THE MORALITY PLAY: MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

by

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CHAPTER I.

The Subject Defined.

(I) Introductory.

Someone has said that just as the people of the Middle Ages found Antiquity, so have we moderns been discovering the Middle Ages. "Our passion for Gothic, our interest in handicraft, our love of folk-song, our admiration for Pre-Raphaelite art, all attest this revival."¹ One evidence of this love for things medieval is to be observed in the reawakened interest in medieval drama. It seems a significant fact that such interest has not been confined to students of literature but that the revival of certain medieval dramas has made a strong popular appeal. Furthermore the medieval drama has proved a source of inspiration to certain modern men of letters as well as to certain writers whose chief aim is the appeal to the popular taste, so that we have a considerable body of modern literature which owes a debt, more or less directly, to the medieval drama. It is the aim of this study to consider one type represented in this body of literature, the modern morality play, with especial reference to its relation to the medieval morality.

1. Harvey, "The Morality Play in the Development of English Drama", Dial., vol. 34, p. 296. Modern interest in May festivals and modern revivals of Mummers' plays and Morris dances might also be mentioned here.

The morality play appears in the Symbolistic school of modern literature as early as 1890.² Since the revival of Everyman in 1901, however, interest in the morality play has been more pronounced, especially in the field of English drama. The first modern performance of Everyman took place in London under the auspices of the Elizabethan Stage Society and under the personal direction of the founder of this society, Mr. William Poel.³ Later presentations of the play aroused great enthusiasm in London, New York, Boston, Chicago, and elsewhere.⁴ Other medieval moralities, notably The Interlude of Youth, Mundus et Infans, King John, and Mankind, have since been revived and have, for the most part, proved successful.⁵

A spectator of the first modern performance of Everyman describes it as follows: "To Mr. William Poel, the secretary and originator of the Elizabethan Stage Society, we are indebted for some quaint and edifying illustrations of our early stage. None of the previous experiments has had quite the value and interest of the performance given last

2. This is the date of Maeterlinck's The Intruder and The Blind.

3. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, pp. 10 ff.

4. Harvey, "The Morality Play in the Development of English Drama," Dial, vol. 34, p. 296.

5. Cf. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, pp. 115-118.

Saturday afternoon under the shade of the venerable walls of the Charterhouse. The place was admirably suited to the entertainment, which consisted of the anonymous morality of Everyman and the scene of the interrupted 'Sacrifice of Isaac' from the --- Chester miracle plays. --- The environment was in keeping with the action, and the two were so harmonious that it became easy to conceive the mimic performance real, and to believe that we were spectators of, and almost participants in, a great historical tragedy. Tragedy indeed, in its naïve simplicity and uncompromising sincerity, Everyman is - that 'tragedy to those who feel' which is our general lot, the great unending problem of life, responsibility, and death. There are many points from which the entertainment may be regarded, and from all it is significant. The first thing that strikes one is that the primitive drama, which seems so dull and didactic, may well have passioned our forefathers - is, indeed, capable of passioning us; the second that this particular piece is capable, when its merits are known, of attracting all London and becoming the 'sensation' of the season. Temptations to ridicule presented themselves, and the smile rose occasionally to the lips. It died there, and sank before the absolute sincerity of the whole. Amusement never degenerated into mockery. The presentation was naturally naïve. Adonai was shown as an

elderly man with a curling grey beard. Death had no scythe, but had, as in some illustrations we recall, a drum and a trumpet. Everyman, who was admirably played by a woman,⁶ was a bright and dapper youth in the opening scenes, and in the later presented a tragic figure. Designs for the dresses are supplied on the title page of an edition of the morality printed by Skot, and are given in facsimile in the first volume of Hazlett's 'Dodsley'. In preference to these, Mr. Poel has taken others from Flemish tapestries of the early fifteenth century. Whencesoever obtained, they were admirable, and the entertainment was lifelike and impressive."⁷.

Everyman may be considered a fair representative of the popular medieval morality. Says Barley: "The play is medieval in tone, yet its motive is essentially modern. It lays the emphasis on life and conduct. It makes us realize our own personal responsibility. It demonstrates to us that not the righteousness of another alone, but the careful ordering of our own lives is the basis of our redemption. The quaint

6. Edith Wynne Matthison (Mrs Charles Rann Kennedy). Mr. Kennedy himself took the part of the Doctor who speaks prologue and epilogue. Cf. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, p. 63.

7. Everyman reviewed, Athenaeum, 1901:pt.2, p.103.

story, the excellence of the characterization, the novelty of the stage setting, the beauty of the language, the humor and pathos, the excellence and naivete of the dramatic construction, the fine blending of drama and allegory, the depth of religious feeling, all combined to make a moral effect upon sophisticated modern spectators little short of that it made upon those for whom it was immediately written, a splendid testimony of the dramatic genius of its unknown author,- and to produce an unmistakable and beneficent influence on contemporary English Drama."⁸.

(II) Purpose of the Thesis.

It is the purpose of this thesis to examine modern morality plays, both before and after the revival of Everyman in 1901, with reference to their relation to the medieval moralities. The plays are to be considered and compared with reference to

1. Allegorical Plots.
2. Characters and Characterization.
3. Staging and Presentation.
4. Place in Dramatic History.

8. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, pp. 17-18.

(III) The Morality Play Defined.

The morality is that type of play which presents abstract conceptions as its characters and which deals with abstract relations in its plot. In other words, the morality is a play whose characters, in part at least, are personified abstractions and whose action is allegorical. By personified abstractions are meant abstract conceptions endowed with personality and human characteristics. By allegorical action is meant action whose interpretation is not literal, but figurative. The inculcation of a moral or spiritual lesson³ is usually considered an essential feature of the morality. After a careful consideration of the morality plays it seems to the writer of the present study impossible to draw a sharp line of distinction between those moralities in which a specific moral or spiritual lesson is enforced, and those plays in which the author merely presents his philosophy of life, or some phase of it, by means of abstract characters and allegorical plot. Consequently a specific didactic aim has not been considered an essential feature of the morality for the purposes of the present study.

In considering the medieval moralities the terms 'moral play' and 'moral interlude' are used.

Without entering into the various technical questions involved in a consideration of the origin and usage of these terms, we may understand their significance in the present study to be as follows. The term 'moral play' is used to indicate the early, long, religious morality, which was popular in treatment of subject matter and in presentation. The term 'moral interlude' is applied to the later, short, largely secularized morality, which was usually performed by professional actors.

(IV) The Morality Play Distinguished from Related Dramatic Types.

Certain other types of plays are related to and often confused with the morality play. It may be worth while to consider these briefly, attempting to show their relation to the morality play and to distinguish them from this type. In the first place the terms 'mystery', 'miracle', and 'morality' as applied to the drama seem to be hopelessly confused in the popular mind. The mystery play is a play based on Scriptural (or apocryphal) narrative. The miracle play was originally a play based on a saint's legend; it usually contains some supernatural character or event. The morality play, as we have seen, has personified abstractions for at least part

of its characters; its action is allegorical. In the Middle Ages didactic purpose seems to have been a common characteristic of these types; two, sometimes three of the types were occasionally combined in a single drama, as, for example, in the Mary Magdalene.

There are certain other types of plays which are more or less allied to the morality play, but which are, as a rule, distinct from it. 'Symbolistic drama' has been used with various connotations; usually the term Symbolism is used to indicate the reaction against Realism and Naturalism in literature, which emphasized the metaphysical and the mysterious, and dealt with general truths and abstractions rather than with material realities. Symbolism in the broader sense, then, would seem to include all literature in which the abstract idea is presented concretely, whether by means of personifications or of material symbols. In this sense Symbolism naturally includes the morality play. In a more restricted sense the term symbolism may be applied to one phase of the Symbolistic reaction,- the use in literature of a material object to represent an abstract idea. Thus the hour-glass⁹ and the candle¹⁰ symbolize

9. Cf. Yeats, The Hour Glass.

10. Cf. Andreyev, The Life of Man.

the life of man; the open drain becomes a symbol of corruption in the church.¹¹ This form of symbolism is often found in combination with morality themes; it is not, however, at all essential to the morality play.

The term 'dream play' has been somewhat loosely applied; usually, however, it refers to a play which represents all or part of its events as taking place in a dream. The dream play may or may not contain morality elements. Strindberg's Dream Play is a fairy play closely allied to the miracle type; Galsworthy's The Little Dream is a morality. Fairy plays include such plays as introduce fairies as characters and transport the reader to a supernatural or fantastic world, making little pretense at reality. The fairy motive may also be combined with a morality element, as in Strindberg's Lucky Pehr and Maeterlinck's Blue Bird.

Another associated type is the parable play. Here the characters are individual and the story is one of real life, but there is a secondary meaning, often involving a didactic or satirical purpose. Maeterlinck's play, Ariane and Bluebeard, although it is based on a fairy story, may also be interpreted as a parable play. The story in brief is

11. Cf. Kennedy, The Servant in the House.

as follows. Ariane has married Bluebeard and has come to his castle with the intention of freeing his five previous wives from the dungeon in which Bluebeard has imprisoned them. Impelled by this motive, not by curiosity, Ariane opens the forbidden door and finally succeeds in rescuing her sisters. Meanwhile Bluebeard has been wounded in a struggle with angry peasants and is brought in bound. Ariane bathes his wounds and cuts his bonds, then prepares to go into the free world again. Her sisters, the rescued wives of Bluebeard, decline to accompany her, preferring to remain in the tyrant's enchanted castle. Such is the external story. The secondary meaning may probably be explained thus: Ariane is the New Woman who is to free the old conventional woman from the dungeon of sex-slavery, from subjection to man.^{12.} The dramatist seems somewhat satirical in his treatment; evidently he does not find the conventional woman over-anxious to be set free. A better example of the parable play is to be found in Andreyev's The Sabine Women. The play is based on the story of the abduction of the Sabine women by the Romans. In the play the Sabines determine to regain their wives; they advance upon Rome, marching "two steps forward, one step backward" and armed with huge

12. Cf. Review of Ariane and Bluebeard, Current Literature, vol. 50, p. 541.

volumes of law, only to retreat before the weapons and jeers of the Romans, tho still upholding the dignity of the law. In the hands of Andreyev-the play takes on its secondary meaning as a satire on certain Russian political conditions. The Sabines are pacifists; the Romans, militarists; while the Sabine women represent certain contested measures.^{13.}

It will be observed that the story of the parable play is complete in itself and can be understood without reference to its secondary meaning; the pure morality play, on the other hand, takes on significance only through its allegorical interpretation. Finally, the fable play is a play in which animals or inanimate objects are represented as speaking and assuming other human attributes, thus reflecting, often satirically, human traits or foibles. An example of this type of play is found in Josephine Preston Peabody's The Wolf of Gubbio, in which the wolf probably represents some feudal lord from whose oppressions the poor people of Gubbio had suffered, and whose heart was touched and softened by St. Francis of Assissi. Scheffauer's Masque of the Elements is a fable play in which sun, moon, and

13. Cf. Brusyanin, "The Symbolic Dramas of Andreyeff," in Plays by Leonid Andreyeff, p. XXIV.

stars, earth, air, fire, and water are personified. The fable play, like the morality, contains personifications, but its characters are personifications of animals or inanimate objects. The characters in the morality, on the other hand, are personifications of abstract conceptions.¹⁴

Elements from several of these various types may be combined in a single play. Maeterlinck's The Blue Bird, for example, is a dream play and a fairy play; it has fable-play elements; it employs symbolism in the representation of happiness by the blue bird; and it is a morality play in that it may be understood only through its allegorical interpretation: the story of the children seeking the blue bird represents mankind in search of happiness.

14. Professor Ramsay distinguishes the three chief forms of allegorical drama as follows:

The Parable Play is an expanded metaphor; the Fable Play is an expanded concrete personification, i.e. a personification which attributes human personality to things, such as animals, plants, elements; the Morality Play proper is an expanded abstract personification, i. e. a personification which attributes human personality to an idea, such as an abstract notion or a generalization. Thus the proverb, "A burnt child dreads the fire," if expanded into dramatic form would become a Parable Play; the proverb, "The eagle never lost so much time as when he condescended to learn of the crow," would make a Fable Play; and the proverb, "Procrastination is the thief of time," would make a morality.

A chronological list of modern morality plays and plays containing morality elements follows. Lists of the most important modern plays to be classed under the various allied dramatic types have also been included in this section.

MODERN MORALITY PLAYS¹⁵.

- 1864 Algernon Charles Swinburne, THE PILGRIMAGE OF PLEASURE *
- 1867 Henrik Ibsen, PEER GYNT
- 1873 William Morris, LOVE IS ENOUGH
- 1883 August Strindberg, LUCKY PEHR ('Lucko Pers Resa' also a fairy play.)
- 1889 Charles Van Lerberghe, LES FLAIREURS *
- 1890 Maurice Maeterlinck, THE INTRUDER (L'Intruse)
- 1890 Maurice Maeterlinck, THE BLIND (Les Aveugles)
- 1891 Maurice Maeterlinck, THE SEVEN PRINCESSES (Les Sept Princesses)¹⁶.

15. I am enabled to present this and the following lists in fairly complete form through the kindness of Professor Ramsay.

Plays in the list of moralities marked with an asterisk (*) I have been unable to see in preparing this thesis. Plays marked thus (**) I have not seen, but these plays are discussed in Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama. Of the other plays discussed by Dr. Barley only The Hour Glass, The Fool of the World, and Eager Heart fulfill the morality requirements of abstract characters and allegorical plot laid down for the purposes of this thesis. The First Franciscans (The original version of The Temptation of Agnes), which is mentioned by Dr. Barley, contains some abstract characters.

- 1894 Maurice Maeterlinck, THE DEATH OF TINTAGILES ✓
(La Mort de Tintagiles)
- 1894 Hugo von Hofmannsthal, DEATH AND THE FOOL ✓
- 1895 Henrik Ibsen, LITTLE EYOLF (Lille Eyolf) ✓
- 1898 August Strindberg, TO DAMASCUS (Till
Damascus), I*
- 1898 August Strindberg, TO DAMASCUS, II*
- 1899 Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, SATAN ABSOLVED*
- 1900 Henrik Ibsen, WHEN WE DEAD AWAKEN (Noor Vi
Doede Voogner.)¹⁶.
- 1900 Richard Hovey, TALIESEN: A MASQUE
- 1901 Revival of the medieval morality EVERYMAN ✓
- 1901 Nugent Monck, LIFE'S MEASURE**
- 1902 William Butler Yeats, CATHLEEN NI HOULIHAN
- 1903 William Butler Yeats, THE HOUR GLASS (revised ✓
in 1912)
- 1904 James Millington Synge, RIDERS TO THE SEA¹⁶.
- 1904 August Strindberg, TO DAMASCUS, III*
- 1904 Gerhart Hauptmann, AND PIPPA DANCES (Und Pippa
Tanzt)
- 1904- Thomas Hardy, THE DYNASTS
- 1908
- 1905 William Poel, THE FIRST FRANCISCANS*(also a
miracle play)
- 1906 Arthur Symons, THE FOOL OF THE WORLD
- 1906 Miss A. M. Buckton, EAGER HEART (also a mystery
play of the Nativity)
- 1907 Edwin Milton Royle, THE STRUGGLE EVERLASTING**

16. An extension of the term morality may seem necessary if these plays are to be included. But the action in each seems to be dominated by the feeling of a supernatural presence, probably Death. Cf. the discussion of these plays in Chapter II.

- 1907 Leonid Andreyev, THE LIFE OF MAN ✓
- 1907 Leonid Andreyev, THE BLACK MASKERS ✓
- 1908 Leonid Andreyev, KING HUNGER
- 1909 August Strindberg, THE GREAT HIGHWAY*
- ✓ 1909 Maurice Maeterlinck, THE BLUE BIRD (also a
fairy and fable play)
- 1909 Norreys Connell, TIME*
- 1911 Mabel Dearmer, THE SOUL OF THE WORLD (also a
mystery play of the Nativity)
- ✓ 1911 John Galsworthy, THE LITTLE DREAM (also in
part a fable play)
- ✓ 1911 Walter Browne, EVERYWOMAN ✓
- 1912 H. M. Paull, THE PAINTER AND THE MILLIONAIRE*
- 1913 Gerhart Hauptmann, DAS FESTSPIEL
- 1913 Frances Cornford, DEATH AND THE PRINCESS
- 1913 H. L. Redpath, WISDOM'S FOOLISHNESS*
- 1913 Josephine Hammond, EVERYWOMAN'S ROAD
- 1914 Beatrix Reynolds, EVERYCHILD
- 1914 Rabindranath Tagors, THE KING OF THE DARK CHAMBER
- 1914 Rabindranath Tagors, THE POST OFFICE¹⁶.
- 1915 G. V. Hobart, EXPERIENCE
- 1915 Violet Paget ("Vernon Lee"), THE BALLET OF THE
NATIONS (a moral scenario rather than a
drama)

MODERN MYSTERY PLAYS

- 1840 Friedrich Hebbel, JUDITH
- 1848 Richard Wagner, JESUS OF NAZARETH (unfinished)
- 1850 Friedrich Hebbel, HEROD AND MARIAMNE
- 1866 Algernon Charles Swinburne, THE MASQUE OF QUEEN
BERSABE(IN POEMS AND BALLADS)
- 1886 Salmi B. Morse, SACRED DRAMA (California)
- 1890 Angel Guimera, JESUS DE NAZARETH
(about)
- 1893 Oscar Wilde, SALOME
- 1895 Katherine Tynan Hinkson, OUR LORD'S COMING AND
CHILDHOOD (including six plays: THE
ANNUNCIATION, THE VISITATION, THE
NATIVITY, THE PRESENTATION, THE FLIGHT
INTO EGYPT, THE FINDING IN THE TEMPLE)
- 1897 Edmond Rostand, THE SAMARITAN WOMAN
- 1898 Hermann Sudermann, JOHN THE BAPTIST
- 1900 Stephen Phillipps, HEROD
- 1902 Laurence Housman, BETHLEHEM
- 1903 Douglas Hyde, THE NATIVITY
(or before)
- 1904 Paul Heyse, MARIA VON MAGDALA
(or before)
- 1904 Stephen Phillipps, THE SIN OF DAVID (as first
planned)
- 1904 Miss A. M. Buckton, EAGER HEART (combined
nativity play and morality)
- 1904 T. B. Aldrich, JUDITH OF BETHULIA
- 1904 C. M. Gayley, THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM
- 1904 Wright Lorimer and Arnold Reeves, THE
SHEPHERD KING
- 1906 Richard Burton, RAHAB
- 1906 Arthur Symons. MARY IN BETHLEHEM

- 1906 Weiser, JESUS (four dramas)
- 1907 Klinger, CHRISTUS IN OLYMP
- 1907 J. V. Widmann, THE SAINT AND THE ANIMALS
(combined temptation play and fable play)
- 1908 Robert Hugh Benson, THE NATIVITY
- 1908 Charles Montagu Doughty, ADAM CAST FORTH (epic
drama)
- 1909 Mrs. Katrina Trask, THE LITTLE TOWN OF
BETHLEHEM
- 1910 William Vaughan Moody, THE DEATH OF EVE
(unfinished)
- 1910 Maurice Maeterlinck, MARY MAGDALEN
- 1911 Mabel Dearmer, THE SOUL OF THE WORLD
(nativity and passion play and morality)
- 1911 Kate Murray, A CHRISTMAS PLAY (the Wise Men)
- 1911 George Moore, THE APOSTLE (later expanded into
the novel THE BROOK KERITH, 1916)
- 1912 Walter Nithak-Stahn, CHRISTUS-DRAMA
- 1912 Charles Rann Kennedy, THE TERRIBLE MEEK
- 1912 Mabel Dearmer, THE DREAMER (Joseph)
- 1913 Louis M. Parker, JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN
- 1913 Alexandra von Herder, JESUS OF NAZARETH
- 1913 Th. Chese, MYRIAM DE MAGDALA
- 1914 Robert Hugh Benson, THE UPPER ROOM
- 1914 J. E. Adderley, EPIPHANY
- 1914 Grand Duke Constantine, THE KING OF THE JEWS
- 1914 A. J. Waldron, THE CARPENTER
- 1914 W. G. Hole, THE MASTER

- 1915 Max Ehrmann, JESUS: A PASSION PLAY
- 1916 John Masefield, GOOD FRIDAY
- 1916 Emile Cammaerts, THE ADORATION OF THE SOLDIERS

MODERN MIRACLE PLAYS (with Christian reference)

- 1878 Henrik Ibsen, EMPEROR AND GALILEAN
- 1877 Richard Wagner, PARSIFAL
- 1892 August Strindberg, THE KEYS OF HEAVEN
- 1893 Gerhart Hauptmann, THE ASSUMPTION OF HANNELE
- 1899 Maurice Maeterlinck, SISTER BEATRICE
- 1899 William Butler Yeats, THE COUNTESS CATHLEEN
- 1899 August Strindberg, ADVENT
- 1899 George Sanyana, LUCIFER: A THEOLOGICAL TRAGEDY
- 1901 Paul Claudel, LE REPOS DU SEPTIEME JOUR
- 1903 Douglas Hyde, THE LOST SAINT
(or before)
- 1903 William Butler Yeats, WHERE THERE IS NOTHING
- 1903 George Bernard Shaw, DON JUAN IN HELL (an
"interlude" in MAN AND SUPERMAN)
- 1905 Maurice Maeterlinck, THE MIRACLE OF ST. ANTHONY
- 1905 James Millington Synge, THE WELL OF THE SAINTS
- 1906 William Poel, THE FIRST FRANCISCANS (revised in
1907 under the title THE TEMPTATION OF
AGNES)
- 1907 Granville Barker, A MIRACLE
- 1907 Padraic Colum, A MIRACLE OF THE CORN
- ✓ 1907 Charles Rann Kennedy, THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE "

- ✓ 1908 Jerome K. Jerome, THE PASSING OF THE THIRD FLOOR BACK
- 1908 F. Molnar, THE DEVIL
- 1909 Leonid Andreyev, ANATHEMA
- 1909 Josephine Preston Peabody, THE PIPER
- 1909 William Vaughan Moody, THE FAITH HEALER
- 1909 George Bernard Shaw, THE SHOWING UP OF BLANCO POSNET
- 1910 Will Hutchins, JEANNE D'ARC AT VAUCOULEURS
- 1910 Robert Hugh Benson, THE MAID OF ORLEANS
- 1910 Lady Gregory, THE TRAVELING MAN
- 1910 Mabel Dearmer, THE PLAYMATE
- 1911 Gabriele D'Annunzio, LA MARTYRE DE ST. SEBASTIAN
- 1911 Paul Claudel, THE HOSTAGE
- 1912 Paul Claudel, THE TIDINGS BROUGHT TO MARY
- 1913 Sar Peladon, ST. FRANCIS
- 1913 Mary H. Debanham, ST. EDMUND KING AND MARTYR
- 1913 Gilbert Keith Chesterton, MAGIC
- 1913 Arthur Davison Ficks, MR. FAUST
- 1913 Kenneth Sawyer Goodman, DUST OF THE ROAD
- 1914 Josephine Preston Peabody, THE WOLF OF GUBBIO
- 1914 Josephine Preston Peabody, THE WINGS
- 1914 Max Reinhardt, THE MIRACLE (wordless play)
- 1914 Lord Dunsany, THE GLITTERING GATE
- 1914 Osbert Burdett, THE SILENT HEAVENS: A DIVINE COMEDY
- 1914 George Cohan, THE MIRACLE MAN
- 1915 Edward Knoblauch, MARIE ODILE
- 1915 Paul Claudel, LA NUIT DE NOEL DE 1914

FAIRY PLAYS (including gods and ghosts: plays with
any sort of non-Christian supernatural
element)

- 1865 Villiers de l'Isle Adam, MORGANE
- 1883 August Strindberg, LUCKY PEHR
- 1894 William Butler Yeats, THE LAND OF HEART'S
DESIRE
- 1894 William Sharp, A NORTHERN NIGHT (in VISTAS)
- ✓ 1896 Gerhart Hauptmann, THE SUNKEN BELL (also a
parable play)
- 1899 Hermann Sudermann, THE THREE HERON FEATHERS
- 1900 William Sharp ("Fiona Macleod"), THE IMMORTAL
HOUR
- 1902 Gordon Bottomley, THE CRIER BY NIGHT
- 1902 August Strindberg, THE DREAM PLAY
- ✓ 1902 August Strindberg, SWANWHITE
- 1902 August Strindberg, THE CROWN BRIDE
- ✓ 1904 James Matthew Barrie, PETER PAN
- 1906 Charles Van Lerberghe, PAN
- ✓ 1907 Maurice Maeterlinck, ARIANE AND BLUE BEARD
(also a parable play)
- 1908 August Strindberg, THE SLIPPERS OF ABU CASSEM
- 1908 William Butler Yeats, THE GOLDEN HELMET
- ✓ 1908 Percy Mackaye, THE SCARECROW
- 1909 Maurice Maeterlinck, THE BLUE BIRD (also in part
a fable play and a morality)
- 1909 Gordon Bottomley, THE RIDING TO LITHEEND (also
a saga play)

- 1910 William Butler Yeats, ~~THE GREEN HELMET~~
- 1910 Ruth Sawyer, THE SIDHE OF BEN MOR
- 1910 Mabel Dearmer, THE TALISMAN (dram. of Balzac's
(about) PEAU DE CHAGRIN)
- 1911 Edward Knoblauch, THE FAUN
- 1911 Mary Austin, THE ARROW MAKER
- 1912 David Belasco, THE RETURN OF PETER GRIMM
- 1913 W. Rice and T. W. Stevens, THE CHAPLET OF PAN
- 1914 Kenneth Sawyer Goodman, ^{Ephraim} BARBARA AND THE
WINGED BEAR
- 1914 Lord Dunsany, THE GODS OF THE MOUNTAIN
- 1915 Edward R. Sheldon, THE GARDEN OF PARADISE
(also a fable play)
- 1916 Lord Dunsany, A NIGHT AT AN INN
- 1916 Theodore Dreiser, THE BLUE SPHERE
- 1916 Theodore Dreiser, LAUGHING GAS
- 1916 Theodore Dreiser, IN THE DARK
- 1916 Theodore Dreiser, THE SPRING RECITAL
- 1917 Lord Dunsany, THE LAUGHTER OF THE GODS

PARABLE PLAYS

- 1864 Villiers de l'Isle Adam, ELEN
- 1882 Henrik Ibsen, AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE ✓
- 1888 Henrik Ibsen, THE LADY FROM THE SEA
- 1890 Villiers de l'Isle Adam, AXEL

- 1892 Henrik Ibsen, THE MASTERBUILDER
- 1896 Gerhart Hauptmann, THE SUNKEN BELL (also a
fairy play)
- 1903 James Matthew Barrie, THE ADMIRABLE CRICHTON
- 1907 Maurice Maeterlinck, ARIANE AND BLUE BEARD
- 1909 Mabel Dearmer, DON QUIXOTE
(about)
- 1909 Eugène Brieux, FALSE GODS
- 1911 Leonid Andreyev, THE SABINE WOMEN
- 1914 Rabindranath Tagore, CHITRA

FABLE PLAYS

- 1907 J. V. Widmann, THE COCKCHAFERS' COMEDY
- 1908 J. V. Widmann, THE SAINT AND THE ANIMALS (also a
mystery play of the Temptation)
- 1909 Maurice Maeterlinck, THE BLUE BIRD (also in part
a fairy play and a morality)
- 1910 Edmond Rostand, CHANTICLEER
- 1911 John Galsworthy, THE LITTLE DREAM (also a
morality play)
- 1912 George Bernard Shaw, ANDROCLES AND THE LION
- 1912 Hermann Scheffauer, THE MASQUE OF THE ELEMENTS
- 1913 Mabel Dearmer, THE COCKYOLLY BIRD
- 1914 Mabel Dearmer, BRER RABBIT AND MR. FOX
- 1914 Percy Mackaye, SANCTUARY: A BIRD MASQUE
- 1914 Josephine Preston Peabody, THE WOLF OF GUBBIO
- 1915 Edward R. Sheldon, THE GARDEN OF PARADISE

(V) The Subject Limited.

The medieval moralities considered in this study belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The modern moralities fall between 1890, the date of Maeterlinck's The Intruder and The Blind, and 1916. A few of the sporadic plays containing morality features which appeared in modern literature before 1890 will be mentioned in footnotes.

Medieval plays have been selected from extant English moralities with references to their typical nature and with a view to furnishing a basis of comparison for modern plays. All available modern moralities and plays that contain morality features have been included. Complete lists of modern authors and plays have not been available and certain plays have been inaccessible. Consequently the study of the modern period does not claim to be exhaustive.

CHAPTER II

Allegorical Plots in the Moralities.

In this chapter a survey of allegorical plots in the moralities will be made, with interpretation of the allegory where this seems necessary. The plays have been grouped, as far as possible, according to the various themes which they embody.

Section I. Plots in the Medieval Moralities.

The two great themes developed in the plots of the medieval moral plays may be called the Allegory of Life and the Allegory of Death. In combination with these themes appeared the Debate of the Heavenly Virtues and the Debate of the Soul and Body. With the coming of the moral interludes various other themes were introduced. Medieval plays have been selected with a view to obtaining typical representatives for the different themes.

(I)

The Castle of Perseverance,¹ "most

1. Edited by Furnivall and Pollard in Macro Plays (E.E.T.S., Extra Series, vol. XCI, pp. 75-186) from the Macro MS. The play is preceded by a "Prolog" spoken by two vexillatores, who give an outline of the play and announce its presentation for "this day seuenentyt." Attached to the manuscript is a diagram or groundplan of the stage arrangements. Pollard (Introduction to Macro Morals, p. xxxii) assigns the date as about 1425; Thompson ("The English Moral Plays", p. 405) thinks the play "as early as 1450."

typical"². and in some respects most primitive of English moralities, has been chosen to represent the Allegory of Life in the medieval plays. This play presents the story of Mankind (Humanum Genus) from birth to final judgment. At the opening of the play the World, the Devil, and the Flesh deliver boastful speeches from their respective scaffolds. The infant Mankind appears, and is accosted by a Good Angel and a Bad Angel. The Good Angel pleads with Mankind to serve Christ; the Bad Angel urges him to enter the service of the World. By the promise of wealth the Bad Angel gains his point and Mankind, now a well-grown youth, is led to the scaffold of the World, to whom he is introduced by Pleasure. Pleasure and Folly are commanded to serve Mankind. Backbiting and Detraction introduce Mankind to the Seven Deadly Sins: Covetousness, Pride, Wrath, Envy, Lechery, Sloth, and Gluttony. With the aid of Shrift and Penance the Good Angel induces Mankind to repent. He is absolved from all his sins and is lodged in the Castle of Perseverance for safety against the attacks of the Deadly Sins. Here he is attended by the Seven Cardinal Virtues: Meekness, Patience, Charity,

2. Thompson, The English Moral Plays, p. 312.

Chastity, Industry, Abstinence, and Generosity. But the Bad Angel summons the powers of evil. The World, the Flesh, and the Devil beat their servants, the Vices, for suffering Mankind to escape them, and collect their forces to besiege the castle. Individual contests take place between Pride and Meekness, Wrath and Patience, and Envy and Charity. A general assault is made, during which the Vices are beaten black and blue by roses hurled by the Virtues. Contests between Gluttony and Abstinence, Lechery and Chastity, and Sloth and Industry are followed by a second general assault on the castle. Again the Vices are driven back. But Covetousness steals up behind the castle and, in spite of the opposition of Generosity, succeeds in enticing Mankind from the castle. Covetousness gives Mankind a thousand marks with which to buy land, on condition that he will refuse to lend it or to give any of it to the poor. In the midst of Mankind's prosperity Death appears and strikes him down. Mankind appeals in vain to the World; the World's Boy, "I-know-not-who," comes as Mankind's heir to take possession of his land and money. Mankind dies; his Soul comes from beneath the bed and appeals to the Good Angel to save him from the Devil. The Good Angel advises the Soul of Mankind to appeal to Mercy, which he does. Then

follows the debate of the Heavenly Virtues, - Mercy, Truth, Righteousness, and Peace, - before God the Father. Righteousness and Truth urge that the Soul of Mankind be condemned to hell, but Mercy and Peace plead Christ's passion and their own sorrow in case Mankind should be condemned. Finally the sisters kiss each other and the trembling Soul is led before the throne of God. God grants mercy and bids the Soul of Mankind sit at His right hand. God Himself paints the moral of the play in a homily of five stanzas: If Mankind loves God he shall win heaven at that dread Day of Doom when king and priest, high and low, all the world shall yield account. Then shall the righteous stand on His right hand, the unrighteous on His left. He who does good to the poor and needy shall have his reward, but evil-doers shall be burned in hell. The play is ended, Let all men take warning and think on their last end.

Professor Mackenzie gives the following interpretation of the allegory in The Castle of Perseverance: "Man is born into the world naked, defenceless, and innocent. Early in life he has to decide between good and evil courses, and, lured by the prospect of pleasure and worldly profit, he chooses the latter. Then he gives free rein to his

lusts and appetites, and indulges in every kind of folly. But while engaged in this evil life he comes under the influence of religion. At first he hardens his heart, but the truths of religion are so impressed on him that he becomes filled with remorse for his past wickedness and cries to God for mercy. Then he confesses his sins, gets absolution, and resolves upon a better life. For many years he lives up to his purpose. His evil desires never leave him; but, strong in the practice of virtue, he is empowered to resist them. At length he grows old, and while the lusts of his flesh have steadily grown weaker, he is becoming more prone to avarice, the peculiar vice of old age. His love for money finally becomes too strong to be resisted, and in his last years he indulges to the full his pleasure in hoarding riches. Death overtakes him while he is thus engaged; and he has the bitter experience of realizing, in his last moments, that a stranger is to enjoy his wealth, while he must appear before God with only the record of his deeds upon earth. His soul appears before the judgment seat. In strict justice God cannot pardon him; but God's mercy is greater than his desire for justice, and the soul is received into heaven."³

3. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, p. 64.

The Castle of Perseverance combines three of the important plots of the English moral plays; the Allegory of Life, the Allegory of Death, and the Debate of the Heavenly Virtues. The Allegory of Death comes as the natural dramatic catastrophe of the Allegory of Life; but the author of The Castle of Perseverance is unwilling to accept a tragic conclusion, so "he appends --- the Debate of the Heavenly Virtues over Mankind's soul, and the final triumph of the powers of compassion."⁴ The Allegory of Life appears in its most complicated form in this play; the complete story of Man's life and destiny is presented. According to Dr. Ramsay's analysis we find seven stages in the plot of The Castle of Perseverance: Mankind is presented in a state of innocence; he is tempted; he leads a life of sin; he repents; he is tempted again; he leads a life of sin; and, at the coming of Death, he repents once more.⁵ In later medieval moralities this plot is restricted. Nature⁶ and Mundus et Infans⁷

4. Brooke, The Tudor Drama, p. 61.

5. Ramsay, Skelton's Magnificence, Introduction, p. clvi.

6. "A goodly interlude of Nature compyled by Mayster Henry Medwall chapelyn to the ryght reverent father in god Johan Morton somtyme Cardynall and arche byshop of Canterbury." Edited by Brandl, Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare (Quellen und Forschungen, Bd. LXXX, s. 73-158). The date of the play lies between 1486 and 1500.

7. "Here begynneth a propre newe Interlude of the worlde and the chylde otherwyse called (Mundus et Infans) and it sheweth of the estate of Chyldehode and Manhode." Reprinted by Manly, Specimens of the Pre-Shakesperean Drama, vol. I, pp. 353-385. The play was printed in 1522 but there is evidence for assigning it to 1520 or to an earlier date. Cf. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, vol. II, p. 439.

present the story of Man's life from childhood to old age, but omit the death and judgment scenes. Most of the medieval moralities in which Man is the hero depict, not the whole of human life, but "one crucial period of temptation and struggle."⁸ In such moralities as Wisdom⁹ and Mankind¹⁰ we find the characteristic allegorical structure, presenting four stages in the chosen period of Man's life: Innocence, Temptation, Life in Sin, and Repentance. In the morality of Wisdom the human hero is replaced by Anima, or the Soul, with her attendant train of the Five Wits and the "three powers of every Christian Soul," Mind, Will, and Understanding. Through these attendants Anima is seduced by Lucifer and brought to repentance by Wisdom, "who is Christ." In such plays as Lusty Juventus¹¹

8. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, p. 65.

9. "A Morality of Wisdom, who is Christ. How Lucifer tempts the Mind, Will, and Understanding of Man to sin." Edited by Furnivall and Pollard in Macro Plays, pp. 35-

74. The play was probably produced between 1480 and 1490.

10. Edited by Manly, Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama, vol. I, pp. 315-352. The date assigned to the play is 1461-1485.

11. "An Enterlude called Lusty Juventus, lyuely describing the frailtie of youth: of natur prone to vyce: by grace and good counsayll traynable to vertue." In Hazlitt's revision of Dodsley's Old English Plays, vol. II, pp. 41-102. The date of the play is between 1547 and 1553.

and the Interlude of Youth¹² only the early period of Man's life is presented. The former interlude preserves the four characteristic stages, but the latter has the simplest scheme to be found in the whole range of medieval English moralities. It presents only two stages: Life in Sin and Repentance.¹³

Even in The Castle of Perseverance elements of realistic comedy are to be found, - for example in the scenes where the World, the Flesh, and the Devil beat their servants, the Vices, to the great satisfaction of Backbiting. In Mankind the comic and realistic elements are much more pronounced. "The moral tenor of the piece," says Thompson, "is submerged in the rude banter and the obscene jesting and song of the tavern

12. In Hazlitt-Dodsley, Old English Plays, vol. II, pp. 5-102. The play is usually dated between 1553 and 1558. Both Lusty Juventus and The Interlude of Youth might be classed with the plays of religious controversy as both are controversial in purpose.

13. Cf. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, p. 104. It should be noted here that in The Trial of Treasure (1567) the hero, Just, leads an upright life from beginning to end. One of the personified vices, Lust, is depicted from time to time as a vicious human character, thus furnishing the additional motive of the contrast of two lives, one good and the other evil. The same sort of contrast is found in The Nise Wanton, (About 1559). This character contrast is probably due to French influence. In the morality entitled The Longer Thou Livest the More Foole Thou Art the hero remains depraved throughout the action. Cf. Mackenzie, pp. 121, 131.

and the market-place, and the spiritual abstractions are boldly elbowed by types from real life. ---When the hero would 'eschew ydullness' to please his adviser, he gets his spade, and, like Piers Plowman, sets himself to husbandry. The devil, Tytivillus, and the vices torment him, stealing his seed and hiding obstructions where his spade will strike. ---New-Gyse, himself a horsethief, having barely escaped the gallows, swaggers in with the broken rope yet about his neck; Now-a-days returns with booty from a church; and Mischief clanks his fetters as he comes to aid in making a village criminal of poor Mankind."¹⁴ The Elizabethan morality, Like Will to Like¹⁵, preserves something of the traditional Allegory of Life plot, but this is made the vehicle for presenting comic incident and character. At the beginning of Like Will to Like a Prologue appears and explains that the author

14. Thompson, The English Moral Plays, p. 387.

15. "An Enterlude Intituled Like wil to like quod the Devel to the Colier, very godly and ful of pleasant mirth, wherin is declared not only what punishment followeth those that wil rather followe licentious living, then to esteeme and followe good councel; and what great benefits and commodities they receive that apply them unto vertuous living and good exercises. Made by Ulpian Fulwel. Imprinted at London at the long shop adjoining unto S. Mildreds Church in the Pultrie by John Allde. Anna Domini 1568." Reprinted in Hazlitt-Dodsley, Old English Plays, vol. III, pp. 303-359.

has chosen this proverb as title and subject of his play with the purpose of furnishing both mirth and a good example. Nichol Newfangle, the Vice, opens the play with a merry address to the audience. Lucifer enters and greets Nichol, his apprentice, cordially. After a few merry jests at the expense of Lucifer's bottle-nose and ill-favored visage, Nichol consents to listen seriously to his master's plans. Lucifer begins:

"Thou knowest I am both proud and arrogant,
And with the proud I will ever be conversant;
I cannot abide to see men that are vicious
Accompany themselves with such as be virtuous.
Wherefore my mind is, sith thou thy part canst
play,

That thou adjoin like to like alway."

Tom Collier enters with empty sacks from a successful market day, having sold his coal three pecks to the bushel, and is presented by Nichol Newfangle to the Devil. Tom joins in a song and dance with his new friend, then retires to continue his dishonest trade. Lucifer commends his adroit apprentice and departs, leaving him to carry on the work of joining like to like. Tom Tossopot, Ralph

Roister, Hance, Philip Fleming, Cuthbert Cutpurse, and Pierce Pickpurse are induced to join the company headed by Nichol Newfangle. Such sober personages as Virtuous Living, Good Fame, God's Promise, and Honour strive to reform this wild company, but without complete success. Ralph Roister and Tom Tossopot, who have gotten extremely drunk, repent in season, give Nichol Newfangle a beating, and go out to beg for a living. Cuthbert Cutpurse and Pierce Pickpurse are sentenced to the gallows by Judge Severity and executed by Hankin Hangman. Nichol Newfangle is compelled to mount the Devil's back for "a journey into Spain", while Virtuous Living and his companions point the moral and utter a prayer for queen and realm. This play "shows the morality stuff already half absorbed in realistic comedy."¹⁶.

(II)

The Allegory of Death, as we have seen, appears as a dramatic crisis in The Castle of Perseverance.¹⁷ It becomes the central theme in two

16. Brooke, The Tudor Drama, p. 108.

17. The Allegory of Death also appears in the Death of Herod scene at the close of the "Slaughter of the Innocents" in the so-called Ludus Coventriae. The date of the Ludus Coventriae ms. is 1468. The cycle was probably compiled early in the fifteenth century.

extant English moralities, The Pride of Life and Everyman. The Pride of Life¹⁸ exists only in fragmentary form but fortunately the extant portion includes the prologue, which sets forth the argument of the play. The play itself opens with a speech by the King of Life, who boasts that he is king of a chosen race and has all the world at his will. His soldiers, Strength and Health, flatter the King and confirm his belief in his own power. But the good Queen begs him to think of life's ending and to love God and Holy Church. Death, she says, is the great conqueror and will surely smite him down sooner or later. The King, however, declares this is but a woman's tale and calls Mirth, the Messenger, to make him merry. The Queen secretly sends Mirth to summon the Bishop, who preaches a sermon on the wickedness of the day, ending his discourse with a special warning to the King. But the King calls him a babbler and sends him home. The King now determines to meet Death in personal combat. Accordingly he sends Mirth with a challenge to seek the King of Death. The extant fragment ends here,

18. Edited by Brandl, with a German translation, Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare, S. 1-35. The play is usually assigned to the late fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.

but we know the outcome of the play from the outline in the prologue. Death comes to the land and slays many people. "A sterne strife" ensues between Death and the King of Life; the King of Life receives his death-wound. There follow several stanzas which seem to indicate that the Debate of the Soul and Body may have been introduced here.

"Qwhen the body is down i broght
the soule sorow a wakith;
the bodyis pride is dere a boght;
the soul the ffendis takith.

And throgh priere of oure lady mylde
al godenisse scho wol gwyte;
scho wol prey her son so mylde,
the soule and body schul dispyte."

At any rate we know that the soul of the dead King is saved by intercession of the Virgin.

Professor Mackenzie interprets the allegory in this play as follows: "Man, exulting in his health and strength, laughs at the idea of death. His high spirits make him feel that he could ward off death by his own power. It is in vain that he is warned by friends and spiritual advisers that death comes to all men sooner or later; and finally his pride becomes so great that he rails at and abuses anyone

who dares to suggest such an idea to him. In a spirit of mirth he wantonly runs a mortal risk, and (to proceed by the flickering light of the prologue), after a hard struggle in which his boasted health, strength, and spirits avail him nothing, he succumbs. He has no merit of his own to save him from eternal punishment for his pride on earth, and it is only by the intercession of the Virgin Mary with her Son that his soul is received into heaven."¹⁹

The best known of English moralities embodying the Allegory of Death, and indeed of all English moralities, is Everyman.²⁰ The play is opened by a Messenger, who sets forth the argument in a sort of prologue. God speaks of the ingratitude of men and decides to demand a reckoning of their lives. Death is

19. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, pp. 205-6

20. "Here begynneth a treatyse how the hye fader of heven sendeth dethe to somon every creature to come and gyne a counte of theyr lyves in this Worlde, and is in maner of a morall playe." Published in Hazlitt-Dodsley, Old English Plays, vol. I, pp. 93-142. The play is usually assigned to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Professor H. Logeman and others believe the play to be an English version of the Dutch Elckerlijc, attributed to Petrus Dorlandus of Diest, but Dr. K. H. de Raaf argues that the Dutch play is a translation of Everyman. The weight of critical opinion seems to be with Professor Logeman's theory. For a summary of the evidence see two articles by Professor Manly and Professor Wood, entitled "Elckerlijc - Everyman: The Question of Priority," Modern Philology, vol. VIII, pp. 269-302.

sent as God's messenger to summon Everyman to judgment. Everyman, a gay, careless youth, is terrified when he learns that the messenger is Death. He tries to bribe Death; when this fails he pleads for a respite in which to prepare his reckoning. Even this request is refused, but Everyman is told that he may have company on his journey if he can find anyone "hardy" enough to go with him. Accordingly he seeks Fellowship; Fellowship is ready to do anything else for him, even to committing murder, but he will not go with Everyman through the valley of the shadow of death. Cousin when asked to accompany Everyman is seized with a cramp in his toe. Kindred and Goods likewise refuse their companionship. The latter says that Everyman will be better off without him, for it is through love of him that Everyman's record has become blotted. Finally Everyman seeks his long-neglected friend, Good Deeds; he finds her lying on the ground, chained by Everyman's sins and with his book of reckoning beneath her feet. She is willing to help him but ^{is} so weak that she cannot rise, so she sends him to her sister, Knowledge. Knowledge readily promises:

"Everyman, I wyll go with the and be thy gyde,

In thy moost nede to go by thy syde,"

and leads him to Confession, who gives him the scourge

of penance. Good Deeds soon becomes stronger and is freed from her chains. Everyman, clad in the garment of sorrow, receives the sacrament and is ready for death; he starts on his journey accompanied by Beauty, Strength, Discretion, Five Wits, Knowledge, and Good Deeds. One by one they forsake him; Knowledge accompanies him to the grave, but only Good Deeds goes to plead for him before the throne of God. An Angel announces that Everyman's reckoning is 'crystal clear', and says to his soul:

"Now shalte thou into the heavenly spere,

Unto the which all ye shall come

That lyveth well before the daye of dome."

Everyman closes with an epilogue spoken by a Doctor, who warns men to bear in mind the moral of the play: when Death summons Everyman he is forsaken by all but Good Deeds,

"But beware, - and they be small,

Before God he hath no helpe at all."

"The play", says Professor Mackenzie, "is an allegory of mankind in the presence of death. Man, seeing that his end is near, realizes with deep sorrow that his worldly possessions and the friends and kinsmen whom he loved so deeply must be left behind. He knows that he must yield a reckoning, before the throne of God, of his life

here on earth; and though he has performed good deeds, yet his sins have been so many that they overbalance the good. His only reasonable course now is to make full confession of his sins and pray for absolution. Having performed this he undergoes penance and is filled with sorrow and contrition for the evil he has done. Thus his spirit is purified, and the good deeds of his life stand out more clearly. As he approaches death his strength, his intelligence, and lastly his faculties desert him. The soul leaves the body, and, by virtue of the good deeds done on earth, is received into heaven." 21

"The Coming of Death plot," says Dr. Ramsay, is naturally a tragedy; "it begins and ends with evil in possession. Thus it violates the fundamental morality canon, a happy ending. --- In its pure form it could be used in England only as a means of disposing of a villainous character like Herod in the course of a miracle play; but it could never be tolerated alone for the hero, who must always be preserved from final ruin and made to triumph in the end. --- The native plays overcome the difficulty of the tragic ending --- by combining with another plot form. One of them, The Pride of Life, uses the Debate of the Soul and Body; the other, The Castle of Perseverance, the Debate of the Heavenly Graces. Their version of the plot is

21. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, p. 210.

dramatically much better than the foreign handling, for it evinces an appreciation of the value of the climax furnished by the entrance of Mors, and carefully prepares the way for it. As thus treated, the plot falls into two natural stages: 1. Prosperity; 2. Destruction.

"The Dutch Everyman is animated by a radically different purpose. The English plays are essentially portrayals of the death of the wicked man,- a sudden collapse of his defiant security. The foreign play portrays the death of the repentant sinner with all the comforts of religion, certainly a much less dramatic story. Thus the saving device, which in the two English plays is tacked on after death, here comes before death, dispensing with the necessity of any other plot. This would be an advantage if it did not necessitate putting the climax, the dramatic coming of Death, at the beginning, and separating it from his actual coming by a long repentance scene---. The two stages here, in harmony with the difference in purpose, may be called: 1. Repentance; 2. Pious Death."²²

22. Ramsay, Skelton's Magnificence, Introduction, pp. clvi-clvii.

(III)

"The allegory of the Four Daughters of God, founded upon Ps. 74:11, 'Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi; Justicia et Pax osculatae sunt,' enjoyed extraordinary popularity throughout the Middle Ages. It appears in every language and in many forms of literature, and it even became a favorite device for the illuminations of manuscripts, not merely of those which contained the allegory, but also of others more general in character. So well known, indeed, was this allegory, that it became almost a medieval commonplace, so that a mere allusion to it was sufficient to recall the whole story."²³ The Allegory of the Four Daughters of God, or the Heavenly Virtues, appears, as we have seen, in The Castle of Perseverance. Mercy has heard the cry of Mankind's Soul and pleads with her sisters to lay his case before God the Father. They go before God's throne; each Virtue in turn presents her arguments. Truth argues that as Mankind lived in sin all his life he should suffer punishment in hell. Mercy pleads that Mankind has repented and has been punished in Purgatory; Christ died for Mankind's salvation. Righteousness appeals to God not to act against his own laws;

23. Traver, The Four Daughters of God, p. 5.

Mankind has forgotten God and his Good Angel, has served the World and the Flesh, and has soiled his soul with the Seven Deadly Sins; therefore, let him be doomed to hell as he deserves. Peace pleads with God to grant her prayer; God created Mankind to fill the fallen Angels' place, therefore Mankind ought to be restored to bliss. If he is condemned, the mourning of Mercy and Peace will have no end; therefore Peace begs the sisters to kiss each other and to unite in pleading for Mankind. God says that He thinks on Peace and Mercy, not on treating Mankind with torment according to his deserts. The Heavenly Virtues are sent to take Mankind from the Devil and bring him to heaven, where he is granted a station on God's right hand. ^{24.} The allegory is, of course, intended to

24. The Debate of the Heavenly Virtues also appears in the Salutation and Conception play of the Ludus Coventriae (Halliwell's Edition, Play XI). Contemplation opens the scene by a monologue in which he speaks of man's sin and suffering and pleads with God to have pity. A chorus of Virtues addresses God, pleading that man be permitted to dwell among the angels in place of the fallen Lucifer. God says that the time of reconciliation has come. The Heavenly Virtues then present their arguments. Truth and Righteousness argue that man has deserved punishment in hell; Mercy and Peace plead for clemency and pardon for man. Peace suggests that the matter be referred to God the Son. He reasons that if Adam had not died Righteousness and Truth would have perished; now, however, there must be a death of atonement lest Mercy perish and Peace be exiled. One who is without sin must be sought to die for the redemption of man. Presently the Sisters report that they have searched heaven and earth; no one can be found who is

represent the triumph of God's mercy over his desire for justice. This debate scene, as has been stated above, forms a natural sequel to a morality plot that culminates in the hero's death in sin.

(IV)

Another theme which might be employed as a device for saving the soul of the hero who dies in sin is the Debate of the Soul and Body. "The popularity of this theme, however, in the lyric poetry of Europe did not gain for it any important place in the drama. In only two English moral plays are traces of it found. Toward the close of The Pride of Life, the Virgin begs Christ to allow the King's soul to dispute with his body, and thereby gets a reconsideration of his sentence, and his eventual release from the hands of the devil.

willing and fit to die for man's sins. A council of the Trinity is called and it is decided that the Son shall become Mankind's redeemer. The Sisters kiss each other and Gabriel is sent to announce the good tidings to Mary.

Miss Traver (The Four Daughters of God, pp. 141-144) calls attention to the fact that the four Heavenly Virtues appear in the English controversial morality, Republica. In this play, however, "the sisters no longer engage in controversy, but act in perfect harmony."

Of the incident, unfortunately, there remains only the outline in the prologue [quoted above]. Another trace of the same theme is found in The Castle of Perseverance, when Soul crawls 'from beneath the bed under the Castle,' and reproaches Body for his sins.

'body! thou dedyst brew a byttyr bale,
 to thi lustys whanne gannest loute;
 thi sely sowle schal ben a-kale;
 'I beye thi dedys with rewly rowte;
 and al it is for gyle.
 euere thou hast be coveytous,
 falsly to getyn londe and hows;
 to me thou hast brokyn a byttyr jows;
 so welaway the whyle!'

The debate in both plays follows the mission of Death, and with it covers one crisis in the spiritual life of man."²⁵

(V)

A group of plays embodying the Allegory of Science²⁶ may be represented by the Interlude of the

25. Thompson, The English Moral Plays, p. 354.

26. It is to be remembered that the term "science," in the medieval sense, was used to include all learning or knowledge.

Four Elements and The Play of Wit and Science. The Interlude of the Four Elements²⁷. is opened by a Messenger, who complains of the ignorance and frivolity of the times, and expresses the wish that books of

27. By John Rastell. "A new interlude and a mery of the nature of the iiii elements declarynge many proper poynts of phylosophy naturall and of dyvers strange landys and of dyvers straunge effect and causis, which interlude, if the whole matter be played, will contain the space of an hour and a half; but if you list you may leave out much of the said matter, --- and then it will not be past three quarters of an hour of length." Chambers, The Medieval Stage, vol. II, p. 453.

The play was printed about 1519. It is reprinted in Hazlitt-Dodsley, Old English Plays, vol. I, pp. 5-50.

"Here follow divers matters which be in this interlude contained.

"Of the situation of the four elements, that is to say, the earth, the water, the air, and fire, and of their qualities and properties, and of the generation and corruption of things made of the commixtion of them.

"Of certain conclusions proving that the earth must needs be round, and that it hangeth in the midst of the firmament, and that it is in circumference above 21,000 miles.

"Of certain conclusions proving that the sea lieth round upon the earth.

"Of certain points of cosmography, as how and where the sea covereth the earth, and of divers strange regions and lands, and which way they lie; and of the new-found lands, and the manner of the people.

"Of the generation and cause of stone and metal, and of plants and herbs.

"Of the generation and cause of well-springs and rivers; and of the cause of hot fumes that come out of the earth; and of the cause of the baths of water in the earth, which be perpetually hot.

"Of the cause of the ebb and flood of the sea.

"Of the cause of rain, snow, and hail.

"Of the cause of the winds and thunder.

"Of the cause of the lightning, of blazing stars, and flames flying in the air."

"subtle science" might be written in English so that more men might understand them. In order that men may learn to know the elements, "God's creatures", and His "marvellous working," the author of this interlude has endeavored to set forth information concerning the nature, form, quantity, and effects of the four elements. After the Messenger's prologue has been delivered, Nature, Humanity, and Studious Desire enter. Nature discourses "of the situation of the four elements, that is to say, the earth, the water, the air, and fire, and of their qualities and properties, and of the generation and corruption of things made of the commixtion of them."²⁸ Studious Desire instructs Humanity concerning the earth's roundness and its position in the center of the universe. Humanity finds these teachings hard to believe, and Studious Desire promises to summon Experience to prove his point. Sensual Appetite now enters and at once falls to reviling Studious Desire, warning Humanity that he is in bad company. Studious Desire replies indignantly, but is outmatched by his opponent in the contest of wits that follows. Humanity is readily persuaded to accept the society of Sensual Appetite; they seek a jovial Taverner and go to prepare for a feast. Experience and Studious Desire hold a

28. Cf. Note 27, above.

long conversation, with the aid of a map, concerning "divers strange regions and lands" and "the new-found lands."²⁸ They are interrupted by Humanity and Sensual Appetite, who are returning from their tavern feast. Humanity is glad to meet Experience and sends Sensual Appetite away for a time. Experience begins the promised exposition regarding the earth's rotundity. Humanity finds the arguments rather hard to follow and Experience is just about to demonstrate certain points by means of his instruments, when we come to a gap of eight leaves in the original. The play is resumed in a conversation between Sensual Appetite and Ignorance. Each boasts of his power and great deeds. Presently they discover Humanity sleeping in a corner. Ignorance wants to cut off his head at once, but Sensual Desire insists that he is "but an innocent --- in manner of a fool" and that he can readily be induced to follow them. They awaken Humanity and find him in a mood for revelry. Singers and dancers are summoned and all proceed to make merry. In the midst of their revelry Nature enters and administers a stern rebuke to Humanity. "The original here ends imperfectly."²⁹

29. Hazlitt-Dodsley, Old English Plays, vol. I, p.50

The allegory in this play is interpreted by Professor Mackenzie as follows: "Man gets his first knowledge of the world by simple observation of nature. By this he is stimulated to go deeper into useful studies, and all would be well but for his lack of experience, which makes him rather unstable and inclined to scepticism. While in this state he weakly resigns his studies, obeys the dictates of his sensual appetite, and for a time leads an ignorant and vicious life. But his former taste of study has not been in vain, and in the midst of his idleness and dissipation he decides to return to the work which was formerly so interesting to him. With the added advantage of experience Man seems now to be devoted to a life of study; but he is still prone to the follies of the world, and in a period of weariness resulting from overstudy he again gives rein to his passions and lapses into a state of vice and ignorance."³⁰

The beginning of The Play of Wit and Science³¹ is missing. From later passages in the play we learn

30. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, p. 148.

31. Written by John Redford, between 1541 and 1548, probably about 1545. Reprinted from Halliwell's edition in Manly, Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama, vol. I, pp. 420-456.

that Wit, son of Dame Nature, has been suing for the hand of Science, daughter of Reason and Experience. Evidently Wit has sent Instruction to talk with Reason for the purpose of furthering his suit. At the beginning of the extant portion of the play Reason is offering to Instruction a "glas of Reson" which will prove of value to the suitor when he approaches Science. Reason is pleased with his daughter's prospective marriage and sends Honest Recreation to attend young Wit. Wit, on his way to visit Lady Science, seeks the advice of Study and Diligence as to which way he shall take. Diligence advises the most travelled road, but Study wishes to wait for the advice of Instruction. Instruction warns Wit that the travelled road is dangerous, for the giant Tediousness lies in wait for him. But Wit is anxious to win his spurs, so he presses forward, accompanied by Diligence and by the reluctant Study, who is complaining of a severe headache. Wit is attacked and slain by Tediousness, but is revived by Honest Recreation and her attendants, Comfort, Quickness, and Strength. Wit proceeds to make love to Honest Recreation, but she refuses to grant his request for a kiss until he has proven his ability to dance, which he does, after throwing aside the "garment cumbryng"

which Science has given him. Meanwhile Idleness enters, and Wit, wearied by the dance, lies down with his head resting in her lap. A quarrel between Honest Recreation and Idleness follows. Wit goes to sleep and Honest Recreation takes her departure. Idleness puts her mark on Wit; she then whistles for Ignorance, whom she teaches to spell his own name in the course of a most diverting spelling lesson. She rewards her dull pupil with Wit's gown, which, however, being the gift of Lady Science, refuses to stay on the shoulders of Ignorance. The coat of Ignorance is placed upon Wit, whom it fits admirably. Science enters presently, and Wit, now awake, advances to greet her, pleading illness as the reason for the long delay in his suit. His ardent request for a kiss arouses the anger of Lady Science and she denounces him as an "arrogant fool." Wit is thoroughly angry, but after the departure of Science a glance in the mirror of Reason assures him that he has been sadly disfigured by Idleness. Shame enters and beats Wit soundly. Wit kneels to Reason and begs his forgiveness; Reason agrees to admit the youth once more as a suitor for his daughter's hand. Wit, newly clothed and armed with the sword of comfort, which Confidence has brought to him as a gift from Lady Science,

is now ready to heed the sage advice of Instruction. In a second encounter between Wit and Tedium the giant is slain. Science has witnessed the combat from a neighboring mountain and soon comes to reward the victor. The union of Wit and Science receives the sanction of Reason and Experience.

The plots of these plays embodying the Allegory of Science are evidently adaptations of the conflict plot found in the Allegory of Life. The Play of Wit and Science, though similar in purpose to the Interlude of the Four Elements, differs from the earlier play in that while the author of the Four Elements uses his allegorical structure as a means for presenting great masses of "scientific" information in the speeches of Nature and Studious Desire, Redford, on the other hand, lets opportunities for long didactic speeches pass by and concerns himself with carrying out his allegory consistently.³² Later adaptations of this theme introduce still less of the didactic element. The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom³³ "injects into the plot much of the humorous realism of true comedy. The two

32. Cf. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, pp. 155-156.

33. "The Contract of a Marriage between wit and wisdom very frutefull and mixed full of pleasant mirth as well for the beholders as the readers or hearers". In Supplement to Dodsley's Old Plays, Shakespeare Society, vol. II. The play is usually dated about 1579.

soldiers, Snatch and Catch, who return from Flanders singing.

'I hath bin told, ben told, in proverbs old,

That souldiares suffer both hunger and cold,
and then bind and blindfold Idleness to make him the
butt of their pranks; the quest of Constable Search
for Idleness, who in the disguise of a ratcatcher
consents to help Search cry the proclamation for his
own arrest; the trouble between Doll and Lob over the
stolen 'poredge pot' - these are the prototypes of
comedy."³⁴

(VI)

From the medieval plays that represent the
allegory of political and religious controversy
Magnificence, The Three Estates, and King John have
been chosen for consideration here. In Magnificence³⁵
the central figure is a king who is called Magnificence.
The play opens with a debate between Felicity (or Wealth),
Liberty, and Measure as to what use a king should make

34. Thompson, The English Moral Plays, p. 380.

35. "Magnyfycence, A goodly interlude and a mery
deuysed and made by mayster Skelton poet laureate late
deceasyd." Edited by Dr. R. L. Ramsay, E. E. T. S.,
Extra Series, vol. XCVIII. The play was written between
1515 and 1518, probably in 1516.

of wealth. Magnificence recognizes Measure as his chief counselor and rebukes Liberty's plea for a more joyous life. Fancy brings a forged letter purporting to be from Circumspection, and introduces himself to Magnificence under the name of Largess. Magnificence receives him into his service. Fancy soon takes occasion to suggest that Measure may be a good counselor for merchants, but not for princes. Fancy is joined by Counterfeit Countenance, Crafty Conveyance, Cloaked Collusion, and Courtly Abusion. These rogues conspire to win the King's favor, under assumed names, and to bring about the overthrow of Measure. Presently Folly, the brother of Fancy, joins the conspirators. Their plans work well. Measure is dismissed with insults, and the conspirators are given places of power. Felicity is placed under the guardianship of Liberty and Fancy. Magnificence boasts that he is peerless; no great prince, past or present, can be compared with him. While Magnificence is being diverted by Folly's nonsense rimes, Fancy comes in with a sad face and announces that the court favorites have made away with Felicity. Fancy, too, flees as Adversity enters. Magnificence is "beten downe and spoylyd from all his goodys and rayment." Adversity then turns Magnificence over to the care of Poverty. Liberty, Crafty

Conveyance, Cloaked Collusion, and Counterfeit Countenance return and mock the fallen king, who bitterly bewails his fate. Despair enters and advises suicide; Mischief brings in a knife and halter. Magnificence is about to stab himself when Good Hope enters and stays his hand. Magnificence is cheered, reclothed, and instructed by Good Hope, Redress, Circumspection, and Perseverance. The players turn to the audience and point the moral of the play; then all return merrily to the palace of Magnificence.

The plot of Magnificence is evidently an adaptation of the familiar conflict plot for the purpose of political satire. In his interpretation of the satire in this play, Dr. Ramsay warns the reader that the "characters of the play are certainly not to be interpreted as personal portraits. --- Even Magnificence is not the portrait of a person, although in drawing it a single person was clearly in mind. --- Hence we must try to identify the characters of the play, not with the personages of contemporary history, as we should in the work of a later dramatic satirist like Lyly, but with the characteristics that Skelton would have assigned to contemporary personages or parties." Thus Dr. Ramsay finds that Magnificence represents the dominant characteristic of Henry VIII. "The six vices are to be regarded as all mainly intended as vehicles

for satire against Wolsey, although here and there others were certainly also in Skelton's mind. Each in turn gave an opportunity for scornful allusion to some defect in his character and policy." Circumspection he believes to represent the spirit of the king's father, Henry VII. Measure probably represents the body of old counsellors whom the young king found about him and who became the opponents of Wolsey. Thus the virtues and vices correspond to characteristics of the two opposing parties, as Skelton would have seen them. "Equally close is the correspondence in plot, between the fictitious contest at court in the years from 1509 till 1516, This period of Henry's reign may easily be viewed as an uninterrupted struggle, with varying fortune, between the two parties in the Council headed respectively by Wolsey and Norfolk." Dr. Ramsay finds that the methods employed by Fancy and his crew to gain their ends are similar to the methods used by Wolsey and his party. Part of the allegory, then, is based on actual historical events; part is an attempt at prophecy. No marked adversity befell Henry "while under the direction of Wolsey, as the poet would seem to have expected, although his Wealth did vanish and Poverty

come to take its place. Neither do we find any repentance on the part of the monarch or recall of his earlier councillors." The final portions of the play are "partly vague warning, partly merely the conventional denouement of every moral play."³⁶

The first part of the Scotch morality, Lindesay's Satire of the Three Estates,³⁷ presents a human hero (Rex Humanitas) who goes through the regular stages of Innocence, Temptation, Life in Sin, and Repentance.³⁸ The second part is devoted to a vigorous exposition of political and religious evils in Scotland shortly before the Reformation. A long account of the proceedings of parliament is presented, together with the story of the wrongs of John the Commonweal and Pauper and the wrangling of the three estates: Spirituality, Temporality, and "Merchand." Rex Humanitas is no longer the central figure; John the Commonweal, with his vigorous efforts at reform, has become the center of interest.

"The action, being interpreted, runs thus: The Catholic Church is responsible for many of the worst evils of the time. The spiritual lords are

36. Ramsay, Skelton's Magnificence, Introduction, pp. cvi-cxxviii.

37. "Ane Satyre of the thrie Estaitis, in Commendation of Vertew and Vituperation of Vyce. Maid be Sir David Lindesay of the Mont, alias, Lyon King of Armes, at Edinburgh. Printed by Robert Charteris. 1602. Cum privilegio Regis." Edited by F. Hall, E.E.T.S., Original Series, vol. 37.

38. Cf. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, p. 211.

sensual and covetous; They care for nothing but personal gain and pleasure, and are ignorant of their simplest duties. The temporal lords are scarcely better. They band together for the oppression of the common people; and as for the merchants, they practice their trade with dishonesty and deceit. What is needed is a complete renovation. The Catholic dignitaries should be exposed and driven out of office, and replaced by learned doctors of the Protestant faith, who are zealous and mindful of their duties. The common people, who form the backbone of a realm, should be relieved from the oppression of the rich and given a voice in the government of the country. Then the land will be freed from oppression, dishonesty, and ignorance, and will flourish under the rule of liberty."³⁹.

⁴⁰
King John is a controversial morality, which presents a historical character as the central figure. King John is anxious to rule justly and in accordance with the will of God. He promises his aid to the widow England,⁴¹ who protests against the wrongs

39. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, p. 217.
40. Written by John Bale and presented before Queen Elizabeth between 1558 and 1563. In Manly, Specimens of the Pre-Shakesperean Drama, vol. I, pp. 523-618.
41. A personified England appears as the widow Respublica in the morality of that title (1553) and as the chief character in Albion, Knight (acted between 1560 and 1565).

that she has suffered at the hands of Clergy and Nobility. Usurped Power, Sedition, Dissimulation, Private Wealth, and Treason present themselves as the Pope and his emissaries. They corrupt Clergy, set Nobility against the king, seduce Civil Order, and weaken the allegiance of Commonalty. Every move of King John to right the wrongs of the widow England is blocked by their efforts. The king is excommunicated, forced to abdicate, and finally poisoned. After the death of King John, Verity appears and speaks of the King's goodness, piety, and loyalty to his country, assuring the audience that although the king is dead his noble acts still live. Dissimulation and Sedition perish; Nobility, Clergy, and Civil Order are severely rebuked by Verity and Imperial Majesty and promise to exile the Pope and his followers from the country.

(VII)

The adaptation of morality plots for the purposes of realistic comedy in such plays as Like Will to Like and the Marriage of Wit and Science has already been discussed. Certain interludes by John Heywood will serve to illustrate a class of plays which depart

very far from the traditional moralities in plot and purpose, but still preserve morality features. The Play of Love⁴² is little more than a series of carefully worked out dialogues between The Lover Beloved, The Woman Beloved not Loving, The Lover not Beloved, and Neither Lover nor Loved, who is called the "vyse" of the play. In the farce entitled Weather⁴³ Jupiter recounts a quarrel among the gods who control sun, frost, rain, and wind, and determines to issue a proclamation directing that all persons interested in the weather appear before him to declare their preferences. Merry Report is sent to spread the news. This genial "vyse" soon returns and proceeds to take a lively part in the conversations with the various suitors who appear before Jupiter. The gentleman desires clear, calm weather suitable for hunting; the merchant wants clear weather and "mesurable" winds for the sake of sailing vessels; the forester thinks of his windfall perquisites and asks for plenty of "blustryng and blowynge." Water miller and wind miller have high words over their respective need of rain and wind; while the gentlewoman, anxious for her complexion, quarrels with

42. Written about 1534. In Brandl, Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare, S. 159-209.

43. Ibid., S. 211-257. "A new and very mery enterlude of all maner wethers made by Johan Heywood." Written about 1533.

the laundress, who demands hot sunshine. A small
? ° bay, "the lest that can play," comes as an emissary
from his fellows to ask for unlimited snow-balling.
Jupiter reconciles the contending suitors and makes
clear to the audience his own wisdom in sending
weather of all kinds.

Section II. Plots in the Modern Moralities.

As in the medieval plays the two great themes developed in modern morality plots are the Allegory of Life and the Allegory of Death. Other themes, more or less characteristic of modern life, have appeared. Modern moralities and modern plays containing morality features have been grouped according to themes in such a way as to show, as far as possible, parallels with the medieval plays.

(I)

The medieval Allegory of Life represented the strife between virtues and vices for the soul of man. This plot was, as we have seen, subject to various modifications. The same allegorical plot appears in certain modern plays which are obvious imitations of the medieval type. Everywoman,⁴⁴ as a morality play by Walter Browne, belongs to this class. The play opens with a prologue delivered by Nobody, who continues to act the part of the medieval Doctor or Expositor throughout the play. Everywoman appears,

44. For a chronological list of modern morality plays, see Chapter I, pp. 13-15.

attended by Youth, Beauty, and Modesty. Prompted by Flattery, who appears in her mirror, and encouraged by Youth and Beauty, Everywoman determines to set out into the world in quest of Love. She refuses to heed the warnings of Truth and Nobody; blinded by Flattery, she cannot see Love, who is her neighbor and the son of Truth. We next meet Everywoman on the stage of a metropolitan theater, where she has become a star. The managers of the theatre are Bluff and Stuff. Youth, Beauty, and Modesty have become chorus girls; Modesty, however, in spite of the protests of Youth and Beauty, is banished from the chorus and chained within a large, artificial rock in the center of the stage. Time appears as the call-boy. Everywoman comes for a rehearsal, attended by Wealth and Lord Witless, and by Conscience, her handmaid. She is wooed by Passion who tells her that he is Love; warned by Modesty, who becomes faintly visible through her prison walls, she tears the mask from his face, recognizes, and repulses him. At a dinner in Everywoman's apartments Everywoman and her guests, Wealth, Youth, Beauty, Age, Witless, Bluff, Stuff, Buff (a reporter), Self, Greed, and Vanity, are served by Grovel, the butler, and Sneak, the footman. Beauty becomes faint; Conscience cares for her while the others

revel and proclaim Everywoman their queen. Wealth tries to masquerade as Love and sues for Everywoman's hand, but does not desire her without Youth and Beauty. Hence she rejects him. Beauty dies, and for the first time Everywoman sees Truth instead of Flattery in her mirror. To conceal her grief Everywoman leads Wealth a merry dance. The next scene represents New Year's Eve on Broadway. Vice, a Chorus of Girls, Fools, Rogues, Gamblers, Stock-brokers, and Vagabonds appear. Everywoman comes in, shabbily dressed, and attended only by Youth. Truth enters, dressed as a witch, seeking Charity. Youth recognizes her as Truth, though Everywoman calls her Poverty. Youth is taken away by Time, who slays her. Everywoman meets her old friend, Wealth, but finds that he is not interested in her since she is no longer accompanied by Youth and Beauty. He goes off with Vice. The funeral cortège of Youth appears; Charity, a priest, and Conscience follow her bier. Truth leads Everywoman toward the church. In the last scene Love, the son of Truth, sits asleep in Everywoman's old home, awaiting her return. Truth and Everywoman enter. Truth is now fair in spite of her witch's costume; Everywoman is gray-haired and no

longer beautiful, but her countenance is peaceful. Truth goes out; Love awakes and talks with Everywoman. She is about to send him away when Truth enters and greets him as Love, her son. As Love is about to take Everywoman into his arms, Modesty knocks at the door, is admitted by Truth, and joyfully embraced by Everywoman. Truth leads away Love; Modesty conducts Everywoman to her chamber. They are to meet at the church on the morrow, where Love and Everywoman will be united in marriage by Charity.

Although it has slight literary value,⁴⁵ Everyman is interesting as a popularly successful play which closely approximates the medieval morality in treatment of plot and characters. The plot

45. Clayton Hamilton ("The Personality of the Playwright", Bookman, vol. 33, pp. 139-140) says of this play: "It is considered imaginative because the heroine is named Everywoman instead of being named Jenny; it is considered literary because on the program the acts are called 'Ganticles' and because the actors speak in a jargon that is neither prose nor verse; and it is believed to teach a deep and moral lesson because it takes two hours to tell by means elaborately indirect that a woman who yields to the seductions of passion and subsequently sells herself for wealth loses successively her modesty, her beauty, and her youth." But after all the play has some redeeming features. The allegory certainly has the virtue of consistency; the poetry is not so bad; and the play is enlivened by occasional clever bits of conversation.

represents the strife of virtues and vices for a central human figure; the customary stages of Innocence, Temptation, Life in Sin, and Repentance are presented. The allegory of the play is obvious. Its moral purpose, whose sincerity one is tempted to doubt, is stated by the author as follows: "To every woman who nowadays listens to flattery, goes in quest of love, and openly lays siege to the hearts of men, this play may provide a kindly warning."⁴⁶

Experience, a morality by George V. Hobart, which is likewise popular in treatment, presents the characteristic morality stages. Youth leaves his home and his sweetheart, Love, in the "Land where Dreams Begin," and goes into the world with Ambition. Experience becomes his companion and adviser, though his warnings are seldom heeded. Youth lets Opportunity pass by while he accompanies Pleasure along the "Primrose Path"; he loses heavily in a gambling den called the "Corridors of Chance"; he passes through the "Street of Disillusion" to the "House of Last Resort"; the "Street of Remorse" leads him to the "House of Lost Souls". But as he is being conducted by Crime through the "Street of Forgotten Days" he hears familiar hymns sung in a church; "the miracle of a mother's love" sends him back to Love in the "Land where the Dreamer Wakens."

46. Browne, Everywoman, Introduction, p. 1.

He is to set out into the world once more, this time accompanied by Ambition, Experience, and Love.

Everywoman's Road, by Josephine Hammond, is a modern morality closely related in method to the medieval morality pageant.⁴⁷ In the prologue the chief allegorical figures of the morality are introduced. The Seeker appears, longing to read life's riddles, and asking, "What follows Death?" The "Voices of the Women Who have Died" respond:

"Let the Seeker seek Law and the Light --

Life - Life, and not Death, is her problem -
Law, Love, and the Light are her needs."

The Flame of Life awakens Everywoman, who is then instructed by Human Truth as to Woman's place in life as "Creator, Worker, Waster, Joygiver, and Keeper of the Flame." A large number of historical, literary, and type figures, representing various activities of women, pass across the stage. Everywoman learns that waste retards the evolution of mankind. She longs to build for the child of the coming years a "World-Home girt round with Law, transfused with Love." But she has no means to make real this dream, she says. Truth then calls forth the heritage of Everywoman.

47. For an account of these pageants, see Chambers, The Medieval Stage, vol. II, pp. 160-176, especially pp. 169-172.

The Spirits of Nature and Society, of the Body, Heart, Mind, and Hand, and finally the Spirit of the Spirit appear. With the heritage that these have brought her, Everywoman fares forth upon her road

" to win her world

To harmony through Law and Light and Love."

Dr. Joseph Wayne Barley, in his study entitled The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, discusses two plays whose plots show marked resemblances to medieval morality plots. The first of these Life's Measure, by Mr. Nugent Monck, founder of the English Drama Society, presents the story of the Man, who has answered Labor's call to a great task, but who has forgotten the duty he owes to his fellow men in his eagerness to reach the desired goal. Motherhood, the Fool, and the Poet plead with him in vain. But Love leads him into the world to woo the Woman, who is a slave to Beauty just as Man is a slave to Labor. She rejects the Man, whose life seems prosaic and unattractive to her, and bestows her love on the Minstrel. The Man returns to his work, but he has learned a lesson through suffering; "he works now with heart and soul as well as with brain and hand." He is interrupted in his task by the inexorable summons of Death. Too late the Woman comes to offer her love to the Man.

"Her soul, too, has been purified, and she lives her life with the memory of the Man forever enshrined in her heart."⁴⁸

Of this play Barley writes: "Life's Measure fulfills all the requirements of the genuine morality, and, except for the language and the interspersed lyrics, it could have come as well from the age when that species of drama was in the heyday of its productivity. ----- There is the typical contest for the mastery of the soul by the good and bad personified qualities. The entire treatment is allegorical, and the play, taken as a whole, is a commentary upon and a guide to conduct and life. While owing something to Everyman ---, it is at the same time original in conception, and deserves to be better known for its even if not high literary merit, for its strong character analysis, and for its considerable imaginative grasp."⁴⁹

Another play considered by Dr. Barley, is The Struggle Everlasting, by Milton Royle. Mind and Soul are brothers and university students. Mind has become tired of the conventional teachings of the

48. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, pp. 28-32.

49. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, p. 32.

university and longs to know life through his own experiences. During a vacation he meets Body, a beautiful woman, who represents the physical world. On his return to the university Mind takes Body with him as his mistress, although he has been repeatedly warned by Soul. Upon graduating from the university Mind feels that he is tired of Body and resolves to cast her off. This, however, proves no easy task. And presently, when Mind learns that Body has another suitor, he pleads with her to stay. But she leaves him and goes into the life of the world. A panoramic view of the life of Body and of her victims is presented. At length, when she has become disgusted with her life, Soul comes to save her. Mind interferes, believing that Body merely wishes to destroy Soul as she has destroyed others. But Soul "teaches both Mind and Body that service is the law of life; each has struggled to rule, but now each must struggle to serve, and in service find eternal harmony."⁵⁰ Dr. Barley notes that this play follows very closely the method of the old morality. "The aim of the author", he says, "is to externalize the internal struggle always going on in

50. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, pp. 42-49.

each consciousness between the mental, the physical, and the spiritual in our natures."⁵¹

The plays just discussed, then, represent a group of modern moralities which are obvious imitations of the medieval moral plays. Their allegory is complete and consistent; they have obvious didactic intentions; and they embody popular philosophy and ethics. There are other modern moralities embodying various forms of The Allegory of Life, which are more modern in treatment and less popular in philosophy, as well as less obviously didactic in purpose.

Among the modern moralities The Life of Man, by Leonid Andreyev, most nearly approaches the early medieval plays in scope. In the prologue a "Being in Gray called He" passes in review the life of Man "with its dark beginning and its dark end." This mysterious figure holds in his hand a candle, which symbolizes Man's life. In the first act of the play Man is born. The Father of Man gives thanks to the Being in Gray, addressing him as "God".

51. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, p. 43.

The visit of the Kinspeople, a group of type figures, follows. In the second act we see the poverty-stricken home of Man and the Wife of Man. Neighbors come with gifts of food and flowers. The Wife of Man enters and speaks of her fruitless search for work. Her husband, a talented architect, has so far failed to gain recognition. Man, encouraged by his wife, defies fate in the person of the Being in Gray. They find and enjoy their neighbors' gifts, while dreaming of future wealth, fame, and happiness. The third act represents a ball in the house of Man, who has now won wealth and fame. Man, the Wife of Man, the Friends, and the Enemies of Man are present. In spite of the display of wealth Man seems no happier than in his life of poverty. The Being in Gray, impassive as ever, holds the steadily burning candle of Man's life in his hand. In the fourth act Man meets adversity. His wealth is gone; his only son lies at the point of death. Man and his Wife, now gray-haired, address prayers to the Being in Gray, pleading with him to spare their son. The son dies; Man curses the mysterious Being. The Being in Gray listens with indifference to the curse; the flame of the candle flutters as if blown by the wind. The fifth act represents the death of Man in a barroom,

surrounded at first by Drunkards, then friendless and alone, except for the weird figures of the Old Women, who also presided over his birth. He dies, once more cursing fate. In an alternative version of the fifth act, written later, Man is represented as dying in his own room, surrounded by his Heirs, who are anxiously awaiting the inheritance. Man is attended by a Sister of Mercy, who, however, sleeps during the entire act. Man dies, cursing fate, as in the first version, while the Old Women dance their weird dance about him.

This play corresponds in scope, although not in length or in wealth of detail, to such medieval moralities as The Castle of Perseverance. Man, the central figure in the play, is born, marries, gains wealth and fame, meets adversity, and dies. The allegory of The Life of Man is complete and consistent, but the play differs markedly from the medieval type and from the Modern popular morality in spirit. The Allegory of Life is here used to embody naturalistic philosophy. Ever present in the various scenes of Man's life is the silent, impassive Being in Gray, who represents God, Fate, or the Devil, Man knows not which. Unmoved alike by Man's prayers and curses, this supernatural being steadily holds the burning candle of Man's life in his grasp and seems to control Man's

destiny with irresistible power. Professor Reissner in his book entitled Andreyeff⁵² and his Philosophy of Life, interprets this drama as the tragedy of the self-centered man, the man who has failed to bring himself into harmony with universal law. "If the individual cannot thus establish a direct bond between his personal existence and the law of nature, there results the great tragedy: personality renounces the world." Man fails from the first to establish this bond. In his earlier years of poverty he is an idealistic dreamer, but his dreams all end in selfish visions of a wonderful villa on the Norwegian coast. In the fall of Man the hero reaches the summit of his wealth and fame, but the vanity of his life is revealed by the hollow and empty strains of the pólka and by the insipid, soulless dance and petty remarks of Man's Guests. The "iron round of destiny is the tragedy of Man, conditioned by the strife between the intellect and the emotions, with its attendant sufferings and joys in the case of a man whose strivings toward harmony and order are doomed to clash with the primeval chaos."⁵³ Man's struggle against fate is a

52. The name is variously spelled by translators Andreyev, Andreyeff, Andreev, and Andreef.

53. Professor Reissner's interpretation of the play is quoted in part and discussed in Brusyanin, "The Symbolic Dramas of Andreyeff," pp. xxvii-xix. V. Bibliography, Professor Reissner's book has not been available.

hopeless one. Yet the life of Man does not end in utter defeat. His soul is intact, his spirit unbroken, he is still able to defy destiny.⁵⁴ Of the figure of the Sister of Mercy in his variant of the fifth act, Andreyev says that "although during the whole of the act she does not open her eyes once, yet her very presence bears witness to the fact that mercy really exists."⁵⁵

The King of the Dark Chamber, by

Rabindranath Tagore, probably should be classed with the moralities embodying the Allegory of Life. The story of the play may be summarized as follows. The fact that their King never appears in public is a matter of common discussion among the people of a certain country. It is a festival day, and presently one who calls himself the king does appear. He is a fair and handsome youth, kingly in appearance, and is hailed with delight by the crowd. But some there are who doubt, and Grandfather assures them that the youth is an impostor. Queen Sudarshana, who has never met the King, her husband, save in a dark chamber, longs to see his face. Surangama, maid of honor, once felt

54. Cf. Seltzer's Introduction to Savva, The Life of Man: Two Plays by Leonid Andreyev, p. xiii.

55. Introductory note to the variant of Act V of The Life of Man, Plays by Leonid Andreyeff, p.

the effects of the King's severity and was rebellious; now, since she has seen the King, she yields him the most absolute obedience and devotion. The Queen pleads with the King that she may be permitted to see him; he promises that she may look for him among the people during the festival of the full moon of the spring. Several kings, among them the clever and powerful Kanchi, come to visit the great King of whom they have heard. They are welcomed by the Pretender, but force him to admit that he is an impostor. They believe that there is no real King and, for the sake of their own ends, force the Pretender to play out his part during the festival. The Queen believes that she recognizes the real King in this handsome impostor; she sends him a gift of flowers, but fails to receive any adequate token of recognition in return. But she secures the necklace given to her messenger by the Pretender, and treasures it, unable to forget the beauty of the supposed king. Kanchi sets fire to the royal gardens; the flames spread through the palace. Queen Sudarshana appeals to the Pretender to save her; but he cries out in fear that he is not the king. The Queen rushes into her burning chambers, but is saved and conducted to the dark chamber by the real King. She feels that shame has accompanied her like a raging fire. But she has

seen the King.

"I only looked on thee for one dreadful instant," she cries. "The blaze of the fire fell on your features -- you looked like the awful night when a comet swings fearfully into our ken - oh, then I closed my eyes -- I could not look on you any more. Black as the threatening stormcloud, black as the shoreless sea with the spectral red tint of twilight on its tumultuous waves!"

"Have I not told you before that one cannot bear my sight unless one is already prepared for me?" asks the King. "One would want to run away from me to the ends of the earth. Have I not seen this times without number? That is why I wanted to reveal myself to you slowly and gradually, not all too sudden."

Beauty has cast its spell on the Queen; in a rebellious mood she flees from the palace of the King accompanied by the faithful Surangama, and returns to her father's palace, where she is received, not as a princess, but as a servant. Seven kings come to rescue the Queen from her servitude; her father is defeated and held as a prisoner. The kings agree that the Queen be required to choose a husband from among their number as the means of saving her father's life. But the Queen resolves to perish rather than wed any of the kings.

The real King approaches and sends Grandfather as his general to summon the kings before him. All are afraid except Kanchi, who challenges the King to battle. In the battle all flee except Kanchi; he fights bravely, but is sorely wounded. The others are punished; Kanchi is granted a crown and a seat at the judge's right hand. Meanwhile the Queen is waiting eagerly for the King to come to her. Grandfather reports that the King disappeared after the battle. She cries out against his hardness, but determines to wait for him to come. Grandfather and Kanchi seek the King. The Queen, too, sets out to find him; since pride is gone she feels that the King's presence is continually with her. Once more she meets the King in the dark chamber, but now he is ready to lead her forth into the light.

The allegory of the play is probably to be explained thus: The King is the King of the World, the Divine Being. He is to be worshipped as a Spirit; only gradually does He reveal Himself to the humble, earnest seeker. He is not beautiful, but He stands "beyond all comparisons." Grandfather and Surangama, the faithful, know that He is hard and pitiless, but when they have once gained a vision of their King they yield Him unending obedience and devotion. "May he

ever remain hard and relentless like rock," says Surangama, "may my tears and prayers never move him! Let my sorrows be ever mine only - and may his glory and victory be for ever!" "I have known him now," says Grandfather, after the battle, "I have known him through my griefs and joys - he can make me weep no more now." Kanchi, the man of action, at first doubts the existence of the Divine Being. It is long before he will acknowledge ~~His~~ supremacy; when he does so he becomes a faithful servant. He receives his reward; it is the hesitating, fearful ones, who are afraid to stand positively for either good or evil, that are punished. The Queen represents the human soul. The soul passes from a state of innocence and love for the Divine Being into questioning, doubt, and temptation. The lure of sensuous beauty draws it away from the Divine Being, but it suffers keenly from shame and is prevented only by pride from returning to its King. Finally, with true humility, it seeks the Divine Being once more, and finds that He has been continually near it and is ready to lead it into the light of clearer spiritual understanding. The dark chamber may represent the human heart. "That dark chamber where you would come to meet me lies cold and empty within my bosom to-day," cries Queen Sudarshana,

"but, O my Lord! none has opened its doors, none has entered it but you, O King! Will you never come again to open those doors? Then, let death come, for it is dark like yourself, and its features are beautiful as yours. It is you - it is yourself, O King!" The King is identified with death, for death is but the union of the soul with the Divine Being.

The Little Dream, an allegory in six scenes, by John Galsworthy, introduces fable and morality elements into the dream play. The play opens with a scene in a mountain hut. Seelchen, a mountain girl, welcomes Lamond, a famous mountain climber, whose home is in London, and questions him eagerly about the life of the great city. Felsman, a mountain guide, who is apparently Seelchen's lover, comes in and agrees to guide Lamond, who desires to climb the Great Horn the next day. The young men bid Seelchen good night and she falls asleep on the window seat. The greater part of the drama is concerned with Seelchen's dream, in which mountain peaks, flowers, various forms of death, and other abstract ideas and things are personified. There are three great mountain peaks not far from her mountain home; in her dream the Cow Horn is represented by a mountain shepherd, who pleads for Felsman and the mountains;

the Wine Horn becomes a beardless youth who speaks for Lamond and the lure of the town; the Great Horn is a "male sphinx, serene, without cruelty," who says that Seelchen shall come to him at last. Seelchen is transported by the Youth of the Wine Horn to the city, where she meets Lamond. Seelchen at length grows tired and wan; she is about to embrace one of the shadowy forms of Death, together with Lamond, when the Shepherd of the Cow Horn appears and bears her away to the mountains. Here she finds Felsman; she is welcomed by the Flower-Children and by Sleep. At length, weary of life here, Seelchen seeks the Sphinx of the Great Horn. As she approaches, the voice of the Sphinx is heard, far-away, "growing, with the light, clearer and stronger."

"Wandering flame, thou restless fever
 Burning all things, regretting none;
 The winds of fate are stilled forever -
 Thy little generous life is done,
 And all its wistful wonderings cease!
 Thou traveller to the tideless sea,
 Where light and dark, and change and peace,
 Are one - Come, little soul, to Mystery!"

Lamond and Felsman pass out softly, without waking the sleeping Seelchen. As the first flush of dawn appears in the sky, she stretches out her hands with ecstasy,

crying, "Great One, I come!" Waking, she looks around and struggles to her feet with the words, "My little dream!" In this morality-fable play Seelchen, the 'little soul', evidently represents the soul of humanity. The soul, lured in turn by the activity and pleasure of the city and by the beauty and repose of nature, fails to find permanent satisfaction in either; taking refuge in mysticism, the soul passes from the material world to the mysterious Beyond.

The quest of humanity for happiness, beauty, or truth⁵⁶ appears in several other modern plays which may be classed with the plays presenting the Allegory of Life. Maeterlinck's fable-morality, The Blue Bird, is usually interpreted as a representation of the quest of happiness; Rose, however, believes that the Blue-Bird, the object of the quest, is the symbol of celestial truth.⁵⁷ The children, Tyltyl and Mytyl, represent humanity in a state of innocence; truth - or happiness - is sought in the

56. The Quest of Love is represented in Love is Enough, a Morality, by William Morris (1873), A king who has been eminently successful as warrior and ruler, leaves his kingdom and seeks the woman whom he has seen in his dreams. When he finds on his return from his quest that another occupies his throne, he does not attempt to regain his kingdom, for he has learned that "love is enough." The "Morality" is presented as a play within a play, the occasion being the marriage festival of an Emperor and Empress. Love is the only abstract figure in the play.

57. Rose, Maeterlinck's Symbolism, p. 6.

"Land of Memory," in the "Palace of Night", representing a condition of negation and doubt, in the "Forest", a maze of confusing beliefs, in the "Grave Yard," the buried past, and in the "Kingdom of the Future".⁵⁸ No-where is the quest entirely successful. Hovey's little play Taliesin: A Masque, designed as a portion of his unfinished Lancelot and Guinevere, a Poem in Dramas, represents the poet's quest for truth and beauty and "the revelation of the divinity of beauty to evolving humanity through the mediatorship of the evolving poet."⁵⁹

And Pippa Dances, by Gerhart Hauptmann, is another of these quest plays. Pippa is the daughter of an Italian glassmaker who has settled in Silesia. The girl, by her dancing and her winning ways, has won the admittation of the manager of the local glass-works, of an uncouth glassblower named Huhn, and of a wandering artisan named Michel Hellriegel. Pippa's

58. But in a new act prepared by Maeterlinck in 1911 "Light leads the children to the Land of Happiness, where all the common joys of everyday are revealed to them as exquisite existences." Cf. Clayton Hamilton, "The Personality of the Playwright," Bookman, vol. 33, pp. 130, 137. This new act would seem to justify the interpretation of The Blue Bird as a representation of man's quest for happiness.

59. Editorial, Poet-Lore, vol. VIII, pp. 165-166.

Certain scenes in Taliesin apparently owe a considerable debt to scenes in Goethe's Faust. The scene representing the birth of Poetry, for example, bears striking resemblances to the Eupharion scene in the "Helena," Faust, II, iii.

Pippa's father is killed in a quarrel with some gamblers whom he has robbed, and the girl is carried away by Huhn. Michel releases her from Huhn's cabin, and during a storm they flee through the mountains. They find shelter in the house of Wann, a hermit and man of science. Huhn follows them; he compels Pippa to dance with him and she falls dead. Michel, who becomes blind, sees in his raving the golden palaces of Venice. The allegory in this play is complicated and obscure; Hauptmann's own interpretation of the play, however, places it in the class of moralities that represent the quest of beauty. "In all of us there lives something for which our souls desire; we all seek for something which dances to and fro before our souls in beautiful colours and graceful movements. This something we will call Pippa. She is a young beauty, for whom all are seeking in whom imagination has not yet been extirpated. The manager of the glass works who desires her dreams of Titian--; the old Huhn is a primitive strong nature, a great artist, a brutal fellow, with brutal instincts for the enjoyment of beauty --- and the young travelling artisan, Michel Hellriegel, --- is the symbol for that which lies in the soul of the German nation. He is the youth full of naivete and humble humour, full of hopes and longing, the youth who yields with humour to his tragic fate

but who does not lose his illusions, for he lives on them. The brutal force in my fairy tale, as so often in life, vanquishes the tender beauty, and, as if hypnotised, Pippa follows the ardent desire of Huhn, and dances and dances until she falls down, and is shattered.----- And Wann, --- the sage, who knows the depths of the earth and of mankind, he, too, still feels joy at youth and beauty. He takes her up to protect her, but he cannot save her, since brutal force makes Pippa dance to death. --- The external did not and does not matter to me; I wanted only to liberate myself from what was firmly rooted in my mind ---. I thought of a marriage between the German genius, in the person of Michel, and the ideal of southern beauty as it is embodied in Pippa."⁶⁰

(II)

The medieval Allegory of Death represented Death as the messenger of God, who came to summon man's souls to judgment. Death appeared unexpectedly to Man, who was living a life of sin, and struck him down, as in The Castle of Perseverance, or warned him that he

60. Quoted by Karl Hall, Gerhart Hauptmann, His Life and His Work, pp. 68-71.

must straightway prepare his reckoning, as in Everyman. But the salvation of Man's soul must be provided for;⁶¹ if time did not permit repentance and preparation for death, the playwright must introduce another theme to provide for the soul's redemption after death. Certain modern moralities introduce the coming of Death motive in a similar way. In Life's Measure, as in The Castle of Perseverance, the coming of Death forms the dramatic climax of the Allegory of Life. Man is interrupted in his work by the appearance of Death, who "announces that his work must cease. He pleads for longer space, that by labor he may prepare himself by yielding some fruit of life. But Death is inexorable. With the prayer on his lips that he may be judged not by what he has been but by what he has tried to do, he dies."⁶² Evidently this part of the play owes a debt to Everyman. In this scene, says Barley, "the horror is--- lessened by the angel demonstrating to the man that Death, instead of being an enemy to mankind, is a friend."⁶³

One of the best modern moralities of this class is The Hour Glass, by William Butler Yeats.

61. Except in the case of an absolutely villainous character, such as Herod.

62. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, pp. 31-32.

63. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, p. 33.

A Wise Man who has taught everyone in his country, man, woman, and child, - with the single exception of the Fool, - to be skeptical with regard to belief in heaven, purgatory, and hell, sits in his study trying to explain an ancient passage that speaks of an "invisible world." An angel, representing Death, appears on the threshold and announces to the Wise Man that when the last grains of sand have fallen in the hour-glass he must die, for since his coming to that country no souls have passed over the threshold of heaven, the threshold itself has become grassy, and the angels lonely. Heaven's doors will not open for him; the gates of purgatory will remain closed; but hell-mouth will open wide to receive the man who doubts. The Wise Man pleads for time to undo his evil work; he is granted only the hour in which to find someone that believes, - "for from one fiery seed, watched over by those that sent me, the harvest can come again to heap the golden threshing-floor." If he can find such a person he may finally reach heaven. He calls his pupils; they repeat his own skeptical teachings. He summons his wife; she replies to his questions that "a good wife only believes what her husband tells her." His children recite the lesson of skepticism he has

taught them. In despair the Wise Man calls upon the grass-blades, the "fingers of God's certainty" to speak to him, for "They would wither if they doubted." As a last resource he appeals to the Fool, who admits his belief in the three Fires: "the Fire that punishes, the Fire that purifies, and the Fire wherein the soul rejoices forever." "He believes! I am saved!" cries the Wise Man. The hour is up; the angel reappears in the doorway and the Wise Man sinks back in his chair, dead. His pupils stand about in wonder and awe; only the Fool sees the "little winged thing," the "little shining thing" that comes from the Wise Man's mouth and flits to the door. "The angel has taken it in her hands. --- She will open her hands in the Garden of Paradise."

The first version of this symbolistic morality failed to satisfy the author and the play was rewritten, partly in verse, in 1912. The main features of the story are the same with the exception of the ending. The Wise Man appeals in vain to the Fool to acknowledge his belief in God and in the soul. The Fool is intent on trivial things and only when it is too late is he ready to confess his faith. But the Wise Man realizes in his final agony that "God's will prevails" and dies with these words upon his lips:

"And knowing all, I cry
 That what so God has willed
 On the instant be fulfilled,
 Though that be my damnation."

To the later version of the play the author appends the following note:

"A friend suggested to me the subject of this play, an Irish folk-tale from Lady Wilde's Ancient Legends. I have for years struggled with something which is charming in the naive legend but a platitude on the stage. I did not discover till a year ago that if the wise man humbled himself to the fool and received salvation as his reward, so much more powerful are pictures than words, no explanatory dialogue could set the matter right.--- Now I have made my philosopher accept God's will, whatever it is, and find his courage again, and helped by the elaboration of verse, have so changed the fable that it is not false to my own thoughts of the world."⁶⁴

Of this play Boyd writes: "The characters are the traditional personifications of the medieval morality: the Wise Man, representing science; the Fool, intuition; and the Pupils, the common herd of

64. Yeats, Responsibilities, p. 188.

small, docile souls enslaved to formulae."⁶⁵ The Angel, representing Death, appears as God's messenger to summon the soul of the Wise Man, and the Wise Man becomes reconciled to the will of God before his death. The play embodies a protest against materialism and skepticism; its philosophy is mystic and transcendental.

The plot of Hofmannsthal's Death and the Fool may be summarized as follows: Claudio sits in his study, musing on life. He has never really lived, never experienced real emotional depths. Suddenly Death appears and announces that he has come to summon Claudio. Claudio pleads in vain for a respite in which he may experience real life, genuine human joys and sorrows. Death summons several Shades from the spirit-world by playing weird strains on his violin. Through the revelations of these Shades he proves to Claudio that although he has had the same opportunities that all men have to live, yet he has lived a loveless, self-centred, incomplete life. Claudio laments that Death has taught him life's

65. Boyd, Contemporary Drama of Ireland, p.73.

value too late, but yields himself to Death's power and falls at his feet. Death leaves the stage, playing his violin, and followed by various Shades, including the soul of Claudio.

In each of these three plays Death comes as the inexorable messenger to summon a soul. But in each of the three Death also appears as the teacher and interpreter of life's lessons. This function of Death is especially emphasized in the last of the three, Hofmannsthal's Death and the Fool. In The Fool of the World, by Arthur Symonds, Man, dressed as a pilgrim, approaches Death's sanctuary and asks of Death what lies beyond the grave. Death appears as a woman, masked and dressed as a fool. She summons the Spade, the Coffin, and the Worm to dispel Man's dread of them. Youth, Middle Age, and Old Age, Death's guests, are called in to speak of her. Youth has obeyed her summons unwillingly, Middle Age has responded with indifference, while Old Age has gladly welcomed Death as a liberator. But Death can throw no light on the question of immortality. She is "the fool of the world"; she merits men's pity rather than their fear, for she is blind. "The motive here is not so much that of summoning a man to an account, or of showing the omnipresence of death in human life,

as of the inability of man and of Death herself to fathom the mystery of the unseen world to which Death is constantly leading humanity of all ages and degrees."⁶⁶

Of Death and the Princess, A Morality, by Frances Cornford, the author writes: "This play is called a Morality to make clear to what type of play it belongs. But it has not a full right to this title; for, whereas any medieval Morality could suggest the whole conception of life and death belonging to the great religion behind it, Death and the Princess, can only convey one side (as a lyric might do) of the belief of some people today."⁶⁷ Miss Cornford has chosen for the motto of her play the significant words from Heracleitus: "Hades and Dionysus are the same."

The play represents the following story:

The thought of Death brings terror to the peasants of the island-valley, who have been taught to dread his coming. He is believed, in the words of little Davus, to be a "great wicked Dragon, the Evil One", who lives in a mountain cavern with "the Red Women, the Witches, who guard him forever. And every

66. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, pp. 33-34.

67. Cornford, Death and the Princess, Note, p. 3.

night, when it is dark, they go down, as quick as birds, into the village; and when the people are fast asleep in their beds, they come quietly, quietly upon them singing evil strange songs. And they touch them with their fingers ---. And, though the people see them, they can do nothing, because the poisoned breath of the Witches makes them so that they cannot even cry out. And the souls of the people are drawn out of their bodies in the shape of white birds. And this is true, because Father Mithradora told us all in school; and if we do not say our prayers every night and morning to Mithras, Lord of Heaven and Earth, then the Red Women will come for us --- ."

This belief casts a gloom over the life of the valley peasants; their "whole lives are ugly with fear of the King of Death." They are awaiting anxiously the fulfillment of the prophecy that a holy maiden shall one day die of her own free will to save her people from this terror. The mountain peasants, who worship the King of the Woods (Dionysus), the "Good Spirit", are happy and carefree. Loris, a valley peasant who has learned the belief of the mountaineers, resolves to watch all night before the cavern of the Dragon of Death; but he is overcome by superstitious fear and the Red

Witches steal his soul. The Princess, ruler of the island, who has been kept in ignorance of this dread of Death that dominated the life of her people, escapes from her palace and her attendants and runs into the woods, accompanied only by her dwarf, Sardonyx. They find the sleeping Loris and waken him, but he is cold and speaks as one in a dream. The Princess, recalling the look of terror she has seen on the faces of her people, demands the truth, and the dwarf tells her of the fear of Death. Meanwhile, Mithradora, the priest, and the High-priest of Mithras have gone throughout the land to seek for the deliverer of the people. But their quest has been in vain. As they return the people learn of the death of Loris, and cry out in an agony of fear. As the priests and people pray to Mithras, the Princess steps forth and presents herself as their deliverer. The people kneel to her, receive her last commands and her blessing, and depart. The priests instruct the Princess with regard to the soul's immortality, and prepare her for death. They withdraw; the Princess advances alone to the mouth of Death's cavern. A roar is heard from the cavern, - then another, and another. Then the Red Witches enter, bearing a soul, ^{and} ~~the~~ the Princess flees in terror.

The following morning the Princess meets a family of mountain peasants, who are discussing the supposed death of the Princess to free her people. She learns of their calm facing of death and of their faith in the King of the Wood. Presently she encounters the King of the Wood himself. From him she learns the lesson of the grass, the flowers, and the creatures of the woods that have no fear of Death.

"For all things living is one end in store -

To turn into the earth and live no more."

Life and Death are one. There is no dragon in yon cave of sleep; Death and its terrors are

"but phantoms born and bred

In man's unhappy head."

The Princess now fearlessly approaches the cave of Death; the Witches, creatures of superstition, are compelled to come forth "and perish in the light."

The Princess pauses to play a game of ball with the mountain children, then enters the cavern of Death with these words, which sum up the teachings of the play:

"Here am I come, O King, in peace, and glad,

Fulfilling thus the ancient prophecy.

I know that death is easy as a sleep,

The simple end of all earth's creatures. This

Your wisdom taught me. But for man alone
 Death can be more - a triumph.
 O, listen, in my heart is that, which you,
 For all your greatness, cannot comprehend,
 Even though I learnt it sitting at your feet.
 Listen. Your dumb and perfect creatures know
 Nor past nor future, and they die at last
 In blind submission, when their strength is gone;
 But I, a daughter born of man, - of man,
 Your weak, unvalued child - can will to die
 And know that through my deed of death this day
 A people shall come after me, not slaves
 To scourging fear, but wise and free.

Run down, run down, rejoicing into the light,
 Children of man.
 Man who is greater than all creatures are,
 Yea, greater even than the King of the Wood,
 Himself a God.

The shadow of the Evil One shall be destroyed
 for ever!"

The King of the Wood disappears, still playing his pan-
 pipe, while the mountain children and their mother
 wonder where 'the white lady' has gone.

Ibsen introduces the Death motive into his play entitled Little Eyolf. A Skien version of the Pied Piper story is used in this play. The Rat-Wife, who takes the place of the Piper, entices the crippled boy, Little Eyolf, to his death. The chief interest in the play is to be found in the study of different types of egoism represented by its characters. But there seems little doubt "that in the poet's mind the Rat-Wife is the symbol of Death, of the 'still, soft darkness' that is at once so fearful and so fascinating to humanity."⁶⁸

Death appears as a more or less incidental figure in other modern plays. Andreyev's King Hunger opens with a scene in a belfry, where King Hunger, the bell-ringer Time, and Death plan a revolt of the Starving. King Hunger and Death appear in a factory, where the men are treated as parts of the machinery; in a drunken, starving mob; and in a court-room scene, where the Starving are condemned "in the name of Satan." The next scene pictures the revolt of the Starving and the terror of the rich. Throughout the revolt Death's trumpet sounds incessantly; each blare

68. William Archer, Collected Works of Henrik Ibsen, vol. XI, p. vii.

announces a new victim. King Hunger treacherously joins the rich, and the revolt ends in defeat for the Starving. Death presides over the field of battle, strewn with corpses of the slain. King Hunger calls upon his dead children to arise; a murmur arises from the battle-field: "we shall yet come. - Woe unto the victorious!" and the victors flee in terror. In Hauptmann's Festspiel Death appears as a drummer ("Trommler Mors") in the Parisian mob scene, and later with the forces of Napoleon.⁶⁹

69. Two modern plays that appeared before 1890 introduce the figure of Death, each in a single episode. In Ibsen's Peer Gynt Death appears as a button-moulder, with a box of tools and a large casting ladle. Into the casting-ladle go the souls of those who are neither really good nor really evil, but who, like Peer Gynt, represent the spirit of compromise. In Strindberg's Lucky Pehr a scene is presented in which Pehr cries out: "What is my life worth more? Come, death, and set me free!" To his astonishment Death immediately appears. "Here I am at your service", he remarks. "What would you me?" Pehr is terrified, but quickly recovers himself and replies: "Oh, really!- It was nothing especially pressing -" "You called me," insists Death. "Did I actually do that?" asks Pehr. "Well it is only a form of speech which we use; I really want nothing of you." But Death insists that he has come to do his work and raises his scythe, bidding Pehr stand straight so that he may fall "like a real world hater." Pehr's frantic entreaties prove that he is not so genuine a world-hater as he has made himself believe. Death at length good-naturedly relents and sends Pehr back to human life.

Several modern plays concerned with the horror of Death, present the coming of Death in a subtler, but even more powerful fashion. One of the best of these is Maeterlinck's little play called The Intruder. In a room to the left lies a sick woman; in a room to the right her child is sleeping. In the room between the family are gathered; a visitor, a relative of the family, is expected. One of the daughters thinks there must be someone in the garden, for the nightingales have ceased singing. A sound is heard of someone sharpening a scythe. The lamp burns dimly. There is a noise, as if someone were entering the house; slow, heavy footsteps are heard on the stairway. Someone seems to be pushing against the half-open door as if trying to enter the room. The blind old grandfather feels that someone does enter the room; that a stranger is sitting in their midst; his anxiety increases to terror. The clock strikes midnight; there is a vague sound of someone rising in haste, a wail from the sleeping babe, and the sound of headlong footsteps in the sick chamber, - then a deadly stillness. The nurse, a Sister of Charity, appears at the door and makes the sign of the cross to announce the death of the sick woman.

A similar presentation of the Allegory of Death is found at the close of Maeterlinck's The Blind. The inmates of an asylum for the blind have been taken for a walk into the forest by an old and feeble priest. The priest sinks down, dead, at the foot of a tree. The Blind know not what has happened to their guide; they are left helpless in the ancient forest.⁷⁰ The Young Blind Girl hears the rustle of dead leaves and thinks that someone is coming toward them. The others believe it is only the wind. Presently all hear the footsteps, and then the rustling of a gown against the dead leaves. The child, the only one who can see, begins to cry, and keeps turning **his** head to look in the direction of the sound. Nearer and nearer come the footsteps. Finally the Blind cry out: "The footsteps have stopped amongst us." "They are here! They are here in the midst of us." "Who are you?" There is silence. "Have pity on us!" The child wails more desperately. The curtain falls. In these two plays "Death in person, invisible **b**ut audible, stalks across the stage."⁷¹

70. Hovey interprets this play as "the symbol of a world lost in the dark forest of unfaith and unknowledge, its ancient guide, the Church, sitting dead in the midst." Introduction to The Plays of Maurice Maeterlinck, vol. I, p. 6. According to this interpretation The Blind is a parable play with a morality motive, the coming of Death, introduced at the end.

71. Hills, The Evolution of Maeterlinck's Dramatic Theory, p. 32.

In Maeterlinck's The Death of Tintagiles

the Death motive is used with peculiar power. The little prince Tintagiles has been placed by order of the Queen in an old castle, where he is cared for by his two sisters and a faithful old teacher. All find it impossible to escape from the castle. The old Queen is a mysterious person who is never seen except by her servants. Tintagiles becomes frightened for some unknown reason and weeps bitterly. While his sisters are trying to comfort him, footsteps are heard outside the chamber; the door is slowly opened, but nothing more is heard or seen. Presently Tintagiles gives a cry of joy and the door suddenly closes. But the Queen's servants carry off Tintagiles while his sisters are sleeping, cutting off the golden locks of their hair in which his little fingers are entwined. In the last scene one of the sisters, Ygraine, has reached an iron door in the tower, behind which Tintagiles is imprisoned. The Queen strangles the little prince while his helpless sister beats frantically on the iron door. The reader or hearer of this play is made to feel that the old Queen is a personification of Death, whose victim no human power can save.⁷²

72. Cf. Whitmore, The Supernatural in Tragedy, p. 342.

In connection with this group of Death moralities by Maeterlinck should be mentioned the play entitled Les Flaireurs, by Charles van Lerberghe. Francis Bickley, in the Edinburgh Review, gives the following account of this play:

"Les Flaireurs, a very short three-act play in prose, was printed in La Wallonie --- in January 1889. It deals symbolically with the approach of Death, or rather of his emissaries, the Man with the Water, the Man with the Shroud, and the Man with the Coffin, who come knocking in turn at the door of the room where the old woman for whom they have been sent lies in bed with her granddaughter. The dialogue goes backward and forward through the closed door, the strangers demanding admittance, the terrified child refusing it, and the dying woman, gradually growing fey, beseeching her to open. The play ends, on the stroke of midnight, with the breaking of the door and the monstrous uproar of the entry of Death's messengers."⁷³ It is

73. Francis Bickley, "A Belgian Idealist", Edinburgh Review, vol. 224, pp. 269-270. Mr. Bickley says further:

"Les Flaireurs was produced by M. Paul Fort at the Theatre d'Art in Paris in 1892 and its author was promptly accused of having imitated Maeterlinck, who had lately sprung into fame with his first play, La Princesse

evident that Les Flaireurs has something in common, not only with Maeterlinck's The Intruder, but also with The Death of Tintagiles and with Symons' The Fool of the World.

There are certain other modern plays in which the reader or hearer is made to feel with peculiar power the presence of some supernatural being, apparently Death, but yet in which Death is not seen nor heard. Such a presence is felt, in fact almost seen, in Maeterlinck's strange little play, The Seven Princesses. In Andrejev's The Black Maskers the

Maleine, and whose second play, L'Intruse [The Intruder], was similar in theme to Van Lerberghe's. M. Maeterlinck at once wrote a letter in his friend's defence, and had it inserted in the programme of the performance. He pointed out that Les Flaireurs had actually been published before either of his own plays, and, in his generous enthusiasm, took the charge of plagiarism on to his own shoulders.--- No doubt the two friends had often discussed the possibilities of symbolistic drama and such questions as that of the treatment of death on the stage, and we must accept M. Maeterlinck's statement that the idea of L'Intruse was suggested to him by Les Flaireurs. But there is really very little resemblance between the two pieces and --- there can be no question as to which is the finer. L'Intruse is a masterpiece in which an artist found himself. Les Flaireurs was rather a crude experiment in a form of art in no way suited to its author's genius. One has only to compare the mechanical violence of its ending with the pregnant silence of the last moment of L'Intruse to see that this is not a false antithesis."

The writer of the present study has been unable to secure a copy of Les Flaireurs.

last scene suggests a supernatural presence, probably death, although the correct interpretation here may be that the Duke has a vision of God at moment of death.⁷⁴

A similar feeling of the presence of the supernatural is produced by the last scene in Ibsen's When We Dead Awaken, where Professor Rubek and Irene climb up over the snow-field to meet death beneath the avalanche. It is said that while Ibsen was writing this, his last play, "he seemed to feel the grim Visitant --- already standing behind him with uplifted hand."⁷⁵ In Tagore's The Post Office the King, who never appears but of whom so much is heard, is evidently Death. "When will he be awake?" asks Sudha as little Amal is falling asleep. "Directly the King comes and calls him," replies the Physician. In Synge's one-act masterpiece, Riders to the Sea, the cruel power of the sea is felt almost as a personified form of Death, relentless, irresistible, dominating the entire scene.

74. At any rate The Black Maskers should be classed as a morality, for the Black Maskers are personifications of the Duke's own thoughts, and in the play, the Duke actually slays his worse self. Cf. Brusyanin, "The Symbolic Dramas of Andreyeff," pp. xv, ~~xxii~~-xxiii.

75. William Archer, The Collected Works of Henrik Ibsen, vol. XI, Introduction, pp. xxv-xxvi.

These plays are not, strictly speaking, Death moralities, for Death does not actually appear as a character. But Death does dominate the action and the dramatic effect is much the same as that in such moralities of Death as Maeterlinck's The Intruder and The Blind.

(III)

Similar in purpose to such medieval plays as John Redford's Wit and Science is the modern "fairy music play," Everychild, by Beatrix Reynolds. Everychild has difficulty with a certain note in her piano lesson; at length she gives it up in despair and goes to sleep on a couch. The remainder of the play evidently represents Everychild's dream. A curious ladder appears in a corner of the room. Everychild climbs this; the notes of the major scale are sounded as she ascends. Presently she finds herself in the Garden of the Major Mode. Here she meets Father Do and Mother Do, together with their children Re, Mi, Fa, La, and Si. Sol (the note which Everychild had found so difficult) has been carried off by the witch, Error.

Everychild determines to rescue Sol, and is told that Fairy Sharp may be able to help her. While passing through the Valley of Patience Everychild meets Fairy Flat. She finds it hard to escape from him, but is rescued by Melody. She climbs the Mountain of Struggle and finds Fairy Sharp, who promises to rescue Sol. They ride Vibration to the Land of Discord. Here poor Sol is imprisoned by in a cage and surrounded by such personages as Error, Ragtime, and the Dissonances. Sol is rescued and restored to her family. Everychild declines to remain in the Land of Harmony, but promises, as she starts down the ladder, to take as much of it as possible with her in her heart.

(IV)

The modern morality, like the medieval, play, is sometimes used to present an allegorical picture of historical events. Cathleen Ni Houlihan, an Irish nationalistic drama, by William Butler Yeats, deals with the spirit of the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Cathleen Ni Houlihan, an old woman, who at the end of the drama looks like a young girl and walks with the air of a queen, is a personification of the spirit of

Ireland. She wins a youth, Michael Gillane, from his happy home and the preparations for his marriage to risk life in her service. The play gives an effective allegorical representation of the call of country, on the one hand, as against the demands of love, home, and family, on the other. Hardy's epic drama, The Dynasts, based on the career of Napoleon, has a supernatural framework introducing morality elements; certain "Phanton Intelligences" are "spectators of the terrestrial drama." They appear in a "Fore Scene" and an "After Scene," and in Greek chorus-like passages throughout the play. Their function seems to be explanatory; they comment on events and show their hidden meaning. Hauptmann's Festspiel,⁷⁶ written for the anniversary festival of the battle of Leipsig, is likewise a drama of the Napoleonic wars containing morality elements. The historical figures are presented as puppets, moved by the 'Director,' who evidently represents a supernatural power. Death appears in the drama, as we have seen; the spirit of war is personified as a Fury; England appears as John Bull, Germany as "Athene Deutschland." Violet Paget,

76. For an interesting account of the presentation of this play and its suppression by order of the German crown prince, see Slosson, Edwin E., "The Play that Turned Out Wrong", Independent, vol. LXXV, pp. 542-545; also Grumann, Paul H., "Hauptmann's Festspiel," Poet-Lore, vol. XXVI, pp. 68-71.

in The Ballet of the Nations, A Present-Day Morality, has sketched what may be termed a "moral scenario". The present European war is represented as a great ballet: the Nations are the dancers; Death leads the orchestra; Satan is the impresario. The orchestra is composed of such Virtues and Vices as Idealism, Adventure, Hatred, Self-Righteousness, Science, Organization, Fear, Suspicion, Panic, Sin, Rapine, Lust, Murder, Heroism, Pity, and Indignation. The figures of the ballet are The Defence of the Weak, The Steam Roller Movement, and finally, Revenge. Future Ages, a few sleepy Virtues, and a few of the Nations who will not dance, compose the audience.⁷⁷

(V)

In two modern mystery plays of the Nativity, morality elements are introduced. Eager Heart, by Miss A. M. Buckton, presents the theme that he who seeks the Christ-Child must seek with true humility ere he find Him. Such abstract

⁷⁷. With this group of plays should be mentioned Ibsen's Peer Gynt (1867) whose chief figure is a personification of the Norwegian people.

characters as Eager Heart, Eager Fame, and Eager Sense are presented. The three kings represent Power, Wisdom, and the Lonely Heart. Mabel Dearmer's Nativity play entitled The Soul of the World opens with a morality prologue in which Eternity bids Time watch the earth closely, and predicts that the world's allegiance will soon pass from Time to Eternity. The play itself presents the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Crucifixion of Christ. In the epilogue Time acknowledges the superiority of Eternity and calls himself her servant. The supernatural morality framework here apparently serves to emphasize the change in the direction of men's thoughts from time to eternity, brought about by the teachings of Christ.

Section III. Conclusions.

(The two great themes developed in modern morality plots, as well as in the plots of the medieval moralities, are the Allegory of Life and the Allegory of Death. Minor themes, such as the Allegory of Science and the Allegory of History, correspond in part to medieval themes.) In modern plays, as in the Middle Ages, morality elements are sometimes introduced into mystery and miracle plays. The treatment of the different morality themes varies with the personality

and purpose of the author. The modern moralities present no such fixed plot schemes as the Conflict plot and the Coming of Death plot of the medieval plays. On the other hand, comic scenes are not introduced in modern moralities of serious purpose; such scenes appear even in the earliest medieval moralities. (In presenting the Allegory of Life the modern moralities, for the most part, do not attempt to represent Man's life from birth to death as did the full-scope medieval moral plays. They choose a single phase or period of human life for representation, as did the later medieval moralities. The medieval Allegory of Death represented Death as the inexorable messenger, who came to summon the soul of sinful Man to judgment.) The alternative which awaited the soul in the afterworld was taken for granted: Man must be admitted to heaven or sentenced to hell. (In modern moralities Death sometimes comes as a messenger to summon Man's soul. In several plays the coming of Death is used as a means of presenting the question, sometimes with a suggested solution, as to what awaits Man beyond the grave. In other plays the playwright is merely concerned with the attempt to portray the horror of Death's coming and the futility of human resistance. The medieval morality required a happy ending; if time did not permit repentance before death

the playwright must introduce some other theme to provide for the salvation of his hero's soul in the afterworld. The modern playwright, on the other hand, is fond of presenting the coming of Death as a strong dramatic climax or catastrophe. He sometimes provides for the salvation of his hero's soul; oftener he does not. Among both medieval and modern moralities there are plays in which the allegory is complete and consistent; in others there are many elements in the plots that are incapable of allegorical interpretation.)

CHAPTER III.

Characters and Characterization in the Moralities

In this chapter characters and characterization in the medieval and in the modern moralities will be considered. The plays will be compared with reference to casts and characterization.

Section I. Casts and Character Grouping in the Moralities.

(I)

"The cast of the primitive moralities", says Dr. Ramsay, "was quite as rigidly determined as their plot. Just as each story used as the basis of a miracle play carried with it a set of characters familiar and fixed by holy writ or legend, so each of the plots used by the moralities had its equally well-known and equally fixed scheme of personages."¹ From a study of the medieval moralities Dr. Ramsay finds that the complete ideal scheme of characters for a moral play presenting the Conflict plot of the Allegory of

✓ 1. Ramsay, Skelton's Magnificence, Introduction, p. clxxiii.

Life would be as follows:

I. Neutral: Mankind

II. Representatives of Good.

- a. Virtues proper: Meekness, Patience, Charity, Chastity, Abstinence, Occupation, Liberality.
- b. Good powers: the Trinity.
- c. Agents of good: the Good Angel; Graces such as Penitence, Mercy, Confession.

III. Representatives of Evil.

- a. Vices proper: Pride, Wrath, and Envy (commonly attached to the Devil); Lust, Gluttony, and Sloth (commonly attached to the Flesh); Avarice (attached to the World).
- b. Evil powers: Devil, Flesh, World.
- c. Agents of evil: the Bad Angel, other devils and vices.
- d. Evil types (outside of the allegorical scheme): The Taverner and others.²

For the Coming of Death plot he has worked out the following ideal scheme:

I. Hero: Man, commonly a King.

2. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. clxxvi.

II. Representatives of This World: Friends,
Officers, Servants, Kinsmen, Wealth,
Strength, Wits (later divided into good
and evil influences).

III. Representatives of the Next World.

- a. Death.
- b. God, and his angels.
- c. The Devil, and his fiends.³

In the Debate of the Heavenly Virtues "the principal figures, the debaters, are invariable: the four 'daughters,' Mercy and Peace on the one side, Righteousness and Truth on the other. As judges of the debate the whole Trinity may be present, or only God the Father."⁴ A study of the characters of the Castle of Perseverance, in which the three moral plots are combined, shows a rather close approximation to this ideal scheme. Mankind and the Soul of Mankind represent the Neutral characters. The good characters include the Seven Cardinal Virtues; God the Father; Mankind's Good Angel, Confession, and Penitence. The representatives of evil are the Seven Deadly Sins, or vices proper; the World, the Flesh, and the Devil; Mankind's Bad Angel, Backbiter, Liking, and Folly.⁵ In the

3. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. clxxvii.

4. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. clxxvii.

5. cf. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. clxxviii.

Coming of Death plot Mankind is the hero. The representatives of this world are Avarice (equivalent to Wealth) and the Boy who is to be Mankind's heir. The next world is represented by Death; God and the Good Angel; and the Bad Angel.⁶ In the Debate of the Heavenly Virtues God the Father is the judge; the debaters are Mercy and Peace, Righteousness and Truth.

"But the original rigidity of the morality casts began to break up much sooner than the rigidity of their plots."⁷ Even in the early moral plays considerable variation in names of characters and in the number of associated virtues and vices might be introduced. In the morality of Nature "God is replaced by Nature, the Good Angel by Reason, the Bad Angel by Sensuality." The World alone represents the customary trinity of evil powers. The vices appear under assumed names. Through the vices we learn that "the author has imagined a rich group of purely humorous figures; in the interests of comedy, if not of morals, it is a pity that he did not dare to bring them on the stage."⁸ Wisdom pre-

6. Cf. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. clxxxvii.

7. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. clxxxii.

8. Ramsay, Magnificence, pp. clxix-clxxx.

sents as neutral characters Anima, the Five Wits, and the Three Faculties: Mind, Will, and Understanding; it reduces the representatives of good to the single figure of "Wisdom, who is Christ"; and it presents seven devils and twenty-one vices.⁹ Mundus et Infans, which was intended for presentation by two actors, shows a remarkable reduction of the typical cast. The neutral figure is Mankind presented under the successive names of Infans, Wanton, Lust-and-Liking, Manhood, Shame, Age, and Repentance. The good influences are reduced to Conscience and Perseverance; the evil influences to Folly, the Vice, who combines the functions of intrigue and fun-making, and the World.¹⁰ In Mankind the hero is a specific type, the farmer; Mercy is the sole agent of good; evil influences are represented by Mischief and Titivillys (the Vice) and by the evil types, Nought, New-guise, and Nowadays, who have but slight allegorical significance. This play presents "an independent modification of the original scheme with the single purpose of extracting from it all the humor obtainable."¹¹

9. Ramsay, Magnificence, pp. clxxxi-clxxxiii.

10. Ramsay, Magnificence, pp. clxxxv-clxxxvi;
p. cxci.

11. Ramsay, Magnificence, pp. clxxxvi-clxxxvii.

The three groups of characters are easily traceable in Lusty Juventus, but are here likewise much restricted in comparison with the full-scope moralities. Youth, the representative of Mankind, is the neutral figure. Evil influences are the Devil, Hypocrisy, Fellowship, and Abominable Living. Good influences are represented by Good Counsel, Knowledge, and Merciful Promises. In Like Will to Like we find humanity represented by certain type figures endowed, for the most part, with suggestive names: Tom Collier, Tom Tossplot, Ralph Roister, Hance, Philip Fleming, Cuthbert Cutpurse, and Pierce Pickpurse. These might be considered neutral characters, although all seem to have an unfortunate predilection for evil associations. Probably the real explanation for these alliterative rogues is that they are the old vices grown types. At any rate the Devil and Nichol Newfangle, the up-to-date Vice, represent distinctly evil influences. Good influences are Virtuous Living, Good Fame, Honor, and God's Promise.

The character scheme for the Coming of Death plot in The Castle of Perseverance has been discussed above. Dr. Ramsay presents the following character scheme for The Pride of Life.

- I. Hero^Q the King of Life.

II. Representatives of This World.

- a. Queen and Bishop.
- b. The Knights Strength and Health and the Messenger Mirth.

III. Representatives of the Next World (Conjectured from the Prologue).

- a. Death.
- b. The Virgin.
- c. Fiends.

"The influence of the Conflict plot is evident here in the division of the representatives of this world into influences for good and bad, and perhaps also in the allegorical meaning injected into the King himself, his Knights, and his Messenger. Their typical office, however, is still in large part retained; There are no pure abstractions in the play." The representatives of this world in Everyman may be grouped as follows:

- a. Good Deeds; b. Fellowship, Cousin, Kindred, Goods; Discretion, Beauty, Five Wits; c. Knowledge and Confession.

"Here the division among the Hero's worldly companions and possessions is sharper than in The Pride of Life, but it is rather into true and false friends than into representatives of good and evil. The office of the agents of good (in the nature of the plot there are no agents of evil, since the hero is to be saved, not tempted) is filled by two pure abstractions, unlike the characters of any of the English Death plays, but

identical with the Graces of the Conflict moralities."¹²

The plays embodying the Allegory of Science and the Allegory of Religious and Political Controversy presented for the most part, as we have seen, modifications of the Allegory of Life Conflict plot; their casts were adaptations of the traditional cast of the Conflict plays. The Interlude of the Four Elements presents Humanity as its neutral figure; the representatives of good influences are Experience, Nature Naturata, and Studious Desire; the representatives of evil, Ignorance, Sensuous Appetite (the Vices), and the Taverner, who is an evil type and has no function in the allegory. In one of the late plays of this group, The Marriage of Wit and Science, Wit, representing Humanity, is the central figure. Evil influences are represented by Idleness, Irsomeness, Fancy, and Wantonness. Good Nurture, Honest Recreation, and Wisdom are the influences for good. There are several characters that cannot be readily placed in these groups. Severity and Indulgence, the parents of Wit, have little significance for the action of the play; they seem to represent types: the severe father and the indulgent mother. Snatch and Catch, thieves, and Search, the constable, are type figures with suggestive names. "Mother Bee, Doll, and

12. Ramsay, Magnificence, pp. cLxxxvii-cLxxxviii.

Lob are individuals introduced in a short scene of rough humor."¹³

Magnificence presents the following elaborate character scheme:

I. Neutral Characters.

- a. Wholly neutral: Magnificence (the munificent prince).
- b. Semi-neutral: Felicity (Wealth), Liberty.

II. Representatives of Good.

- a. Virtues proper: Measure, Circumspection.
- b. Graces: Good Hope, Redress, Perseverance.

III. Representatives of Evil.

- a. Vices proper.
 - 1. Vice fools: Fancy, Folly (the professional jester).
 - 2. Special or Court-Vices; Counterfeit Countenance, Cloaked Collusion, Crafty Conveyance, Courtly Abjuration. (typical evil courtiers).
- b. Diabolical figures: Despair, Mischief.

IV. Agents of Punishment: Adversity, Poverty.¹⁴

In the second part of the Three Estates Rex Humanitas, the neutral hero of part one, becomes a subordinate

13. Cf. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, p. 177.

14. Ramsay, Magnificence, pp. xxxii-xliv.

figure.¹⁵ His place is taken in part by John the Commonweal who is, however, a powerful influence for good. Other representatives of good influences are Diligence, Good Counsel, Correction, Verity, and Chastity. Evil influences are the Three Estates: Spirituality, Temporality, and the Merchant, with their attendant vices, Covetousness and Sensuality, Public Oppression, and Falsehood and Deceit; Common Theft, Oppression, and Flattery. The Tailor, the Shoemaker, the "three famous Clerks", the Abbott, the Parson, and the Prioress are types. In King John the hero is an individual who stands for right from beginning to end of his career and hence can hardly be called a neutral figure. The widow England is the victim of the king's opponents, the forces of evil. These forces are Sedition, Dissimulation, Private Wealth, Usurped Power, and Treason, who disguise themselves as the Pope and his agents and win over Clergy, Nobility, Civil Order, and Commonalty, general type figures.¹⁶ The triumph of right is brought about by the virtues of the play, Verity and Imperial Majesty.

The characters in The Play of Love and Weather

15. Cf. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, p. 212.

16. Cf. Mackenzie, The English Moralities, pp. 225-226.

cannot be grouped in any such manner. The characters in The Play of Love are types; Neither Lover nor Loved preserves something of the function of the morality Vice. Aside from Jupiter and Merry Report, the Vice, the characters in Weather are types such as are appropriate to comedy.

Thus the old rigid morality casts were broken up. The causes for their dissolution, according to Dr. Ramsay, are to be sought largely in the change from amateur to professional actors, and in the demand on the part of the audiences for shorter plays.¹⁶ "The external demand for simplification and abbreviation bore especially hard on the available number of performers. It was met by selection, then by combination, and finally freedom was won to introduce altogether new personages to embody new ideas. Each of the three plots (of the early moral plays) which we have in extant form contributed its quota to a stock of allegorical figures which later could be drawn on almost indiscriminately."¹⁷

(II)

No such rigid character schemes as those of the early medieval plays are to be found in the modern

16. Ramsay, Magnificence, pp. cxxviii ff.

17. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. clxxiii.

moralties. Some of the modern plays show resemblances to the medieval moralities in character grouping; most of the modern moralities, however, present casts which vary widely with the point of view and purpose of the individual author.

Among modern moralities embodying the Allegory of Life there are certain plays, as we have seen, which follow the medieval plays in presenting the conflict of virtues and vices. The characters of Everywoman may be grouped as follows:

I. Neutral.

a. Wholly neutral: Everywoman.

b. Semi-neutral: Youth, Beauty.

II. Representatives of Good: Nobody, Truth, Modesty, Conscience, Charity, Love.

III. Representatives of Evil.

a. Flattery, Wealth, Passion, Vice.

b. Evil types: Bluff, Stuff, Puff, Lord Witless, Pert, Flirt, Dimples, Curls, Giggles, Shape, Curves, Smiles, Sly, Grovel, Sneak, Age, Greed, Self, and Vanity.

The characters of Experience, about sixty in number, may be grouped in a similar way. In Life's Measure, says Barley, "there is the typical contest for mastery of the

soul by the good and bad personified qualities";¹⁸
 apparently the characters may be divided into the three
 groups: neutral, good, and evil. In The Struggle
Everlasting Mind is apparently the neutral character;
 Soul is uniformly an influence for good; Body is evil
 until converted at the end by Soul. The other
 characters are types not essential to the allegory.¹⁹
 These plays all present the conflict between good and
 evil by means of abstractions and type-representatives
 of good and evil influences. In none of the plays are
 the Seven Cardinal Virtues or the Seven Deadly Sins²⁰
 of the early medieval casts presented. No super-
 natural figures, either good or evil, appear in these
 plays.²¹ The pageant-morality, Everywoman's Road,
 presents no conflict, but its characters may be divided
 into abstract representatives and types of good and evil.
 In The Life of Man the central figure, Man,
 is a protagonist against the supernatural power, the

18. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, p. 32.

19. Cf. Barley, Morality Motive, pp. 43-48.

20. It is interesting, however, to note the current popularity of photo-play series illustrating the Seven Deadly Sins.

21. With the single exception of Death in Life's Measure.

Being in Gray. The sleeping Mercy represents a beneficent influence. The other characters, the Father of Man, the Doctor, the Kinspeople, the Wife of Man, the Neighbors, the Guests, Friends, and Enemies of Man, the Son of Man, and Man's Heirs, - generalizations and types, - can hardly be divided into representatives of good and evil. In The King of the Dark Chamber the Queen, representing the Soul, is the neutral figure; the King, the Divine Being, is the good power; Suvarna, representing sensuous beauty, is an evil influence. The other characters are types - good, evil, and mixed. Seelchen, the soul, in The Little Dream, meets numerous influences represented by abstract and concrete personifications and types; the author's aim seems to be to represent the experiences of the soul without reference to good and evil. . In The Blue Bird the children, representing humanity, encounter a large number of figures, concrete and abstract personifications for the most part. Some of these figures may be said to stand for good or evil. The Fairy Berylune, according to Rose, is the messenger of the Divine Spirit "which comes to man and helps to make him conscious of his higher needs". Light is a personification of human reason; the Dog represents the instincts of humanity; the Cat, the active power of evil/ Fire, Water, Milk, Sugar, and bread typify the things that are necessary to Man's

physical life.²² In Taliesin the chief figure is Taliesin, the poet. Through the teachings of the spirit of Merlin, the sage, the poet is able to meet and wed Nimue, the spirit of the sensuous beauty of Nature. Their child is Poetry; at first he represents ~~s~~ensuous poetry, but as he grows under the care of Apollo and the Muses and casts off his external ornaments he represents the simple, unadorned beauty of heroic verse. To Taliesin, the poet, is granted the vision of supernal beauty denied to Percival, the pure knight, who still bears the "hate of hate" in his heart. Evidently there is no moral character grouping in this play. In And Pippa Dances, Pippa, the representative of beauty, is the central figure; the other characters are types who are seeking beauty.

The characters of the modern Death moralities, like those of the medieval plays, fall, for the most part, into the three groups: the hero, a representative of humanity; the representatives of this world; and the representatives of the other world. The Hour Glass presents the following character scheme:

I. Hero: the Wise Man.

II. Representatives of This World: The Fool,

22. Rose, Maeterlinck's Symbolism, pp. 18-25

the Pupils, the Wife and Children of the
Wise Man.

III. Representatives of the Other World: the Angel, representing Death.

In Death and the Fool Claudio, the self-centered man, is the hero; his Valet represents this world; Death and the Shades of Claudio's Mother, his Beloved, and the Friend of his Youth, are the representatives of the other world. Man, the Pilgrim, is the hero of The Fool of the World. Representatives of this world seem to be lacking in this play; Death; the Coffin, the Spade, and the Worm; and the spirits of Youth, Middle Age, and Old Age Represent what lies beyond the limits of Man's Life. In Death and the Princess the Princess herself is the central figure. The priests, the dwarf, and the peasants are the representatives of this world. The Red Witches are creatures of superstition. The King of the Wood is a supernatural being, but is identified with Nature. Since the teaching of the play is that Death does not exist, or rather, that "Life and Death are one," there seems to be no genuine representative of the other world in the play.²³ Death is a more or less incidental character in Little Eyolf, King Hunger, and Das Festspiel. In The Intruder only the representatives of this world are seen; the woman who is Death's victim does not actually appear on the stage;

23. For the very natural reason that the play practically denies the existence of the other world.

while Death, though distinctly heard, is invisible. In The Blind all the representatives of this world seem to be threatened by the approach of Death. The Death of Tintagiles presents the customary groups, but Death is again unseen. In Les Fleurs the old woman is the chief figure; the child represents this world; the other world is represented by the three messengers of Death. In the other plays discussed in connection with the Coming of Death plot Death does not actually appear; hence only the hero and the representatives of this world are presented in these plays.

In Everychild some traces of the Conflict plot once more appear. Everychild is the neutral figure; influences for good are represented by such concrete and abstract personifications as Mother and Father Do and their children, Rhythm, Melody, and Fairy Sharp. The representatives of evil are Error, Ragtime, and the Dissonances. Mrs. Minor is melancholy, but not wicked; while Fairy Flat seems to be a somewhat doubtful character.

In Cathleen Ni Houlihan Michael Gillane is the neutral figure. Cathleen Ni Houlihan, the spirit of Ireland, represents the call of patriotism on the one hand; on the other hand Michael's father, mother, brother, and sweetheart represent the claims of home, family, and

love. In the 'Overworld' scenes in Hardy's The Dynasts the various Intellegences and Spirits cannot be classed as good and evil, but they can be divided into three groups: spirits that are in sympathy with humanity; spirits that are unympathetic toward humanity; and spirits that are indifferent in their attitude toward humanity. In Das Festspiel allegorical elements are mingled with the historical drama; John Bull, the War-Fury, and Athene Deutschland play their parts in bringing about the defeat of Napoleon. The Director and his attendant, Philistiades, represent supernatural powers controlling the course of human events. In the Ballet of the Nations a strange assemblage of good and evil allegorical characters are represented as working toward the same ends. The Soul of the World again presents an allegorical framework; Time and Eternity are represented as interested observers of human life and events. Eager Heart presents an assemblage of personifications, Biblical characters, and types, all seeking the Christ-Child.

Section II. Characterization in the Moralities.

(I)

Along with the breaking up of primitive casts in the medieval moralities came also changes in

characterization. "The characters of comedy, as has been often observed, need not be individuals; they are, on the contrary, usually types of larger or smaller classes of men, given for the nonce personal names, but characterized rather by their generic than by their specific qualities. For the development of such characters the morality contained better material than the miracles."²⁴ Progress in characterization in the medieval moralities means progress from personified abstractions and highly generalized types to type characters such as are appropriate for comedy. In The Castle of Perseverance practically all the characters are abstractions; in such plays as Like Will to Like and Weather we find a large percentage of type characters. "Types of this kind were usually late importations in the Conflict plays, whereas in the Death plays they were original."²⁵ Thus the King, Queen, and Bishop in The Pride of Life were types; only personal names are lacking to make them suitable characters for the drama of real life. Mankind, the hero of the Conflict plot, though a type figure in the early morality, had the "disadvantage of being too broad a generalization. A comedy might contain a type of almost any class of men, however large, but it could hardly admit man in general,

24. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. cxciv.

25. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. cxcv.

for that would leave room for no other characters in the play. The primitive hero had therefore, to undergo the process of specialization before he could become a real character." Three of the moral plays succeeded in reducing Mankind "to manageable dimensions, * Mankind, to a typical farmer, Nature to a typical lord, Magnificence to a typical king."²⁵ We have seen that in the moral interludes Mankind was reduced to Youth or to some personified human characteristic, thus approaching the type figure of comedy. In King John the hero is an individual historical figure. Such superhuman characters as the members of the Trinity, Lucifer, angels, and devils possessed personality, indeed, but "were fatally handicapped in attempting to enter the real drama by being non-human. --- Accordingly we find the members of this division rapidly disappearing from the plays --- and when present they have been generally transformed into or replaced by abstractions. God becomes Nature, Christ Wisdom, and Good and Bad Angels Reason and Sensuality, or Felicity and Liberty, the devils Detraccio, Voluptas, and Stulticia, or mischief and Despair, and the angels almost always abstract Graces."²⁶ Sometimes, however, these super-human figures are successfully characterized as types. This is especially true with reference to the Devil, who may become the most nearly human figure in a play. Sometimes he plays the part of the Vice, or chief-

26. Ramsay, Magnificence, cxcv-cxcvi.

fun-maker of the play, as in the case of Titivillus in Mankind.

The most susceptible of the morality figures to character development, however, were the virtues and the vices, particularly the latter. "Denoting human qualities, they have the humanity that the superhuman figures lack, and need only borrow from them their personality to become very adequate characters."²⁷ Thus Pride readily becomes a proud man; Scorn becomes Hickscorner; Drunkenness becomes Tom Tossplot; Robbery Pierce Pickpurse. In The Castle of Perseverance the vices are purely allegorical. In Nature each of the seven vices is given a typical characterization. "Pride appears as a fine gentleman extravagantly dressed; Covetousness, who calls himself Worldly Affection, is a crafty supervisor; Bodily Lust is himself a lecher; Sloth comes straight from his bed; Gluttony is always eating, and when the summons to war comes, appears with a cheese and a bottle as his harness; Wrath wears a real suit of armor and is looking for a chance to use it; and Envy is most complaining and quarrelsome."²⁸ The author of Mankind "has not given either the

27. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. cxcvi.

28. Ramsay, Magnificence, pp. cxcvi - cxcvii.

vices, Now-a-days, New-gypse, Nought, and Mischief, or his hero, Mankind, Christian names, but all belong clearly to a rural community. --- New-gypse, himself a horse-thief, having barely escaped the gallows, swaggers in with the broken rope yet about his neck; Now-a-days returns with booty from a church; and Mischief clanks his fetters as he comes to aid in making a village criminal of poor Mankind."^{29/} In Like Will to Like the virtues, God's Promise, Virtuous Living, Honor, and Good Fame, retain their abstract nature; the abstract vices have been replaced by a group of drunkards and thieves bearing the suggestive names of Tom Tossplot, Tom Collier, Hance, Cuthbert Cutpurse, Pierce Pickpurse, . . . Ralph Roister, and Philip Fleming. Along with the tendency to characterize the vices as types came the introduction of type or individual figures which had no allegorical significance. Such figures are the Taverner in Four Elements and Lob, Doll, and Mother Bee in The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom. Whatever may be the antecedents of the Vice in the various moralities, where he appears under such names as Iniquity, Hypocrisy, Infidelity, Hardydardy, Nichol Newfangle, Inclination, Ambidexter, Sin, Desire, Haphazard, Fancy, Folly, Neither Lover nor Loved, and Merry Report, his task of fun-making

29. Thompson, The English Moral Plays, p. 387.

combined with that of chief intriguer soon caused him to become highly realistic and thoroughly humanized. Thus we find in the moralities the constant effort to realize dramatic types which, developing from personified abstractions, were to take their places as men and women animated by controlling humors when the stage became a mirror of man's actual life.

(II)

No definite progress in characterization can be traced in the modern moralities, but the same tendency toward characterization of abstractions as types may be observed in the plays of various modern authors. Few, if any, of the modern moralities present pure abstractions for all of their characters. A glance at the list of dramatic personae in Everywoman would lead one to suppose that practically all of the characters are pure abstractions, but at least one-half of these figures are really moral or social types. Truth, Nobody, Flattery, Conscience, and Time are apparently the only pure abstractions. A Bookman reviewer says of this play: "It is considered imaginative because the heroine is named Everywoman instead of being named Jenny."³⁰ This supposedly generalized central figure

30. Hamilton, "The Personality of the Playwright," Bookman, vol. 33, p. 139.

is as truly individual in characterization as many modern stage heroines that are intentionally characterized as individuals. Of The Struggle Everlasting Dr. Barley writes: "The principal characters, Mind, Soul, and Body, are types in **which** the mental, or spiritual, or physical struggles to predominate, while the subordinate characters are types of those affected by the struggle. --- When the difficulties of the task are thoroughly considered, one must say that Mr. Royle has succeeded to a marked degree in infusing life into his abstractions. We forget the abstract natures of Mind, Soul, and Body, as we watch them strive for ascendancy over each other; and yet they are so subjectively delineated that personal application is inevitable."³¹ In The Life of Man the Being in Gray is an abstraction who takes the place of a supernatural character.³² Man is a generalized type; he is the self-centered man, the egoist. The other figures are more or less generalized types with allegorical significance.

Modern authors are fond of disguising their abstract figures by giving them individual names. Thus they may conveniently characterize these figures as individuals or types, while at the same time suggesting their allegorical significance. Pippa is adequately

31. Barley, Morality Motive, pp. 43, 49.

32. Compare the replacing of God by 'Nature' and of Christ by 'Wisdom' in the medieval plays.

characterized as the Italian dancing girl in And Pippa Dances, but the play becomes understandable only when she is interpreted as the personification of beauty. Sometimes the name suggests the allegorical interpretation, as in the case of Seelchen,³³ who is a charming mountain girl as well as an adequate personification of the human soul. Tyltyl and Mytyl are delightful children, but the series of their adventures related in the Blue Bird means little to us until we know that they represent humanity in search of happiness. The King of the Dark Chamber is rather puzzling when considered as an earthly king, but he assumes new majesty when we realize that he represents God Himself. In the central figure of Cathleen Ni Houlihan we have a piece of vivid characterization which only serves to heighten the effectiveness of the character as the personified spirit of Ireland.

In the modern Death moralities all the characters, with the exception of Death and his emissaries, are individuals or types. In The Hour Glass the Wise Man is the man of science who denies the existence of all that he cannot see. His Pupils, his Wife, and his Children, represent types of humanity who believe as

33. Cf. Galsworthy, The Little Dream

they are taught without independent thinking. The Fool is the man of little wit who gains religious knowledge and faith through intuition, not through reason. Death himself becomes a somewhat genial character, though still inexorable in his summons, in the morality of Death and the Fool. The feminine figure of Death in The Fool of the World seems quite humanized. Death is disguised in Little Eyolf as the uncanny but fascinating old Rat-Wife; in The Death of Tintagiles as the mysterious, cruel, relentless Queen.

Finally, such plays as The Dynasts, Das Festspiel, Eager Heart, and The Soul of the World introduce allegorical figures into historical and religious drama. In these plays supernatural beings and personified abstractions mingle with type figures and individuals.

Section III. Conclusions.

No such rigid casts appear in the modern moralities as those of the early medieval moral plays. Some modern Conflict plays present groups of virtues and vices, but these are not the traditional medieval groups; the groups in the modern plays are as variable as those of the late medieval moral interludes. Other modern plays presenting phases of the Allegory of Life

do not group their characters on a moral basis. The characters of any complete Death morality, medieval or modern, fall naturally into three groups: the hero, or victim of Death; the representatives of this world; and the representatives of the other world. Within these groups, however, the individual author may exercise the greatest freedom; the modern author may even omit a group or combine two groups in one. In many modern moralities, as in some of the medieval plays, type figures and individuals who have no allegorical significance are introduced. In the medieval plays these were usually comic figures. Comic characters do not, as a rule, appear in modern moralities that have a serious purpose. There is no figure in the modern moralities corresponding to the medieval Vice or fool with his combined functions of tempter and fun-maker.

The medieval moralities show a tendency in character treatment to pass from the purely abstract figures and generalizations of the primitive plays to type figures, often well individualized in the later plays. This tendency was especially marked with reference to the vices, who rapidly became comic, realistic figures. Thus in the later medieval moralities we often find pure abstractions, highly generalized types, specific types, and individuals appearing in the same play. No definite

progress in characterization is traceable in modern moralities, but various modern plays show a similar tendency toward characterization of abstractions as types. But few of the figures in the modern moralities are characterized as pure abstractions; they are for the most part presented as types, at the same time retaining their allegorical significance. Modern authors are fond of presenting their abstract figures under personal, or merely suggestive names. In many modern plays we find a curious mixture of individuals, type characters, supernatural beings, and personifications.

Chapter IV.

Staging and Presentation of the Moralities.

In this chapter some phases of the staging and presentation of the moralities will be considered. Only a very brief and fragmentary treatment of this subject will be possible in the present study.

(I) Some Phases of the Staging of the Medieval Moralities.

The earliest of the English moralities, the Pater Noster and Creed plays, were presented on series of movable pageant wagons, as were some of the great mystery cycles.¹ But the full-scope moralities, such as The Castle of Perseverance, were presented on stationary stages with scaffolds or 'sedes' for the different scenes. From the manuscript containing The Castle of Perseverance considerable information can be obtained regarding the presentation of this play. The proclamation which precedes the play in the manuscript announces that "this day sevenenyt" there will be given "on the grene in ryall aray" the new play known as The Castle of Perseverance. The criers who deliver the proclamation add the injunction

1. Thompson, The English Moral Plays, pp. 334-335.

"And loke that ye be there betyme, luffely and lyth,
 for we schul be onward be vnderne of the day".²

The first leaf of the manuscript presents a diagram of the stage that is to be arranged "on the grene" for the performance of this play. The stage is to be circular in form; it is to be surrounded by a ditch or fence.

"This is the watyr a-bowte the place, if any dyche may be mad, ther~~e~~ it shal be played", reads the direction on the diagram, "or ellys that it be strongly barryd al a-bowt; and lete nowth ouer many stytelerys be with-
 Inne the plase". Above a rude drawing of a castle with battlements is the direction: "This is the Castel of Perseverance, that stondyth In the myddys of the place; but lete no men sytte ther, for lettynge of syt; for ther shal be the best of all".³

These directions suggest the intimacy of actors and audience in the presentation of these medieval plays; the players must have been surrounded by the audience and must have ~~even~~ mingled with it. The 'place' in the medieval stage, it should be noted, means the central open space between the various 'sedes'; it was symbolically unlocated as to place. When an actor merely walked across the 'place' it might symbolize a journey to a distant land.⁴ Returning to our stage plan, we find that five 'sedes' or scaffolds are located about the castle; these are to be occupied respectively by the World, the Flesh, the Devil, Covetous-

2. Macro Plays, E.E.T.S., Extra Series, vol. xci, p. 81.

3. Macro Plays, E.E.T.S., Extra Series, vol. xci, Frontispiece, and p. 76.

4. Albright, The Shakesperian Stage, p. 14.

ness, and God. Beneath the castle is the sketch of a bed with the direction: "mankynde-is bed shal be vnder the Castel, and ther shal the sowle lyē vnder the bed tyl he schal ryse and pleye". The diagram further directs that the cupboard of Covetousness shall be at the foot of the bed. A further note gives directions for the costuming of the Four Daughters of God: Mercy is to be dressed in white, Righteousness in red, Truth in "sad grene", and Peace all in black.⁵

The Castle of Perseverance represents the popular out-door type of moral play, unrestricted in length and in number of actors, and presented by amateur performers. The moral interlude, on the other hand, was usually presented by professional actors on an indoor or innyard stage reduced to a single 'sedes' with its appropriate setting. An important change in the character of the audience must also be taken into account. The moral interlude became essentially an "aristocratic species".⁶ Kings and lords could not be expected to listen to a moral play for a whole or even for a half-day. "The unlucky dramatist who forgot to compress his production had only himself to blame if his play suffered the fate recorded of Medwall's "Finding of Truth" at the Christmas of 1513 --- , which appeared to Henry so long that he rose and 'departyed'.

5. Macro Plays, E.E.T.S., Extra Series, vol. xcii, Frontispiece, and p. 76.

6. Brooke, The Tudor Drama, p. 71.

to his chamber"⁷. Consequently the interludes became much shorter, usually requiring from one to two hours for their performance.⁸

"The change from amateur to professional actors, on the other hand, had its principal effect on the number of actors. It was difficult to procure a large number of trained performers. The professional troupes were small; the most common size....being four men and a boy. Consequently, various devices had to be employed to adjust to the new conditions the comprehensive demands of the primitive models on time and men".⁹

The popular out-door moralities, represented by The Castle of Perseverance, show no restriction in number of actors. In such moralities as Wisdom and Lusty Juventus, "the number of characters whom the author feels obliged to keep is greater than the size of his troupe. This conflict is met in two ways: first, by the use of mutes, whose parts were probably then, just as today, entrusted to amateur performers; second, by doubling of rôles".¹⁰

In other plays, such as the interludes of Heywood, the number of rôles is the same as the number of actors, usually three or four. Weather, where ten

7. Ramsay, Magnificence, pp. cxxviii-cxxix.

8. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, vol. II, p.188.

9. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. cxxix.

10. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. cxxxi.

characters are required to appear on the stage at once, was probably intended for presentation by a company of children.¹¹

"It must not be supposed", to quote from Chambers, "that, under the early Tudors, the professional players had a monopoly of interludes. On the contrary, throughout the whole of the sixteenth century, it remained doubtful whether the future of the drama was to rest in professional or amateur hands.Under the pleasure-loving Henries accomplishment in the arts of social diversion was as likely a road to preferment as another. Sir Thomas More won a reputation as a page by his skill in improvising a scene.... The Chapel Royal....., with its thirty-two gentlemen and its school of children, proved itself the most serious rival of the regular company. Both gentlemen and children, sometimes together and sometimes separately, took part in the performances, the records of which begin in 1506.....Few noblemen, of course, kept a chapel on the scale of the royal one. But that of the earl of Northumberland was of considerable size, and was accustomed about 1523 to give, not only a Resurrection play at Easter and a Nativity play at Christmas,

11. Ramsay, Magnificence, p. cxxix.

but also a play on the night of Shrove-Tuesday.....The gentlemen of the Inns of Court were always ready to follow in the wake of courtly fashion. Their interludes were famous and important in the days of Elizabeth..... There were interludes, moreover, at universities and in schools", which were at various times brought to Court for presentation. But "it will be seen that the non-professional dramatic activities of England, outside the miracle-plays (and early moralities), although of some importance in the sixteenth century, came late and hardly extended beyond courtly and scholastic circles".¹²

The Castle of Perseverance, as we have seen, represents a class of moralities intended for out-door performance on stationary stages, after the same fashion as such mystery cycles as the Ludus Coventriae. As for the shorter moralities and interludes, "the simplest of scenic apparatus and a few boards on trestles for a stage had of course to suffice. But some sort of a stage there probably was, as a rule, although doubtless the players were prepared, if necessary, to perform, like masquers, on the floor in front of the screen, or¹³ at best upon the dais where the lord sat at meals. ... Henry the Eighth....in 1527 had a 'banket-house' or

12. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, vol. II, pp.192-197. Cf. also Fleay, History of the London Stage, pp. 10-14

13. For an interesting and vivid account of the presentation of a moral interlude, see the Eliza-

'place of plesyer', called the 'long house', built in the tiltyard at Greenwich..... But this was designed rather for a special type of disguising, half masque half interlude, and set out with the elaborate pageants which the king loved, than for ordinary plays..... Like the minstrels, the interlude players found a welcome not only in the halls of the great, but amongst the bourgeois and the village folk. In the towns they would give their first performance before the municipality in the guild-hall and take a reward. Thus they would find a profitable pitch in the courtyard of some old-fashioned inn, with its convenient range of outside galleries".¹⁴ Albright finds that in these shorter moralities and interludes there were two kinds of scenes,-- "those requiring properties in the action and therefore usually localized, and those requiring no properties in the action and therefore often unlocalized".¹⁵

(II) Some Tendencies in Modern Methods of Staging and Presentation.

Only a few tendencies in modern staging methods may be pointed out here. One phase of the symbolistic movement in modern literature has been the

bethan play entitled Sir Thomas More (in Supplement to Dodsley's Old English Plays, pub. for the Shakespeare Society, vol. III)

14. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, vol. II, pp.188-190.

15. Albright, The Shakesperian Stage, p. 37.

reaction against realism in staging and presentation of the drama. William Butler Yeats in 1903 voiced this protest against realism as follows:

"I think the theatre must be reformed in its plays, in its speaking, its acting and its scenery. That is to say, I think there is nothing good about it at present.

"First. We have to write or find plays that will make the theatre a place of intellectual excitement - a place where the mind goes to be liberated. --- If we are to do this we must learn that beauty and truth are always justified of themselves, and that their creation is a greater service to our country than writing that compromises either in the seeming service of a cause.

"Second. If we are to restore words to their sovereignty we must make speech more important than gesture upon the stage. ----- An actor should understand how to so discriminate cadence from cadence, and to so cherish the musical lineaments of verse or prose that he delights the ear with a continually varied music. ----

"Third. We must simplify acting, especially in poetic drama, and in prose drama that is remote from real life like my Hour-Glass, we must get rid of everything that is restless, everything that draws the attention away from the sound of the voice, or from

the few moments of intense expression, whether that expression is through the voice or through the hands---

"Fourth. Just as it is necessary to simplify gesture that it may accompany speech without being its rival, it is necessary to simplify both the form and color of scenery and costume. As a rule the background should be but a single color, so that the persons in the play, wherever they stand, may harmonize with it and preoccupy our attention-----."16

Elsewhere Mr. Yeats has written: "If we would give our theatre the dignity of a church, of a Greek open air theatre, of an Elizabethan platform stage, and cannot be content with any of these, we must have a scene where there is no painted light and shade, and that is but another way of saying, no realism, no objects represented in mass (unless they can be copied exactly as we can sometimes copy an interior), and the mechanism of this scene must as little as possible prevent the free and delicate use of light and shadow.-----At last liberated from the necessity of an always complete realization, the producer, recovering caprice, will be as free as a modern painter---to give himself up to an elliptical imagination. Gloster will

16. Quoted from Samhain, 1903, in Boyd, Contemporary Drama of Ireland, pp. 45-46.

be able to fall but from his own height and think he has fallen from Dover cliff, and Richard's and Richmond's tents can face one another again. We shall have made possible once more a noble, capricious, extravagant, resonant, fantastic art".¹⁷ This suggests an interesting parallel with medieval symbolism of location and distance.¹⁸

The protest against realism in staging is finding practical results. According to Mr. Clayton Hamilton, the present age of the theater is marked by a "shift of emphasis from the drama of the actor to the drama of the author".¹⁹ But the stage director, he finds, is of prime importance in present theatrical production. Mr. David Belasco may be selected as an exponent of realistic staging at its best. "It takes him nearly two years to work up the scenical investiture of each of his productions; and, when at last he lifts his curtain, he lifts it on a glimpse of life. His only error is a tendency to diseconomise attention by forcing the spectator to look at several hundred interesting details, instead of summarising these details in an impressionistic picture that should suggest at

17. Yeats, Plays for an Irish Theatre, Introduction, p. xii.

18. Cf. Spencer, Corpus Christi Pageants, chap. VI; also Albright, The Shakesperian Stage, p. 14, cited above.

19. Hamilton, "The New Art of Stage Direction", Bookman, vol. XXXV, p. 484.

once, and in a single glance, the mood of the action that is to be exhibited". Mr. Hamilton's two other criticisms with regard to this method of staging are that it is costly and that, "though admirably photographic, it is utterly unimaginative". "Already three thoroughly practicable remedies have been suggested for the three evils that have been enumerated. Professor Max Reinhardt, of Berlin, has shown us how we may obtain relief from the insistence on details; the Irish Players have shown us how to save money wisely in the preparation of productions; and Mr. Gordon Craig has shown us-----how we may turn the theatre to more imaginative uses".²⁰

Huntly Carter, in his study entitled The New Spirit in Drama and Art, finds that the methods of Professor Reinhardt and Mr. Gordon Craig have very little in common; the one is a "realist symbolist", the other a "pure symbolist". Professor Reinhardt seeks actuality in his staging, but suppresses all unessential details. Simple dark backgrounds, and the elimination of unnecessary lines cause the characters to stand out prominently. Another feature of Professor Reinhardt's staging is his attempt to bring the audience into the action of the play.²¹ It was under Professor

20. Hamilton, "The New Art of Stage Direction", Bookman, vol. XXXV, pp. 483-486.

21. Carter, The New Spirit in Drama and Art, pp. 66-73. It is interesting to note that in the morality of Everywoman's Road the actors mingle with the audience to some extent.

Reinhardt's direction that Hauptmann's Festspiel, with its suggestive use of the triple stage, was produced.²² Mr. Craig's method of staging, on the other hand, is purely symbolic; he attempts to secure unity of effect by means of lighting and the use of perspective. Although the devices employed are very different, Mr. Carter finds that in simplicity of spirit and treatment the new staging methods show a resemblance to the dramatic art of the Middle Ages.²³

22. Slosson, "The Play That Turned out Wrong", Independent, vol. LXXV, p. 542.

The opening stage direction of Das Festspiel (p.11) reads in part as follows: "Hinter einer Orchestra sind drei stufenweise aufsteigende Bühnen gedacht. Die erste Bühne ist durch einen Vorhang geteilt. Wenn dieser sich öffnet, so ist ein anderer Vorhang, der zugleich die zweite Bühne abschliesst, Hintergrund. Geht dieser auseinander, so ist die zweite, höhere Bühne sichtbar, mit einem dritten Vorhang als Hintergrund, der, geöffnet, die dritte, oberste Bühne enthüllt". The 'orchestra' is used for mob and processional scenes; various characters in the drama appear on the first and second stages; the third stage is reserved for Napoleon and his immediate attendants.

In Percy Mackaye's fable play, Sanctuary: A Bird Masque, a stage with two planes is used; the rear of the stage, slightly elevated, represents the supernatural world; the front of the stage represents the material world.

23. Carter, The New Spirit in Drama and Art, pp.10-11; 211.

Finally, Mr. Yeats characterizes the Irish National Theater movement as a "return to the people".²⁴ The 'Little Theater' movement, the various college and university courses in dramatics, and the growing popularity of dramatic clubs likewise seem to indicate that the drama is becoming more and more a vital thing in the lives of the people of today, as it was in the Middle Ages.

24. Boyd, Contemporary Drama of Ireland, p. 35.

Note. - An interesting study might be made of the use of verse forms in the medieval and in the modern moralities. Changes in verse and stanza forms to characterize the tone of different scenes or different characters began with the medieval moral plays. In the introduction to his edition of Skelton's Magnificence (pp. cxxxiv-cxlvii) Dr. Ramsay has traced progress in versification in the moralities from the earliest plays of this type to about 1520. In an article in the American Journal of Philology for 1910 (vol. XXXI, pp. 195-202), he has extended the study to the end of the sixteenth century. Variations in verse form appeared in extra passages, such as prologues, epilogues, choruses, songs, documents, etc.; they were also used to indicate changes in dramatic level. In the early moral plays a seven-line rime-royal stanza was usually employed for the 'virtue scenes'; 'tail-rime' stanzas appeared in the 'vice scenes'; while the couplet was used for intermediate levels. Between 1520 and 1590 various intermediate stages can be found between this metrical scale and the blank verse-prose scale of Shakespeare. But the fundamental purpose for the variation remained the same. One feature of the modern reaction against realism has been the return of poetry to the stage. A number of the modern moralities in verse show metrical variations for extra passages. In such plays as Galsworthy's The Little Dream, Cornford's Death and the Princess, and the second version of Yeats' The Hour Glass both verse and prose appear. Hardy's The Dynasts introduces a different stanza form for the 'Overworld' scenes. Hauptmann's Festspiel presents an interesting variety of metrical forms.

Chapter V.

The Place of the Moralities in the History of Dramatic Literature.

With the passing of the medieval moralities came the comedy of moral and social types and the great Romantic drama, with its highly individualized hero. The dramatic pendulum had swung very far from the morality type. With the rise of modern realism type characters again became prominent. Then came naturalism, with its dominating abstract forces of heredity and environment, and, finally, symbolism, with its interest in the abstract and the realm of the soul. As one feature of the symbolistic movement has come the revival of the morality play as a literary type. In this chapter the attempt will be made to indicate the place of the moralities, medieval and modern, in the history of dramatic literature, by means of a brief summary of influences in their development and of their relation to these great dramatic movements.

(I) The Medieval Morality: Its Religious Origin, Secularization, and Relation to Comedy.

The medieval morality was closely related in spirit and purpose, as well as in presentation, to

the two other great types of medieval religious drama, the mystery play and the miracle play. But whereas the mystery found its origin in the liturgical tropes of the Gregorian service and the miracle play in the saint's-day festivals, the morality was the direct outgrowth of the attempt in the medieval homily to present doctrinal and ethical instruction by means of allegory. The use of medieval compilations of sermons and 'exempla' and the influence of the fourth century religious allegory, the Psychomachia, are to be reckoned as potent factors in the development of the moralities.¹ The earliest of the moralities were the Pater Noster and Creed plays, which presented in processional series allegorical representations of the virtues and vices and of the twelve portions of the Creed.² The relation of these plays to the matter presented in such moralities as The Castle of Perseverance is readily seen. Even the sixteenth-century Mundus et Infans contains "a systematic portrayal of the deadly sins, the Decalogue, and the Articles of Faith that were prescribed by the Constitutions of the early thirteenth century".³

1. Thompson, The English Moral Plays, pp. 293 ff.; 320 ff.
2. Thompson, The English Moral Plays, pp. 334-336.
3. Thompson, The English Moral Plays, p. 336.

A survey of medieval morality plots and casts has already been made. The breaking up of the primitive plots and casts, the tendency toward realization of comic types, and the change from open-air presentation by amateur performers to indoor performance by professional actors have been discussed in previous chapters. A few words with regard to the change in purpose and spirit in the medieval moralities will serve here to summarize the process of secularization. Such plays as the Castle of Perseverance were concerned with man's complete moral and religious problem. But the interest tended to pass from a general philosophy of life from the point of view of religion to the more ordinary problems bearing on conduct, and ultimately to such topics as the praise of knowledge, found in plays of the Wit and Science type. "It is the difference between the sermon and the homily, between Christianized philosophy and workaday wisdom".⁴ At the same time, as we have seen, the conception of man's life is specialized and the scale of treatment reduced. "The outcome of this specialization is that the morality assumes an 'occasional' character, showing more and more a desire to express special circumstances and ideas and to amuse rather than to teach".⁵

4. Smith, The Transition Period, p. 287.

5. Smith, The Transition Period, p. 288.

Such an 'occasional' interlude with amusement as its sole purpose is Heywood's Play of the Weather. The moralities of the Reformation period show a tendency, however, in such plays as Lusty Juventus and The Interlude of Youth, to return to didactic allegory. Meanwhile the traditional morality plots were used over and over again, but their religious function was lost and their moral purpose weakened until "they remained merely as props to support a superstructure of unmixed farce".⁶ Of Like Will to Like Thompson says: "Even later plays might still profess, as did Fulwel's Like Will to Like, to exhibit 'not onely what punishment followeth these that wil rather followe licentious living, then to esteeme and followe good counsel: and what great benefits and commodities they receive that apply them unto vertueous living and good exercises'; but the profession rings false. How much respect did Fulwel desire for prosy Virtuous Living as he comes into the company of cut-purses and tipplers with the edifying exclamation, 'O gracious God, how wonderful are thy works?' The dramatist is showing the same weariness of piety and the same preference for wickedness that later distinguished Restoration comedy, and his purely perfunctory moral is

6. Brooke, The Tudor Drama, p. 48.

at once forgotten".⁷ So the Morality, dropping its traditional allegorical form, abstract characters, and didactic purpose, passed over into the comedy of real life.

Thus the medieval morality, in a sense, bridges the gap between the religious drama and comedy. Especially noticeable are the resemblances between the late moralities and the "comedy of humors" as produced by Ben Jonson and George Chapman. In these comedies each character is governed by some dominant trait or characteristic, as were the late morality vices. Even the names of Jonson's characters, such as Knowell, Downright, and Volpone, often suggest this dominant trait. "Every Man in his Humor was perhaps the most sensational stage success of the close of the sixteenth century, and it taught the dramatists of the day to marshal human society into classes and genera instead of seeking to deal with the individual person".⁸ Another line of dramatic development is suggested in the morality of King John, which may be called the first English chronicle play.⁹

7. Thompson, The English Moral Plays, p. 388.

8. Brooke, The Tudor Drama, p. 407. Cf. also Schelling, The English Drama, p. 150.

9. Schelling, The English Drama, pp. 28-29; 69.

(II) The Morality and the Drama of "Psychological Individualization".

To Christopher Marlowe is due the credit of originating the Romantic drama type which Professor Hoskins calls the drama of "psychological individualization". This dramatic type was based on the fundamental idea of the freedom of the human will; it "regarded the individual as the maker of events, ----- held him to strict moral accountability, and ----- employed psychological analysis of character as the means of revealing the motives of human action-----"¹⁰ It remained for Shakespeare to extend, elaborate, and perfect the type. In only one important respect does this great Elizabethan drama resemble the medieval morality; it does not require unity of mood. Comic scenes are introduced into the serious drama. Otherwise this 'heroic drama of character' has little in common with the morality. The characters, even in comedy, are completely individualized; Falstaff is no less individual than Hamlet. The method of presentation has been entirely freed from allegory. There may be an internal or soul-crisis in the drama, but its treatment is entirely concrete and individual.

10. Hoskins, "Biological Analogy in Literary Criticism", Mod. Phil., vol. VI, p. 413.

(III) Naturalistic Drama and the Morality.

In Victorian realistic fiction, especially in the works of Charles Dickens, we again find the type figure, the man or woman dominated by some peculiar trait. But the freedom of the individual remained the fundamental dramatic idea until the rise of naturalism, which carried realism to its extreme form in literature, under the influence of modern science and the pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer. Naturalism was introduced into fiction with the work of Zola; it remained for Hauptmann to produce the first naturalistic drama.¹¹

"In its theoretical form naturalism represents nothing but a conscious reaction against the ultra-classicism and the ultra-individualism of the preceding generations. The modern scientific spirit with its love of facts and inferences from facts as well as the intensity of modern social conflicts had materially altered the traditional conception of the individual's place in society. The consciousness of the discrepancy between the established dramatic interpretation of human action and its real significance led to a new attempt to unite poetry and actual life.

11. Vor Sonnenaufgang, 1889.

-----In its extreme form naturalism admitted no qualitative distinction to exist between art and nature; it simply attempted to reproduce nature as it represents itself to the scientist or ordinary man. Accordingly, a work of art is therefore only a copy of nature which is judged as good in proportion as it is exact and faithful. Now this attempt of the dramatist to look at nature - for be it remembered, in the eyes of the naturalists, human life also is only an integral part of nature - from a strictly objective point of view, had many important consequences. Man as the maker of events, manifesting the power of human volition, was at once eliminated. For the freedom of the will naturalism substituted a determinism by which man's destiny is the inevitable outcome of two forces: his inherited characteristics or aptitudes and his environment. Hauptmann has no heroes in the traditional sense of the word. He shows us no overpowering personalities. He overlooks human inventive power and the volitional energy which makes new combinations and inventions factors in social progress. In all these earlier dramas man is little more than a passive link in the chain of social phenomena.

"If man's life is but the product of heredity and environment and human fate the result-
ant of a parallelogram of extrinsic forces then,
of course, moral responsibility disappears; the
much-mooted tragic guilt and tragic expiation of
the drama are simply non-existent. The most that
the dramatist can do is to paint the environment
in great detail and trace its influence on in-
dividuals of a certain hereditary character, de-
picted for us, likewise, by a mass of detail.
Without human volition directed by intelligence,
a plot consisting of a beginning, a middle, and an
end, developing logically from stage to stage, and
forming a coherent totality, cannot exist, for
such an action is contrary to all naturalistic pre-
suppositions, and cannot be found in nature. A
tragic conflict in the accepted sense cannot take
place, and the catastrophe when it comes must be
the result of purely natural forces. In Hauptmann's
earlier dramas, we find no unity of action; at times
even hardly definiteness of structure. They con-
sist, notably The Weavers, of a series of disconnected
episodes which somehow or other simply come to an end
without attaining finality".¹²

12. Hoskins, "Biological Analogy in Literary
Criticism", Mod. Phil., vol. 6, pp.424-426.

The traditional hero who was the master of his fate has disappeared; the action in the drama is dominated by the abstract forces of heredity and environment. "The tragedy of psychological individualization has been supplanted by one of biological socialization: man but a link in the biological chain, his life to be interpreted from the objective point of view in terms of heredity and environment. ---- In the drama of psychological individualization we saw that this determining force [of human destiny] was lodged in the individual will. In the drama of biological socialization it has been transferred to human heredity and human environments".¹³ Since the presence of these abstract forces is implied in the naturalistic drama, only their symbolic representation is required to produce a morality play. Such a naturalistic morality we have in Andrejev's Life of Man where the forces controlling man's destiny are personified in the person of the Being in Gray.

The lack of a complete, rounded plot in the naturalistic drama has been noted.

13. Hoskins, "Biological Analogy in Literary Criticism", Mod. Phil., Vol. VI, p.427.

The playwright attempted to present a 'mere cross-section of life.' There is plenty of physical action in Hauptmann's The Weavers. But with regard to many of the later naturalistic plays this is not true. Granville Barker's The Madras House, for example, is really devoid of physical action and indeed of action of any sort. The characters meet and separate; there is some psychological analysis, some interplay of character upon character, but nothing is really done. Similar to this drama without action, but with emphasis placed on the spiritual and the mystical, is the static drama of Maeterlinck, as exemplified in his Death moralities, The Intruder and The Blind.

(IV) The Symbolistic Movement and the Morality Play.

The symbolistic movement in modern literature is essentially a reaction against naturalism. The naturalist is interested in man's external life; the symbolist is interested in the life of the soul. The naturalist portrays man as a social being; man's life is dominated by heredity and environment. The symbolist's creed is mysticism. He may hold to the

doctrine of determinism, but his interest is in the internally not the external world. He deals with the human soul in its relation to the mysterious forces of life and death. The symbolist believes that certain thoughts cannot be adequately expressed in words; they can only be suggested symbolically. Consequently he makes use of allegory, of personification, of material symbols in order to present his ideas. (The modern morality play, with its interest in abstract relations and its personifications of abstract conceptions, is one natural form of symbolistic literature.)

The dramatic theories expressed by certain representatives of the symbolist movement may prove helpful in showing the relation of the modern morality play to this movement. Maeterlinck's aversion to bloodshed and violence on the stage, his interest in the 'mysteries of destiny', and his conception of the static drama are well illustrated in the following passages:

"But our authors of tragedy --- put all the interest of their work in the violence of the incident that is reproduced. And they seek to amuse us with the same sort of acts that delighted barbarians who were accustomed to crimes, murders and treachery; while we for the most part pass our lives far from blood, outcries, and swords ---. When I go to the theater, it seems to me that I am for a few hours in the midst of my ancestors, who had a simple, cold and brutal conception of life ---. I see a deceived

husband kill his wife, a woman poison her lover, a son
avenge his father, a father sacrifice his children, children
kill their father, kings assassinated, virgins violated,
citizens imprisoned, and all the traditional sublimity,
but, alas! So superficial and material, of blood,
visible tears, and death ---. I have come to believe
that an old man seated in his armchair, waiting quietly
beside his lamp, listening unconsciously to all the
eternal laws that reign about his house, interpreting,
without comprehending, the silence of doors and windows
and the faint voice of light, submitting with slightly
bowed head to the presence of his soul and of destiny,
without suspecting that all the powers of this world are
taking part and keeping watch in the room like so many
attentive servants, not knowing that the very sun
supports above the abyss the little table on which he
leans, and that there is not a star in the heavens nor
a force within the soul that is indifferent to the
movement of an eyelid that drops or a thought that rises, -
I have come to believe that this motionless old man
really lives a deeper, more human, and more universal
life than the lover who strangles his mistress, the
captain who wins a victory, or 'the husband who avenges
his honor'."14 Here is a morality scene, sketched in

14. Quoted by Hills, Evolution of Maeterlinck's
Dramatic Theory, pp. 34-35. Cf. Maeterlinck's,
The Treasure of the Humble, pp. 97 ff.

all its essential details. Again Maeterlinck writes: "It is seldom that cries are now heard; bloodshed is rare, and tears not often seen. It is in a small room, round a table, close to the fire, that the joys and sorrows of mankind are decided."¹⁵ This conception of the drama finds its embodiment in such a morality as The Intruder.

Andreyev's conception of the 'theater pan-psyche', which he believes to be the theater of the future, is closely akin to this dramatic theory. Andreyev believes that action, "in the accepted sense of movements and visible achievements on the stage," is unnecessary to the theater, "inasmuch as modern life itself in its most tragic aspects tends to withdraw farther and farther from external activities and deeper and deeper into the recesses of the soul, into the silence and outward calm that characterizes mental life."¹⁶. To illustrate the difference between the old theater and the new Andreyev contrasts the life of Benvenuto Cellini, medieval artist and adventurer; with that of the German philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche. The life of Benvenuto

15. Quoted by Hills, Evolution of Maeterlinck's Dramatic Theory, p. 35.

16. Brusyanin, "The Symbolic Dramas of Andreyeff" p. xii.

Cellini, he says, was filled with external action, - "escapes, murders, surprises, losses and unexpected discoveries, loves and enmities!--- In those days interest attached only to a life that was full of events, continually active and achieving, whereas a life of inactivity was like a clod lying by the roadside, of thich there is nothing notable to be said." Cellini's life is a personification of the older theater. "In contrast with this, Andreyev conceives the new theater, the 'theater pan-psyche', as the place for the representation of such intensely dramatic experiences as those of Nietzsche. "The real drama of his life", says Andreyev, "begins just at the time when his life withdraws into the silence and inactivity of the study. It is there that we find the painful re-evaluation of all values, the tragical struggle, the break with Wagner, and the charming Zarathustra!"¹⁷. In the present day, he thinks, "life itself has withdrawn into the inner recesses of the soul, whereas the theater has paused at the threshold of these new and profound psychological experiences and intellectual strivings - the struggle of man's thoughts with man - and has never thrown open the door that leads to them!"¹⁸

17. Quoted, Brusyanin, "The Symbolic Dramas of Andreyeff", pp. xii - xiii.

18. Brusyanin, "The Symbolic Dramas of Andreyeff", p. xiii.

Outer events have fallen in dramatic value; intellect is the new protagonist. "Not love, nor hunger, nor ambition, but thought in its sufferings, joys, and struggles, is the true hero of the life of today. To it therefore is due the first place in the drama."¹⁹

Andreyev's ideal for the pan-psyche theater is well illustrated in his play entitled The Black Maskers. In this play Duke Lorenzo invites his friends to a masked ball. They come, masked in strange fashion; the Black Maskers also come as uninvited guests. They are the Duke's own restless thoughts. "In his mind people took on the appearance of maskers, of being other than they really were; all objects in the world were masked and false; even his own thoughts became disguised in masks. The whole world was merely the delusion of Duke Lorenzo, who moved about the earth in an eternal mask."²⁰ In other words we have in this drama a concrete representation of the development of insanity; Duke Lorenzo becomes the victim of his own inner experiences. One critic says of Andreyev: "He does not care whether the things he writes about are true,²¹ whether his characters are real. What he aims to give is a true impression. And to convey this impression he does not scorn to use mysticism, symbolism,

19. Brusyanin, "The Symbolic Dramas of Andreyeff", p.xiv.

20. Brusyanin, "The Symbolic Dramas of Andreyeff," p. xv.

21. That is, in the external sense.

or even plain realism. Frequently, the characters, whether real or unreal, are as such of secondary importance, the chief aim being the interpretation of an idea or set of ideas, and the characters functioning primarily only as a medium for the embodiment of those ideas.²² This state of affairs is illustrated in The Black Maskers. In his attempt to present man's struggle with his own thoughts the dramatist has brought together real characters and personifications; he has mingled realistic detail with allegorical representation to such a degree that the play is rather difficult to interpret.

One phase of the Symbolistic movement with its interest in the inner life of man and its reaction against materialism, has been the reawakened interest in religious drama.²³ The lists of mystery and miracle plays included in the first chapter of this study show that a considerable number of modern dramatists of note have produced religious plays of these types. The modern moralities, while they are secular in part, at the same time are closely associated with these forms of religious drama, just as were the moralities of the Middle Ages. One evidence of this interest in

22. Seltzer, Introduction to Savva, The Life Of Man, Two Plays by Leonid Andreyeff, p. viii.

23. For discussions of this recent interest in religious drama see Mosher, The Promise of the Christ Age in Recent Literature; Crosse, The Religious Drama, pp. 157-170; also cf. Weinell and Widgery, Jesus in the Nineteenth Century and After, pp. 419-427.

religious drama has been shown in the successful revival of such a medieval religious morality as Everyman. Other medieval revivals, as we have seen, have likewise proved successful. These revivals have, in their turn, exercised a strong influence in shaping the later modern moralities.²⁴

The modern morality then owes much to the medieval type, but is in part a product of modern life and modern thought. Some of the modern moralities follow closely the medieval method of allegory and personification. On the other hand, according to Richard Hovey, "the symbolism of today by no means of necessity involves a complete and consistent allegory. Its events, its personages, its sentences rather imply than definitely state an esoteric meaning."²⁵ Such moralities as Everywoman and Experience show the complete popularization of the type, but have slight literary significance. But in the hands of such dramatists as Maeterlinck, Yeats, and Andreyev the morality becomes an effective means of portraying the universal relation of the human soul to the mysteries of life, death, and eternity.

24. Cf. Barley, The Morality Motive in Contemporary English Drama, pp. 10; 18-19; and 22.

25. Hovey, Introduction to The Plays of Maurice Maeterlinck, vol. I, p. 5.

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