy Easter, and though time be very precious, think forty days well lost to gain your favour.
>
> HARRIET: Mr Bellair! Let us walk. 'Tis time to leave him. Men grow dull when they begin to be particular.
>
> DORIMANT: You're mistaken. Flattery will not ensue, though I know you're greedy of the praises of the whole Mall.
>
> HARRIET: You do me wrong. (III.iii.115)

Dorimant unfashionably falls in love with her who, different from Mrs Loveit and Bellinda, is quite conscious of Dorimant's false promises to ladies and desires to pursue her own pleasure. Delaying any declaration of love and any marriage contract, Harriet uses the same discourse as Dorimant's in order to deter him from promiscuity (Scott 42; Webster, "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage'" 125). One can think that Harriet is the victor of the play since she seems to be stepping towards a love marriage with Dorimant by domesticating a libertine rake and making him stay away from the Loveits and Bellindas of the town, instead of an arranged marriage with Young Bellair that could lead to "the impoverishment and ruin of" both (McKeon 297); however, the play does not end with the marriage of the libertine couple. "Hence," Robert Wess notes in his article "Utopian Rhetoric in *The Man of Mode*," "Dorimant is not the rake reformed. But neither is he the rake triumphant" (151). It can finally be inferred that the ideology of the libertine masculinity reaches to a socio-cultural accomplishment by becoming a component of the construction of one's identity for aristocratic English people in the Restoration.

The ideas of the second libertine character of the play, Medley, about women are also worth mentioning. He, in a similar way, secretly relishes Mrs Loveit's foolishness to risk her fame for a renowned libertine like Dorimant and his cruelty to her, which is evidenced when he comments on the situation the woman who is plotted against has been in: "She could not have picked out a devil upon earth so proper to torment her. He's made her break a dozen or two of fans already, tear half a score points in pieces, and destroy hoods and knots without number" (II.i.76). It is also possible to state that Medley makes a social commentary on the Restoration women. He mocks Hannah Woolley's dogmatic work *The Gentlewoman's Companion* (1675) by referring to it as "*The Art of Affectation* written by a late beauty of quality" (II.i.77), which allows one to situate his position in gender politics. Medley makes fun of Woolley who actually belongs to the lower middle-class community of anti-monarchy background, and yet attempts to regulate the manners of "gentlewomen" she was not attached to at all. He says:

> [T]eaching [them] how to draw up [their] breasts, stretch up [their] neck, to thrust out [their] breech, to play with [their] head, to toss up [their] nose, to bite [their] lips, to turn up [their] eyes, to speak in a silly soft tone of a voice, and use all the foolish French words that will infallibly make [their] person and conversation charming; with a short apology at the latter end, in the behalf of young ladies who notoriously wash and paint, though they have naturally good complexions. (II.i.77)

For Medley, trying to make women similar whereby a uniform set of manners given in a prescribed book is the same as the normativity of the old age; therefore, it does not comply with the ideals of the Restoration courtly manners.

To conclude, Etherege's well-developed comedy of manners *The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter* embodies the Restoration ideology of libertine masculinity in the characters of Dorimant, Medley, Young Bellair, and Sir Fopling Flutter. It can be understood, from the dynamics of the population and the tendency of the ruling aristocratic class, that the restored monarch helped the dissemination of the new libertine ideology based on liberal masculine ideals of pleasure, experimentation, and the denial of the old values by means of the theatre. The disputes over the exertion of power in the domestic and socio-political arena arising from the new political dynamics of Restoration England brought "radical challenges to inherited definitions of

masculinity[, which] accompanied challenges to traditional gender relations" (Kimmel, "The 'Crisis' of Masculinity" 89). In the libertine masculinity, it is not possible to find the chivalric ideals of the previous centuries as the conducts of manliness. "Self-sacrificing love and knightly honor might exist in some world of dreams, but for such men as Rochester and Buckingham dream-worlds had no existence even in the sounding couplets of an heroic play except as a subject for ridicule and immoderate laughter" (Miles 44). Living through senses without any remorse and following one's desires so as to take the several, and mostly carnal, pleasures of the world became the new code of the courtly nobility. The ideal of masculinity after the second half of the seventeenth century demanded active sexuality since "it reflected the assertion of selfhood and power by the youngest [male] members of society" (Novak 54). For that reason, the literary language offered positive descriptions of the male body for almost four decades until the arrival of a new monarch and a new set of manners (Puccio-Scavuzzo 6-7). The libertine's licentiousness was ennobled and libertinism was pictured as a means of strength, reproductive circulation of lecherous manners, and purified manliness by generating a new form of manhood which would prevail in England for more than a century.

CHAPTER 2

FUSING THE LIBERTINE WITH SENTIMENTAL MASCULINITY IN OLIVER GOLDSMITH'S *SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER*

Puritan criticism after the Glorious Revolution of 1689 condemned the Restoration stage because of its unconventional morality and the challenging codes of masculinity which influenced the public through comedy. Together with the critiques of Jeremy Collier, Richard Blackmore and George Ridpath mentioned in the second part of the introduction, male conduct books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as Jean Gailhard's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1678), John Littleton Costekar's *The Fine Gentleman: Or, The Compleat Education of a Young Nobleman* (1732) and David Fordyce's *Dialogues Concerning Education* (1745) emphasised civic virtues like affability and temperance and redefined masculinity which would be totally different from the Restoration libertine's qualities (Mangan 135). As the influence of the aristocracy diminished, and yet the new middling classes gradually became important and self-confident in the power of their influence on society as well as politics, "the virtues of civility became increasingly divorced from the aristocratic honour codes of earlier generations" (Mangan 135), and the manners of the middling newcomers from trade and industry became "the centrepiece of both the social and gender hierarchies" (Fletcher 323). The new hegemonic masculinity, thus, belonged to the bourgeoisie of eighteenth-century Britain, which glorified and epitomised their own self-image within the framework of social and gender authority, and it presented new, highly controlled and emotionally repressed, masculine manners of sentimentalism consisting of "affability, social responsibility and equanimity of demeanour" (Mangan 140).

A counter-tradition to the Hobbesian ideas of "human individuals as fundamentally self-interested creatures" (Yousef 610) was achieved after Collier, Blackmore and Ridpath. Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), was more influential in the accomplishment of the refinement of the Restoration manners and the establishment of the new code of manners, sentimentalism, with his essay "*Sensus Communis*; An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour" (1709). Believing in the

cooperation of the politics of the state and one's personal morality, he stated that "morality and good government go together. There is no real love of virtue, without knowledge of public good. And where Absolute power is, there is no public" ("*Sensus Communis*" 72). In terms of interpersonal relations, the optimistic view of human nature constituted the essentials of sentimentalism. Against the Hobbesian philosophy, he argued that human beings were not driven by their selfish appetites, but had an innate instinct for sociability, virtue and benevolence (Bell 16). Instead of a pleasure-oriented, empiricist investigation in personal relations as in the case of libertinism, a faithfully operating, visible sympathy prevailed in the sentimental perspective which eliminated the doubts about the probabilities, expectations, and borders of understanding between persons (Yousef 612). Shaftesbury writes in "The Moralists; a Philosophical Rhapsody," "[n]o sooner are Actions view'd, no sooner the *human Affections* and *Passions* discern'd (and they are most of 'em as soon discern'd as felt), than straight *an inward* Eye distinguishes and sees *the Fair* and *Shapely*, *the Amiable* and *Admirable*, apart from *the Deform'd*, *the Foul*, *the Odious*, or *the Despicable*" (415-16). Referring to the cynical playwrights and their literary works, Shaftesbury had confidence in the decorum of polity, freedom of expression and their "appropriate" utterance in literature by expressing that "If men are forbid to speak their minds seriously on certain subjects, they will do it ironically" ("*Sensus Communis*" 50).

In the context of the eighteenth century, sentimentalism – as a moral philosophical movement of the "Enlightenment celebration of humane feeling" – was used as the basis of moral judgement of what is right or wrong through affective states of approval and disapproval (Bell 2). To become "capable of functioning as a total approach to morality," sentimentalism is fed by the norms of the middling classes, and it establishes "a conception of justice, respect, autonomy, and rights via the notion of empathy (and of empathic caring)" (Slote 9). Therefore, it plausibly relies on empathy in moral judgement in order to approve or disapprove of people's deeds; therefore, moral claims of sentimentalism become authorised to make moral judgements of "how people can (come to) generally act in a morally right or acceptable manner" (105). In accord with this attitude, sentimentalism established in the eighteenth century finds its motive to judge, approve and mostly disapprove of the conducts of libertine masculinity so as to

fix it and to formulate a new masculinity of its own, appropriate to the hegemonic social norms of the middling class. Thus, it marks a significant break with the past.

In the sense of normative sentimentalism, a domestic sphere for men was encouraged, and the sentimental man was constructed with the roles of the "father, husband, breadwinner and householder" (McCormack 18) rather than an outer sphere which was a marker of "elite men (landed property and rank) to [demonstrate] manly qualities" (Harvey 8). To support this ideal, sentimental drama in the eighteenth century consisted of "innocent, simple, idyllic love and the painful contest between love and filial duty" and "an exaggerated stress on more or less innocent tears and pathos" (Sherburn and Bond 754, 758). Due to its stress on the universal benevolence of human nature and moralising mood, sentimental comedies were as lachrymose as sentimental tragedies. As is stated by George Sherburn and Donald F. Bonds, the common motifs of sentimental plays which "avowed morality as their object and at least secured tears as a response" (1044) included "the loneliness of the delicate soul," "unhappy love, the hardness of life" due to trickery and immorality, and the final glorification of altruism and inner goodness with poetic justice (1027).

As these values were not unique to the eighteenth century but dated back to the Puritan ideals of the previous century, it is possible to state that they established themselves in the lives of British people; however, they became prominent and philosophised after the rise of the middle class that indigenised these values. The middle-class values became the new social norms. People who did not previously adopt such patterns of behaviour started to follow them with the aim of conforming to the rules of the determinant class, or by means of peer pressure (Wood 49-51). Slowly but surely, these performances became the constituent aspects of admission to certain groups and socialisation. This gives the process of what Judith Butler calls performativity, or, within the eighteenth-century context, social performativity. Performativity, in this case, is constructed and constituted first by language and then by discursive recognition through manners (Salih 56). Through dramatic forms and literary practices, sentimentalism also constructed its sequence of repeated acts "that harden into the appearance of something that [has] been there all along" (58). It became a collective construction of social demeanours. For that

reason, the writers of the comedy of manners like Goldsmith could not avoid such normative values in their plays although they stood against these values on a firm ground (Marshall 284). This, therefore, led to certain changes in the formation of the Restoration comedy of manners such as its characterisation and plot structure now presenting less intrigue.

Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774) was among the first writers to raise his voice against the sentimental dullness of the eighteenth-century stage with his works. After having received a theological education at Trinity College, Dublin, Goldsmith was not accepted among the clergy due to his appearance "luminously arrayed in scarlet breeches" and gambling habits (Irving 21). He went on the famous Grand Tour in Europe through Holland, "Flanders, France, Switzerland, and the north of Italy," (Clark and Popkin 191). Upon his return to Britain, he moved to London and worked a lot to be acknowledged by the literary circle of London as an Anglo-Irish writer from the new middle class, which would happen in 1764 (Coulter 66). In an attempt to bring back the comedy of the previous century, he wrote *The Good-Natured Man* in 1768, but failed to capture the success of a laughing comedy due to both his inability to escape from the effect of the mainstream sentimentalism, and his previous criticism of the theatre managers and their own commercial interests in the preparation of repertoires in his *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe* (1759) (Sherburne and Bond 1043; Scott 102). Almost five years later, he drew the attention of the literary world in the town with his work "An Essay on the Theatre; or, a Comparison between the Laughing and Sentimental Comedy" and his last comedy *She Stoops to Conquer; or, the Mistakes of a Night* (1773).

In his essay comparing the sentimental comedy and the comedy of manners, or "laughing comedy" in his own coinage, Goldsmith disapproves of the society he was living in by stating that "mankind begin to mistake change for improvement" ("An Essay" 235). He questions the cultivation of the recent sentimental comedy by asking "whether the exhibition of human distress is likely to afford the mind more entertainment than that of human absurdity" (235). Then, he refers to Aristotle in order to outline the original purposes of tragedy and comedy which, according to him, was

forgotten in the past seventy-five years since "comedy should excite our laughter by ridiculously exhibiting the follies of the lower part of the mankind," not by "admit[ing] . . . tragic distress" (235). In David Garrick's prologue of *She Stoops to Conquer*, the actor comments on the present condition of "the comic Muse" that is "long sick, [and] is now a-dying" and begins to question the false representations of morality:

> . . . "All is not gold that glitters,
> Pleasure seems sweet, but proves a glass of bitters.
> When Ignorance enters, Folly is at hand;
> Learning is better far than house and land.
> Let not your virtue trip; who trips may stumble,
> And virtue is not virtue, if she tumble." (239)

Thus, the prologue presents the crux of the criticism as the elevation of monetary values over intellectual ones at the expense of literary sophistication and appreciation. Because sentimentalism might have no connection with the genre of comedy and sentimental comedy is upsetting the audience, let alone amusing them, Goldsmith disdains the sentimental comedy by pejoratively calling it as "this species of bastard tragedy" ("An Essay" 237). He explains why he does not recognise this new sentimentalism and its form of comedy by providing a well-developed description of the genre, in which

> the virtues of private life are exhibited, rather than the vices exposed; and the distresses rather than the faults of mankind make our interest in the piece. . . . In these plays almost all the characters are good, and exceedingly generous; they are lavish enough of their *tin* money on the stage; and although they want humor, have abundance of sentiment and feeling. If they happen to have faults and foibles, the spectator is taught, not only to pardon, but to applaud them, in consideration of the goodness of their hearts, so that folly, instead of being ridiculed, is commended, and the comedy aims at touching our passions without the power of being truly pathetic. (236)

By voicing a group of intellectuals' dissatisfaction with the long weeping sessions in theatres, he praises the comedy of the previous century and tries to assist the laughing comedy towards its zenith once again. As Michael Mangan states in *Staging Masculinities: History, Gender, Performance*, "transition" between centuries "involves the accumulation of meanings," and these meanings "are encoded in the traditions of the theatre itself" (140). Therefore, the comedy of manners in the late eighteenth century becomes somewhat reinvented and revitalised by transposing it from a rich world of purely aristocratic and upper-class libertine masculinity to the restrained world of the sentimentalised rake.

She Stoops to Conquer is the last comedy of manners by Oliver Goldsmith. Compared to the Restoration comedies, the play carries sentimental features and has a less complicated plotline. The play opens in a chamber of Mr Hardcastle's old-fashioned house where he and his wife, Mrs Hardcastle, discuss the lady's discontent at living in the country instead of London in contrast to her gentleman husband who likes living there in old-fashioned ways. The conversation leads to Mrs Hardcastle's son from an earlier marriage, Tony Lumpkin, whom Mr Hardcastle thinks to be a lout. Soon, Tony is seen on his way to the local alehouse, The Three Pigeons, to gather with his lower-class fellows, which his mother disapproves, and they exit by quarrelling on Tony's friends. Then, Mr Hardcastle's daughter, Miss Kate Hardcastle comes, and Mr Hardcastle informs her about her arranged marriage with Mr (Young) Marlow, the son of an old friend, Sir Charles Marlow. She has her doubts about the personality of the young gentleman, of whom she learns from her friend, Miss Constance Neville, who informs her that Marlow is quite shy in the company of ladies of quality, but a complete rogue among other women. Miss Neville also informs Miss Hardcastle about her lover, Mr Hastings, accompanying Mr Marlow and her plans to elope with him in order not to marry Kate's step-brother, Tony Lumpkin. In the second scene, Tony is seen with his mates while he is singing and dancing. Just then, Hastings and Marlow enter the alehouse and ask Tony the way to Mr Hardcastle's house. Tony uses them to play a trick on his step-father as he tells them that the house is an inn, and convinces them to stay there because Mr Hardcastle's house is too far to travel at that late hour of the night.

The second act opens in the parlour of Mr Hardcastle's house. He is trying to train farmhands as servants for the guests in order to present himself as a member of the established gentry. Then, he greets Hastings and Marlow with every effort to be a good host, but the young gentlemen take him as an over-friendly, officious innkeeper. For that reason, they even ignore him in their conversations. In the absence of Mr Hardcastle, Miss Neville shows up and meets Hastings who learns that they are not in an inn, but at Mr Hardcastle's house. Fearing that Marlow may escape from the house due to his rakish and discourteous behaviours against Mr Hardcastle after he learns the

truth, Hastings and Constance agree to hide the truth from him. They introduce Miss Kate Hardcastle to Marlow who keeps himself reserved because of her stylish dress indicating her social rank. Marlow is seen unable to complete his sentences and to look at Kate's face. Seeing him as an attractive man, Kate is determined to remove his shyness for their future bliss. In the meantime, Hastings tells Tony his wish to marry Constance. Tony likes this news and agrees to assist them in escaping from Mrs Hardcastle by secretly taking Constance's jewellery from his mother's safe.

The third act continues at the same place showing that Mr Hardcastle is highly displeased with Marlow's attitude and advises Miss Hardcastle not to marry him. However, Kate thinks the opposite way and wants some time to get to know Marlow. Before long, Tony gives the jewellery to Hastings, having stolen them from his mother's keep. Hoping to slip away with Hastings, Miss Neville, unaware of the agreement between the two young men, requests Mrs Hardcastle to wear her jewels. At her son's suggestion, Mrs Hardcastle decides to tell Constance that the jewels are lost or stolen. However, she finds out that they are really missing, and she panics. Tony, as they have discussed before, pretends to bear witness to the panic of his mother. Meanwhile, Kate dresses like a barmaid so as to find out Marlow's ideas about her identity and home. Marlow, fond of seducing lower-class women, flirts with the disguised Miss Hardcastle and tries to kiss her. As soon as Mr Hardcastle interrupts his advances to the girl, Marlow retires from the scene. He gets absolutely convinced about his prospective son-in-law's libertine character and lack of modesty in his own house. Kate disagrees with his father and argues for Marlow's virtue, and the act ends with her oath to prove Marlow's favourable manners and love of her to Mr Hardcastle.

In the fourth act, Miss Neville tells Hastings about the arrival of Sir Charles Marlow, the father of his friend. As they plan to elope before his arrival, Hastings entrusts the jewellery to Marlow who immediately sends them to the innkeeper's wife, Mrs Hardcastle, for safekeeping. Thus, the jewels return to Mrs Hardcastle. Hastings sends Constance a private note about the jewels and their elopement, but Mrs Hardcastle reads it and learns Constance's plans. She decides to punish the young girl by taking her to her Aunt Pedigree. Suddenly, a brilliant idea occurs to Tony. Meanwhile, Mr Hardcastle

dismisses Marlow from his house because of his continuing inappropriate manners. Miss Kate Hardcastle reveals him the truth about the place, but hides her identity as the Hardcastles' poor relative. It is seen that Marlow starts to feel genuine love for her and impresses Kate with his honesty and good manners.

The first scene of the last act opens with the arrival of Sir Charles Marlow. Mr Hardcastle is pleased with the news that Marlow has taken him for an innkeeper because of a misunderstanding. Marlow apologises to him for his bad manners and denies his advances to Miss Hardcastle. The two old men later meet the young lady, and she contrarily says that Marlow is in love with her. The two men decide to hide and observe the young couple's behaviours on the advice of the girl. In the second scene, Tony is seen to have tricked his mother – with his hilariously brilliant idea – by driving them in circles around their own house for three hours and convincing her that they are lost. Thus, he helps Miss Neville escape with Hastings. She disagrees to escape without her fortune despite Hastings' reluctance to take it. In the last scene, Marlow is shown as begging Kate to marry him since he still believes her to be someone from a lower social rank. Mr Hardcastle and Sir Charles reveal themselves and express the truth. Learning that she is actually Miss Hardcastle, Marlow tries to flee because of his embarrassment and shock, but he is stopped by Mr Hardcastle. At that moment, Hastings and Constance ask Mr Hardcastle for his assistance in order to marry and to take Constance's jewellery from Mrs Hardcastle who is reluctant to let Constance marry someone else other than her son because of her fortune. The old man reveals to Tony that he has not been under-age for months and he has the right to do as he pleases. Upon this, Tony rejects Constance as a prospective wife and gives the jewels to her. Thus, Hastings and Constance will happily marry; Marlow, finally, proposes Kate to marry him.

One can see from this summary that the play on the trail of the Restoration comedy of manners has changed direction in gender politics in which marriage has become of significant importance. Remembering that marriage was one of the primary institutions to be avoided by the libertine men in the Restoration, it is requisite to check the statistical data and the demand of young women in the eighteenth century. The attention to marriage was called by women at the end of the seventeenth century when women

noted that there was a shortage of men as there were 13 women for every 10 men in London in 1694 (Nussbaum 9). They "insisted that men not delay in marrying them and petitioned Parliament . . . for an annual tax on all men who remain single after they turn 21 years old. This disincentive to bachelorhood, women believed, would encourage men to legitimate women's economic existence, to virtually call them into being in the body politic" (Kimmel, "The 'Crisis' of Masculinity" 96). Felicity Nussbaum states that some men's response to women's renegotiation efforts is quite satiric and these men "curse her [women's] fecundity, her sexual appetite, and her ability to disrupt men's expectations and illusions, while a simultaneous impulse describes her sexual autonomy and power. The satires deplore women's attractiveness and their ability to feminize men even as they lament men's self-hatred and emasculation" (74). As is understood from women's raising their voices on their own behalf, there is a close connection between women's challenges to the inherited male-centred order and the governmental contracts over the rule of the country in eighteenth-century Britain.

In order to buttress the hegemonic masculinity of the growing middling classes, the Protestant and later Puritan dogmas insisted on the position of men as the leader of the family and women as the subordinate subjects of these leaders. Nevertheless, after 1660, the "problem of poverty was left almost entirely to the Justices of the Peace and to private charity" (Lockyer 445) instead of the monarchic authority, and the women of the underprivileged population became the new leaders of the domestic realm and entered the world of work which had been dominated by men for a long time (Hill 308; Kimmel, *The History of Men* 128-29). However, women's earnings "were regarded as a threat to male authority, a temptation to female luxury in indulgence and an excitement to female independence" (McKendrick 167). The start of a series of actions regarding the female emergence in business distressed men because "women were chipping away at the edges of traditional expectations" in both socio-political and economic frameworks (Nussbaum 9). This gender crisis in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Britain was also witnessed in the non-literary works of the era both by writers and philosophers.

To draw an analogy, "the transformation of the state from absolute monarchy to a

contract among ostensible equals" (Kimmel, *The History of Men* 191) was the initiator of the transformation in the traditional gender hierarchies which depended on the absolute domination of non-effeminate men over any other gender. In the first chapter, the definitive impact of marriage on masculine identity was indicated to have vanished in the period from the middle of the seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth. There was a high rate of unmarried single men who remained single until the age of 45; and there was a historically low rate of illegitimate childbirth, which implies the prevalence of the alternative sexual behaviours among men. These statistics are observed to have changed towards the end of the 1740s. Critics have recently acknowledged that the economic context was much more important in the decreasing marriage age of men and the rising nuptiality than the notions of science and medicine (135-36; Schofield 61-63). As Emma Griffin puts it in her article "A Conundrum Resolved? Rethinking Courtship, Marriage and Population Growth in Eighteenth-Century England," "the effects of proto-industrialization, proletarianization, changes in the pattern of female work, and the Poor Law[s]" in this period (127) fostered an expanding rate of both marriage and penetrative, reproductive sex. It is significant to express here the contribution of women to the reinforcement of marriage and family institutions through pamphlets in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

In order to redefine the relationship between the two sexes, women and men participated in an effective war of pamphlets, in which marriage and sexuality were two fundamental subjects. Women insisted on the reluctance of men to marry and drew attention to their frequent visits to the brothels in cities in one of the pamphlets:

> I am ashamed, and blush to speak it, how many lewd Creatures there are of our Sex both in the Town and Country; were there not so many Whores, there would be more Wives. The vicious Sort of Men are by them kept from marrying; for it is mere Virtue must confine a Man to a married State, where he has an uninterrupted Converse with Womankind as seldom and as often as he pleases, without Confinement to any particular Person or Temper. (*Levellers* 5)

Such attacks on male infidelity and men's uncertainty about marriage despite their high sexual pleasure were countered by male pamphleteers. These men wrote eloquent defences of premarital sex with prostitutes, one example of which is as below:

> 'Tis a sad truth, we confess it, the number of these Interlopers is very grievous; and yet tis as sad a truth that Petitioning Ladies have occasioned it. Let them but leave

> quarrelling about Jointures and carry a little more Christian Compliance about
> them, and the other Fry would disappear in the way of trade, only used for
> Convenience of Readier Change. But those obdurate females would have every
> Person of Quality who keeps it in his own defense, pay a good swinging fine to the
> government. (*Humble Remonstrance* 3)

All these discussions consisting of women's concerns about marriage and men's premarital sexual hedonism served the purpose of the Whig philosophy of sentimentalism. The age of marriage which was 28 on average during the Restoration significantly dropped to 23, and the nuptiality increased more than 10 %, which reduced the unmarried male population to almost 9 % throughout the country (Hitchcock and Cohen 11-12; Kimmel, "The 'Crisis' of Masculinity" 94).

Parallel with the insistent emphasis on marriage and reproduction, the rate of bastardy in the second half of the eighteenth century raised to 50 % in Britain (Zunshine 164). Kimmel attaches men's abandoning of the traditional roles within the institution of family – like eschewing marriage and tending to engage in novel male demeanours such as extramarital relations, bisexuality, and homosexuality – to women's "assertion of sexual agency, of an equality of desire, and of equal rights within marriage" ("The 'Crisis' of Masculinity" 102). One can, therefore, state that men considered themselves obliged to "irresponsible sexual behaviour leading to illegitimate pregnancy" due to the changing culture of masculinity (Hitchcock and Cohen 11); thus, they took this situation as an opportunity to prove their "normal" masculinity at a time when manhood was gradually problematised and questioned. This fact shows that marriage and penetrative, reproductive sex with women became an inevitable component of the construction of masculine identity.

At that time, the major concern about the masculine identity of men was raised by women who thought men to have become indulged in the practices of urban lifestyle, which rendered them more effeminate, hence delicate and fragile. In one pamphlet, women complained about this shift in gender roles:

> The Men, they are grown full as effeminate as the Women; we are rivalled by them
> even in the Fooleries peculiar to our Sex: They dress like Anticks and Stage-
> Players, and are as ridiculous as Monkies: They sit in monstrous long Perukies, like
> so many Owls in Ivy-Bushes; and esteem themselves more upon the Reputation of
> being a Beau, than on the substantial Qualifications of Honour, Courage, Learning,

and Judgment. If you heard them talk, you would think yourself at a Gossipping at *Dover*, or that you heard the learned Confabulation of the Boys in the Piazza's of *Christ's-Hospital*. (*Levellers* 61)

It seemed to women that "as they challenged their traditional female roles, men were jumping to embrace precisely those female roles" (Kimmel, "The 'Crisis' of Masculinity" 102). This observation about the effeminacy of men eventually led to the creation and exertion of compulsory male heterosexuality. This compulsory gender fixation of men would subsequently create the fear of the much-mocked "fop" of the Restoration, or "macaroni," to use the eighteenth-century terminology, which was chastised in pamphlets, journals, and other printed works of the then times.

Just as *She Stoops to Conquer* emerges from Goldsmith's own time and setting (Schmidt 148), the characters in the play also represent the contemporary concerns with masculine gender relations. In chapter one, two different definitions of the libertine man, Dorimant, are given as a triumphant rake by men and an irresistible rogue by women. However, in this chapter, this approach is not applicable to the male protagonist of the play because Marlow, the main rake, is a reflection of the mid-eighteenth-century concerns with his attitudes toward people. Unlike the libertine male characters of the Restoration comedies of manners, Marlow demonstrates the sentimental traits of his time and thus partly becomes a man of feeling, sentiment, or a sensible man. Mr Hardcastle describes "Mr. Marlow . . . the son of my old friend, Sir Charles Marlow" as far as he has learnt that this "young gentleman has been bred a scholar, and is designed for an employment in the service of his country. I am told he's a man of an excellent understanding" (I.i.243). Upon Miss Kate Hardcastle's questions unveiling her interest in Marlow, he portrays him as "[v]ery generous," "[y]oung and brave," "[a]nd very handsome," but "one of the most bashful and reserved young fellows in all the world," which disturbs Kate because "A reserved lover, it is said, always makes a suspicious husband" (I.i.244). It is understood at this point that being "reserved" is seen to be a noble virtue by Mr Hardcastle, a man of sentiment appropriate to the eighteenth-century set of manners. Gender dynamism of the era is manifested in the lonely monologue of Kate who speaks out her real ideas about a lover and a husband:

> MISS HARDCASTLE: (*Sola*) Lud, this news of papa's puts me all in a flutter. Young, handsome: these he put last; but I put them foremost. Sensible, good-

natured; I like all that. But then reserved and sheepish; that's much against him.
Yet can't he be cured of his timidity, by being taught to be proud of his wife? Yes,
and can't I – But I vow I'm disposing of the husband before I have secured the
lover. (I.i.244)

Unlike the concerns Mrs Loveit, Bellinda and Harriet have about libertinism in *The Man of Mode*, Kate's concern is first to have a young, handsome, and witty lover, second to have a sensible, good-natured husband with the former qualities so as to avoid a dull marriage. It is seen that eighteenth-century expectations from a man does not only stem from Britain's political conventions, but also from the personal concerns of the ladies.

Marlow gives a description of how a gentleman was raised in the eighteenth century which was totally different from the way the Restoration libertines had been raised. He tells that "My life has been chiefly spent in a college or an inn, in seclusion from that lovely part of the creation that chiefly teach men confidence" (II.252). The confidence in the previous age had been gained in the court of the French king, Louis XIV, whereas the new age did not provide the eloquent luxuries of the British court to the upper-class gentlemen. For that reason, they turned their interest to Europe, and they set off a "Grand Tour" which included many countries like France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland and more. This European expedition was primarily a sign of "economic and physical power," and then an indicator of the "cultural hegemony" of the noble "ruling-class" (Thompson 387). Despite being "a citizen of the world" through such continental experiences (Cohen 100), the lack of a courtier's education appears in Marlow as a hypocritical lack of confidence "in the company of women of reputation" which renders him "such a trembler" looking for "an opportunity of stealing out of the room" (II.252). In different circumstances, he becomes quite "impudent" "among females of another class" such as "the bar-maid of an inn, or even a college bedmaker" because he feels that "a modest woman [like the bar-maid or a bedmaker], dressed out in all her finery, is the most tremendous object of the whole creation" (II.252). With this declaration, Marlow displays his rakish side like a libertine man. He likes to seduce simple, chaste, lower-class women rather than shrewd, flirtatious, but at the same time highly sentimental, upper-class gentle ladies. As for the lower-class women to be tempted, Marlow correlates the potential sexual dynamism of these women "with his own

masculine potency" (Mackie 43), by expressing that "They are of *us*, you know" (II.252). Compared to the Restoration libertine masculinity, one difference stands out in his opinion about women, though. Dorimant in *The Man of Mode* never seems to have been together with a lower-class woman like a barmaid; on the contrary, he has consistently humiliated them and run after women who are equal to him in terms of social rank.

As for the difference between private feelings and public duties, Marlow demonstrates the two aspects of a mid-eighteenth-century gentleman. For the first time, Miss Neville Constance calls attention to this difference in her description of his character to Kate: "Among women of reputation and virtue, he is the modestest man alive; but his acquaintance give him a very different character among creatures of another stamp" (I.i.245). Indulged in private feelings, Marlow and Hastings discuss what to wear in the morning in a long dialogue and ignore Mr Hardcastle's story about the siege of Denain with the Duke of Marlborough because Marlow does not recognise the old man as his equal. The two young rakes' ignoring an old, sentimental countryman demonstrates their upper-class libertine arrogance, which resembles Dorimant and Medley's attitudes. Having cut Mr Hardcastle short, Marlow asks him for "a glass of warm punch" due to his misconception of Mr Hardcastle as an innkeeper (II.254). Their "impudence" confound Mr Hardcastle so much that he begins to take their manners as "modern modesty," expressing that he "never saw anything look so like old-fashioned impudence" as in the case of Restoration libertinism (II.256, 257). The private side of Marlow, though not altogether avoiding the super-ego of societal conventions, tends to cooperate with the id of a libertine rake.

Contrary to the private realm of an individual, the public duties are accomplished with the gender performativity of the puritanical norms of the eighteenth-century socio-cultural structure (Scott 154). As soon as Marlow meets Miss Kate Hardcastle, he begins to stutter his clichés since she is a fine lady and Kate counters these words by playing "the game of polite conversation" (Styan, "The Drama" 380):

> MISS HARDCASTLE: (*After a pause*) But you have not been wholly an observer [upon life], I presume, sir; the ladies, I should hope, have employed some part of your addresses.

> MARLOW: (*Relapsing into timidity*) Pardon me, madam, I – I – I – as yet have studied – only – to – deserve them.
>
> MISS HARDCASTLE: And that, some say, is the very worst way to obtain them.
>
> MARLOW: Perhaps so, madam. But I love to converse only with the more grave and sensible part of the sex. But I'm afraid I grow tiresome.
>
> MISS HARDCASTLE: Not at all, sir; there is nothing I like so much as grave conversation myself. I could hear it for ever. Indeed I have often been surprised how a man of *sentiment* could ever admire those light, airy pleasures, where nothing reaches the heart.
>
> MARLOW: It's – a disease – of the mind, madam. In the variety of tastes there must be some who, wanting a relish – for – um – a – um.
>
> MISS HARDCASTLE: I understand you, sir. There must be some, who, wanting a relish for refined pleasures, pretend to despise what they are incapable of tasting. (II.260)

One is able to see the "so-called" shyness, "*mauvaise honte*" (III.266), of Marlow during this conversation. Butler explains this situation with conformism to social forms, or performance of certain masculine traits. "Under a similar expectation concerning gender" operating "as an interior essence that might be disclosed" (Butler, *Gender Trouble* xiv), Marlow adopts the pre-scripted sentimental male demeanours in order to conform to, in Butler's words, "an expectation that ends up producing the very phenomenon that it anticipates" (*Gender Trouble* xiv). Since gender performativity depends on the ritualistic repetition of certain codes of masculinities or femininities, it attempts to become triumphant in the social spheres through its naturalisation in both corporeal and discursive contexts. Although Marlow lacks modesty in his attire, he performs the timidity and politeness of "middling-sort masculinity" (Harvey 170) in his conversation with Kate because "the most authoritative forms of manliness and civility [in the eighteenth century] demanded the repression of the self" (Tosh 232).

In the eighteenth century, libertinism constructed its own performativity, unlike in the Restoration. For the majority of the eighteenth-century elite, the upbringing of their young gentlemen consisted of certain common aspects:

> [T]here was a preference for a public school education (chiefly at Eton and Westminster) in the classics, often followed by matriculation at Oxford and Cambridge, before undertaking the great pinnacle of elite education in the eighteenth century, the Grand Tour – a sojourn of many months and often years, principally in Italy. . . . Then, on their return from abroad, according to their means and inclinations they could indulge themselves in the common pursuits of their class, hunting, horseracing and gambling, and on inheritance, building, collecting,

landscaping and improving their estates. (R. G. Wilson 163)

The peer groups of young gentlemen guided the fashion of such varying activities in the construction of aristocratic and upper-class masculinity. The young gentlemen did not reside in Europe in exile like Charles II's court, but they went there on purpose to educate themselves in economic and political affairs as well as socio-cultural interactions. In terms of gender performativity, one should remember that the aristocratic libertine masculinity was thus established in the eighteenth-century upper-class circles although it ceased to be the hegemonic masculinity of the time. In accordance with this, both Kate and Marlow are aware that they are a "refined" libertine couple of the eighteenth century. Each thinks the other is a hypocrite.

> MARLOW: Yes, madam. In this age of hypocrisy there are few who upon strict inquiry do not – a – a – a –
>
> MISS HARDCASTLE: I understand you perfectly, sir.
>
> MARLOW: (*Aside*) Egad! and that's more than I do myself.
>
> MISS HARDCASTLE: You mean that in this hypocritical age there are few that do not condemn in public what they practise in private, and think they pay every debt to virtue when they praise it.
>
> MARLOW: True, madam; those who have most virtue in their mouths, have least of it in their bosoms. But I'm sure I tire you, madam.
>
> MISS HARDCASTLE: Not in the least, sir; there's something so agreeable and spirited in your manner, such life and force – Pray, sir, go on. (II.260)

In this dialogue, Marlow and Miss Kate Hardcastle provides a brief portrayal of eighteenth-century hypocrisy. Although the people of the age tried to present themselves as models of virtue, or modesty, in public just because fashion demanded so, they made haste to escape its artificiality in private areas (J. H. Wilson, "The Background" x).

As an analogy close to the subversive performativity of Butler's drag queen, Marlow and Kate use the sentimental gender identities of the eighteenth century by pretending to be affable and timid since these aspects are confirmed by the norms. As stated above, libertine masculinity was available to young gentlemen in the eighteenth century; however, the sentimental masculinity was still more dominant. In the presence of these two masculinities, Marlow just needs to make a choice between the two in order to give the impression of being a perfect gentleman and live as a young rake. "There is only a

taking up of the tools where they lie, where the very 'taking up' is enabled by the tool lying there," says Judith Butler in terms of this choice in such a subversive act (*Gender Trouble* 185). Marlow's superficial relationship with his father, Sir Charles Marlow, and Mr Hardcastle is not different from his artificiality to Kate. J. L. Styan highlights this superficial scene in "The Drama: Reason in Madness" saying "[s]ocial forms are preserved on the stage while honest reality resides with us in the asides" (380). In terms of representing two sides of a man in such a dichotomous atmosphere of class struggles, Goldsmith presents both public and private characters of Marlow as the impudent rake and as a reserved and ineffectual suitor in tandem.

Marlow's double nature becomes the driving force of the play and the focal conflicting circumstance between the father and the daughter. When Mr Hardcastle and Miss Kate Hardcastle first meet after the arrival of the gentlemen, Kate has already met with the hypocritically sentimental Marlow, and she tells her father that "You taught me to expect something extraordinary, and I find the original exceeds the description" (III.265). Agreeing with his daughter, Mr Hardcastle expresses his doubts about Marlow's manners which have been recommended to be "modestest . . . in town" by his old friend, Sir Charles Marlow; nevertheless, to Mr Hardcastle, "he [Marlow] appears the most impudent piece of brass that ever spoke with a tongue. He has taken possession of the easy chair by the fireside already. He took off his boots in the parlour, and desired me to see them taken care of" (III.265). Marlow's extravagant expressions of overt vulgarity stand at odds with the restraints of Mr Hardcastle's moral conformity, civility, and modesty because "the gentleman risks devolving into the libertine rake" especially in the eighteenth century (Mackie 9). With that preoccupation, Mr Hardcastle attempts to correct his previous views and recommendations to his daughter who seems to have comprehended (Young) Marlow's attitude toward his father, Sir Charles Marlow, behind the scenes and scripts:

> MISS HARDCASTLE: Surprising! He met me with a respectful bow, a stammering voice, and a look fixed on the ground.
>
> HARDCASTLE: He met me with a loud voice, a lordly air, and a familiarity that made my blood freeze again.
>
> MISS HARDCASTLE: He treated me with diffidence and respect; censured the manners of the age, admired the prudence of girls that never laughed, tired me with apologies for being tiresome; then left the room with a bow, and, "Madam, I would

not for the world detain you."

> HARDCASTLE: He spoke to me as if he knew me all his life before, asked twenty questions, and never waited for an answer, interrupted my best remarks with some silly pun, and when I was in my best story of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, he asked if I had not a good hand at making punch. Yes, Kate, he asked your father if he was a maker of punch!
>
> MISS HARDCASTLE: One of us must certainly be mistaken. (III.266)

One can perceive from the father's statements that a gentleman's characteristics "in all the menace and glamour of the libertine culture identified with the court of Charles II" are especially reminiscent of the middle-class, Whig supporters like Mr Hardcastle himself of the past atrocities, because the accumulated anti-aristocratic sentiment forged a much firmer link between libertinism and aristocracy in this period (Mackie 11).

Mr Hardcastle thinks of Marlow as a libertine rake who "learn[t] wit at a masquerade" while travelling abroad and who was "a good deal assisted by bad company and a French dancing-master" (III.266). Because such gentlemen do not abide by the sentimental social conventions of the mid-eighteenth century, Marlow "astonished [Mr Hardcastle's] senses" and made him confess that "I never saw such a bouncing, swaggering puppy since I was born" (III.266). Remembering that he is in his mid-fifties (I.i.241), Mr Hardcastle makes a reference to the 1720s when the Restoration courtiers and manners were almost extinct. In order to erase her father's doubts about Marlow, Kate tries to come to terms with Mr Hardcastle and asks him to give her an hour to reveal Marlow's character:

> MISS HARDCASTLE: And as one of us must be mistaken, what if we go to make further discoveries?
>
> HARDCASTLE: Agreed. But depend on't I'm in the right.
>
> MISS HARDCASTLE: And depend on't I'm not much in the wrong. (III.267)

Goldsmith, therefore, displays Kate with a double character who disguises as a barmaid in order to reveal Marlow's debauchery and to unite his personalities by mediating between them as a witty and realistic female.

Obviously, sentimental drama does not approve of the womanising rakes and their representations on the stage, from which Goldsmith also cannot escape in his "laughing comedy." Although Hastings articulates that Marlow is "so warm a friend," yet "so cool

a lover" (II.253), one does not see him engaged in a licentious act throughout the play. Marlow's way of action expresses his masculinity which could be regarded incomplete without some signs of assertive and strong heterosexuality. "As for Miss Hardcastle," Marlow muses, "she's too grave and sentimental for me" (III.271). Aware of his "private" roguish character, Kate disguises herself as a barmaid first to "be *seen*," and then to conquer his heart. She declares:

> that is no small advantage to a girl who brings her face to market. Then I shall perhaps make an acquaintance, and that's no small victory gained over one who never addresses any but the wildest of her sex. But my chief aim is, to take my gentleman off his guard, and, like an invisible champion of romance, examine the giant's force before I offer to combat. (III.271)

To the face of now-transformed Kate, Marlow immediately starts to flirt, telling her to be "vastly handsome" because he sees her as a "seducible serving wench" in an inn (T. G. A. Nelson 324). Soon, his chronic shyness dissolves with Kate's provocative method of conquest:

> MARLOW: . . . Suppose I should call for a taste, just by way of a trial, of the nectar of your lips; perhaps I might be disappointed in that too.
>
> MISS HARDCASTLE: Nectar! nectar! That's a liquor there's no call for in these parts. French, I suppose. We sell no French wines here, sir.
>
> . . .
>
> MARLOW: To guess at this distance, you can't be much above forty. (*Approaching*) Yet, nearer, I don't think so much. (*Approaching*) By coming close to some women they look younger still; but when we come very close indeed –
> <div align="right">(Attempting   to   kiss   her)</div>
> (III.272)

This scene reveals Kate's progress towards happiness and her self-determinism to find an ideal husband to satiate her appetite. In the war of pamphlets, it is seen that women were questioning the masculinity of British men who were acquainted with morally light women; here, Kate affirms Marlow's masculinity in a way similar to claims in these pamphlets. Just like Harriet in *The Man of Mode*, she escapes the normative restraints of the female sex and acts according to her will and pleasure by stepping into the masculine realms of hegemony and liberty.

In Marlow's characterisation, one finds the eighteenth-century man's open-mindedness about marriage which was despised and mocked by the libertine rakes of Etherege, Dorimant and Medley. Unlike the libertines of the previous age, Marlow expresses his

ideas about how a couple should meet and pass time on the eve of marriage when Hastings asks him "how can you ever expect to marry?" in an unconventional manner:

> Never, unless, as among kings and princes, my bride were to be courted by proxy. If, indeed, like an Eastern bridegroom, one were to be introduced to a wife he never saw before, it might be endured. But to go through all the terrors of a formal courtship, together with the episode of aunts, grandmothers, and cousins, and at last to blurt out the broad staring question of, *madam, will you marry me?* No, no, that's a strain much above me, I assure you. (II.252)

Marlow objects to the practice of formal, "arranged" marriage in this quotation since the concept dates back to the medieval times and is not valid any more in the mid-eighteenth century. Replacing the earlier tradition of puritanical marriages, the idea of companionate marriage manifests itself as the eighteenth-century mode of heterosexual union. In the process of companionate marriage, "men and women came to expect greater emotional involvement and intimacy within marriage, leading to greater reciprocity and harmony" (Hitchcock and Cohen 13). In that sense, marriage as a constituent of the eighteenth-century masculinity is presented to be a component of "commercial masculinity" which is an organic collaboration of "prudential masculinity" (sound judgement and retrenchment) and "chivalric masculinity" (nobility and dignity). Marriage would, thus, support a man's masculinity with the fiscal and domestic shares of a wife (Smail 240-46), which is actually "a framework of less relevance for the landed or labouring," but the middling (Harvey 171). So sentimental ideals served their purposes in the refinement of the profaneness of British society and the formation of new societal institutions appealing to the common sense.

Apart from the sentimentalised libertine couple, there is another couple in *She Stoops to Conquer*, Miss Constance Neville and Hastings. These two characters, resembling the sensible couple of the Restoration comedy, constitute the sentimental couple underlying the moral foundations of the century. Although Hastings is "the most intimate friend" of Marlow (I.i.245), he achieves to be a sensible man who only deviates from sensibility when his love relationship gets into Mrs Hardcastle's dangerous schemes. The sentimental couple have already found one another, and they try to escape the authoritative figure, Mrs Hardcastle, who strives to separate them. Even though Hastings and Constance attempt to depart from the Hardcastle lodgings, they cannot, and it is the female who perceives that love should be glorified with marriage only after

its approval by the elders. After all the futile attempts to obtain her inherited fortune from Mrs Hardcastle, Constance preserves her reason at the proper time for her and Hastings to elope from the house:

> HASTINGS: My dear Constance, why will you deliberate thus? If we delay a moment, all is lost for ever. Pluck up a little resolution, and we shall soon be out of the reach of her malignity.
>
> MISS NEVILLE: I find it impossible! My spirits are so sunk with the agitations I have suffered, that I am unable to face any new danger. Two or three years' patience will at last crown us with happiness.
>
> HASTINGS: Such a tedious delay is worse than inconstancy. Let us fly, my charmer. Let us date our happiness from this very moment! Perish fortune! Love and content will increase what we possess beyond a monarch's revenue. Let me prevail! (V.ii.291)

It is understood that Hastings has waited for about three years to be with Constance and does not desire any dowry or jewellery from her in their marriage. Yet for her, this situation is a potential danger for their future happiness. She explains the reason why:

> MISS NEVILLE: No, Mr. Hastings, no! Prudence once more comes to my relief, and I will obey its dictates. In the moment of passion, fortune may be despised, but it ever produces a lasting repentance. I'm resolved to apply to Mr. Hardcastle's compassion and justice for redress.
>
> HASTINGS: But though he had the will, he has not the power to relieve you.
>
> MISS NEVILLE: But he has influence, and upon that I am resolved to rely.
>
> HASTINGS: I have no hopes. But since you persist, I must reluctantly obey you. (V.ii.291-92)

The author and the society in the play, thus, reward the sensible couple by both consenting to their marriage and giving the jewellery to them because of their sensible reconciliation of freedom and love with the authority.

She Stoops to Conquer does not include a stock type of a typical comedy of manners, that is the fop. The reason for the exclusion of this male figure does not reside in its absence in the eighteenth-century theatre. On the contrary, it would not be appropriate for the "sentimentalised" stage for which Goldsmith produced a comedy full of laughter for the first time in almost seven decades. Dr Samuel Johnson appraisingly comments on the play's performance saying to his biographer James Boswell that "I know of no comedy for many years that has so much exhilarated an audience, that has answered so much the great end of comedy, – making an audience merry" (qtd. in Boswell 405).

With regard to this remark on the return of the laughing comedy, the fop is a male figure who is a twisted copy of a libertine rake; therefore, he does not conform to the sentimental ideals of the age, even on the stage (Cohen 37-38). Then, the representation of all the extreme figures in society might trigger a counter-reaction against the play and the writer.

However, there is the "macaroni" man as the eighteenth-century counterpart of the fop in Britain. When Marlow learns the reality that they are not in an inn, but at Mr Hardcastle's house in the unmasking scene, he expresses the situation he is in:

> So then, all's out, and I have been damnably imposed on. Oh, confound my stupid head, I shall be laughed at over the whole town. I shall be stuck up in *caricatura* in all the print-shops – the *Dullissimo Maccaroni*. To mistake this house of all others for an inn, and my father's old friend for an innkeeper. What a swaggering puppy must he take me for! What a silly puppy do I find myself! (IV.279)

He is highly concerned he might be ridiculed by the papers in town. As he worries about his caricatures, he all of a sudden utters the word "macaroni" which seems to have haunted him at that moment. To understand his anxiety about public humiliation, it is better to explain the concept of macaroni in the mid-eighteenth century.

In the history of British masculinities, a macaroni, unlike a fop, stands out as a distinctive and negative figure because of his characteristics mocked in periodicals, plays and poems by writers and caricaturists (Evans 46). The word gained a place in British society in the late 1760s and early 1770s when the aristocratic and upper-class young men returned from their Grand Tour with a new European style resembling that of the Restoration fop's (Steele 94). The lengthy explanation of the origins of the word "macaroni" is given in an account entitled "Character of a Macaroni" in the May 1772 issue of *Town and Country Magazine*:

> The Italians are extremely fond of a dish they call Macaroni . . . so they figuratively call every thing they think elegant and uncommon *Macaroni*. Our young travellers, who generally catch the follies of the countries they visit, judged that the title of Macaroni was applicable to a clever fellow; and accordingly, to distinguish themselves as such, they instituted a club under this denomination, the members of which were supposed to be the standards of *taste* in polite learning . . . and fashion, amongst the other constituent parts of taste, became the object of their attention. But they soon proved, they had very little claim to any distinction, except in their external appearance. . . . (242-43)

These young gentlemen tasted foreign cultures and fashions, and brought them back to England in twisted and exaggerated versions. This miscultivation of the Italian word "macaroni" by the aristocratic and upper-class young men was soon associated with "deficient masculinity" (Evans 50).

In "The Macaronis," Aileen Ribeiro highlights that these young men overemphasised the style of "French suit with elaborate embroidery and equally high decorated waistcoat" dress which was "identified with an increasingly ossified court circle and the privileges of aristocracy" (463). In relation to these attitudes the young aristocrats asserted such as "their right to wear clothing traditionally reserved for courtiers" and this style as a reaction to the English "country" clothes (McNeil 411-12), James Laver describes the full apparel of macaronis in his book *Costume and Fashion: A Concise History*: "They wore very thin shoes with enormous buckles made of gold, silver, pinchbeck or steel and set with real or imitation stones. They affected very large buttons on their coats. Their hats were extremely small, but their wigs were designed high on the head, prodigiously curled" (139). With the reactive purpose of the macaroni, the aristocratic and upper-class young men performed their inborn nobility with such luxurious ornamentations and by imitating foreign cultures as a sign of their opportunity to get to know them by means of European travels. Although this "macaroni" style blurs the line between the definitions of natural and artificial identities of an eighteenth-century gentleman, it brings along its own subcultural connotations like effeminacy and male homosexuality since what was unfavourable about a macaroni was the lack of masculinity in his manners.

In the social satires of the magazines and periodicals of the 1770s, it became widespread to begin each issue with a burlesque print of a macaroni together with his description without a name given so they somehow served as a kind of "guess who" game among the townspeople (Evans 47, 53). The majority of these prints portrayed "single figures, shown full-length and often in profile, [figures who] are posed in a barely delineated setting but with minute attention paid to details of costume, physiognomy, and posture" (Rauser 109). Some of the macaronis regarded those portrayals of theirs as "contemporary fascination" elevating their status in the London society (111-12).

However, the eighteenth century witnessed what seems to be a profoundly different sort of arrangement about homosexual identity and subculture: the molly and the molly house (Trumbach, *Sex* 7). As a pejorative slang term for a sodomite or a homosexual man, "molly" started to stand for some macaronis because they got into molly houses in order to fulfil their sexual desires with men. In addition, these homosexual men were reported to behave in feminine manners, cross-dress as women while dancing or during intercourse (Edwards 45-46; Mackie 116-17; Senelick 50-1).[19]

A Restoration fop's failed heterosexuality in his relations with women was attributed to his fondness of decorative possessions rather than his lack of interest in women. On the contrary, he was regarded to be an ideal man for marriage because of his delicate, thoughtful approach to women (Staves 414; Senelick 35). The eighteenth-century social code of masculinity was much stricter in defining men according to their appearance, acquaintances, whereabouts and manners. Hitchcock and Cohen provide five common characteristics attributed to the lack of masculinity and effeminacy throughout history as men "who fell short of the ideal of 'manly religion'," "men who showed an 'excessive devotion' to the ideals of politeness," "men who emulated not just women, but the French," "men who acted immaturely or frivolously," and "men who, using slander, were thought to adopt a female vice" (5). According to their contemporaries' social satires, macaronis carried the majority of these characteristics not because of their explicit sexual behaviour, but because they were labelled so by the sentimental men's cultural measures they used for marginal men. Due to such identity concerns, compulsory heterosexuality became the essential component of masculinity in the eighteenth century. Through the Butlerian perspective, then, the actions of men resulting in the dramatic rise in the rate of bastardy and nuptiality become meaningful.

Goldsmith actually provides a representation of the "macaroni" figure in *She Stoops to Conquer*. Before they appear on the stage, Tony Lumpkin asks the landlord of the alehouse, The Three Pigeons, whether "they seem to be Londoners" and the answer is that "They woundily look like Frenchmen" (I.ii.247). This sarcastic reference to the macaroni's foreign obsessions continues in the second act with the gentlemen's sensitivity to their clothes (Yelmiş 372-73). Marlow recommends "changing our

travelling dresses in the morning" since he has "grown confoundedly ashamed of [his]" (II.253). As the dialogue continues, they ignore Mr Hardcastle, as seen in the below quotation, too, and their keen appetite for clothing is revealed to the audience:

> HASTINGS: I fancy, [Charles] you're right. The first blow is half the battle. I intend opening the campaign with the white and gold.
>
> . . .
>
> MARLOW: Yet, George, if we open the campaign too fiercely at first, we may want ammunition before it is over. I think to reserve the embroidery to secure a retreat.
>
> . . .
>
> MARLOW. Don't you think the *ventre d'or* waistcoat will do with the plain brown?
>
> . . .
>
> HASTINGS: I think not. Brown and yellow mix but very poorly.
>
> . . .
>
> MARLOW: The girls like finery. (II.253-54)

From the dialogue, it is known that Marlow's "yellow" waistcoat has a French cut, and Hastings has a gold one. Another costume of Marlow has embroidery on it. As Ribeiro explains, "the bright colours and silken stuffs and the lavish use of lace, all of which characterized the dress of the macaroni, were either imported or imitated" ("The Macaronis" 466). Their imported language and fashion is furthered in their conversation with Mrs Hardcastle who asks Hastings' opinion about her hair. Hastings replies in a ridiculing manner: "Extremely elegant and *degagé*, upon my word, madam" and asks her if "Your *friseur* is a Frenchman" (II.262). As a last example, Marlow's irresponsible, licentious attitude before such a country gentleman as Mr Hardcastle and a witty girl like Kate discloses his fear of being a macaroni. One can comprehend from his expression of "*Dullissimo Maccaroni*" that he is a well-known, noble gentleman of fashion and he avoids to be identified as a macaroni in the town.

In addition to the sentimental, libertine, and macaroni masculinities, it is possible to locate one more: the outlaw masculinity of Tony Lumpkin. In the popular culture of the eighteenth century, an outlaw man was very important in terms of carrying an unstable masculine energy. As Mangan states, this outlaw character "inherits much from the aristocratic rake-heroes of the Restoration stage" (140). In that sense, Tony resembles

the Restoration rakes who find pleasure in drinking and womanising. As his mother, Mrs Hardcastle states, "Tony Lumpkin has a good fortune," and he "is not to live by his learning" because "a boy wants much learning to spend fifteen hundred a year" (I.i.242). He has recently come of age, and he is, therefore, immature unlike the Restoration libertines, Dorimant and Medley:

> HARDCASTLE: . . . [Tony is a] mere composition of tricks and mischief.
>
> MRS HARDCASTLE: Humor, my dear; nothing but humor. Come, Mr Hardcastle, you must allow the boy a little humor.
>
> HARDCASTLE: I'd sooner allow him a horse-pond. If burning the footmen's shoes, frightening the maids, and worrying the kittens be humor, he has it. It was but yesterday he fastened my wig to the back of my chair, and when I went to make a bow, I popped my bald head in Mr Frizzle's face. (I.i.242)

Tony's young and immature masculine energy drives him to be an outlaw in the highly and strictly mannered society he dwells in. R. W. Connell describes the situation Tony Lumpkin is in as "protest masculinity": "Protest masculinity is a marginalized masculinity, which picks up themes of hegemonic masculinity in the society at large but reworks them in a context of poverty" (*Masculinities* 114). Tony has no financial independence because he is deceived by his mother to be underage and unable to inherit money from his deceased father. Tony, also, violates the eighteenth-century social gender norms prescribed for men by meeting and desiring to live with a prostitute, Bett Bouncer, whom Tony describes in the epilogue by J. Craddock as "bob[bing] to all [the men] she meets" (297). In the context of outlaw, or protest, masculinity, he has occasional frolics with men from low social ranks like an exciseman, a horse doctor, a man grinding the music box and another one spinning the pewter platter (I.i.242) since he feels like a "bastard" under the custody of his step-father Mr Hardcastle (I.ii.247). Although such men are not appropriate companions for him, he has created his own congruent circle of protest.

In conclusion, one can observe the traits of the libertine culture's masculinity in the eighteenth century comedies even though Goldsmith tries to produce an example of the comedy of manners with his *She Stoops to Conquer* "in a world where all is ordered, rational, and serene" (Woolf 12). In this century, the appointment of the middle-class men to significant administrative positions, the significant economic sanctions of wealthy merchants, the triumph of the Whig partisans in the power struggles, and the

political instability of the monarchic settlement brought about significant changes in the gender hierarchy of British people as well as the introduction of new masculinities like sentimental masculinity, sentimentalised libertine masculinity, macaroni masculinity and outlaw masculinity. The new dynamics of power emphasised the importance of feelings; therefore, they promoted sentimentalism not only as a philosophy to be represented on the stage, but also as a way of life. In the play, the traits of the mid-eighteenth-century sentimental masculinity can be observed through the characters of Mr Hardcastle and Hastings while Marlow shows the characteristics of a libertine rake with sentimental features. Because of the new sexual dynamics including the macaroni, "the iconic rakish figures of eighteenth-century culture" represented on the stage have distinct sentimental qualities unlike their Restoration forerunners, and they are "emphatically heterosexual" (Mackie 9). By means of the critical erasure of the libertine masculine culture and the promotion of sentimental philosophy by Collier, Blackmore, Ridpath, and Shaftesbury, the sentimental masculinity of the eighteenth century defines itself with the institutions of marriage, parenthood, and commonsensical morality.

CHAPTER 3

THE AFFECTED MASCULINITY OF THE DANDY
IN OSCAR WILDE'S *LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN*

The development of masculinities in the Victorian era was firmly related to the major socio-economic changes Britain had experienced since the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, it was not possible to observe a uniform masculinity throughout the nineteenth century because of the rising individuality, the aesthetic movements and the emergence of alternative understandings of sexuality. In this regard, the last decade of the nineteenth century held a separate and marginal position in the studies of Victorian masculinities. Before delving into this era of marginal gender relations, one should extensively monitor the development of the so-called stable Victorian masculinity and the values attached to it. In the early nineteenth century, because of the lengthy process of industrialisation and the concomitant increase in a consumer economy, there were socio-economic changes in Britain which affected the pattern of the hegemonic middle-class value systems (Schneider 147). The conception of masculinity in the Victorian era was highly diverse, and it relied on quite a lot of factors such as imperialism, religion and science in addition to economy.

First, the effects of sentimentalism continued almost until the last quarter of the nineteenth century after the establishment of the concept of separate spheres appropriate to sentimentalism. For men, the workplace, or the world of public affairs, was the domain of prestige, reputation and importance; for women, the house, or the world of private affairs, was the domain of affability, matrimony, and chastity (Goode 150-52). In this competitively industrialised and technological century, the successful actualisation of bourgeois masculinity was primarily possible and significant in this male sphere of commerce and industry. In *Sesame and Lilies* (1865), a classic and influential Victorian account on the nature and duties of men and women, John Ruskin articulates the differences between these two spheres:

> The man's power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender. His intellect is for speculation and invention; his energy for adventure, for war, and for conquest, wherever war is just, wherever

> conquest necessary. But the woman's power is for rule, not for battle, – and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, and decision. She sees the qualities of things, their claims, and their places. Her great function is Praise; she enters into no contest, but infallibly adjudges the crown of contest. (146-47)

For the welfare of each sex, these two spheres should be kept separate. Thus, the compulsory heterosexual patriarchy created an area for women to keep them busy and out of male works. That nineteenth-century patriarchal British society could hence establish its gender hierarchies by alienating women from the public affairs and defining them with perpetual inferiority.

Second, the employment of the above-mentioned precautions to preserve the male sphere led to the extreme polarisation of gender roles and identities. This polarisation created a double bind for bourgeois masculinity. Ruskin meditates on the functioning of this double bind:

> By her office, and place, [the woman] is protected from all danger and temptation. The man, in his rough work in open world, must encounter all peril and trial; – to him, therefore, must be the failure, the offence, the inevitable error: often he must be wounded, or subdued; often misled; and ALWAYS hardened. But he guards the woman from all this; within his house, as ruled by her, unless she herself has sought it, need enter no danger, no temptation, no cause of error or offence. This is the true nature of home—it is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division. (147-48)

The public sphere of men was closely connected to the private sphere of women because the protection of the feminine realm from the perils of the public realm was a constituent of a successful bourgeois masculinity. This masculine achievement was defined "in relation to the domestic sphere within criteria that value the role of breadwinner for a domestic establishment and that situate affectionate as well as sexual life within marriage" (Sussman 5). Therefore, it can be said that the success in the feminine sphere was the expected concomitant of the success in the masculine sphere, and this situation intensified the domestic ideology constructed by the middle classes of the nineteenth century.

The clear-cut separation between the sexes introduced a striking uniformity among men in the middle of the nineteenth century. When the Victorian visual representations of men are considered, it can be seen that these men looked indistinguishable from one

another since almost all of them were "whiskered, wearing the same type of top hat or bowler, clad in black or grey suits or overcoats, wearing the same kind of waistcoat and tie" (Schneider 148). One can relate the significance of this corporeal representation to the discursive and illustrious character of the male body which directly reflected the demands and desires of society. Unlike the female body, the male body was handled to signify "society's need for order and progress, as well as middle-class virtues such as self-control and moderation" (Mosse 9). The common themes in these corporeal representations, then, stood for sobriety and solidity. A solid man carried the characteristics of "probity, integrity conscientious application" (Mangan 167); in keeping with this attitude, it became crucial to erect solid buildings and monuments since the fact that building something "to last" was one of the finest compliments for a bourgeois Victorian man (167).

In order to settle the importance of such manners as sobriety and solidity, it is important to look at the concept of chivalry which was revived in Romanticism in the early nineteenth century. One of the most important values of the aristocracy in Britain was honour, especially male honour. It was connected to the power of blood, or in other words to noble lineage and descent. As George L. Mosse states in *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, "[t]he denial of respect due one's rank was one of the most frequent causes for duelling. Honor, in accordance with the tradition of chivalry, was attached to the individual himself, to his reputation, standing, and dignity" (18). The concept of honour, thus, involved an ideal of manliness. This chivalric code accompanied numerous aspects of the Victorian masculinity "such as loyalty, righteousness, prowess, sobriety," perseverance (18), "decisiveness, stoicism and . . . pugnacity" (Miller 39). With reference to social structure in Britain, the middle classes that had mostly managed to define hegemonic masculinity since the eighteenth century acquired, collected and adapted these aristocratic and upper-class values of manliness with their own norms in order to assert themselves superior to the upper classes.

As is seen in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, merchants and entrepreneurs redefined hegemonic masculinity as well as the relations among culture, gender, and capitalism. By legislating restrictive laws such as marriage regulations and tax policies

with regard to gender politics and supporting medicine in forging the categories of heterosexual and homosexual (Connell, *Gender in World* 121), the nineteenth-century British state gave impetus to "the natural current of industry and capital" (Roper 13) in order to "promote virtuous and profitable conduct" (Kuchta 160). In "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith articulates this cooperation between the state and the middle-class capital owners by emphasising its profits for the nation:

> In the midst of all the exactions of government, this capital has been silently and gradually accumulated by the private frugality and good conduct of individuals, by their universal, continual, and uninterrupted effort to better their own condition. It is this effort, protected by law, and allowed by liberty to exert itself in the manner that is most advantageous, which has maintained the progress of England towards opulence and improvement in almost all former times. . . . (222)

The eventual output of this cooperation was imperial masculinity, "a product of time, place, power and class, along with firmly held and unquestioned conceptions of racial and national superiority" in the middle of the nineteenth century (Beynon 28).

In order to foster the Empire and the British race, the education of young men became especially important after the 1830s. Manly group activities in sports and trainings were encouraged to establish "athleticism, stoicism, sexual purity and moral courage" because imperial masculinity was equated with "intellectual energy, moral purpose and sexual purity" (Beynon 27). In *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art*, Herbert Sussman affirms that

> the early Victorians defined maleness as the possession of an innate, distinctively male energy that, in contrast to Freud, they did not represent as necessarily sexualized, but as an inchoate force that could be expressed in a variety of ways, only one of which is sexual. This interior energy was consistently imagined or fantasized in a metaphorics of fluid, suggestively seminal, and in an imagery of flame. (10)

The pressure on the masculine identity until the end of the nineteenth century continued to direct and settle the flow of the male energy efficiently. Thus, the failure to balance the flow of the male energy would be eliminated as well as any probable danger of "either repression or an unfocused, and so unproductive, externalization" (Booth 120). This strict balance was crucial since any deficiency in controlling the male energy would not only result in disasters in the public sphere like business, but also spread over

all the spheres of life including the private one. By disciplining and toughening boys, a hard imperial masculinity was, thus, maintained in all-male organisations together with an emphasis on "Muscular Christianity" – "an aggressive, robust, and activist masculinity" – to create brave, true, and Christian men (Mosse 49).

In the late Victorian era, the British pride in being an enormous empire was accompanied by a kind of deep anxiety about the security, administration and prospect of the empire. There were a number of factors triggering that anxiety, including the colonial problems such as the Indian Rebellion of 1857 and the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865, the Fenian Rising of 1867 in Ireland, and the increasing global economic competition among the forces of Germany, Russia, and the United States (Beynon 38-39). The failures in the colonies showed that the British soldiers were not muscular, stoic, or strong enough to encounter the enemies. This fact somewhat shattered the muscular Christianity of Victorian masculinity. Such political issues brought along "labor unrest, the rise of the socialist movement prolonged economic crises, and new technologies that once more seemed to speed up time itself," and all of these accumulated "the anxieties of the upper and middle classes by the end of the century" (Mosse 79).

Victorian masculinity, although fully structured with the above-mentioned characteristics, was also debated and shaped in medical terms. Risks to individual health such as syphilis, tuberculosis and hysteria became a common obsession started the questioning of the sexual restraint, the psychological stamina of Victorian men (Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* 8-10), and led to some ideas about the emotional and psychological immaturity of men (Hogan 64-65). Because a man's physical health was directly related to his manners, virtues, and morals, practices of vice and immorality were comprehended in the terms of medical science. Loose morals were thought to blight the establishment of the normative standards which were believed to sustain the state (Mosse 80). For that reason, physicians authorised "the equation between morality, health, and sickness, partly because this was expected of them and partly because they themselves gained status as the arbiters of established norms" (80). In a society in which gender identities were discernibly polarised by defining

masculinity in relation to its artificially and ideologically constructed others (S. Gill 166), the concept of decadence was associated with the avant-garde men like Oscar Wilde who caused a rupture to middle-class value system.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the concept of decadence, as used by Charles-Pierre Baudelaire (1821-1867) and Joris-Karl (Charles-Marie-Georges) Huysmans (1848-1907), referred to "a new sensibility, a refinement of the nerves and the senses that was not always seen in a negative light" or confused with degeneration (Mosse 81). Those who were influential in the construction of imperial ideals lined the decadence of the Victorian age with the so-called golden age and the subsequent fall of the Roman Empire in which "alcoholism . . . , bad personal habits, and social conditions" were believed to lead the Romans to a widespread degeneration (81). In the context of the correlation of physical health with mental stability, the established and newly gentrified middle classes living up to Victorian manly ideals opposed and tried to ostracise all outsiders like profeminist women, homosexual men and lesbians in this time of decadence. Effeminacy for men and female masculinity were stigmatised as a sickness by the physicians (Brady 179-82). Despite all the pejorative labelling, "unmanly man and unwomanly women" (Mosse 86) increasingly stood against the normative ideals of Victorian masculinity, and they exhibited their sexual differences and unorthodox gender identities in that period. Decadence was, therefore, considered to be degeneration by the defenders of the normative gender structure in British society. In Britain, one of the most marginal masculinities among these unconventional circles belonged to dandyism which became related to Oscar Wilde with all its characteristics.

Oscar Fingal O'Flahertie Wills Wilde (1854-1900) was of Irish descent and the upper-class community. Lady Jane Wilde, his mother, was a highly respected person in the literary circles of Dublin due to her writing career under the pseudonym "Speranza" (Scott 122). Her literary gatherings were described as full, long-lasting and of infamous reputation because of the eccentricity, flamboyance, and oppositional characters of the participants (Horan 23-24; Pearce 21-38). In these gatherings, Wilde acquired two of his essential qualities as a writer, that is his artistically brilliant eloquence and talent to transform the cliché and banal into witticism. As for his father, he was infamous due to

his highly active and wanton private life (Snider 74). As a young member of the upper class, Oscar Wilde's formal education included prestigious schools like Trinity College, Dublin, and Magdalen College, Oxford. Studying under Ruskin, Wilde improved his philosophy of love for beauty and the cult of self, which are known as the characteristics of the "art for art's sake" school of thought. He drew attention in the literary world with his extravagant outfits, witty epigrams, and unconventional manners (Pearson, Introduction viii). As a novelist first, he produced *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in 1891, which startled the moral sensibilities and the ideal of masculinity held by the Victorian society. One year later, he started to write plays, first serious ones such as *Vera; or, the Nihilist* (1883), *The Duchess of Padua* (1883, performed in 1891) and *Salome* (1891), and then comedies. In 1892, he wrote his first comedy of manners *Lady Windermere's Fan, a Play about a Good Woman* for St James Theatre under the administration of Sir George Alexander, an actor-manager (Ganz, "The Dandiacal Drama" 124).

After the tremendous success of his first comedy, he wrote to his friend, Mrs Moore, in a letter that "[t]his sounds ambitious, but we live in an age of inordinate personal ambition, and I am determined that the world shall understand me, so I will now, along with my art work, devote to the drama a great deal of my time. The drama seems to me to be the meeting-place of art and life" (*Collection of Original Manuscripts* 87). It appears that, in the course of his literary production, comedy became the main source of income for Wilde. He subsequently produced three more comedies – *A Woman of No Importance*, *An Ideal Husband* and *The Importance of Being Earnest, a Trivial Comedy for Serious People*. Without overtly violating the norms of the late Victorian society, he wrote for the theatre by extensively borrowing from melodramatic sources. He defended himself by saying, "Why not? Nobody reads nowadays" (Pearson, *The Life* 246). As for his high-speed productivity, it is explained with his desire for "a large income . . . at once;" for that reason, "he generally has to condescend a good deal to get it. Wilde condescended. He looked around him at the kind of stuff other playwrights were making money by, examined it with contemptuous acumen, saw how it was done – and went and did likewise" (Hankin 322). Nevertheless, he changed that writing material with a clever touch of witty dialogues and concern with aesthetics (322). Thanks to his own sharp wit and high aestheticism, he "took the drama, the most objective form

known to art, and made it as personal a mode of expression as the lyric or sonnet; at the same time [he] widened its range and enriched its characterization" (Wilde, *De Profundis* 77). It can be articulated that Wilde combined what society demanded with what he himself was pleased with so that both sides were left content.

So as to be able to make an in-depth, masculinity-centred analysis of Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan*, the playwright's self-identification needs to be examined. From his personal background, one can naturally compare him to the Restoration Court Wits who were much indulged in the aesthetic illustration of themselves and in pursuit of their desires at the expense of notoriety. However, the libertine man remained in the second half of the seventeenth century, and he was sentimentalised in the eighteenth. Oscar Wilde, in the late Victorian era, can be correlated with a new type of man: the dandy. To grasp the dandy in its full content and context, one must look at French philosopher Jules Amédée Barbey d'Aurevilly (1808-1889) and French poet Charles Baudelaire.[20]

In 1845, Barbey d'Aurevilly wrote his work *Of Dandyism and of George Brummell*. It was a disquisition on dandyism through the explanation of George "Beau" Brummell, a close friend of George IV, in Regency England. A man described as a dandy is mostly recognised with the neatness of his apparels. Unlike macaronis, there is nothing strange on a dandy. His clothes reflect to the day's fashion with their plain colours, perfect cut, and delicate combinations (Laver 158, 160). The neckwear is an indispensable element of his outfit. It is "either in the form of a cravat or a stock" worn on an upright collar (160). With that aspect of a man's outlook, a dandy seems to conform to the codes of Victorian masculinity. However, he is not described only with what he wears as suggested by Barbey d'Aurevilly:

> Those who see things only from a narrow point of view have imagined it to be especially the art of dress, a bold and felicitous dictatorship in the manner of clothes and exterior elegance. That is most certainly is, but much more besides. Dandyism is a complete theory of life and its material is not its only side. It is a way of existing, made up entirely of shades, as is always the case in very old and very civilised societies. (17-19)

Just like the libertine, the dandy also has his own motives to stand against the hypocrisy of the very society he lives in. Barbey d'Aurevilly found this explanation necessary as a response to Thomas Carlyle, an admirer of the ancient heroic values, as Carlyle defined

dandy as "a clothes-wearing Man, a Man whose trade, office, and existence consists in the wearing of Clothes. Every faculty of his soul, spirit, purse, and person is heroically consecrated to this one object, the wearing of Clothes wisely and well: so that the others dress to live, he lives to dress" (313). Barbey d'Aurevilly harshly criticises Carlyle because a dandy is a "social, human and intellectual" man, not "a caricature" or "a suit clothes walking about by itself" (18). Thus, the dandy is advocated to be a member or insider of Victorian society though he does not appreciate the hypocritical deeds of the society he lives in. However, he both practises and ridicules them.

What is also essential in a dandy is his superiority regarding his wit and firm individuality. His expression of self-morality provides a revolt against the nineteenth-century middle-class conventions, industriousness, materialism and utilitarianism. By opposing the uniformity of people, the dandy values individuality above social descriptions (Glick 131, 145). His individuality carries his honesty in the face of the hypocrisy of society. He observes the flaws of the Victorian middle classes and avoids to practice their ideals. Moreover, he is unable to desist from ridiculing with situations sprung after these flaws. Barbey d'Aurevilly refers to Britain's pretentious community and makes the observation that "in England, where the Bible and the rights of man wield such sway, . . . it is perhaps from the very ferocity of this [eternal] struggle . . . that springs the profound originality of the Puritan society that produces Clarissa Harlowe in fiction and Lady Byron in real life" (21). Herein, he refers to Samuel Richardson's novel *Clarissa* (1748) that is portrayed within all the possible glory of sentimental conduct although Augusta Maria Leigh as Lady Byron is noted to have had a licentious relationship with her step-brother, Lord Byron, in real life. It should be noted that Barbey d'Aurevilly is not judgemental in his comparison of the two women because a real dandy abstains from being judgemental. However, he emphasises the insincere, deceitful teachings, the practises in contrast with the moral ideals, and the judgemental and exclusionary attitudes of British society.

Besides, there were other significant literary and political characters who were influential in Wilde's dandyism. Next to Barbey d'Aurevilly, Oscar Wilde also admired Charles Baudelaire who provided another example of a dandy with both his life and his

works. Baudelaire defines the dandy as follows:

> The wealthy man, who, blasé though he may be, has no occupation in life but to chase along the highway of happiness, the man nurtured in luxury, and habituated from early youth to being obeyed by others, the man, finally, who has no profession other than elegance. . . . These beings have no other status but that of cultivating the idea of beauty in their own persons, of satisfying their passions, of feeling and thinking. Thus they possess, to their hearts' content, and to a vast degree, both time and money, without which fantasy, reduced to the state of ephemeral reverie, can scarcely be translated into action. (419)

For him, dandyism is equal to individualism which requires an enthusiastic commitment to producing original things, making a cult of one's own self, and astonishing others in a dignified unsurprised manner (Baudelaire 422-23). Just like a libertine man, the dandy pursues his own desires to obtain the pleasures of the world. His wealth and leisure time enables him to put his ideals into practice.

As a native influence on Wilde, one can count a Tory, a twice prime minister and a prolific writer, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881). He was a man different from the "crass bourgeoisie," and Disraeli's "wit and extraordinary dress were instruments in which he had achieved a position of power" (Ganz, "The Philosophy of the Dandy" 142). With these aspects, Disraeli became the symbol of a successful British dandy. In Britain, the "dandy [man] was flamboyant, sometimes to the point of vulgarity;" Ribeiro writes in "On Englishness in Dress" and continues to elicit the representative dandyism of a British gentlemen:

> On the whole, nineteenth-century dandyism, as befitted the tenor of the times and the muted palette of the male wardrobe generally, was restrained and understated, showing itself in a kind of world-weariness and affected nonchalance, with attention to the subtle details of dress and accessories (an increasingly select and private dialogue between the tailor and the client): the quality of the fine woollen cloth, the slope of a pocket flap or coat revers, exactly the right colour for the gloves, the correct amount of shine on boots and shoes, and so on. It was an image of a well-dressed man who, while taking infinite pains about his appearance, affected indifference to it. This refined dandyism continued to be regarded as an essential strand of male Englishness. (21)

The dandy is a self-educated and self-designed man of both elaborate physical appearance and intellectual accumulation. He has radically broken with the past traditions, and he has an idle, decadent lifestyle. Wilde embodied all the characteristic features of the masculinity of a dandy in his character and lifestyle by becoming the centre of one of the most notorious scandals of the time due to his homosexuality. In his

plays, Wilde mostly emphasised the scandals created by society, which is not absent from *Lady Windermere's Fan*, either.

As the first example of comedy of manners at the end of the nineteenth century, *Lady Windermere's Fan* diverts from the classical five-act arrangement with its four acts, each without scenes. With this play, Wilde presents a verisimilar portrait of the late Victorian society on the stage. The first act opens in the morning-room of Lord Windermere's house in Carlton House Terrace where young Lady Windermere is busy arranging roses in a blue bowl. She is interrupted with the visit of Lord Darlington, the first dandy of the play. Their dialogue resembles the clash of two different worldviews, the puritanical and sentimental one of Lady Windermere and the modern perspective of the dandy. Not much later, the Duchess of Berwick and her daughter, Lady Agatha Carlisle, enter the room. When they are alone after Lord Darlington goes out, the Duchess informs Lady Windermere of the "gossiped" cheat of her husband, Lord Windermere, with an old woman named Mrs Erlynne. Upon the leave of the two female visitors, Lady Windermere checks her husband's bank book and finds out huge sums of transactions to Mrs Erlynne. Just as she is in shock, Lord Windermere comes and tries to explain that she has misunderstood his deeds, and he demands her to invite Mrs Erlynne to her birthday ball that evening in order that the old lady can be introduced to the elite society. The young lady refuses, but he sends an invitation to Mrs Erlynne. Infuriated with that action of her husband's, Lady Windermere warns him that she will treat Mrs Erlynne badly in case she comes to the ball.

The second act begins in the drawing-room of the same house when the Windermeres are welcoming the guests during the birthday ball. Quite a lot of guests enter, and Mrs Erlynne is one of them. Getting into hysterics, Lady Windermere goes to the terrace with Lord Darlington who soon proposes her to elope with him since he is in love with her and will abandon the country the next day. For once, she hesitates what to say and do, but refuses the dandy because she firmly believes in the institution of marriage. In the meantime, Mrs Erlynne socialises with both the male and female members of the society there and dances with Lord Windermere and Lord Augustus Lorton, her lover. Towards the end of the ball, Lady Windermere realises that her husband is still with

Mrs Erlynne. She makes her mind to escape with Lord Darlington, writes a farewell letter to her husband, and leaves the house. Upon inquiring to see Lady Windermere and not finding her there, Mrs Erlynne notices that something is wrong about the situation, finds and reads the letter, and learns about the reason for Lady Windermere's leaving. At that moment, Mrs Erlynne voices the fact that her own history is repeating itself in her daughter, and the audience/reader learns that she is actually the young woman's mother. In order to save her from the shame of her deed in such an elite and normative society, Mrs Erlynne hurries to the lodging of Lord Darlington and urges Lord Augustus to keep Lord Darlington out of the house as long as possible.

In the third act, Lady Windermere is seen weeping with regret because she left her home and husband. Just then, Mrs Erlynne arrives and advises her to leave before Lord Darlington comes to his house. She explains that the young lady has misunderstood her relationship with Lord Windermere. Lady Windermere, first, thinks that she is sent by her husband and ignores her words. Upon believing her sincerity, she later on prepares to leave with her. Just before they leave, all the men are heard to be coming to the house after the closing of the clubs. The young woman hides behind the curtain, and the old one goes to one of the rooms. In this men scene, it is seen that all the men possess some aspects of a dandy, except Lord Windermere who is a man standing for Victorian masculinity. The men talk about Mrs Erlynne's personality, muse on life, and talk about Lord Darlington's secret love. Towards the end of the act, Mr Cecil Graham realises a woman's fan on the sofa and claims that Darlington's lover is in the house. Lord Windermere recognises his wife's fan and demands that all the rooms should be searched. Before they do so, Mrs Erlynne comes out of the room she has been hiding in just to attract all the men's gazes on her and to create an opportunity for her daughter to escape. Mrs Erlynne claims that she has mistakenly taken the young lady's fan before she left the house of the Windermeres and apologises for the confusion.

In the last act, Lady Windermere is in the morning-room of her own house, waiting anxiously for and wondering about what has happened after she left. Upon learning that Mrs Erlynne saved Lady Windermere's name and honour, but defiled her own, she wants to tell the truth to her husband and to visit Mrs Erlynne. This time, Lord

Darlington furiously resists her demand. At that moment, Mrs Erlynne comes to bring Lady Windermere's fan and to say goodbye since she is leaving Britain. Before she leaves, Lord Windermere argues with Mrs Erlynne about her decadent lifestyle and chastises her. Mrs Erlynne takes the photo of her daughter with her grand-son and the fan of Lady Windermere with permission, and leaves without revealing any secret to her daughter. Lord Augustus who has come before she leaves accompanies her to a carriage. The play ends with the securing of the Windermeres' marriage, and the possibility of a marriage between Mrs Erlynne and Lord Augustus who seems to be convinced to leave the country with her.

Throughout the play, Oscar Wilde presents the audience with several dandy characters who articulate their worldviews one after the other and, in a way, demonstrate what it is to be a dandy. In the first act of *Lady Windermere's Fan*, Lord Darlington appears to be the first dandy of the play, as the admirer of Lady Windermere. If a dandy wants to dominate his society, he ought to be superior to it and Lord Darlington, here, belongs to the aristocracy to which eloquence and aesthetics are attached by the dandy. He directly shows his interest in the lady's roses and fan by stating that the flowers are "quite perfect" and the fan is "wonderful" (I.13). He also tells her that "I would have covered the whole street in front of your house with flowers for you to walk on" if he had known that that day was her birthday (I.14). He primarily shows his dandiacal side with his master of courteous speech while wooing the married, young lady. When she is annoyed by his perpetual "elaborate compliments," his elegance and artistic delight are presented as the mischievous characteristics of a dandy in the late Victorian society:

> LADY WINDERMERE [*gravely*]: . . . I should be sorry to have to quarrel with you, Lord Darlington. . . . But I shouldn't like you at all if I thought you were what most other men are. Believe me, you are better than most other men, and I sometimes think you pretend to be worse.
>
> LORD DARLINGTON: We all have our little vanities, Lady Windermere.
>
> LADY WINDERMERE: Why do you make that your special one? [*Still seated at table L.*]
>
> LORD DARLINGTON [*still seated L.C.*]: Oh, nowadays so many conceited people go about Society pretending to be good, that I think it shows a rather sweet and modest disposition to pretend to be bad. . . . If you pretend to be good, the world takes you very seriously. If you pretend to be bad, it doesn't. Such is the astounding stupidity of optimism. (I.14-15)

Here, Lady Windermere is seen as a philistine woman who avoids using flamboyant words – adjectives – while she describes people because she is an adherent of the sentimental norms of the Victorian middle classes. Contrarily, Lord Darlington seems to have a passion for "perceived" wickedness stemming from his reaction against social conventions surrounding him although he is content with this. In that way, he reveals that he rejects the morality of Victorian manliness built around "materialistic and imperialist values" and holds "the distorting mirror of its hidden vices" to society (Florence Tamagne qtd. in Defeyt 179). As a self-centred dandy, his masculinity hinders Lord Darlington focusing on anything but himself in this dialogue. Therefore, he gets oblivious to what the lady he is with says and leaves her questions unanswered. Next to her, Lord Darlington further expresses his views on morality with his remark that "It is absurd to divide people into good and bad. People are either charming or tedious. I take the side of the charming," and that "I couldn't help it. I can resist everything except temptation" (I.17). He does not believe in sentimental concepts like sacrifice. He remarks that "anything is better than being sacrificed" when the lady says that life "is not a speculation. It is a sacrament. Its ideal is Love. Its purification is sacrifice" (I.16).

In the salutation dialogue with the Duchess of Berwick, the Duchess calls Lord Darlington a "wicked" man and tries to protect her daughter from him (I.18). In response, he emphasises that this badness is only an appearance, and not his innate character: "Don't say that, Duchess. As a wicked man I am a complete failure. Why, there are lots of people who say I have never really done anything wrong in the whole course of my life. Of course they only say it behind my back" (I.18). On the dandy's philosophy of life and relations with other people, Albert Camus states in *The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt* that "Profligate, like all people without a rule of life, he is only coherent as an actor. But an actor implies a public; the dandy can only play a part by setting himself up in opposition" (Camus 51). With that view, a dandy like Lord Darlington surprises society with his conflictual manners. Although his so-called corrupt side is made up of only suppositions and other people's descriptions, it constitutes no impediment in his social relationships. The dandy still continues to be charming in the eyes of those who do not approve of his manners. The Duchess cannot help calling him "Dear Lord Darlington" while she is expressing "how thoroughly

depraved you are" (I.19). Upon his leaving, she states her opinions on him: "What a charming wicked creature! I like him so much" (I.19). It is seen that the young gentleman successfully transferred his conflictual identity to the Duchess, and she does not eventually despise him, relying on the rumours of the town or his being a self-centred, pleasure-fond dandy.

A dandy like Lord Darlington is indifferent to moral values as is seen above; however, he does not interfere with other people's relations. He says "A man can't tell these things about another man!" to confirm this view (II.37). However, there is one danger for a dandy: to lose his dandyism. For Lord Darlington, the moment he confesses his love for Lady Windermere, he degenerates from a dandy to a sentimental lover:

> LORD DARLINGTON: Yes, I love you! You are more to me than anything in the whole world. What does your husband give you? Nothing. Whatever is in him he gives to this wretched woman, whom he has thrust into your society, into your home, to shame you before every one. I offer you my life –
>
> LADY WINDERMERE: Lord Darlington!
>
> LORD DARLINGTON: My life – my whole life. Take it, and do with it what you will. … I love you – love you as I have never loved any living thing. From the moment I met you I loved you, loved you blindly, adoringly, madly! You did not know it then—you know it now! (II.37-38)

At that moment, he gets attached to whatever he has ridiculed previously. Unlike a true dandy, he judges Mrs Erlynne's modesty by calling her a "wretched" woman and offers his "whole" life to the lady's service (II.37). In the previous act, he is seen to have rejected the conventional definitions of society. He has not cared about them. Nonetheless, it is understood that he listens to and minds what the elite society thinks of him. He tells that "I won't tell you that the world matters nothing, or the world's voice, or the voice of society. They matter a great deal. They matter far too much" (II.38). To put it differently, he ceases to be truly dandiacal by paying attention to the content, not the form.

Other than Lord Darlington, the minor male characters are shown to possess a dandy's masculine aspects. Dumby, not a man lacking intelligence as his name suggests, is another dandy in the play. In his comical conversation with ladies at the ball, he is seen to play with words and not to pay attention to what is said, or the content, but the flow

of the conversation, i.e. the form:

> DUMBY: Good evening, Lady Stutfield. I suppose this will be the last ball of the season?
>
> LADY STUTFIELD: I suppose so, Mr Dumby. It's been a delightful season, hasn't it?
>
> DUMBY: Quite delightful! Good evening, Duchess. I suppose this will be the last ball of the season?
>
> DUCHESS OF BERWICK: I suppose so, Mr Dumby. It has been a very dull season, hasn't it?
>
> DUMBY: Dreadfully dull! Dreadfully dull!
>
> MRS COWPER-COWPER: Good evening, Mr Dumby. I suppose this will be the last ball of the season?
>
> DUMBY: Oh, I think not. There'll probably be two more. [*Wanders back to* LADY PLYMDALE.]

As a wit, he comfortably adjusts himself to whatever is being said. Moreover, Dumby's dandyism, here, makes him tend to neglect the content of his remarks as long as they are formulated and phrased well. Just like a true dandy's obsession with form, or the appearance of someone or something, he "can only be sure of his own existence by finding it in the expression of others' faces. Other people are his mirror. A mirror that quickly becomes clouded, it's true, since human capacity for attention is limited" (Camus 51-52). Dumby, as a representation of the artistic dandy, delights in his own capability of eloquence and pays attention to the formation of the expressions he utters, but not their meanings.

Dandyism, as a philosophy in the nineteenth century, works as a justification for the actions and manners of Wilde's characters. Unlike Restoration libertinism, dandyism does not, in reality, have a political purpose. It does not aim to influence or to urge other men or women to absorb its ideals. Roland Barthes affirms this philosophy by stating that "[t]he dandy in no way sets the upper classes against the lower classes, but rather, exclusively and absolutely, sets the individual against the common herd" (qtd. in B. Nelson 136). Therefore, dandyism can be said to have no ideological aim, but is just a philosophical stance against the bourgeois normativity and masculinity values in the nineteenth century. Dandyism, thus, constitutes the ground for Wilde's and his characters' ideas and behaviours. Just like libertinism, dandyism is not limited to only males. It is possible to see dandiacal traits also in the female characters of the play like

Mrs Erlynne and the Duchess of Berwick. Mrs Erlynne has the central role of the play; she has been alienated from society due to a secret in her past. That secret is revealed at the end of the second act when she learns that Lady Windermere has left her husband for another man. Mrs Erlynne utters the reality at that moment: "The daughter must not be like the mother – that would be terrible. . . . Who knows that better than I?" (II.44). It is understood that she once paid attention to appearances, but not the realities, just like a dandy would do. Her motive is also given as to re-enter the elite society, of which she was a member in the past, and to be accepted by it. In the case of the Duchess, she puts the blame of the gossip about Lord Windermere and Mrs Erlynne on her nieces, the Saville girls (II.39), since she does not want to be deprived of the vanities of the society. All the dandies, at some point, are seen to have rejected the morals and conventions of the Victorian middle-class. One can interpret these dandies' eccentricities as the signs of a desire to be accepted and applauded by the very society they, the dandies, themselves ridicule (Ganz, "The Dandiacal Drama" 147).

For the dandy, superiority does not come from the composition of one's personality, but from the structure of form, or a person's appearance. Wilde illustrates why:

> For the real artist is he who proceeds, not from feeling to form, but from form to thought and passion. . . . [R]ealizing the beauty of the sonnet-scheme, he [first] conceives certain modes of music and methods of rhyme, and the mere form suggests what is to fill it and make it intellectually and emotionally complete. . . . He gains his inspiration from form, and from form purely, as an artist should. . . . All bad poetry springs from genuine feeling. To be natural is to be obvious, and to be obvious is to be inartistic. . . . In every sphere of life Form is the beginning of things. The rhythmic harmonious gestures of dancing convey, Plato tells us, both rhythm and harmony into the mind. . . . Yes: Form is everything. It is the secret of life. (*The Critic as Artist* 289)

The principle of superiority of form to content is seen in Mrs Erlynne's description of Lord Augustus Lorton: "And there is a great deal of good in Lord Augustus. Fortunately it is all on the surface. Just where good qualities should be" (II.41). In the last act, Lord Windermere chastises her because of her misbehaviour in Lord Darlington's house with harsh words. At that moment, Mrs Erlynne warningly reminds him of the importance of "manners before morals" (IV.62). In one of her most sentimental speeches, she contrastively underlines the importance of appearance rather than feelings like contrition in a person, even in a woman: "what consoles one nowadays is not

repentance, but pleasure. Repentance is quite out of date. And besides, if a woman really repents, she has to go to a bad dressmaker, otherwise no one believes in her" (IV.65). Mrs Erlynne, as a female dandy, cleverly uses language and demonstrates the superiority of mind over morals because her subversiveness relies on her use irony and command of the game of appearance, or forms.

In dandyism, any artificial thing is held in great respect since the dandy recognises that art is an artificial reality in its own paradox, but not a natural one. Oscar Wilde illustrates the main idea behind the dandy's manners in *Rose-Leaf and Apple-Leaf: L'Envoi*:

> [J]oy in art – that incommunicable element of artistic delight which, in poetry, for instance, comes from what Keats called the "sensuous life of verse," the element of song in the singing, made so pleasurable to us by that wonder of motion which often has its origin in mere musical impulse, and in painting is to be sought for, from the subject never, but from the pictorial charm only – the scheme and symphony of the colour, the satisfying beauty of the design: . . . in the work of such men as Whistler and Albert Moore. . . . the quality of their exquisite painting comes from the mere inventive and creative handling of line and colour, from a certain form and choice of beautiful workmanship, which, rejecting all literary reminiscence and all metaphysical idea, is in itself entirely satisfying to the aesthetic sense – is, as the Greeks would say, an end in itself; the effect of their work being like the effect given to us by music; for music is the art in which form and matter are always one, . . . the art which most completely realizes for us the artistic ideal, and is the condition to which all the other arts are constantly aspiring. (8-9)

The dandy devotes himself "to transform life into art, self into *chef-d'oeuvre* [a masterpiece]" by playing on his eccentricity and distinctness (B. Nelson 136). In the play, the young dandiacal gentlemen regard the old man, Lord Augustus, as one of them with his delight in unnatural, artificial things:

> LORD AUGUSTUS: My dear boy, if I wasn't the most good-natured man in London –
>
> CECIL GRAHAM: We'd treat you with more respect, wouldn't we, Tuppy? [*Strolls away.*]
>
> DUMBY: The youth of the present day are quite monstrous. They have absolutely no respect for dyed hair. [*Lord Augustus looks round angrily.*] (III.52)

Lord Augustus provides a rather different example of an old man with his "dyed hair" that mirrors the artificiality of a dandy. He conforms to the dandyism adopted by the youth because he is aware that anything natural and moral is belittled by them.

Similarly, according to dandyism again, the crucial thing in human relations is not decency, but elegant manners. Decency in a man is parallel with ugliness and deformation in arts:

> CECIL GRAHAM [*coming towards him L.C.*]: My dear Arthur, I never talk scandal. *I* only talk gossip.
>
> LORD WINDERMERE: What is the difference between scandal and gossip?
>
> CECIL GRAHAM: Oh! gossip is charming! History is merely gossip. But scandal is gossip made tedious by morality. Now, I never moralize. A man who moralizes is usually a hypocrite, and a woman who moralizes is invariably plain. There is nothing in the whole world so unbecoming to a woman as a Nonconformist conscience. And most women know it, I'm glad to say.
>
> LORD AUGUSTUS: Just my sentiments, dear boy, just my sentiments. (III.53)

From the male characters' attitudes towards life, towards each other, and their own selves, one can understand that such dandiacal manners emerge as a reaction to "the pressures the age brought to bear upon the Victorian man," and these pressures on Victorian men resulted from the economic and political concerns in the previous and present centuries (Christ 147). Thus, men were raised with the cultural imperatives indoctrinating them to be active, ambitious and aggressive in both socio-political and domestic spheres (Friedman 1078).

In the ball scene, the Duchess of Berwick sends her daughter − the trisyllabic Lady Agatha who says nothing more than the unchanging "yes, mamma" throughout the play − to the terrace to get acquainted with Mr Hopper, a nineteenth-century imperial man. When Lady Agatha and Mr Hopper return from the terrace, the Duchess questions them:

> DUCHESS OF BERWICK: . . . Mr Hopper, I am very, very angry with you. You have taken Agatha out on the terrace, and she is so delicate.
>
> HOPPER [*L.C.*]: Awfully sorry, Duchess. We went out for a moment and then got chatting together.
>
> DUCHESS OF BERWICK [*C.*]: Ah, about dear Australia, I suppose?
>
> HOPPER: Yes!
>
> DUCHESS OF BERWICK: Agatha, darling! [*Beckons her over.*]
>
> LADY AGATHA: Yes, mamma!
>
> DUCHESS OF BERWICK [*aside.*]: Did Mr Hopper definitely −
>
> LADY AGATHA: Yes, mamma.

DUCHESS OF BERWICK: And what answer did you give him, dear child?

LADY AGATHA: Yes, mamma.

DUCHESS OF BERWICK [*affectionately*]: My dear one! You always say the right thing. Mr Hopper! James! Agatha has told me everything. How cleverly you have both kept your secret.

HOPPER. You don't mind my taking Agatha off to Australia, then, Duchess? (II.39-40)

One can clearly see here the hypocrisy of the Duchess. Although she tries to protect her daughter from the vices of Lord Darlington in the first act, the Duchess seems willing to espouse her daughter to Mr Hopper about whom she knows nothing, other than his being a rich man living in Australia. In other words, she thinks about the economic welfare of Lady Agatha and accordingly chooses a husband for her. The dandy men of the play must not have missed that scene because they immediately begin to ridicule the "awful manners" of Mr Hopper who is "one of Nature's gentlemen, the worst type of gentleman" (II.40). The romantic naturalness of a man turns into an object of ridicule because nature does not perfect its creations, according to the philosophy of dandyism (Glick 140).

In the all-men scene of the third act, another characteristic of a dandy is demonstrated again: despising middle-class values. In the first act, Lord Darlington was ridiculing Lady Windermere's old puritanical beliefs; now other dandies begin to ridicule his sentimental condition. Lord Darlington phases in the moralistic, conventional values of the middle classes after his love for Lady Windermere.

LORD DARLINGTON: Oh! she doesn't love me. She is a good woman. She is the only good woman I have ever met in my life.

CECIL GRAHAM: The only good woman you have ever met in your life?

LORD DARLINGTON: Yes!

CECIL GRAHAM [*lighting a cigarette*]: Well, you are a lucky fellow! Why, I have met hundreds of good women. I never seem to meet any but good women. The world is perfectly packed with good women. To know them is a middle-class education.

LORD DARLINGTON: This woman has purity and innocence. She has everything we men have lost.

CECIL GRAHAM: My dear fellow, what on earth should we men do going about with purity and innocence? A carefully thought-out buttonhole is much more effective. (III.54)

The conversation starts with the good manners of a woman and then continues with a metaphor of clothes. A carefully designed and stitched buttonhole is mentioned as an object of artistic creation which is of greater significance than a woman's purity and innocence, according to dandyism. In this short third act which is preceded and succeeded by sentimental melodramatic occurrences, Wilde achieves to demonstrate his dandies' aesthetic concerns by means of witty dialogues. He shows the two worlds, aristocratic dandy's aesthetic world and middle-class man's sensible world, as running counter to each other.

Additionally, the curiosity of the dandy is emphasised by Mr Cecil Graham who is criticised by Lord Augustus because of his interest in Mrs Erlynne and Lord Augustus's relation. The young dandy states that "My own business always bores me to death. I prefer other people's" (III.51). His perfection of masculine form and dandiacal manners obviously hinder him from having pleasure in his self-centred actions. That curiosity is also underlined with Dumby. In the same scene, Mr Cecil Graham supposes Dumby is asleep, to which Dumby answers that "I am, I usually am!" in a lazy attitude (III.51) because of his indifference to what he himself does. Dumby contradicts this by telling that he has "been wildly, madly adored [by others]. . . . It has been a great nuisance. I should like to be allowed a little time to myself now and then" (III.55). He actually appears to be a mysterious man who draws attention of elite society. Unlike the sentimental man of the eighteenth century, he is quite a rake who cannot reject those who are interested in him. His dandiacal individualism, thus, stems from his pleasure-seeking attitude.

As for the institution of marriage in the play, it can be understood from the main couple that marry while still underage. For instance, Lady Windermere is married for two years and is to turn twenty-one that day. Dandies, regarding love and marriage as only a part of the Victorian life style, question how the institution of marriage functions. Lord Darlington calls into question the ethics of loyalty in marriage:

> LORD DARLINGTON [*still seated*]: Do you think then – of course I am only putting an imaginary instance – do you think that in the case of a young married couple, say about two years married, if the husband suddenly becomes the intimate friend of a woman of – well, more than doubtful character, is always calling upon her, lunching with her, and probably paying her bills – do you think that the wife

should not console herself?

LADY WINDERMERE [*frowning*]: Console herself?

LORD DARLINGTON: Yes, I think she should – I think she has the right.

LADY WINDERMERE: Because the husband is vile – should the wife be vile also? (I.16)

He slyly provides the lady with the solution: if her husband supposedly committed adultery with Mrs Erlynne, Lady Windermere could have the chance to console herself with Lord Darlington. Despite the constant reiteration of morality and familial values, the licentiousness of men in the late Victorian era is so naturalised that the Duchess refers to the Duke's extramarital affairs as "running after all kinds of petticoats, every colour, every shape, every material" after their marriage (I.22). This is the situation that the dandy opposes; in spite of being an advocate of the Victorian bourgeois value system, a woman like the Duchess condones her husband's illicit affairs with other women.

When Mr Cecil Graham first steps onto the stage, he talks to Lord Augustus about his father's sermons on morality. For Mr Cecil Graham, his father "was old enough to better. But my experience is that as soon as people are old enough to know better, they don't know anything at all" (II.32). His dandyism is immediately endorsed by Lord Darlington who says: "You're excessively trivial, my dear boy, excessively trivial" (II.32). Mr Cecil Graham seems to have been irritated with society's – his family's – intervention with his morality because he does not impose anything on others. He also refers to "marriage" as a "game" which one could easily get bored of (II.32). Apart from him, Dumby refers to the reputed secret relationship between Lord Darlington and Mrs Erlynne as a consequence of modern life (II.41). In the all-men scene, Dumby mentions women hunting for rich husbands in their time because they have become "commercial" (III.52). He explains the difference between the old and new generations of women: "Our grandmothers threw their caps over the mills, of course, but, by Jove, their granddaughters only throw their caps over mills that can raise the wind for them" (III.52). Because of hypocritical acts in Victorian society such as commercialising the so-called sacred institution of marriage and dignifying money over personal or social values, these men despise marriage as a moral institution. It is equated with a minor, but "expensive" vice, like smoking cigarettes (III.53). The presence of vice in a dignified

institution like marriage is suggested to exist despite the presuppositions of the very society. They, additionally, refer to the fact that cigarettes are not objects of demoralisation. The ostensible norms of society are criticised with the evilness of arranged and methodical marriages. The dandy, thus, maintains his actions with his cynical remarks on the "naturalised" morality of institutions.

As a dandy and a member of the real world like the libertines who wrote during the Restoration, Oscar Wilde demonstrated himself as an artistic perfection with both his appearance and his witty conversationalism (Chevereşan 11). Just before the premiere of *Lady Windermere's Fan* on 20 February 1892, he asks a friend to buy a green carnation from a certain florist because "it will annoy the public" (Pearson, *The Life* 223). As a public person, he continues to explain the drive behind his request:

> [The public] likes to be annoyed. A young man on the stage [Ben Webster as Cecil Graham] will wear a green carnation; people will stare at it and wonder. Then they will look around the house and see here and there more and more specks of mystic green. "This must be some secret symbol," they will say; "what on earth can it mean?" And what does it mean? Nothing whatever, but that is just what nobody will guess. (223)

He, thus, poses as superior to the public he assumes to be incapable of thinking like a dandy. As a lover of artificiality, the dandy shows his individualism and superiority with his wit, "by shocking without being shocked;" he is one of those "who always try to create surprise [for his public] by remaining impassive" (Barbey d'Aurevilly 43-44). With the same motivation, he utters a witty speech at the end of the premiere of *Lady Windermere's Fan* when it received much laughter and applause. Wilde on the stage had a tremendous ovation, and he thanked the audience: "Ladies and Gentlemen: I have enjoyed this evening *immensely*. The actors have given us a *charming* rendering of a *delightful* play, and your appreciation has been *most* intelligent. I congratulate you on the *great* success of your performance, which persuades me that you think *almost* as highly of the play as I do myself" (Pearson, *The Life* 224). Yet not many critics understood this speech (Ganz, "The Dandiacal Drama" 130). Instead of overtly insulting the public, he slyly compliments them because he was inspired by their actions, norms and manners both in private and in public. On the other hand, he mockingly refers to the playgoers' comprehension capacity as low because they, for Wilde, demonstrated with their applause that they could not understand the satire of the Victorian middle-class

gender relations in the play (130-31).

To sum up, in *Lady Windermere's Fan*, Oscar Wilde displays several dandy characters like Lord Darlington, Mr Graham Cecil, Dumby, Lord Augustus Lorton, and Mrs Erlynne without limiting the philosophy of dandyism to a specific sex. Dandyism, which visibly emerged with its all characteristics in the last decade of the nineteenth century, appears as an affected pose against the Victorian middle-class gender relations which elevated imperial masculinity so that men could serve the capitalist and colonial purposes of the British Empire. As it is seen in the play, dandies such as Lord Darlington and Mr Graham Cecil are not interested in the politics of their time, but they are highly concerned with the representations of their selves. In this respect, the aristocratic masculinity of the dandy differs from its counterpart in the Restoration period – the libertine rake. The dandy is rakish like the Court Wits as it can be observed in the conversation between Lord Darlington and Lady Windermere in the first act; however, he is not involved in the Victorian politics dominated by the middle classes unlike the libertine who attempted to affect the administration of the state of his time. With the idea that perfect form can only be found in art, but not in nature, a dandy seeks perfection in art and artificiality all the time. For that reason, he pays attention to his appearance more than the conventional values which he lacks. When his or her focus shifts from form to content, or from artificial manners to true feelings, the dandy carries the potential to slip into the normative Victorian masculinity, just like Lord Darlington does in the play. In the case of Dumby and Mr Cecil Graham, to be acknowledged as having accomplished perfection in anything is most praiseworthy. For that reason, they are confident in their conduct of manliness, in their ever-charming relations with women and male friends although they remain as keen observers standing apart from society throughout the play. In this regard, the dandy is reluctant to let any exterior force affect his personality due to the Baudelairean cult of the self. He is self-sufficient, self-centric, and he regards himself as uncorrupted by this hypocritical society. The dandies in *Lady Windermere's Fan* collectively represent the ideals of the masculinity of the dandy; these ideals are not given with the specific aspects of only one character. Dandiacal masculinity is, thus, presented in opposition to the sentimental and puritanical middle-class values which are supposed to shelter Lady Windermere from

the harsh conditions of the outer world she lives in, but fail to function when there is the slightest gossip.

CONCLUSION

In the history of British masculinities, the period between the mid-seventeenth century and the late nineteenth is regarded as full of junctures which would be definitive in the formation and establishment of certain masculinities and gender hierarchies in Britain. In the most general sense, this study has illustrated the socio-cultural outcomes of the political and economic crises such as the English Civil War, the Restoration, the Glorious Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in the context of the transformation of British aristocratic and upper-class masculinities as well as the changing patterns of hegemonic masculinity in society and politics. These changing patterns not only concerned men of each century, but also affected the state politics and power relations among men. In addition to politics, morality, the institution of marriage, and social status were at the centre of the transformation of masculinities.

It is shown that the Restoration of the English monarchy in 1660 was more than a political power struggle between the Royalists and Parliamentarians for the administration of the country. Aristocratic masculinity which was primarily attached to the monarchy and then supported by the peerage, the landed gentry, the nobility and the hereditary landowners attempted to re-assert dominance over the Puritan and Parliamentarian masculinity which was attached to the unmitigated manliness of Oliver Cromwell. The English Civil War and the Commonwealth era showed that aristocratic masculinity had less effect on the nation, and the masculinity of the Puritan as middle classes started to be more influential in the governance of the state. However, the excessive emphasis on the Puritan morality and manners was pushed into the background with the reclamation of the English throne by Charles II. The restored aristocratic masculinity was totally shaped by libertinism, and it was therefore different from that of the early seventeenth century. In addition to Charles's use of the stage as a hegemonic apparatus to spread the ideology of his monarchic patriarchy, the theatre employed the comedy of manners as a representation of this struggle of masculine domination by means of its representational and transactional functions.

The early Restoration comedy of manners, which exhibited the manners, habits, and

customs of the Restoration elite society and satirised the puritanical manners of the upstart middle-class landowners and statesmen, operated ideologically to present a faithful depiction of libertine masculinity. Libertine masculinity of the aristocracy attached importance to the development of a man's character by means of experiential education rather than formal teaching. It detached man from the social and moralistic conventions defined by the Puritan commoners and elevated the senses as the only way of gaining experience and reaching a number of different pleasures. The Wits in the court of Charles II provided noteworthy examples of libertine masculinity; nevertheless, their denial of the Puritan morality and norms defamed them as licentious and immoral debauchees.

Shortly afterwards, libertine masculinity started to be condemned by the religious people who mostly belonged to the Puritan, clerical, and merchant circles. Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury was highly effective in his criticism of the libertine culture in the early eighteenth century, and Reverend Jeremy Collier was noted as the head of these critics. Their criticism mostly focused on the alleged immorality and profaneness of the theatre which adhered to the manners of the licentious and libertine aristocracy. For that reason, the critics offered a new set of manners called sentimentalism which emphasised the importance of feelings such as domesticity, modesty, and continuity in one's relations. Because of the political vacancy created by the foreign Hanoverian monarchy, Britain in the eighteenth century remained under the authority of puritanical Whigs who encouraged new forms of drama that contributed to the shaping of the public and confirmation of the Whigs' politics. The non-aristocratic and sentimental masculinity of the middle classes was on the foreground, and it succeeded the position of hegemonic masculinity after the ephemeral domination of libertine masculinity in the Restoration. The royalist idea of patrilineal primogeniture was against the benefits of the new dominant ideology of the middle classes. In order to sustain their positions in the power relations, they refined and reformed aristocratic and upper-class masculinity with some elements of sentimentalism. Accordingly, the eighteenth-century stage was full of sentimental plays depicting virtuous men and women, who did not resemble the Restoration libertines. The comedy of manners was, therefore, reinvented with sentimental traits on the late eighteenth-century stage.

With the development of industrialisation, the middle classes started to occupy the highest rank of the social hierarchy thanks to their economic politics and turned into the new definers of social roles in the nineteenth century. Their economic and political hegemony supported the establishment of sentimental masculinity which was transformed into imperial masculinity with the Victorian values in the nineteenth century. Imperial masculinity illustrated the Victorian ideals such as a healthy male body to create a strong stance representing the power of the state, the public male sphere urging men to become the sole breadwinners of the family and the protectors of women and household in general, and at the same time restraining the male energy in terms of sexuality, extremity and manners. The change of money owners brought along a change in the theatrical taste in the nineteenth century. The middle-class audience demanded only sentimental plays and melodramas which were written in line with the sanctimonious bourgeois values. The novel as the most widespread genre in that age contributed to the diminishing interest in drama. In the late-Victorian period, however, new playwrights started to emerge and privileged the upper-class playgoers. A few, but new, examples of comedy of manners were seen in the last decade of the century, also reflecting some of the features of melodrama to a certain extent.

In the struggles between the upper and middle classes, masculinities of each class competed for hegemony in society and politics. As regards the libertine masculinity, the members of the aristocracy rejected the Puritan-based conventions since they were of the belief that Parliamentarians gained power by means of illegitimate acts like the Civil War which made only the monarchy eligible for the state administration. For that reason, libertine masculinity necessitated to oppose the morality established by the non-aristocratic male members of society. As represented in *The Man of Mode*, the members of the Restoration court ignored the rising hegemony of the moral sentimental masculinity and continued to have sexual affairs with women of Whig-family background. Furthermore, these libertines did not obey the sexual restraint imposed by the Puritan Restoration public, and they sabotaged this restraint by taking their pursuit of pleasure to extremes. They somewhat subverted the compulsory heterosexuality of the time and were known to have homosexual relations in their circle of fraternity as

suggested in the characters of Dorimant and Medley. In the eighteenth century, the young upper-class gentlemen kept on this subversion of the sentimental manners tailored for a man. They approached lower-class women to seduce them as in the case of Young Marlow in *She Stoops to Conquer*. In other words, they believed that virtuous manners were only for the public sphere; they could not be observed in private affairs in the second half of the eighteenth century. Marlow's double-sided manners between sentimentalism and libertinism enables him to demonstrate a hybrid masculinity, that is sentimentalised libertine masculinity. Tony Lumpkin, although brought up in a quite mannered and sentimental household of a country gentleman, Mr Hardcastle, entertains himself with alcoholism, low-rank friends and prostitutes. Because such actions cast him as an outlaw in this strict society, Tony is seen to subvert the sentimental values by means of his protest, or outlaw, masculinity. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the young upper-class gentlemen did not change much in terms of rejecting the conventional morality. In *Lady Windermere's Fan*, Lord Darlington repudiates the moral restrictions in the Victorian society by asking Lady Windermere to escape with him. Because they proved to be nonconformist, disobedient, and subversive with their libertine, outlaw, or dandiacal manners, these young gentlemen were regarded as immoral according to the norms of each century. In fact, it is seen through such rejections that the middle classes who gained economic independence through commerce and industrialisation drove the aristocracy into an anxiety for power. The most dominant way of opposing the centre of the new hegemony, therefore, became to attack the domestic sphere, or to seduce the female members of the non-aristocratic classes.

From the libertine masculinity to the dandy, the institution of marriage was insignificant as a constituent of manliness in the elite circle of British society. Dorimant and Medley definitely despise marriage because they do not believe in its functionality due to its constructed nature as an economic contract between landowning families. In addition, Young Bellair defies his father's – commercial – demand to marry a vastly rich girl, Harriet, and manages to have a love marriage with Emilia in the end. With the same perspective, Marlow does not want to marry the daughter of a wealthy gentry at the beginning of the play. Lord Darlington does not hesitate to tempt a sentimental, young,

married woman, Lady Windermere. Because the institution of marriage was regarded as invalid and unbeneficial during the Restoration, the statistics of nuptiality indicate that the average age for marriage rose almost to thirty. With libertine masculinity, reproduction was excluded from the elements of masculinity construction, and thus Britain faced the lowest rate of bastardy in its history. With the rise of the eighteenth-century sentimentalism, nuptiality interestingly increased; the age of marriage decreased to almost twenty; and the rate of bastardy was statistically observed to rise in comparison to that of the previous period. This suggests that the description of masculinity changed again because penetrative and reproductive sex was at the centre of the process of a man's construction of identity. Otherwise, he was regarded as one of the undesirable and immoral libertines who were devalued now as macaronis. In the Victorian era, marriage was the main concern of imperial masculinity since it was one of the main constituents of manliness. However, this was not valid for the masculinity of a dandy who aimed at perfecting the self without indulging in the care, or welfare, of others around him.

To sum up, the historical change of aristocratic and upper-class masculinity from the libertine to the dandy is explored in this thesis. At the end of this examination one can finally argue that the politics and the power holders in a state determine the dominant form of masculine codes of gender. It is seen that middle-class masculinity was able to hegemonise the long-reigning upper-class masculinity at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth. With the argument that certain historical events influenced the direction and structure of masculinities, this study aims at paving the way for the hegemonic contest of masculinities in the twentieth century with the addition of the working class, especially after the 1950s. In the dramatic performances, it became possible to observe the representations of the proletariat from the second half of the twentieth century onwards. By means of the technological developments and challenges to the traditional gender roles in Britain, the hegemonic struggle among men was eliminated towards the twenty-first century. It is now explicit that different media of representation such as cinema, documentaries and internet portals contribute to the emergence of various masculinities. In this multitude of masculinities, the emphasis is again on the male body as the vessel of manliness; fashion is presented as a *sine qua*

non element. In terms of manners, the hegemony struggle is given only as a commercial conduct. Thus, it can be concluded that the studies of men and masculinities in British drama can be observed through a historical approach to the related period and the gender norms of the period together with the motive for a new concept of masculinity.

NOTES

[1] In his work, Freud attempts to explore "the sexual manifestations of childhood" (Freud, *Three Essays* 259) with the five-stage psychosexual development in which each stage is shaped by the concentration of libido on a particular erogenous zone. These five stages and their foci of pleasure can respectively be matched as the oral (first) stage and mouth, the anal (second) stage and elimination/retaining of excrement, the phallic (third) stage and genitalia, the latency (fourth) stage and same-sex relations, and the genital (fifth) stage and opposite-sex relations (Freud, *Three Essays* 261-85). Because "all libido – all sexual drive – is fundamentally active, and therefore masculine" for Freud (Thurschwell 50-51), what is particularly relevant of masculinities in Freud's theory is the phallic stage in which Freud puts forwards the Oedipus complex.

[2] In the phallic stage, the child sees itself as the dominant side of the relationship with the mother and develops an intense emotional, desirous relationship with her. Thus, the child realises that it is the *active*, dominant, and directive side of this relationship. However, that desire for the mother is not the same for the father who is a more dominant, and therefore active, rival character. This rival figure can have the desired, *passive* mother whenever he wants, and thus, he is hated by the child. The hatred for the father accompanies the fear of castration, especially on the part of the male child. After this realisation, the anxiety of castration which may be actualised by the powerful and rival father, the need for the boy to substitute the mother with another woman, and the need for the girl to substitute the father with another man brings the situation of ever-shifting attitudes of masculinity and femininity, in other words activity and passivity (Freud, *Three Essays* 270-72). Thus, the child learns not to be active all the time and to stay passive to survive at certain periods.

[3] Having established this behavioural versatility, Freud propounded the hypothesis that humans are naturally bisexual because masculine and feminine attitudes coexist in everybody at the same time (*Three Essays* 243-44). He insisted that masculinity can never be present in a perfect condition in one body since the emotional, and therefore feminine and passive, stratum of a person is present side by side and in conflict with the rational, i.e. masculine and active, side at certain times (Connell, *Masculinities* 9-10).

[4] According to alchemy which "establishes a dialectical relationship between the two terms of this conflictual polarity in which one transforms itself into the other" (Schwarz 57), a person comprehends the meaning of the self and becomes informed about his/her androgynous self; thus, s/he gets into the process of uniting that separateness without nullifying either side (Berry 154; Schwarz 58; Kast 119-20). For Jung, this representative union explicates the fluidity of psychic gender (Rowland 15), and the unconscious of an individual manifests itself as either masculine or feminine depending on the density of the complementary process.

[5] These two unconscious elements possess different consciousnesses. The two opposites get separated at the very basic level as archetypes colliding with each other at higher levels of the process of individuation, just like "the creation myths where the feminine and the masculine principle[s] violently collide to create the world" (Vezzoli 152). Individuation is "a process of dynamic dialogue between the ego and the collective unconscious" (Nakamura 135), "a process of becoming whole," "the development of one's unique individuality, a task of self-realization," "through the integration of all the different aspects of one's being" (Kenevan 122).

[6] "For Jung, conflict is not inherent only in the human psychological make-up, but essential to psychological growth," too (Hart 101). In the alchemical sense, individuation requires the

abolishment of the conflicting male-female duality and the appropriation of this duality in the united personality of the original, and ultimate, androgyne (Schwarz 58).

[7] For intercultural influences observed in the construction of masculinities, see Connell, "Globalization, Imperialism, and Masculinities"; Warren 40-62; Sinha 112-31; Newell 244-48.

[8] Furthermore, the sexual objectification of a man by another man is destructive to the male-dominated socio-cultural norms. In *Undoing Gender*, Judith Butler mentions a further practice out of heteronormativity: gay marriage. "The recent efforts to promote lesbian and gay marriage also promote a norm that threatens to render illegitimate and abject those sexual arrangements that do not comply with the marriage norm in either its existing or its revisable form" (Butler, *Undoing Gender* 5). This situation explicitly puts forward the intolerance to any subversive act against heterosexual hegemonic masculinity.

[9] Neither of the two sides consisted of members coming from only the "appropriate" social background. The Royalists included some merchant and professional supporters like Parliamentarians had the support of some nobility (Walker 139; Carpenter 43-45).

[10] John O'Brien comments on the primary concerns of the reverend by stating that "what made the English stage profane for Collier was not only the double-entendre that he identified in Restoration comedy, but, more important, the theater's scission from the church-state apparatus, its separation into an institution governed largely by its own norms rather than being put in the service of higher purposes. We might well see Collier's attack as self-interested, an attempt to bring the theater back under the purview of men like himself, traditionalists eager to turn the clock back. And we may also understand the theater's sacrifice of its ritual function as a kind of liberation, one that enabled the theater to deal with the issues of a disenchanted world, to represent the immediate concerns of its society rather than attempting to resolve cosmic questions" (199-200). As a non-juror, which means a person refusing to swear allegiance to Mary II and William III after the dethronement of James II, Collier was only an instigator of the refinement of the seventeenth-century English theatre.

[11] Dryden also regarded Collier as a product of "the worst of both French absolutism and English religious fanaticism" (Tumbleson 39) due to his character and inclinations in politics so one can state Collier was not the leading manager of the refinement of Restoration stage.

[12] The term "middling" was frequently used after 1630 in order to refer to the upwardly mobile lower-class people, and those "who occupied the middle ground in the hierarchies of wealth, status and power, and aspired to some social and economic independence" (Rogers 172). Similarly, Daniel Defoe refers to same social stratum as "the middle station" (6-7, 10, 36, 38) in *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719).

[13] For an extensive account of the social mobilisation from the mercantile class to the landed gentry with periodical statistics, see R. G. Wilson, "The Landed Elite (158-70). For a detailed analysis of how the middle class was shaped in the eighteenth century and what its values were, see Rogers, "The Middling Orders" (173-80).

[14] This change in hegemonic masculinity left its place to attempts to subvert the patriarchal gender order by women. "Gentry and middle-class women," Connell highlights, "were active in reforms of morals and domestic customs [at that time] which sharply challenged the sexual prerogatives of gentry men" (*Masculinities* 191). Under the rule of the two Hanoverian kings, George III and George IV, possessing the characteristics of Englishness unlike the previous Georges, the English understanding of family and home was developed in order to keep women in their supposedly rightful duties – child bearing and rearing, and house management – and to suspend them from schooling, exterior realms belonging to men, and business. However much

women attempted to step into the "masculine" areas by means of pamphlets and fictions, the early nineteenth century seemed to have concentrated only on the rights of men.

[15] For the preference of the term "philosophy" in relation to libertinism, see Novak 54-64; Potter 176-83; Underwood 8; Montgomery 83-89; V. Smith 3-5, 56; Kent 29; P. Gill 204.

[16] For the use of the term "ideology" in relation to libertinism, see Webster, "'This Gaudy, Gilded Stage': Rhetorics of Libertinism in the Drama of the Court Wits, 1671-1678," and *Performing Libertinism in Charles II's Court: Politics, Drama, Sexuality*; Mackie 61; Turner, "Lovelace and the Paradoxes of Libertinism" 72; Berglund 370-83; Brown 41.

[17] For a two phased consolidation of both terms, see Fisk, Introduction xi-xxi; Chernaik 4-8, 14-20, 22-26, 116-17, 149-51; Cryle and O'Connell 2-8; Canfield, *Tricksters and Estates: On the Ideology of Restoration Comedy*.

[18] For the interchangeable use of the two terms, see Ngg 4-5, 13-14, 28-30, 91, 107.

[19] One can presume that the macaroni's attachment to effeminacy and homosexuality sounds far-fetched in the eighteenth-century context. However, it is seen that this attachment is sophisticated not by a certain group of macaronis or by the ones who disapprove of them. It is rather "a collective, not just a personal, relationship [between the individual and the public]. It [therefore] affects gender on a society-wide scale" (Connell, *Masculinities* 143). In *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler proposes to "[c]onsider gender . . . as *a corporeal style*, an 'act,' as it were, which is both intentional and performative, where '*performative*' suggests a dramatic and contingent construction of meaning" (177). Regarding gender as an imitation or a performance of one's essence, she argues that its "acts, gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core or substance . . . on the surface of the body" (*Gender Trouble* 136).

[20] Jules Amédée Barbey d'Aurevilly and Charles Baudelaire are the early critical thinkers on the philosophy of dandyism. For readings on dandyism, one can also refer to Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) and his long essay *Treatise on Elegant Living* (1830), Albert Camus (1913-1960) and his *The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt* (1951), and Roland Barthes (1915-1980) and his essay "Dandyism and Fashion" (1962).

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APPENDIX 1. ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

23.07.2015

Thesis Title: Masculinities from the Libertine to the Dandy in the Comedy of Manners: George Etherege's *The Man of Mode*, Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* and Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan*

According to the originality report obtained by myself by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options stated below on 23.07.2015 for the total of 147 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 3 %.

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I respectfully submit this for approval.

23.07.2015

Name Surname:	Şafak Horzum
Student No:	N12130324
Department:	English Language and Literature
Program:	English Language and Literature
Status:	☒ Masters ☐ Ph.D. ☐ Integrated Ph.D.

ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED.

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Şebnem Kaya

APPENDIX 2. ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

23.07.2015

Thesis Title: Masculinities from the Libertine to the Dandy in the Comedy of Manners: George Etherege's *The Man of Mode*, Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* and Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan*

My thesis work related to the title/topic above:

1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).

I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

23.07.2015

Name Surname:	Şafak Horzum
Student No:	N12130324
Department:	English Language and Literature
Program:	English Language and Literature
Status:	☒ Masters ☐ Ph.D. ☐ Integrated Ph.D.

ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Şebnem Kaya

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name – Surname   : Şafak Horzum

Date & Place of Birth : 18 June 1988 – Sarayköy/Denizli-Turkey

E-Mail   : shafakhorzum@gmail.com

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Master of Arts   : 2012-2015, Hacettepe University, English Language & Literature

Bachelor of Arts   : 2006-2010, Hacettepe University, English Language and Literature

Foreign Languages : English (Advanced), French (Intermediate), Japanese (Beginner)

Academic Activities:

<div align="center">Conference Papers</div>

Horzum, Şafak. "Taming of the Libertine's Masculinity in Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*." *9th International IDEA Conference: Studies in English*, İnönü University, Malatya/Turkey, 15-17 Apr. 2015.

Horzum. Şafak. "*Naruto* Anime Serilerinde Doğa-İnsan İlişkisine Ekoeleştirel Yaklaşım [Ecocritical Approach to Nature-Human Relationship in the Anime Series of *Naruto*]." *Spekülatif Kurgu Konferansı: "Doğa ve Kent"* [*Speculative Fiction Conference: "Nature and City"*], İstanbul University, İstanbul/Turkey, 15-16 May 2014.

Horzum, Şafak. "Avoidance and Recreation of Violence in Plato's *The Republic* and More's *Utopia*." *Probing the Boundaries: 12th Global "Violence" Conference*, Inter-Disciplinary.Net, Lisbon/Portugal, 2-4 May 2014.

Horzum, Şafak. "Social Perception of a Master Spy and His Politicised Sexuality: Alfred Redl and *A Patriot for Me*." *8th International IDEA Conference: Studies in English*, Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University, Muğla/Turkey, 16-18 Apr. 2014. (Best Graduate Paper Award)

Horzum, Şafak. "*The Republic* and *Utopia*: Utopias as the Counter-Historical Narratives." *3rd International BAKEA (Western Cultural and Literary Studies) Symposium: "History"*, Gaziantep University, Gaziantep/Turkey, 9-11 Oct. 2013.

Horzum, Şafak. "Agitation and Propaganda in the Scottish Politics: Sir David Lindsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaits* and John McGrath's *The Cheviot, The Stag, and The Black, Black Oil*." *13th ILLS (International Language, Literature and*

Stylistics) Symposium: "Simple Style", Kafkas University, Kars/Turkey, 26-28 Sep. 2013.

Horzum, Şafak. "Past Within/Through the Frame of Present: Poly-Realities in Historiography." *International "Memory and Truth" Conference*, South-West University of Blagoevgrad, "Neofit Rilski", Blagoevgrad/Bulgaria, 28-31 Oct. 2009.

Horzum, Şafak. "Libertine Heroes versus Sentimental Heroes: A Comparative Analysis of the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century English Comedies." *International BAKEA (Western Cultural and Literary Studies) Symposium: "Hero(ine)"*, Pamukkale University, Denizli/Turkey, 7-9 Oct. 2009.

<div align="center">Conference Organisations</div>

Member of the Organising Committee, 12-14 May 2015, 50th Anniversary Conference: British and Turkish Literary and Cultural Interactions, Department of English Language and Literature, Hacettepe University, Ankara/Turkey

Member of the Organising Committee, 11 Mar. 2015, Graduate Conference: "Innovative Representations of 'Sexualities' in Studies in English", Centre for British Literary and Cultural Studies, Hacettepe University, Ankara/Turkey

Member of the Organising Committee, 26 Nov. 2014, "One Day, Oscar Wilde…" Conference, Department of English Language and Literature, Hacettepe University, Ankara/Turkey

WORK EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant, 2013-…, Department of English Language and Literature, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey

Secretary, 2012-…, Centre for British Literary and Cultural Studies, Hacettepe University

Research Assistant, 2012-2013, Department of Foreign Languages, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Bozok University, Ankara, Turkey

Specialist English Teacher, 2008-2012, Wall Street Institute, School of English – Kızılay & OSTİM Branches – Ankara, Turkey (Teaching English grammar, speaking & writing skills; following up ≈100 students regularly, approximately 15 new ones every month; scheduling new classes of the centre; assisting the sales team)

English Teacher, 2011-2012, Kaplan Certified Education Provider, Ankara, Turkey (Preparing test-takers for TOEFL, IELTS, TOEIC and SAT by providing exam strategies; Success Rate: 86 %)

Private English Tutor, 2009-2012, Ankara, Turkey (Free-lance English education to primary, secondary school and university students as well as businesspeople)

Freelance Interpreter-Translator (Simultaneous & Consecutive), 2009-2012, English-Turkish / Turkish-English translations, Companies: Sömel Metal Com. Ltd.; Star Elevator Escalator Const. Undertaking Trade & Ind. Com. Ltd.; Hidromert Machine Trade. Com. Ltd., Ankara, Turkey

Editor, 2010-2011, *Lacivert Şiir ve Öykü Dergisi*, Ankara, Turkey