The development of the villain character in English drama to John Webster

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN CHARACTER IN ENGLISH DRAMA TO JOHN WEBSTER

by

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN CHARACTER

IN

ENGLISH DRAMA TO JOHN WEBSTER

INTRODUCTION

It is my purpose in this thesis to trace the development of the villain character in English drama. Beginning with the villain as he appears in early religious plays, I plan to discuss him next in the early secular plays, then in the dramas of Kyd, Greene, and Marlowe, his culmination in Shakespeare's plays and finally his appearance in the post-Shakespearean plays of Marston, Tourneur, and Webster.

Since it is the villain who is the dominant figure in most tragedies and since his restless career is what interests people most I felt that it would be interesting to follow this one character through a number of dramas and discover what changes, if any, are made in his character by the various dramatists. For goodness, though commendable, seldom holds our undivided attention, while we follow with suppressed excitement the machinations of a villain.

The revenge tradition as well as that of villainy is found in the Miracle and Morality plays and it is with these plays that my study begins. But in the main, the villains in these early plays were stage props to keep the plot going. That they were neon lights to draw the crowds is substantiated by the fact that in the early religious plays "the mere threat to withhold
his 'abominable presence' was a sufficient device to elicit coins from the spectators."

However, when I discuss the early secular plays such as *Cambyses* and *Selimus* and then the dramas of Kyd, Greene, and Marlowe, I hope to discover whether the villain has grown in importance. Certainly in Shakespeare's plays we have a villain-hero who far surpasses any of his earlier predecessors and I am anxious to learn how this transition is brought about.

Finally, in the plays of Marston, Tourneur, and Webster I hope to ascertain what happened to the Shakespearean villain in the hands of these playwrights. Did he remain as Shakespeare had fashioned him? Did he slip once more into the old familiar pattern found in the earlier plays influenced by Seneca or did he change completely?

All this is in an attempt to see whether or not any changes in the villain have occurred since his beginnings in the early religious and secular plays. If any changes are obvious I hope to discover how great and radical they are.

My method is one of illustration and comparison. In each chapter various representative plays are mentioned but the villain in each is my main concern and by means of frequent quotations and comparisons with other villains each one is to be thoroughly and clearly defined and appraised.

...
CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN IN PLAYS UP TO

SHAKESPEARE’S IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS
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While perusing sources for this paper various definitions of the villain appeared. However, since Clarence Boyer feels that the greatest villains were Machiavellians and since my investigation has brought me to a similar conclusion, I think his definition is most sound when he states that "when a character deliberately opposes moral law from wilfulness, and for the purpose of advancing his own interests, recognizing at the same time the sanction of the law he defies, we call him a villain. Also, when such a character is given a leading role, and when his deeds form the centre of dramatic interest, the villain has become protagonist, and we have the type play with the villain as hero."\(^1\) Since such a person is more prevalent in tragedy, it is this kind of drama with which we shall deal most.

However, to find the embryonic beginnings of this so-defined villain, we must briefly consider the early church drama. A study of the Miracle and Morality plays reveals many of the characteristics of the later tragedies - motives such as ambition, tyranny, and revenge. In \textit{The Harrowing of Hell}, which is often considered the oldest English drama, the later villain is suggested in the character of Satan, for as the author says, "A strif will I tellon on, of Jesu and of

\(^1\) Clarence V. Boyer, \textit{The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy}, p. 6 - 8
Satan.\(^2\) In the Miracle cycles it is the Devil, as the adversary of the good in life, who reminds us of later villains. While Herod's ranting and bragging look toward Tamburlaine, Faustus, and especially Macbeth, as when in The Massacre of the Innocents of the York cycle Herod vents his anger on the bearer of bad news as Macbeth vents his:

"Fy! on be, ladde, bou lyes!
Thou lyes false traytoure strange,
Loke nevere bou negh me nere
Upon liffe and lyme
May I that traitour fange
Full high I shall gar him hunge
Both be harlott and hym.\(^3\)

This is especially obvious when in the Coventry plays Herod, who is of course depicted as a braggart and a boaster of the most exaggerated kind, announces that he is "the myghtyst conquowre that ever walkid on grownd."\(^4\) However, Chambers\(^5\) seems to think that such rant and bombast coming from such personages as Herod and Pilate greatly impressed the imagination of the audience, which probably accounts in some degree for its continued use in later secular plays. Also, the fact that Herod in many of the sources was described as being attired like a Saracen with red gloves, while Pilate always wore a green cloak and wielded a huge club give added proof of

3. Harriett E. Fansler, The Evolution of Technic in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.10
5. Edmund K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, p.139
their popularity as stock characters.

It is interesting to note that in the Mactatio Abel of the Towneley cycle, as Abel dies he calls for vengeance as do later victims in English tragedy, while Cain is shown as a virile and coarse pessimist whose deed of murder is well motivated. Therefore, there is no doubt an early emphasis on revenge before the influence of Seneca came into England.

Although Miracle plays ceased to be acted about 1600, they had made drama a popular amusement while Herod, the Devil, that arch-villain Judas, and other enemies of our Lord, may be considered definite forerunners of our villain.

Since rantings, similar to that quoted on the previous page, were characteristic of Herod, one can see how, although he is the ancestor of the melodramatic villain, there is also a good deal of the buffoon in him. It is easy to see how the expression to "out-Herod Herod" had become proverbial by the time of Shakespeare. So, when we come to the Morality plays, besides the Devil, who when he ceased to be feared, became comic, we find the attendant Vice, who often acted as a servant of the Seven Deadly Sins and endeavoured to entrap Mankind into the power of evil. Withington feels that "the most substantial link which unites mummer's plays, miracles, moralities, and interludes with the later literary drama is provided by this Vice and the characters closely akin to him."6

6. Robert Withington, Excursions in English Drama, p. 45
Therefore, let us consider this link as he appears in the Moralities. As in The Castle of Perseverance, the Moralities continued to deal with the old subject - the allegorical combat for the soul of man between the good and the evil forces. However, Withington seems to feel that under certain conditions, this Vice, comprised chiefly of buffoonery and rascality, led to the Elizabethan clown and villain. It is with this latter development that we are chiefly interested.

In The Castle of Perseverance Backbiter, the messenger of Mundus, is distinctly a Vice. He introduces himself:

"All thyngis I crye a-gayn the pes
To knyt and knaue. This is my kende.
Yea! dyngne dukis on her des,
In bytter balys I hem bynde;
Cryinge and care, chydyngge and ches,
And sad sorwe, to hem I sende."

And again, when the Bad Angel wins Mankind from God, Backbiter clearly states his duty:

"For whanne Mankynde is clothed clere,
Thanne schal I techyn hym the wey
To the dedly synyng seuen.
Here I schal a-bydyn with my pese.
The wronge to do hym for to chese,
For I thynke that he schal lese
the lyth of hey heuene."

Later Mundus orders:

7. Ibid., p. 61
8. Ibid., p. 64

All references to "The Castle of Perseverance" are in James Q. Adams, ed., Chief Pre-Shakespearian Dramas.

9. The Castle of Perseverance, p. 271, 696-702
"Mankynde, take with thee Bakbytynge!
Lefe hym for no maner thynge!
Flepergebet with hys flaternitye
Standith mankynde in stede."II

So, even here, we have the recognition of the importance of the element of flattery.

However, despite such evil company Shrift and Penance persuade Mankind to confess his misdeeds and lead him to the Castle of Perseverance for safety. After informing World of the loss of Mankind, Backbiter indeed lives up to his name by urging that vengeance be taken on the head of Covetousness, his former ally, saying:

"Lo, syr Werld, ye moun a-gryse
That ye be seruyd on this wyse!
Go play you with syr Coueytyse
Tyl his crowne crake!12"

In the end the soul of Mankind is forgiven by the Father.

Tityvillus in Mankind is also a Vice for he admits he "kan lerne yow many praty thynges" and brings Mankind "to myscheff and to schame."13 As mentioned above, one of the weapons which the Vice uses in his effort to attract his victim is a powerful one - flattery, which seldom fails if carefully handled. For this reason, as we shall see, it became one of the basic attributes of the parasites and a tenet which was to

10. Flibbertigibbet, one of the names of Backbiter.
11. The Castle of Perseverance, p.272, 777-780
12. Ibid., p.277, 1850-1853
13. Robert Withington, Excursions in English Drama, p.68
be a part of the later villain. However, in these religious dramas the Vice's intrigue was usually thwarted by the Virtues. 

Although this is concerned with English drama and English villains we must briefly discuss the Roman dramatist, Seneca, since his influence on English tragedy is plainly seen. Cunliffe, an authority on the subject, tells us that though "Seneca's subjects are taken from the Greek tragedy and are the most sensational he could choose - the horrid banquet of Thyestes, the murder of Agamemnon by his faithless wife and her paramour, and the slaughter of Megara and her children - it is the contempt for death in Seneca's villains that we find often present in Elizabethan drama." But even before then we find traces of Seneca in the "York and Chester plays in such instances as the murder of Abel, the Crucifixion, and Herod's death in the Digby Mysteries, all of which take place on the stage, an act which Seneca would have considered indecent." Along with such an atmosphere of blood, we have in Seneca, which is more pertinent to this paper, a fiendish villain whose ruthless cruelty, avenging spirit, and absolute lack of moral feeling, along with those Senecan characteristics mentioned above, "misled English dramatists into violence and exaggeration. If Elizabethan tragedy is sometimes too sensational, it is very seldom dull. Without Seneca the development from the 14. John W. Cunliffe, The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy, p.17 15. Ibid., p.41
Miracles and Moralities would have been exceedingly slow.¹⁶ In fact, so great has been Seneca's influence that even today our idea of tragedy still leads us to expect deeds of violence and blood.

Let us now consider some of the villains in early English drama. Since it is our purpose to watch the development of the villain, the most logical place to start must be Gorboduc written by Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton in 1561, a polite production for the Inns of Court, and considered the first English tragedy. Also, since the evolution of the rascal into the villain is rather to be found in similar serious plays - in tragedy or in plays which have a tragic emphasis - such as Edwardes' Damon and Pithias, one of the earliest tragi-comedies. Here, in Gorboduc as in Lear, we have two children of a royal house who quarrel over the succession during the lifetime of the king.

A brief study of how the two parasites, Hermon and Tyndar, succeed in influencing the princes, even to the extent of bloodshed, will explain the princes' actions better than their own words. Hermon appears first in conversation with Ferrex, who is lamenting the fact that he must share the kingdom with his arrogant younger brother who has always hated him. Clever Hermon immediately recognizes this sore spot in his otherwise princely character and first encourages him thus:

16. Ibid., p.125
"You are his match, and in the chief of all,
In mildness and in sober governance,
You far surmount; and since there is in you
Sufficing skill and hopeful towardness
To wield the whole and match your elder's praise,
I see no cause why you should lose the half." 17

and then advises him to:

"Attempt redress by arms, and wreak yourself
Upon his life that gaineth by your loss." 18

Evidently Ferrex is attentive, for next he even dares say:

"Know ye that lust of kingdoms hath no law;
The gods do bear and well allow in kings
The things that they abhor in rascal routs.
When kings on slender quarrels run to wars,
And then, in cruel and unkindly wise,
Command thefts, rapes, murders of innocents,
The spoil of towns, ruins of mighty realms,-
Think you such princes do suppose themselves
Subject to laws of kind and fear of gods?
Murders and violent thefts in private men
Are heinous crimes and full of foul reproach,
Yet none offense, but deck'd with glorious name
Of noble conquests in the hands of kings." 19

These quotations certainly are proof that this parasite
is a counsellor of evil who, as is usual, uses flattery to get
the ear of his prince. Hermon is successful in that Ferrex
does agree to keep a large standing army as a precaution. It is
this fact that Tyndar uses as a basis for his counsel to
Porrex. He mentions that not only is Ferrex upset because the
kingdom has been divided but that there is a more personal

All references to "Gorboduc" are in Joseph R. Taylor, ed.,
European and Asiatic Plays, Vol.II.

17. Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton, Gorboduc, p.432
18. Ibid., p.433
19. Ibid., p.433
reason for as he states:

"Lo, secret quarrels run about his court,
To bring the name of you, my lord, in hate."20

Of these two parasites, Hermon is the more violent and his suggestions more dangerous, but of the two sons, Porrex, the younger is more headstrong and allows Tyndar, the less aggressive of the parasites, to persuade him to strike at Ferrex, the elder, whom they hear is arming. The actual killing of Ferrex by his enraged brother is reported to Gorboduc by Nuntius, the dead brother's messenger. Porrex seems less vicious than many Senecan villains for he is justified to some extent when he says:

"But I will invade his realm
And seek the traitor prince within his court.
Mischief for mischief is a due reward:
His wretched head shall pay the worthy price
Of this his treason and his hate to me."21

Also, the young prince's remorse at his brother's death, engages our sympathy for his own untimely end at the hands of his revengeful Queen-mother.

Unlike later villains these two brothers, potential villains, despite their ambition and pride - characteristics so common in later villains - are not given an opportunity to flaunt their power and multiply their evil deeds, for both are dead before the fifth act. Therefore, compared with later heartless villains like Iago, these brothers are but pale

20. Ibid., p.435
21. Ibid., p.435
prototypes, for their evil deeds do not arise wholly within themselves but are fanned into flames by two ambitious parasites - Hermon and Tyndar. In fact, according to the previous definition, neither of the sons can be called a villain, for as Boyer says, "Each is misinformed by courtiers as to the conduct and intentions of the other, and neither is conscious that he is doing anything criminal." Thus, the parasites grow more vicious, for no longer are they comic characters in search of a free meal, but by their plotting and desire to be the power behind the throne, they are leading toward the villain.

Since in The Misfortunes of Arthur, which was presented before Queen Elizabeth in 1587, we come a step nearer to our well-defined villain because of the Machiavellian characteristics to be found in this play, let us consider the Machiavellianism of The Prince (1513). Of course, Marlowe was the first dramatist to bring Machiavelli on the stage and he made his hero a Machiavellian in The Jew of Malta. However, before his time many early plays had characteristics, in varying degrees, considered Machiavellian. Now, in brief, this Florentine (1469-1527) advocated that "a prince in a newly conquered country must destroy all who suffered great loss in the conquest and root out the blood and race of such as governed there. This egotist thinks he must be obeyed, even if it is achieved through cruelty, for it is better to be feared than loved. A prince ought not to fear to pretend and deceive, for

there are always some who are fit to be deceived. Also, civil dissensions and seditions are profitable, while faith, kindness, and liberality are very damaging — so poison, murder, fraud, and violence are ascribed to Machiavelli. And finally, there is the idea that religion is mere policy, to be resorted to only when necessary to bring intrigue to a successful conclusion." These, then, are the main tenets of Machiavelli which provided a blueprint from which dramatists could construct a villain with some or all of these characteristics.

In The Misfortunes of Arthur, Mordred, the villainous usurper, and Guenevera, the faithless wife, remind us of Seneca's Agamemnon and suggest the villain-hero type of play since the villain is before us so frequently. However, Mordred is a follower of Machiavelli in several respects, for example, when he states egotistically:

"I first prefer myself; And since a wrong must be, then it excels When 'tis to gain a crown."24

Later his Machiavellian ideas of state are clear as he says:

"He that amongst so many so unjust Seeks to be just, seeks peril to himself."25

23. Ibid., p.35

All references to "The Misfortunes of Arthur" are in W. Carew Hazlitt, ed., A Select Collection of Old English Plays, Vol.IV.

24. The Misfortunes of Arthur, I, IV, p.276

25. Ibid., II, II, p.283
null
"I would be fear'd. 
A kingdom's kept by fear."

When Gawin tries to dissuade Mordred from waging war on Arthur, Mordred only scoffs:

"You love the mean, and follow virtue's race: 
I like the top, and aim at greater bliss. 
You rest content: my mind aspires to more. 
In brief, you fear, I hope; you doubt, I dare."

So Mordred seems a fearless, confident villain before Gawin, but in a final soliloquy he is less sure of himself as he muses:

"A troubled head: my mind revolts to fear, 
And bears my body back. I inwards feel my fall: 
My thoughts misgive me much. Down, terror! I 
Perceive mine end."

Therefore, this fear of defeat and death keeps Mordred from being a true Machiavellian. By this time, many of the characteristics founded upon the model of Seneca - the revenge motive, sensational horrors, and the philosophical reflections had become permanent characteristics of English tragedy.

This is particularly evident in Thomas Preston's Cambyses (1569), which was written for the popular stage and, as such, shows the popular taste in tragedy. When Cambyses finds that Sisamnes, the temporary ruler, abused his power he orders:

26. Ibid., II, II, p.283
27. Ibid., II, III, p.292
28. Ibid., II, IV, p.295
"Dispatch with sword this judge's life,  
Extinguish fears and cares:  
So done, draw thou his cursed skin  
Straight over both his ears.  
I will see the office done;  
And that before mine eyes."^29

And as added proof that this ruler is indeed a monster just recall how because Praxaspes suggested he give up excessive drinking, he ordered him to bring his youngest son to him and if after drinking a while he could kill the child by shooting an arrow into his heart, then he would claim he was no drunkard. As you expect, the boy is murdered, whereupon the king boasts:

"No drunkard is the king,  
That in the midst of all his cups  
Could do this valiant thing."^30

Another evidence of his murderous nature is shown when false Ambidexter, the Vice, says that the king's brother, Smirdis, prays for his death so that he may rule. Immediately, the king orders his death by saying:

"He shall die by dent of sword  
Or else by choking rope."^31

So, like other earlier villains he does not resort to cunning intrigue and plotting, but openly orders death for all who strive to gain his crown. He even openly denounces his

All references to "Cambyses" are in W. Carew Hazlitt, ed., A Select Collection of Old English Plays, Vol.IV.

29. Thomas Preston, Cambyses, p.197
30. Ibid., p.207
31. Ibid., p.215
wife, whom he wooed soon after his brother's murder. She, rather foolishly, comments on his brother's murder which should have been a warning to her and Cambyses replies:

"It did me good his death to have,
   So will it to have thine;
Thou cursed jill, by all the gods
   I take an oath and swear,
That flesh of thine these hands of mine
   In pieces small could tear."32

Even the Vice, Ambidexter, feels sorry for the Queen. Therefore, we are inclined to consider this character as a trouble maker more than a villain, for despite his earlier false tales, he is soon overshadowed by Cambyses' most cruel and wicked actions. In fact, this seems to be the general trend for Withington says that "more frequently, the parasites slip away, or fade from the play as does Ambidexter."33

And finally, after monstrous deeds Cambyses, like Mordred, in dying seems not fearless as he gasps:

"Out alas? what shall I do? my life is finished;
   Is there naught to be my help? nor is there naught to serve?
Thus gasping here on ground I lie, for nothing do I care;
   A just reward for my misdeeds my death doth plain declare."34

So, here we find the end of a very definite villain-hero,

32. Ibid., p.238
34. Thomas Preston, Cambyses, p.244-245
who stops at nothing to achieve his every whim. It is plain to see why critics feel that Marlowe may have considered this play before creating his villain-hero.

When we come to Appius and Virginia (1575), also a public representation, we find a play situated between the old Moralities and the historical plays. Here the villainous Appius is assisted by Haphazard the Vice, just as Ambidexter aided Cambyses. Indeed it is Haphazard who has a plan whereby the lecherous Judge Appius may have Virginia. Mainly because of its theme, the raping of a chaste young girl, this villainous judge never once arouses our admiration as do kingdom-hunters like Tamburlaine.

This play reverts back to the old Morality type, for like Gorboduc it contains that element - Vice. The importance of this Vice is seen when Conscience and Justice try to make the judge give up his plan and in reply to their persuasion he shows how he relies on Vice when he answers:

"Let Conscience grope and judgment crave, I will not shrink one whit.
I will persever in my thought: I will deflower her youth;
I will not sure reverted be, my heart shall have no ruth.
Come on, proceed, and wait on me, I will, hap woe or wealth:
Hap blunt, hap sharp, hap life, hap death: through Haphazard be of health."

All references to "Appius and Virginia" are in W. Carew Hazlitt, ed., A Select Collection of Old English Plays, Vol.IV.

35. Appius and Virginia, p.129
And to think that he even dares to compare himself with Tarquin makes us even more revolted when he says:

"For look, how Tarquin Lucrece fair by force did once oppress, Even so will I Virginia use." 36

When death robs him of his coveted prize he is not half so vehement as the protagonists of the Senecan plays or even Richard III when he denounces Virginius raving:

"Ye gods, bend down your ire, do plague him for his deed, You sprites below, you hellish hounds, do give him gall for meed." 37

So, a weak villain, whose weakness lay not in his ambition to achieve greatness in the state, but merely to conquer a woman, is deprived of victory and we have no regrets.

Here then, with many of the characters abstractions, the play seems to remind us of the Moralities instead of looking forward to Marlowe and Shakespeare.

Dionysius, the king in *Damon and Pithias*, a court drama given before the Queen by the Children of her Grace's Chappell in 1561, has Machiavellian tendencies in the beginning. For example, when word reached the king that a subject dreamed that he killed Dionysius as he slept, he did not hesitate to have him killed before this could become a reality. Therefore, Carisophus, the combination of flattering parasite and Vice, an informer of false tales, finds this suspicious and ever-

36. Ibid., p.133
37. Ibid., p.149
watchful king eager to hear his tidings. There is no doubt as
to this Vice's intentions for he himself says after hearing of
the arrival of Damon and Pithias:

"Certain strangers are arrived: they were a good prey;
If happily I might meet with them, I fear not, I,
But in talk I should trip them, and that very finely.
Which thing I assure you, I do for my own gain."38

and also:

"I care not who fall, so that I may rise."39

When this parasite reports that Damon, who is within the
city, is a spy, the king orders him captured and killed.
Strangely enough, the king allows Pithias to remain in Damon's
place, a thing which a true Machiavellian would never have
done. However, when Eubulus pleads for leniency, Dionysius re-
plies in true Machiavellian style:

"Shall I suffer my life to stand in peril of every spy?"40

and:

"A mild prince the people despiseth."41

and later:

"Let them hate me, so they fear me.
Dionysius ought to be feared."42

Even Grim the Collier, concerning the state of the
nation, comments:

All references to "Damon and Pithias" are in W. Carew Haz-

38. Richard Edwardes, Damon and Pithias, p. 23
39. Ibid., p. 41
40. Ibid., p. 49
41. Ibid., p. 50
42. Ibid., p. 50
"Friendship is dead in court, hypocrisy doth reign; 
Who is in favor now, to-morrow is out again: 
The state is so uncertain that I, by my will, 
Will never be courtier, but a collier still." 43

Nevertheless, at the play's conclusion, Dionysius renounces his tyrannical ways and expresses the desire to be considered a perfect friend. The fact that Richard Edwardes, master of the children of the royal chapel, wrote this for them to present before the Queen may account for the king's change of heart.

At this point, the Vice which had many aliases such as Backbiter, Sin, Ambidexter, and Haphazard, seems to disappear as a distinct and separate character, and its characteristics may now be found incorporated in the make-up of later villain-heroes as well as certain comic characters, whom we plan to ignore.

In contrast to this reformed king, let us consider the unrelenting villain Selimus - in the play of the same name. Here the villain's own father, the Emperor of Turkey, leaves no doubt in our minds as to Selimus' desires when he states:

"For Selimus' hands do itch to have the crown; 
And he will have it, or else pull me down." 44

Whereas Selimus himself in the Machiavellian spirit remarks:

43. Ibid., p. 76

44. Alexander B. Grosart, ed., The Tragical Reign of Selimus, p. 3, 188-189
"I count it sacrilege, for to be holy,
Or reverence this thread-bare name of good;"\textsuperscript{45}

His carpe-diem philosophy is evident when he states:

"But mean to take my fortune as I find:
Wisdom commands to follow tide and wind,
And catch the front of swift Occasion
Before she be too quickly overgone."\textsuperscript{46}

In his lust for power and his driving ambition, Selimus reminds us of Tamburlaine, in fact Occhiali speaks as though Selimus:

"Is born to be a scourge unto them all."\textsuperscript{47}

Nevertheless, Tamburlaine, also called the scourge, is more human and does love Zenocrine and his sons, who he hopes will carry on his policy, while Selimus hates all mankind and recalls the Senecan thirst-for-blood villain when he rants:

"I will not take my rest, till this right-hand
Hath pull'd the crown from off his coward's head.
And on the ground his bastard's gore-blood shed:"\textsuperscript{48}

Since Selimus trusts no one, after the crown is finally given to him, he orders the king whom he thinks unconstant, poisoned and upon his death says heartlessly:

"I'll mourn in shew, though I rejoice in deed."\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., p.10, 249-250
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., p.11, 273-276
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p.18, 481
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., p.21, 563-565
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p.75, 2011
So, the play ends with triumphant Selimus crowned king and no one to contest his title. This is the first play in which evil seems to win out over good.

Therefore, having read Selimus, we realize that great changes have occurred in the villain character since his early beginnings in the Devil character of the Miracle and Mystery plays and we look forward with great anticipation to the treatment of the villains by Kyd, Greene, and Marlowe.
CHAPTER II
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN IN THE PLAYS
OF KYD, GREENE, AND MARLOWE
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The above mentioned early English minor plays have shown what kind of drama was typical of the age, but now let us inspect that more important trio consisting of Thomas Kyd, Robert Greene, and Christopher Marlowe. It seems most logical to discuss them in this order for although Kyd's Spanish Tragedy and Marlowe's Tamburlaine appeared at about the same time, Marlowe is considered to be Shakespeare's immediate predecessor, and Greene shows Marlowe's influence more nearly than any other contemporary.

The fact that Thomas Kyd used the traditional Senecan "revenge" motive makes the transition from early English to Tudor drama most logical. By this time playwrights were no longer writing for the Queen or the polite society of the court, but for the public, and certainly these revenge tragedies must have strongly appealed to the Elizabethan groundlings. As proof, note that Kyd's Spanish Tragedy and Marlowe's Tamburlaine, written in the same wild vein, were the chief sensations of the English stage of the sixteenth century.

As to why such plays should prove most popular let us briefly consider the spirit of the times. "It was a time when the imagination of men thrilled to the tales of wildest adventure, boundless courage, and bloody deeds. Piracy prevailed upon the high seas, quick and brutal passions were the rule at home. Violence found a place in the lives of even the most
literary and intellectual of men: Jonson killed his man, and Marlowe was slain in a drunken brawl. It is not strange that scenes of lawlessness and bloodshed appealed to playwrights who were themselves duellists. And then, as if to sanction the instinct to dramatize man's villainy, there was the everpresent, the approved example of the classic Seneca.1

To understand to what extent Kyd followed earlier authors let us consider The Spanish Tragedy which appeared about 1589. First we have the revenge, slow but sure, of Hieronimo, Marshal of Spain, on the murderers of Horatio, his only son. This situation leads to madness and bloodshed. While Lorenzo, the cold-blooded villain who anticipates Barabas and Iago, shows how Kyd is indebted to Machiavelli. For "in his person the Machiavellian 'politician' makes his entry upon the English stage. The maxims on which he acts are those of the Florentine statesman, perverted from public to private ends."2

Briefly, the story is this. Lorenzo, who is himself a duke's son - a typical aristocrat - is jealous of Horatio, who being the marshal's son, outranks him. Like many clever villains he is able to hire others, especially Pedringano, to spy on Horatio when he woos Bel-imperie, whom Prince Balthazar

1. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.11-12
also loves. With the reports of this spy Lorenzo is able to incense Balthazar against Horatio and advises him:

"Doe you but follow me, and gaine your loue: Her favour must be wonne by his remooue."³

And later his evil intent is obvious when, while eavesdropping on Horatio and Bel-imperia, he vows:

"I, danger mixt with jealous dispite
    Shall send thy soule into eternall night."⁴

Again when he helps stab to death the helpless Horatio, whom he has had hanged in the arbor, we realize what a truly bestial creature he is.

Also, like Machiavelli, he is determined that nothing shall stand in his way. He tells Pedringano to meet Serberine, who knows too much about Horatio's murder, in the park and orders:

"There take thy stand, and see though strike him sure;
     For dye he must, if we do meane to liue."⁵

Immediately after issuing these orders he arranges that the Watch be spread around the place where Serberine is to be murdered so Pedringano will be caught in the act and removed as a

All references to "The Spanish Tragedy" are in Frederick S. Boas, ed., The Works of Thomas Kyd.

4. Ibid., II, II, 56-57
5. Ibid., III, II, 85-86
witness of Horatio's death. When Lorenzo provides for the murder of these wretched dupes who aided him in his schemes, he seems to forecast that arch-villain, Richard III, as he boasts:

"Ile trust myselfe, myselfe shall be my freend;
For dye they shall, slaves are ordeind to no other end."

Finally, when Hieronimo, who has been contemplating revenge, causes a disturbance before the king, this egotistical villain even dares suggest that the Marshal is incompetent and that his position in the government should be given to a more discreet person. Failing in this Lorenzo does agree to take part in a play suggested by Hieronimo. This play ends in wholesale slaughter. Bel-imperia stabs Balthazar, while Hieronimo kills Lorenzo and his father before killing himself. The fact that ten people die, the majority of whom are murdered, probably accounts for Kyd's reputation as a "blood and thunder" dramatist.

So, with revenge and madness as its main themes, this drama anticipates in several aspects Shakespeare's famous works. Certainly, Lorenzo's coolly methodical villainy anticipates that of Iago. While Hieronimo stabs his friend, the innocent Duke of Castile, and turns his revenge into a massacre not unlike that found at the end of Hamlet. So, Kyd introduced the popular revenge melodramas which lesser writers followed to furnish the excitement which the audience desired.

6. Ibid., III, II, 118-119
Among Shakespeare's predecessors the place second to Marlowe is usually assigned to Robert Greene. He, along with Marlowe, Peele, and Lodge, has been credited with the transference of the patronage of the drama from the court to the hands of the people. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose, that he would cater to the sensation-loving public whose favorites during his life were Tamburlaine, Doctor Faustus, and The Spanish Tragedy.

According to most literary critics, Greene's Alphonsus, King of Arragon is written in obvious imitation of Tamburlaine. The protagonist, Alphonsus, like the Scythian, rises to power by subduing kingdom after kingdom.

However, it is his James IV (1594) with which we are most concerned. In this play we find the unscrupulous Ateukin, a villain of the Machiavellian type. The situation at the opening of the play is - the King of Scotland, James IV, has just married the King of England's daughter, and yet he loves Ida, the Countess of Aran's daughter. Ateukin wastes no time, for upon realizing the situation in which the king is placed he says in an aside:

"And now is my time by wiles and words to rise, Greater than those that think themselves more wise."

All references to "James IV" are in John M. Manly, ed., Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearian Drama, Vol.II.

7. Robert Greene, James IV, I, I, p.338
Then as most clever parasites and villains, Ateukin knows just how much flattery the king can absorb and wins his trust by proclaiming:

"Had I the mind, as many courtiers have,  
To creep into your bosom for your coin,  
And beg rewards for every cap and knee.  
But Ateukin is no parasite, O prince."  

So, he who is a parasite, boldly proclaims he is not, and the king whose thoughts are only of how he can win Ida, commissions him to secure her. Whereupon Ateukin spouts flatteringly:

"These words do make me rich, most noble prince;  
I am more proud of them than any wealth.  
Did not your grace suppose I flatter you.  
Believe me, I would boldly publish this;—  
Was never eye that saw a sweeter face,  
Nor never ear that heard a deeper wit:  
O God, how I am ravish'd in your worth!"

While we find the king pleased with this flattery, Ateukin is equally pleased with his commission since wealth, honor, and ease have been bestowed on him.

However, despite Ateukin's most earnest efforts, the good Ida fails to be won. Undaunted by his unsuccessful suit, he dares to suggest to King James:

"Hear me, O King! 'tis Dorothea's death  
Must do you good."  

When the king agrees, Ateukin is quick to answer that he knows

8. Ibid., I, I, p.340
9. Ibid., I, I, p.342
10. Ibid., II, II, p.367
just the person to commit this crime. So, as usual an accomplice is secured to carry out the villain's evil schemes. Although Jaques, unknowingly, only wounds the queen, the king has a guilty conscience and reproaches himself, but Ateukin soothes him in much the same way that Hermon soothes Ferrex as he says:

"Why, prince, it is no murder in a king
To end another's life to save his own:
For you are not as common people be,
Who die and perish with a few men's tears;
But if you fail, the state doth whole default,
The realm is rent in twain in such a loss:
'Tis policy, my liege, in every state,
To cut off members that disturb the head:"

So, with this reiteration of the Machiavellian policy, there is no doubt as to the kind of villain Greene means to feature.

Finally, like so many plotting villains, when he finds he has failed, that Ida has married a lord and Dorothea lives, he cries:

"Asham'd to look upon my prince again,
Asham'd of my suggestions and advice,
Asham'd of life, asham'd that I have err'd.
I'll hide myself, expecting for my shame."

Surprisingly, only in the grim horror of Marlowe's climaxes does Greene decline to follow him. For here, as in *Damon and Pithias*, we have a happy ending with the reconciliation of the king and queen and the escape of the villainous Ateukin.

These representative early villains all have some of the marks of later villains, in varying degrees, but whether Sene-can, Machiavellian, or a combination of both, it is not until Marlowe comes to the fore that the human element is added. In fact one needs only to read Gorboduc to realize why Marlowe is regarded as the Father of the English drama. Despite the rant, bombast, and bloodshed, probably no play has exerted so great an influence on English drama as Tamburlaine the Great (1590), for its villain-hero, the Scythian conqueror, has life and movement. Let us more closely inspect this famous monarch. In the beginning he makes his ambitions known to us as he woos Zenocrate and says:

"I am a lord, for so my deeds shall prove:
And yet a shepherd by my parentage.
But, lady, this fair face and heavenly hue
Must grace his bed that conquers Asia,
And means to be a terror to the world."

Yet, in spite of his rude birth Tamburlaine wisely realizes that there is more than one way to win, for he questions his lords:

"Then shall we fight courageously with them?
Or look you I should play the orator?"

Therefore, he is not all blood and thunder in the be-

All references to "Tamburlaine the Great" are in Arthur H. Bullen, ed., The Works of Christopher Marlowe, Vol.I.
13. Christopher Marlowe, Tamburlaine the Great, I, II, 34-38
14. Ibid., I, II, 127-128
ginning anyway, for he uses flattery, the Machiavellian practice, to persuade Theridamus, a Persian captain, to join his army. However, unlike most Machiavellians, he does not discard those who help him rise, which action may be explained by the fact that much of his power is the result of victories which entailed much hard work on his part. He is fearless and even his Persian captain says of him:

"You see, my Lord, what working words he hath;
But when you see his actions top his speech," 15

Unlike the spying, under-handed Lorenzo, Tamburlaine seems more honorable in his lust for power for having decided to wrest the Persian crown from Cosroe he tells Theridamus:

"We will not steal upon him cowardly,
But give him warning and more warriors." 16

That he is an ambitious villain is clearly indicated when he tells Cosroe:

"That perfect bliss and sole felicity,
The sweet fruition of an earthly crown." 17

His cruelty is evident when he keeps Bajazeth, the captured Emperor of Turkey, in a cage except when using him as a footstool. His irony when he remarks, "to the caged Turk before he goes to fight the Soldan: 'Pray for us, Bajazeth: we are going', is not very noticeable at first reading, but it be-

15. Ibid., II, III, 25-26
16. Ibid., II, V, 102-103
17. Ibid., II, VII, 28-29
came characteristic of the Marlovian villain-hero, such as Aaron and Richard III." His most cruel nature appears when he orders the four Egyptian virgins killed. Yet in the next breath he praises fair Zenocrate to the skies. However, soon after he shows he is of a different calibre from most villains, for after hearing Agydas talk slightingly of himself (Tamburlaine) to Zenocrate, he does not order Agydas killed but instead sends two of his officers to present a naked dagger to Agydas. This seems almost out of character for it shows a finesse which one would not suspect Tamburlaine of possessing.

That he is an egotist is very obvious throughout the play, especially when he likens his army to that of Julius Caesar in that he, too, never fought but had the victory.

That human element which Marlowe has been able to infuse into his main characters is quite evident in Tamburlaine when we realize that he can find joy in beauty as well as in power, for as he states:

"Zenocrate, the loveliest maid alive,
Fairer than rocks of pearl and precious stone,
The only paragon of Tamburlaine,
Whose eyes are brighter than the lamps of heaven,
And speech more pleasant than sweet harmony!"

Although such lines must seem strange coming from the lips of a crude shepherd, yet as one author states, "Ears that had been bored by wooden verses suddenly heard the passionate music

18. Muriel C. Bradbrook, Themes and Conventions in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.141
19. Christopher Marlowe, Tamburlaine the Great, III, III, 116-120
of the mighty line, into which poured all the fire and vigor, the longing grasp for things impossible, which were the very echo of the spirit of the time. What wonder if the subjects of Queen Bess thronged to the playhouse when Alleyn was playing Tamburlaine."

So, as Part I ends, Tamburlaine is at the zenith of his career. And no one realizes how precarious is his footing more than Zenocrate who sighs:

"Ah, Tamburlaine! my love! sweet Tamburlaine!
That fight'est for sceptres and for slippery crowns,"

In Part II he is the bloodthirsty ruler and advises his sons:

"When I am old and cannot manage arms,
Be thou the scourge and terror of the world....
And sprinkled with the brains of slaughtered men,
My royal chair of state shall be advanced;
And he that means to place himself therein,
Must armed wade up to the chin in blood."

It is here that his beloved Zenocrate dies. She was the only one who could make him forget his driving ambition to be a terror to the world. Thereafter, he seeks only to live up to his name and begins by having the town in which she died, consumed by fire. Next, he stabs to death his son, Calyphas,

22. Ibid., Part II, I, III, 58-60 and 80-83
...
because he was playing cards when he should have been in battle. After this deed, his humanness is apparent when he tries to excuse his actions by saying that it was necessary if he were to live up to his great name and reputation.

From then on, there is a chain of uninterrupted acts of cruelty. First the conquered kings of Trebizond and Soria are forced to draw him in his chariot while he whips them shouting those often repeated words:

"Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia!
What! can ye draw but twenty miles a day,
And have so proud a chariot at your heels,
And such a coachman as great Tamburlaine."23

Next he divides the Turkish concubines and jewels among his soldiers, has the Governor of Babylon strung up and shot to death by his soldiers, and orders all men, women, and children of Babylon to be drowned.

Finally, the undefeated Tamburlaine is conquered by sickness and death and we cannot help pity him when he says:

"Farewell, my boys; my dearest friends farewell!
My body feels, my soul doth weep to see
Your sweet desires deprived my company,
For Tamburlaine, the scourge of God, must die."24

So, he seems not to regret all that he has done; rather he regrets that he cannot continue to be the "scourge of the world" and in his last breath seems to try to impress upon our memory that he lived up to his title. This conquering hero's actions

23. Ibid., Part II, IV, IV, 1-4
24. Ibid., Part II, V, III, 246-249
seem more justifiable than most for he won his kingdoms through
great battles and not through treacherous schemes as so many
Machiavellians have done. However, he commits such atrocities
as those mentioned above that he is definitely a villain-hero.

Another play by Marlowe, The Massacre at Paris,(1590-'93)
has as its chief protagonist, the Duke of Guise, who like
Tamburlaine has that Machiavellian thirst for power at all costs.
However, Guise arouses no feeling of sympathy as does Tambur-
laire, but one of disgust. The situation is rather different
in this play, in that the villain, a Catholic, in the guise of
religion, seeks to advance his personal ambition to gain the
throne of France. His first evil deed consists of sending a
pair of poisoned gloves to the Old Queen of Navarre and then
ordering a soldier to fire on the admiral. As a true follower
of Machiavelli he says:

"What glory is there in a common good,
That hangs for every peasant to achieve?"

Also, that he, who has a largess and a pension from the
Pope, is a religious hypocrite is obvious when he states:

"Religion! O Diabole!
Fie, I am asham'd, however that I seem,
To think a word of such a simple sound,
Of so great matter should be made the ground!"

All references to "The Massacre at Paris" are in Arthur H.
Bullen, ed., The Works of Christopher Marlowe, Vol.II.

26. Ibid., Scene II, 64-67
While his ambition is told in no uncertain terms as he meditates:

"Then, Guise,
Since thou hast all the cards within thy hands,
To shuffle or cut, take this as surest thing,
That, right or wrong, thou deal thyself a king." 27

To obtain the crown he causes the death of one individual after another, and finally is put in charge of the massacre of the Protestants. He, himself, stabs the preacher and school masters, so does not rely on accomplices as so many other villains do. Death is the only thing that halts his murders and he dies cursing and crying for revenge upon the king and the audience is not sorry to see his end for there is no grandeur about him as there was about Tamburlaine. However, it is easy to see why it was probably popular with the Elizabethans. It is crude, violent, and sensational. The Duke of Guise, a typical Marlowe hero, is over-ambitious, scheming, cunning, and sinister like Barabas and therefore quite unlike hot-headed Tamburlaine.

In The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus (1589) we have another hero with an insatiable craving, but unlike Tamburlaine he is the aspiring scholar. He strives for magic power beyond the lawful knowledge which all can master. This is certainly reminiscent in theme, the struggle for a human soul between good and evil forces, and in the character of the Devil, of the 27. Ibid., Scene II, 86-89
Miracle and Morality plays. Faustus is a flesh and blood character who dominates the play while striving for the impossible. It is this Faustus who boasts:

"All things that move between the giant poles
Shall be at my command." 28

Indeed, in the beginning, it does appear that just this will happen for Mephistophilis becomes Faustus' servant when he surrenders his soul to Lucifer. This servant is to always be obedient to the will of Faustus whether to slay his enemies or aid his friends. And finally, when his twenty-four years are at an end, we have the passionate cry of Faustus:

"My God! my God! look not so fierce on me!
Adders and serpents, let me breathe awhile!
Ugly Hell, gape not! come not, Lucifer!
I'll burn my books! - Ah, Mephistophilis!" 29

So, this "half-villain", 30 who is borne off to his doom, is far more pathetic than Tamburlaine. His life seems to have been a hopeless struggle, while Tamburlaine lived his life up to the hilt.

Therefore, were Faustus the only important character in this play, we would not include it in this survey since he is so unlike the villains discussed up to this time. However, as

All references to "The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus" are in Arthur H. Bullen, ed., The Works of Christopher Marlowe, Vol. I.

28. Christopher Marlowe, Doctor Faustus, p.215, 54-55
29. Ibid., p.282, 119-122
30. Henry W. Wells, Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights, p.18
Faustus' last words indicate, Mephistophilis is not to be forgotten. Mephistophilis is not so striking or important, but the fact that he is in the line of devils demands our recognition. "He helped to restore to favor as a dramatic character the Devil who was as popular in the seventeenth century as he had been in the days of the Miracle and Morality plays, when the mere threat to withhold his 'abominable presence' was a sufficient device to elicit coins from the spectators."31

It is through Mephistophilis that Faustus promises his soul to Lucifer in exchange for twenty-four years of limitless magic power with Mephistophilis as his obedient slave. Faustus consents readily to this arrangement, but had he failed to Mephistophilis would have secured it somehow, for he says in an aside:

"O, what will I not do to obtain his soul."32

Being almost constantly with Faustus, Mephistophilis is able to see to it that he repents not his bargain. He is like an evil shadow and is quick to make Faustus repeat his former vow.

Consequently, here is one play in which Marlowe departed from his usual method of following Machiavelli to use as his source the early Miracle and Mystery plays.

32. Christopher Marlowe, Doctor Faustus, p.223, 73
Since *The Merchant of Venice* is one of the clearest examples of Marlowe's influence upon Shakespeare, it seems appropriate to discuss *The Jew of Malta* (1589) as an introduction to a discussion of Shakespeare's villains. Here, in typical Marlovian style, we have a one-man play, centering around a single unscrupulous, ambitious Machiavellian villain. Yes, it is in this play that Machiavelli, popularly considered as Satan incarnate, makes his first appearance on the Elizabethan stage to recite the prologue.

It is interesting to note that here Machiavelli includes many of the tenets which are mentioned on pages twelve and thirteen in Chapter I. Particularly pertinent and worthy of reiteration are the following comments on the Machiavellian code:

"I count religion but a childish toy,
And there is no sin but ignorance....
Might first made kings, and laws were then most sure
When, like the Draco's, they were writ in blood.
Hence comes it that a strongbuilt citadel
Commands much more than letters can import." 33

So the prologue admits the influence of Machiavelli and serves as a guide to the type of play which is to follow.

As we first see the protagonist, Barabas, he is not


unlike Tamburlaine for to him "his treasury of jewels and his ships laden with precious cargoes are as potent instruments as armies to a conqueror."34 Certainly his love of money is apparent when he questions:

"What more may heaven do for earthly man
Than thus to pour out plenty in their laps,
Ripping the bowels of the earth for them,
Making the sea(s) their servants, and the winds
To drive their substance with successful blasts."35

Naturally, when Turkey demands more tribute, and half of the wealth of all the Jews is taken, Barabas protests. The Governor of Malta uses this as an excuse to seize all his wealth and even has his house turned into a nunnery. Surprisingly, he does not rave and rant but consoles his daughter saying:

"No, Abigail, things past recovery
Are hardly cured with exclamations."36

While Tamburlaine presents tortures and battles to us, and Faustus provides us a sight of demons from the other world, it is in The Jew of Malta that Marlowe brings in the plotted murder. First he acts to revenge himself upon the governor by sending a false letter to Mathias challenging him to a duel with Lodowick, the governor's son. This duel results in the death of both young men. This is, however, only the beginning

34. Frederick S. Boas, An Introduction to Tudor Drama, 137-138
35. Christopher Marlowe, The Jew of Malta, I, I, 109-113
36. Ibid., I, II, 236-237
for next Barabas buys a slave, Ithamore, and boasts:

"For this is he
   That by my help shall do much villainy." 37

Here in the introduction of this hired assassin, Ithamore, we have the first important "tool villain". That he is indeed a villain is obvious when he quotes his credentials which consist of evil deeds not unlike those which Barabas has done:

"Faith, master,
   In setting Christian villages on fire,
   Chaining of eunuchs, binding galley slaves.
One time I was an hostler in an inn,
And in the night time secretly would I steal
To travellers' chambers, and there cut their throats:
   Once at Jerusalem, where the pilgrims kneel'd,
   I strewed powder on the marble stones,
And therewithal their knees would rankle, so
   That I have laugh'd a-good to see the cripples
Go limping home to Christendom on stilts." 38

He was first suggested in the character of Pedringano in Kyd's Spanish Tragedy and from now on this professional gangster type is found in such plays as Richard III and Macbeth, as well as in Marlowe's later dramas. Since a complete discussion of his play The Troublesome Reign of Edward II (1591) is omitted in this paper, it seems appropriate here to call attention to the fact that here, too, we have three "tool villains" hired to murder the king. Since these "tool villains" never supplant the master villain who employs them there is no need to go into great detail concerning their actions here.

37. Ibid., II, III, 136-137
38. Ibid., II, III, 203-213
To Ithamore, Barabas confides all the evil he has done and when the slave boasts that he, too, has committed similar crimes Barabas is content and notes:

"It's no sin to deceive a Christian; For they themselves hold it a principle, Faith is not to be held with heretics; But all are heretics that are not Jews."39

It is Ithamore who tells Abigail how the death duel of Mathias, her lover, was brought about, and she enters the nunnery. Hearing of her decision, Barabas vows that Ithamore shall be his heir. From then on, Barabas is a bloodthirsty monster, delighting in devilish intrigue, whose first crime consists of sending poisoned rice porridge to the nunnery. Although this proves fatal, Abigail tells two Friars how Mathias and Lodowick met death. Consequently, they are next on the list and clever Barabas with the help of Ithamore strangles one Friar Barnardine and cleverly arranges the corpse so that Jacomo, the other Friar, thinks he himself has killed him. So, the two Friars are silenced.

Soon after, in Machiavellian fashion, Barabas kills Ithamore by poison. His time is not up yet, for when the Turks capture Malta, Barabas is made Governor. He knows he is hated by the people of Malta, but makes a bargain with the former governor and states:

"And thus roundly goes the business: Thus loving neither, will I live with both,

Making a profit of my policy;  
And he from whom my most advantage comes  
Shall be my friend."\textsuperscript{40}

In this speech Barabas uses that word 'policy' which undoubt- 
dedly refers to Marlowe's conception of the Machiavellian policy. 

Later this egotist states:  
"For so I live, perish may all the world."\textsuperscript{41}

However, he next plans to drop Selim Calymath, the Turk, 
into a pit, but he is trapped in it himself and his last words 
show no repentance, but anger that his plan to bring confusion 
upon them all had failed, and he dies cursing - an ending quite 
unlike that of the fearing Faustus.

So, it will be seen that Barabas occupies precisely the 
position of villain-hero defined on page three in the first 
chapter. "He is a criminal of deepest dye; he is guilty of 
treason, murder, and poisoning; he commits his crimes wilfully 
and deliberately and he is perfectly well aware that his acts 
are crimes."\textsuperscript{42} He is also the hero, for he is always before us 
and monopolizes the action.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., V, II, 112-116
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., V, V, 108
\textsuperscript{42} Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan 
Tragedy, p. 8
CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN IN

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS
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SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

After studying with great interest the pre-Shakespearean villains, it is with great anticipation that we turn to William Shakespeare, who to most critics, represents the height of English drama. Therefore, it is our purpose to examine his villains with the following questions in mind:

1. In what ways does Shakespeare reflect the popular conception of the villain up to his time?

2. Does Shakespeare's portrayal of the villain apparently change or remain the same throughout his plays?

Since his first period was one of experiment it is not surprising that Titus Andronicus (1592) was written during this time. Certainly Shakespeare, who was interested in being a financial as well as a literary success, could not help writing a tragedy of blood when Kyd had shown how powerfully such things appealed to playgoers. However, rather than imitate Kyd, Shakespeare includes more sensational horrors that are thoroughly Senecan. In fact many lovers of Shakespeare would rather not admit that he wrote this gory drama with its mutilations, its rape, and its fourteen killings.

Despite the title, it is Aaron the Moor - a more powerful creation than Titus - who stands out most vividly. This arch-

1. Edward Dowden, Shakespeare, p.47
villain shows all the worst traits of a Machiavellian villain. Like Barabas he informs us of his villainous intent when he muses:

"Away with slavish weeds and servile thoughts!
I will be bright and shine in pearl and gold,
To wait upon this new-made empress.
To wait, said I? To wanton with this queen,
This goddess, this Semiramis, this nymph,
This Siren that will charm Rome's Saturnine
And see his shipwrack and his commonweal's."2

He is quick to make use of the viciousness of other men in order to accomplish his own evil ends. For instance, it is he who plans how Chiron and Demetrius shall rape Lavinia in the deserted wood. It is he who manages to place the blame for Bassianus' death on innocent Quintus and Martius.

No physical mutilation is too horrible for this monster, for he dares suggest, knowing full well that it will fail, that Titus chop off one of his hands and send it to the king as a ransom for the safe return of his two sons. In fact, it is Aaron himself who amputates Titus' hand, proving that he is not too cowardly to carry out his own suggestions.

The one flaw in his otherwise black character, which makes him seem almost human, is his love for his bastard child, whose hue betrays the queen's dishonor. So strong is his paternal feeling that he does not hesitate to kill the nurse

All references to Shakespeare's plays are in George L. Kittredge, ed., The Complete Works of Shakespeare.

2. Titus Andronicus, II, I, 18-24
in order to keep the child safe. Finally, in order to save the child a second time Aaron calmly recites to Lucius, Titus' son, all the villainies which he planned and helped execute. Like Barabas, he is obviously unrepentant when he concludes his confession by saying:

"Tut, I have done a thousand dreadful things
As willingly as one would kill a fly;
And nothing grieves me heartily indeed
But that I cannot do ten thousand more."3

and again his last words echo this thought:

"If one good deed in all my life I did,
I do repent it from my very soul."4

Of such a caliber is Shakespeare's villainous Moor, whose heart is blacker than his hide. Unlike Barabas he seems to have no justifiable motive for doing evil other than the fact that he belongs to a subjected nation. As proof that this theme is used here as well as in Othello, consider the speech of Bassianus in which, when speaking to Lavinia, he openly avows:

"Believe me, queen, your swarth Cimmerian
Doth make your honour of his body's hue,
Spotted, detested, and abominable."5

When the nurse enters with the blackamoor child we realize how keenly Aaron must have been aware of the feelings against his race when of a new-born infant she does not hesi-

3. Ibid., V, I, 141-144
4. Ibid., V, III, 189-190
5. Ibid., II, III, 72-74
tate to announce that here is:

"A joyless, dismal, black, and sorrowful issue:
Here is the babe, as loathsome as a toad."6

Therefore, one cannot help agreeing that "though he is
cursed more than the 'dynamic character' of the earlier drama,
and punished more than the roguish parasite of comedy, he is
the undiluted villain with little suggestion of humanity."7

Although today this is one of the least remembered plays
of Shakespeare it does have a place of significance for "always
in the background of the memorable tragedies stands the consider-
able body of popular but relatively mediocre work in which
public taste for sensational evil and violence on the stage was
gratified. The once beloved Titus Andronicus is such a play."8

After following the career of that bestial, bloodthirsty
Aaron the Moor in Titus Andronicus, it is a welcome relief to
watch that most perfect villain, Richard III. Richard III
(1593) is one play where the chief protagonist is on the stage
at the beginning of the play and holds your attention through-
out with his unexpected successes. "The passion at the root of
him is, like Macbeth's, ambition for the crown, with tenfold
6. Ibid., IV, II, 67-68
7. Robert Withington, Excursions in English Drama, p.166
8. Henry W. Wells, Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights, p.19
more steadfastness in ambition than Macbeth possessed." You cannot help admiring his gall, his easy glibness, and the perfect ease with which he realizes his ambitions. Since, because of his physical deformity, he is not appealing and cannot play the lover, he is determined to be the haters and play the villain. This villain is different from the true Machiavellian in the motive which he states at the outset:

"But I,—that am not shap'd for sportive tricks, Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass; I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty To strut before a wanton ambling nymph; I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion, Cheated of feature by dissembling nature, Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time Into this breathing world scarce half made up, And that so lamely and unprofitably That dogs bark at me as I halt by them;— Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace, Have no delight to pass away the time,—— And therefore,—since I cannot prove a lover,—— I am determined to prove a villain."10

However, if we examine Richard III as he appeared in The Third Part of King Henry VI we find Shakespeare preparing for this villain when in a soliloquy he bitterly says:

"Would he (Edward) were wasted, marrow, bones, and all, That from his loins no hopeful branch may spring, To cross me from the golden time I look for! —— I'll make my heaven to dream upon the crown, And whiles I live to account this world but hell, Until my misshap'd trunk that bears this head, Be round empaled with a glorious crown,—— Why, I can smile, and murder whiles I smile; And cry content to that which grieves my heart; And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,

9. Stopford A. Brooke, On Ten Plays of Shakespeare, p.101
And frame my face to all occasions.
I'll drown more sailors than the mermaid shall;
I'll slay more gazers than the basilisks;
I'll play the orator as well as Nestor;
Deceive more slyly than Ulysses could;
And, like a Sinon, take another Troy:
I can add colours to the cameleon;
Change shapes with Proteus for advantages;
And set the murderous Machiavel to school.
Can I do this, and cannot get a crown?
Tut, were it further off, I'll pluck it down!"ll

Richard III, a Machiavellian whose motive is ambition,
"combines the lust for power found in Tamburlaine with a guile
and intellectual astuteness far surpassing that of Barabas.
But with it all the character of Richard is real; he is the
first real villain we have had. His murders are no less atro-
cious than those of Selimus, his aspirations no more extraordi-
nary; but the secret of Richard's reality - for we actually
speak and think of him as a person - lies in the naturalness
of his speeches. He does not spurn the earth every time he
opens his lips, but speaks simply. Hence his success or fail-
ure seems profoundly significant."12

However, let us turn to the actual play, for what could
better demonstrate his character than his actual words? In
his opening speech we realize that he is as determined as ever
to be king by any means for he proclaims:

"Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,"----

12. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan
Tragedy, p.79
To set my brother Clarence and the King
   In deadly hate the one against the other."13

Thus, Richard prepares us for all his bold and treacher-
ous actions and wastes no time in advancing his own interests. His first act is to see that his brother the Duke of Clarence is put to death by spreading false prophecies which accuse Clarence and reach King Edward IV and result in Clarence's im-
prisonment. Then hearing that the king is deathly ill, after expressing sorrow openly, in a soliloquy he muses:

"He cannot live, I hope, and must not die
   Till George be pack'd with posthorse up to heaven.
   I'll in, to urge his hatred more to Clarence
   With lies well steel'd with weighty arguments;
   And, if I fail not in my deep intent,
   Clarence hath not another day to live.
   Which done, God take King Edward to his mercy
   And leave the world for me to bustle in!"14

He then tells us that he will next marry Lady Anne even though he killed her husband and her father. This habit of telling his moves before he makes them is used throughout the play as well as his uncanny ability to make those whom he is about to destroy believe that he is their best friend. Thus Richard, this egotistical opportunist, then woos and wins his bride at a funeral, admitting that the lady's beauty caused him to kill her husband. Exulting in his verbal prowess Richard marvels at himself:

"Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?"

14. Ibid., I, I, 145-152
Was ever woman in this humour won?
I'll have her, but I will not keep her long.  

However, he does not boast long and become over-confident, for as we see his brilliant calculating mind at work we hurriedly turn the page to learn what the outcome will be. We find that in true Machiavellian fashion he turns to religion only when it is the means to some evil end and here in the first act he is quick to acknowledge:

"But then I sigh, and, with a piece of Scripture,
Tell them that God bids us do good for evil;
And thus I clothe my naked villainy
With odd old ends stol'n forth of holy writ,
And seem a saint when most I play the devil."

It is Richard himself who dispatches two murderers to kill Clarence. As if to emphasize Richard's lack of feeling, Shakespeare has the second murderer repent his part in the murder of Clarence - and surely if a total stranger regrets his actions, Richard, in contrast, is indeed hard-hearted when it is his own brother's death he obtains. However, we shall see that this is a minor tragedy in the series of bloody crimes which he sponsors.

Immediately upon the King's death, Richard along with Buckingham, his unsuspecting partner-in-crime, has Lord Rivers, Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Vaughan imprisioned. While his next step is to bring the young heir apparent Edward, Prince of

15. Ibid., I, II, 227-229
16. Ibid., I, III, 334-338
Wales and his younger brother, Richard, Duke of York, together in the tower of London. He is one villain who is witty as well as intellectual. His wit, which is ever apparent, is at its keenest when he indulges in verbal sword-play with young York. Here, as is usual throughout the play, his words have double meaning. We, knowing him for what he is, can easily find his subtle meanings which lie behind his seemingly simple and fair words. For example, when York asks his cousin Richard to give him a particular dagger which takes his eye, Richard's irony is prophetic as he quickly replies that he would gladly give York his own dagger. The reader well knows that Richard would gladly bury it in York's heart. Here it is quite obvious that Richard takes a certain relish in his own wickedness.

Meanwhile, Richard continues to root out all those who oppose the idea of him being crowned king. Lord Hastings displays such an opinion and is soon the victim of him whom he denotes as "bloody Richard". When Hastings' head is brought to him Richard explains with such clarity and straightforwardness why the victim deserved to be beheaded, that all who are present, even the Lord Mayor, believe Richard implicitly.

No sooner has the Mayor departed, than Richard sends Buckingham after him to infer the bastardy of Edward's children. Soon after in order to impress the people concerning his holiness in contrast to the supposed illegitimacy of the two youthful heirs, he makes his entrance flanked on either side by a
Bishop. With just the right amount of hesitancy, this clever deceiver seems to spurn the offered crown, only to recall those who offer it at the last minute and accept the crown, outwardly reluctant, though inwardly rejoicing. "However false and hypocritical he may be towards others, he is no hypocrite to himself. He is chemically free from self-delusion, even applying to himself the most derogatory terms; and this candour in the depths of his nature appeals to us."\(^\text{17}\)

Once having gained the throne, Richard dares not rest content, for, as he tells Buckingham, while the young princes live they are a constant menace to him. In the very next breath he orders that it be rumored that his wife, Anne, is fatally ill, in order that he may put her out of the way and marry his brother's daughter. So, his fertile mind keeps turning out new evil plots to substantiate earlier connivings. Realizing how far he has gone, Richard himself comments:

"But I am in
So far in blood that sin will pluck on sin,
Tear-falling pity dwells not in this eye.\(^\text{18}\)

Consequently, in Machiavellian fashion he does not worry about the evil he has done, but looks ahead to see what the next step should be to consolidate his position. But his bloodthirsty nature is obvious when he orders Tyrrel, the executioner of the

princes, to come to him later and tell the story of their death.

In this play Richard's evil nature is so obvious that it seems unnecessary for various other characters in the play to proclaim it. However, it serves to accentuate his villainy when his own mother does not hesitate to suggest:

"Go with me,
And in the breath of bitter words let's smother
My damned son that thy two sweet sons smother'd."19

After hearing him similarly denounced by both the Queen and the Duchess of York, as well as by his own mother, it is unbelievable how he is able to persuade the Queen to plead in his behalf stressing not what he has been, but what he will be. It is no wonder that this tyrant continues to move steadily toward his goal. Although adept at deceiving others he is astute enough never to deceive himself. On the night before the decisive battle when the ghosts of all whom he murdered appear he says:

"My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain."20

For the first time Richard is really worried, for evidently he realizes that over ghosts, the supernatural, he has no power and they strike such terror in him that he suggests they spy on his men in order to hear if any of them plan to desert him.

19. Ibid., IV, IV, 133-135
20. Ibid., V, III, 194-196
Truly as Brooke says, "When a sense of the existence of conscience occurs to him, it intrudes in dreams only, not in real life. Awake, he passes from one crime to another without one touch of emotion, without one moment of morality."\(^{21}\) However, he is no coward and this visitation fails to make a lasting impression on him, for he, in the midst of the battle, fights on foot when his horse dies under him, and is finally slain by Richmond.

Van Doren feels, probably rightly, that "the great stories of murder are of men who could not have done it, but who did. They are not murderers, they are men like Othello, Hamlet, and Macbeth. While as far as Richard III is concerned he feels he is a murderer by nature and likes to kill and therefore this play is not a mature achievement in tragedy."\(^{22}\) True as this may be certainly as far as villains are concerned he is by far the most thorough and most human we have yet found in compiling this thesis. For as Boyer describes the situation, "His end is absolute power, and to gain it he removes everyone who stands in his way. So when his former accomplices desert him, as does Buckingham, he removes them - not because he is seeking revenge for a personal injury - but because they are now new obstacles, and it is to his advantage to demonstrate the futility and danger of opposing him. Since

\(^{21}\) Stopford A. Brooke, *On Ten Plays of Shakespeare*, p.104

\(^{22}\) Mark Van Doren, *Shakespeare*, p.36
ambition alone is his motive, if he can win us at all it must be by sheer force of character, by the elements of greatness in his nature. He is wicked as well as great; he is also human."23

If Marlowe's Barabas fits the description of villain-hero as described in Chapter I, surely Shakespeare's Richard III may be described as a more perfected villain-hero. In time "Barabas became a caricature and his deeds monstrous evoking neither pity nor fear. While Richard in his soliloquies, his attempts at explaining his villainy to himself, and by his imperturbable poise seems to be all he says he is - "a man devoid of all moral elements that restrain ordinary men, and gifted with the strength, the will, and the intellect to accomplish all that the most powerful man could accomplish when held in restraint by no moral scruples."24 "It must be said for him, too, that threats and curses recoil from him innocuous, that neither hatred nor violence nor superior force can dash his courage. Strength of character is such a rare quality that it arouses sympathy even in a criminal."25

Although as previously stated, this paper plans to deal only with the chief villains in tragedy, it seems most fitting that Shylock, the villain-hero of that tragi-comedy The Merchant of Venice (1596) be included. Indeed, since dramatic

23. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.84-96
24. Ibid., p.85,89
critics agree that Marlowe, through the creation of such super-
men as Tamburlaine and Barabas, the prototype of Shylock,
created a villain-hero type which provided a pattern for other
dramatists to follow, the omission of Shylock would leave this
thesis incomplete.

In Richard III we found that Shakespeare keeping the
Machiavellian type in mind, followed closely in the steps of
Marlowe, but at the same time he did succeed in humanizing him
somewhat. However, when we consider The Merchant of Venice
we are dealing with a drama written during Shakespeare's second
period, his so-called period of rapid growth and development.
Therefore, does the villain character change in this period?

To find the answer to this question, we must obviously
turn to the play itself and survey this villain Shylock, who
because of his business and his blood reminds us of Barabas.
Unlike Richard III, Shylock does not appear until near the end
of the first act. We are immediately aware of how little he
cares for Christians when he informs Bassanio, who seeks a loan,
that he will buy and sell with him, but will not break bread
with him. In an aside, upon seeing Antonio approach he
mutters:

"I hate him for he is a Christian;
But more for that in low simplicity
He lends out money gratis and brings down
The rate of usance here with us in Venice.
If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him."26

26. The Merchant of Venice, I, III, 43-48
So, at once, two very plausible reasons, both personal and business, for Shylock's future actions are given. That his hatred is known is obvious when Antonio says in an aside:

"The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose." 27

So, he too, is a religious hypocrite, although he is not, like Barabas, a Machiavellian villain.

The way in which Shylock seeks revenge is less crude and bloodthirsty than that of our earlier Senecan villains and certainly more open and above board than that of Barabas or Richard III. He uses no trickery to persuade Antonio to sign the bond and relies on no accomplice. That he seeks Antonio's death is obvious, yet it is done in a legal manner and at the time of the agreement no one knows how the bargain will turn out. He, like Richard III, is a smooth talking villain and is ever mindful of his evil purpose.

Although this play has five plots, it is the pound of flesh plot that chiefly concerns us and is by far the most intriguing of them all. However, to secure a well-rounded study of his character and nature we must consider that, like Barabas, he too, has a daughter who is in love with a Christian. But more of that later.

Upon hearing rumors of Antonio's losses at sea, Shylock justifies his right to take his agreed upon forfeit by that straightforward, appealing speech in which he seems to be

27. Ibid., I, III, 99
pleading not only for his forfeit but for tolerance for all and which includes:

"I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimension, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is?"28

While in the next breath, upon hearing from Tubal that no trace has yet been found of his jewels, his ducats, and his run-away daughter, he rants first about the loss of a diamond and cries, "I would my daughter were dead at my foot, and the jewels in her ear!"29

But when his friend Tubal informs him that some of Antonio's ships have been wrecked, he exults openly as one might expect from a villain. Soon after upon hearing how his daughter had given a ring in exchange for a monkey, he shows that he, in contrast to Richard III, is human after all when he moans, "It was my turquoise, I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor. I would not have given it for a wilderness of monkeys."30 Therefore, we are inclined to believe that he is not a madman, but is a human being who has been mistreated. However, like most villains, his desire for revenge is still uppermost in his mind and he is determined to get his pound of flesh. As one critic states, "Passion is the kernel of his

28. Ibid., III, I, 61-67
29. Ibid., III, I, 92-93
30. Ibid., III, I, 126-128
The two measurements are very important and are shown for utility

and a long-term health is the only answer. With a 3'...

and the current 2.0512 and the 2.0512 data was in the 3.5% range for 20 years of record...
nature. His hatred of Antonio is far more intense than his love for his jewels; and it is this passionate hatred, not avarice, that makes him the monster he becomes.\textsuperscript{31}

When we come to that famous court scene, Shylock, feeling he has honestly earned the forfeiture, proudly refuses twice the amount due him. At this point he is probably licking his lips in anticipation of seeing his contract completed. How soon this victorious villain backs down when confronted with the fact that if in securing his pound of flesh he sheds one drop of blood all his goods may be confiscated by the state! Then, in desperation Shylock asks if he may be given the principal, only to find that besides losing all he must become a Christian. Surely, this last stipulation must have cut him to the quick, for he meekly agrees to the terms and his last words are not wild ravings but simply a request that he be allowed to leave the court as he is not feeling well. At this point it seems appropriate to mention that Bradley believes, "One reason why the end of \textit{The Merchant of Venice} fails to satisfy us is that Shylock is a tragic character, and that we cannot believe in his accepting his defeat and the conditions imposed upon him."\textsuperscript{32}

So, here we find a radical change in the villain who has been more or less stereotyped up to this time. Indeed Shylock


\textsuperscript{32} Andrew C. Bradley, \textit{Shakespearian Tragedy}, p. 21
is a far cry from Selimus, Tamburlaine, and that madman Barabas. For, here is a human being, who has the same feelings as others, who has just cause for disliking Antonio and therefore all which he represents. Moreover, his quiet, rather dignified exit at the end seems to indicate that under Shakespeare's hand the wild, ranting villain of Kyd and Marlowe has matured and in so doing has become more realistic.

Since we have deviated once from the tragedy, it seems proper in this second period to include that melancholy villain, Don John, of Much Ado About Nothing (1598). Here we find a comedy, which Don John attempts to turn into a tragedy without success. Since, to my mind, he is definitely no villain-hero, he deserves little comment. He seems to go about his villainy in an amateurish way. In the first place his actions have little justification since his chief cause for his discontent is his bastardy and jealousy of his brother, the honored Prince of Arragon. Secondly, unlike Shylock, he relies on his comrades Borachio and Conrade to help him plan and execute his mischief.

Just what mischief does Don John attempt? First he tries to discredit his brother by telling Claudio, whom Don John intentionally mistakes for Benedick, that Don Pedro is really wooing Hero for himself, while pretending to win her for Claudio. This ruse is soon proven false by Pedro's prompt winning of Hero for Claudio. Don John is mournful upon hearing that his plan has failed, and it is his partner Borachio who
who offers another plan to prove Hero's unfaithfulness to Claudio. This weak villain readily agrees to follow Borachio's instructions for arousing distrust of Hero in the minds of Don Pedro and Count Claudio. This, the Bastard does successfully, for he, as he himself admitted, is a "plain-dealing villain" and as such comes quickly to the point. Compared to Richard III there is little subtlety in his actions.

Through Borachio's trickery Don John is successful for a time for Claudio publicly accuses Hero of being unfaithful to him. In fact we have the elements of a tragedy here for even Hero's own father, Leontes, hopes for her death as a cover for her shame. The situation is saved when Benedick claims John the Bastard is at fault and this is substantiated with the capture of Conrade and the confession of Borachio. The last we hear of Don John he has been captured in flight and the play ends with his fate undecided.

As one critic concludes, "He is an ill-conditioned, base, and tiresome scoundrel; and, although he conscientiously does evil for evil's sake, we miss in him all the defiant and brilliantly sinister qualities which appear later on in Iago and in Edmund."33 Surely, as far as villains are concerned he will soon be forgotten while those like Richard III and Iago will long be remembered. In fact as Boas points out, "Amongst Shakespeare's malefactors he is distinguished by his complete

lack of humour and of the kindred power to dissemble his real nature. It would seem as if the dramatist had not wished to focus our attention upon the villain by investing him with the fascination which underlies evil-doing masquerading under the guise of good-humoured honesty."

So, when we come to Shakespeare's third period we realize that he is breaking away from his predecessors in that his villains are no longer the mad men like Barabas who murder indiscriminately all who displease them or interfere with their plans. Richard III and Aaron are the exceptions to this statement. They were written during Shakespeare's first period and show the obvious influence of Marlowe. Ever since Richard III Shakespeare has become more independent in portraying his villains. They are more refined and dignified. One might call them gentlemen villains in comparison with the earlier cut-throat villains. By that I do not mean they are any the less villainous, but there is a veneer of respectability which greatly enhances their appearance.

Therefore, upon considering Hamlet (1600-1601) we find the genteel villain King Claudius, who murdered his brother, the late King of Denmark, having attained his ambition - the gaining of a crown and his brother's wife - settling down to rule his country well. Unlike Richard III, in the beginning he has no

34. Frederick S. Boas, Shakespeare and his Predecessors, Vol.I, p.306
desire to do away with the murdered king's son. It is Hamlet's strange behavior which arouses his distrust to the extent that he assigns Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to be Hamlet's companions and in such a capacity to find out whether something more than grief over his father's death afflicts him. It is Polonius who thinks his love for Ophelia is the answer. He then instructs the king that he will arrange a supposedly chance meeting of Hamlet and Ophelia while Claudius and Polonius hide behind a screen. It is interesting to note that Polonius mentions a Machiavellian trait when he states:

"'Tis too much prov'd, that with devotion's visage
And pious action we do sugar o'er
The devil himself."

Whereupon, the king shows his guilty conscience by murmuring in an aside:

"O,'tis too true!
How smart a lash that speech doth give my conscience."

Thus Shakespeare here forsakes the ranting, bloodthirsty villain and introduces one with a conscience. This is a pleasant change and certainly makes Claudius a very human person. As one critic says, "King Claudius rarely gets from the reader the attention he deserves. He was no villain of force, who thought of winning his brother's crown by a bold and open stroke, but a cut-purse who stole the diadem from a shelf and put it in his pocket."

35. Hamlet, III, I, 47-49
36. Ibid., III, I, 50-51
37. Andrew C. Bradley, Shakespearean Tragedy, p.168-169
The king next decides to send Hamlet to England and after witnessing the play Hamlet instigated, he is certain that his decision is best. Soon after Claudius once more admits his evil when he says:

"O, my offense is rank, it smells to heaven;
   It hath the primal eldest curse upon't,
   A brother's murther!" 38

As he cries to the angels for help he reminds us of Faustus and his last despairing words. This villain instead of committing one crime after another, is anxious only to keep his one crime - the murder of his brother - well hidden. However, he too, finds that finally he must resort to another murder if his first is to remain a secret. So, letters which will result in Hamlet's death are sent to England on the same boat.

However, Claudius finds, since Hamlet has escaped and is on his way home, he must see that his death is assured. This time Laertes, son of Polonius whom Hamlet killed, is his willing tool and a poisoned foil the weapon. In fact, Claudius is determined to leave nothing to chance and in Machiavellian style, knowing Hamlet to be "generous and free from all contriving", plans to have a poisoned drink ready in case the sword poisoning fails. We might call this Danish king "the poisoner" since it seems to be his favorite method of execution.

In the final scene, Claudius being wounded by Hamlet, cries:

38. Hamlet, III, III, 36-38
"O, yet defend me, friends! I am but hurt."39

"That his crime has failed, and that it could do nothing else, never once comes home to him."40 And so, a less violent, but none the less evil villain goes to his death crying for help rather than vengeance as have so many earlier villains.

It is interesting to compare in conclusion the opinions of critics concerning Claudius as a king. Bradley feels that "as a king he is courteous and never undignified; he performs his ceremonial duties efficiently and takes good care of the national interests."41 While Boas feels "his reptile nature, though cloaked under the glittering show of royalty, manifests itself in sinuous, fawning methods of address, utterly unlike the genuine bonhommie of the true ruler of men. Peace at any price, wherein to enjoy the ill-gotten pleasures of his new position as king and husband - this is the be-all and end-all of Claudius's foreign policy."42 Somehow I can't help feeling that Boas is too severe in his judging of Claudius and am inclined to agree with Bradley for in spite of his more complimentary remarks he does not consider him any less a villain as you can see by quotation thirty-seven.

39. Ibid., V, II, 335
40. Andrew C. Bradley, Shakespearean Tragedy, p.171
41. Ibid., p.168-169
42. Frederick S. Boas, Shakspeare and his Predecessors, p.392
Another play in which the villain and the hero are two different people is *Othello* (1608). So, it seems that in his period of gloom and maturity, Shakespeare depicts an almost perfect villain, Iago, plotting to bring disaster to an almost perfect hero, Othello. Boyer⁴³ believes that "Iago is as much the hero of the tragedy as Othello. It has two protagonists, the one sympathetic, the other repulsive." This is a reasonable assumption for, as we shall see, in discussing the repulsive we must bring in the sympathetic and show how the one influences the other.

Iago's first speech wins sympathy from the reader for he bewails the fact that he has been treated shabbily in the matter of the lieutenancy. When Roderigo questions him as to why he still follows the Moor, Iago replies:

"I follow him to serve my turn upon him.----
In following him, I follow but myself;
Heaven is my judge, not I for love and duty,
But seeming so, for my peculiar end;----
I am not what I am."⁴⁴

And again at the close of the first act Iago definitely states that he hates the Moor and lets us in on his plan which is:

"After some time, to abuse Othello's ear
That he (Cassio) is too familiar with his wife.
He hath a person and a smooth dispose
To be suspected - fram'd to make women false.
The Moor is of a free and open nature
That thinks men honest that but seem to be so;
And will as tenderly be led by the nose

⁴³. Clarence V. Boyer, *The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy*, p.117
⁴⁴. *Othello*, I, I, 42, 58-60, 65
As asses are."45

By Iago's own words, we realize that he is mentally alert and not a depraved, unintelligent creature. In fact, as we shall see, because of his intellectual astuteness he realizes that those who outrank him are sadly inferior as far as mental ability is concerned. It is this above all others - the suspicion of Othello's relation with Emilia and the desire to gain Cassio's place - that explains best his actions. Therefore, he knows that to obtain revenge he must rely upon what his fertile brain can devise, for egotistically he thinks no one even equals him in intellect, much less surpasses him. Certainly, he is quick to recognize Othello's most vulnerable characteristic - the belief that all men are as honest as he.

It irritates him to see men who are simply good succeeding, while a man with his brilliant brain is assigned to hold an unimportant position.

Like other Machiavellian villains, Iago has a partner in Roderigo, who is gullible and stupid enough to carry out his orders. To him Iago explains with absolute explicitness the Shakespearean villain when in reply to Roderigo's talk of virtue he exclaims:

"Virtue? a fig! 'Tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus. Our bodies are our gardens, to the which our wills are gardeners; so that if we will plant nettles or sow lettuce, set hyssop and weed up the thyme.

45. Ibid., II, III, 401-408
supply it with one gender of herbs or distract it with many — either to have it sterile with idleness or manured with industry — why, the power and corrigible authority of this lies in our wills. If the balance of our lives had not one scale of reason to poise another of sensuality, the blood and baseness of our natures would conduct us to most prepost'rous conclusions. But we have reason to cool our raging motions, our carnal stings, our unbitted lusts; whereof I take this that you call love to be a sect or scion.\textsuperscript{46}

"It is thus that the villain is defined. Will is directed to the gaining of ends set by passion and judged by reason. The passion which escapes reason and leads men on to their destruction is the passion which marks the tragic hero. But the passion which sets the ends and has the means judged by reason is the passion which is mortal sin. And such is the passion that has brought the judgment and the will into its service in Iago and in the other villains. In Roderigo even there is still a fight between passion and reason; in Iago there is no fight, for the higher is made to serve the lower."\textsuperscript{47}

Each time, after he has dispatched Roderigo to carry out some portion of his plan, Iago reminds us why he feels justified in acting thus. Here he vows to get even with Othello because of his suspicioned relation with Emilia and he says:

"And nothing can or shall content my soul
Till I am even'd with him, wife for wife;
Or failing so, yet that I put the Moor
At least into a jealousy so strong

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., I, III, 321-337

\textsuperscript{47} Lily B. Campbell, Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes, Slaves of Passion, p.157
That judgment cannot cure."48

However, so determined is Iago to be revenged that he never bothers to discover whether it is an actual fact, but immediately starts on his evil campaign. His next act is to get Cassio drunk and send Roderigo to quarrel with him and so arouse Othello. Othello discharges Cassio, but Iago persuades him to ask Desdemona to plea for his reinstatement. While Iago plans to arouse Othello's jealousy by saying that it is because Desdemona is overfond of Cassio that she pleads his cause.

From the third act on Iago, the deliberate opportunist, works quickly, never missing an opportunity to pick up little things and magnify them until they assume great importance. For example, when Cassio departs suddenly upon the approach of Othello and Iago, it is Iago who notes the fact and points out with just the right amount of hesitancy that Cassio stole away in a very guilty manner. Later in the same scene, pretending to be hesitant, Iago finally allows Othello to worm out of him the fact that Cassio and Desdemona are too attentive to each other. In fact, so successful is Iago that Othello orders him to have Emilia spy on his wife.

The next step is the planting of Desdemona's most cherished handkerchief in Cassio's rooms. Before that is completed Othello comes to Iago greatly upset about what Iago has 48. Othello, II, I, 308-312
hinted and in true Machiavellian style Iago tells him that it is not safe to be direct and honest. Othello can think of nothing but Desdemona's unfaithfulness and Iago willingly feeds his passion with lies of how Cassio dreamed aloud of Desdemona and concludes with that crushing statement that he had seen Cassio wipe his beard with the handkerchief that the Moor had given her as his first gift. At this point Othello orders Iago to see to it that Cassio dies.

We find Iago is always cool and calculating. He, unlike Richard III, takes pleasure in tormenting his victims and in this he resembles Aaron and Eleazar. In the fourth act, after Othello has fallen into a trance, Iago stands over him, gloating:

"Work on,
My medicine, work! Thus credulous fools are caught,
And many worthy and chaste dames even thus,
All guiltless, meet reproach. - What, ho! my lord!"49

"Credulous fools" is right, for as one critic says, "Richard III outwits politicians who have been trained in the same school of suspicion as himself. Iago confines his operations to two men - Roderigo, who is stupid, and Othello, who is too unsuspecting by nature to be quick in detecting, or skilled in analysing base actions."50

Since, from the middle of the third act Iago has only to

49. Ibid., IV, I, 45-48

50. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.131
direct the powerful Moor whom he has aroused, it is Iago who
dares suggest, "Strangle her in her bed." He probably real-
ized that Othello's remorse would be greater later when he
realized that he had killed her with his own hands.

That Iago has a conscience is suggested by his comment
on Cassio:

"If Cassio do remain,
He hath a daily beauty in his life
That makes me ugly."52

Although Iago's usual method is to incite others to
physical violence, he is not lacking in courage, for although
he hesitates to stab Roderigo his accomplice, he feels success
justifies all means and so kills him.

Finally, when his plans are thwarted, Iago accepts his
fate stoically, not cursing outwardly but probably inwardly
cursing his own stupidity, which in itself is tragic since he
who thought he was so mentally superior has only himself to
blame for his failure. So, Shakespeare shows us, "not a
violent man, like Richard, who spends his life in murder,
but a thoroughly bad, cold man, who is at last tempted to let
loose the forces within him, and is at once destroyed."53

It is interesting to note that Kittredge believes "it is
a common error to assume that Iago's whole course of villainy
is deliberate. Until the end of the first act he has no

51. Othello, IV, I, 220
52. Ibid., V, I, 18-20
53. Andrew C. Bradley, Shakespearean Tragedy, p. 218
definite scheme in mind - only a general desire to be revenged. His plans take shape gradually, and their progress is carefully indicated. His wish is to ruin Cassio and to torment Othello, but he contemplates no tragic issue; nor is it clear to him until the third scene of Act III that both Cassio and Desdemona must die. Nothing else can prevent the exposure of his perfidy." 54

Whereas Boas says, "That Shakespeare departed so widely from his original source proves that he meant Iago to be actuated by nothing but sheer diablerie. The contemplation of such unmixed wickedness would be unendurable were not our moral pain relieved by the intellectual delight of watching the marvellous skill and coolness with which this incarnate Mephistopheles carries out his purposes. It is superfluous to ask whether Iago's suspicions are a reality or a pretence. He is the very wantonness of malice, where the wish to believe becomes equivalent to the belief itself." 55

However, I am inclined to believe that had Iago a concrete motive this play would have been one of an ordinary villain and lacked much of its greatness. As it is the problem can never be definitely settled for although this demi-devil, as Othello calls him, "is always trying to give himself reason for his malignity, he is always half fooling himself by dwell-

54. George L. Kittredge, ed., The Complete Works of Shake-
speare, p.1242

55. Frederick S. Boas, Shakapere and his Predecessors, p.428-429
ing on half motives, in which he partly believes, but disbelieves in the main. Coleridge has aptly designated this action of his mind: "The motive-hunting of a motiveless malignity." 56

When we come to King Lear (1605-1606) Shakespeare reminds us once more of the tragedy of blood because of the physical torture which is presented in this play and at the same time he includes mental torture which is reminiscent of Othello.

Here, we find the villain, like Don John, is a bastard son of the Earl of Gloucester. However, Edmund is successful in bringing about tragedy, whereas Don John is a failure, for he has the evil sisters Goneril and Regan to assist him by keeping things stirred up when he is absent. In the first act Edmund states the cause of his villainy:

"Thou, Nature, art my goddess; to thy law
My services are bound.——
Legitimate Edgar, I must have your land.
Our father's love is to the bastard Edmund
As to th' legitimate. Fine word - 'legitimate'!
Well, my legitimate, if this letter speed,
And my invention thrive, Edmund the base
Shall top th' legitimate. I grow; I prosper.
Now, gods, stand up for bastards!" 57

Edmund's method in deceiving Gloucester is not unlike Iago's approach to Othello. He, too, pretends he knows something he would rather not divulge to Gloucester, only in this.

57. King Lear, I, II, 1-2, 16-22
which the appearance quite a source of variation that in any
and yet another great our unforeseen. Since the 287
ways concerning our to point, either with we are the writing

if the circumstances, 287-288, that's what we can talk
In some old to deliberately some to occupy our in each now as

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That 287-288, that's what we can talk
instance it is the contents of a letter supposedly written by his legitimate son Edgar in which he desires his father's death and expresses his willingness to divide his wealth with Edmund. Like Iago, Edmund is of a discerning nature and finds his father similar to Othello for as he says:

"A credulous father! and a brother noble,
Whose nature is so far from doing harms
That he suspects none; on whose foolish honesty
My practice rides easy! I see the business.
Let me, if not by birth, have lands by wit;
All with me's meet that I can fashion fit."

Edmund, too, is quick to follow up an advantage, and next shows Gloucester his bleeding arm as proof that Edgar attempted to persuade him to murder his father. So impressed is Gloucester that he decides to send Edgar's picture throughout the land and so hasten his capture.

Edgar taken care of for the time being, Edmund next works to bring about the downfall of his father by showing a secret letter to the Duke of Cornwall, in which the King of France promises Gloucester that he will aid Lear whom Cornwall is anxious to destroy. Immediately Cornwall states that this revelation has made Edmund, Earl of Gloucester. Soon after Gloucester is seized and blinded, and while Edmund is absent at the time, we know that had he been present he would not have interfered for this cool, calculating villain who is absolutely devoid of emotion knew any interference would have

58. Ibid., I, II, 195-200
endangered his own interests. The fact that he has no feeling as to which sister he should marry is further proof. "For Edmund is an adventurer pure and simple. He acts in pursuance of a purpose, and, if he has any affections or dislikes, ignores them."59

Edmund, like many other villains, is not lacking in courage, for he fights with the unknown Edgar and is wounded. With cynical humor Edmund upon hearing of the deaths of Goneril and Regan, cries:

"I was contracted to them both. All three Now marry in an instant."60

Finally with his dying breath he seems to repent and tells them how he commissioned the Captain to hang Cordelia in prison and say that she committed suicide. However, it is too late; Cordelia is dead and so, shortly, is Lear.

So, while Richard III's deformity spurred him on to evil deeds, it was Edmund's bastardy that drove him on to similar villainies. However, this play differs from any we have yet read by Shakespeare in that "the figures range through all gradations from angelic virtue to fiendish villainy. The figures that crowd round us are scarcely human; they are, with few exceptions, monsters of cruelty and lust, or sainted forms of more than earthly tenderness."61

59. Andrew C. Bradley, Shakespearean Tragedy, p.301

60. King Lear, V, III, 228-229

61. Frederick S. Boss, Shakspere and his Predecessors, p.440
Therefore, Edmund, whose clever plotting brings disaster, fails to stand out in our memories while such creatures as Goneril and Regan exist and suggest hanging their own father or plucking out his eyes.

Speaking of female evil-doers, we must not forget Macbeth with its villain-hero, Macbeth, who for a time is ably assisted and encouraged by Lady Macbeth. Unlike Shakespeare's other tragedies, in the beginning we find the villain is a hero in everyone's eyes. In the first act a sergeant praises the bravery of Macbeth. The mere fact that a low ranking officer speaks thus of him only serves to heighten the compliment. Soon after Macbeth is honored by being made Thane of Cawdor and as yet has failed to make his appearance.

We know that the Elizabethans believed in ghosts and had a sample when the ghost of Hamlet's father spoke to Hamlet. Here, Shakespeare also brings in the super-natural in the form of three witches who hail Macbeth and Banquo on the blasted heath. It is they who tell Macbeth he is to be Thane of Cawdor and later king. The fact that the unimaginative Banquo very coolly comments on their prophecies and questions Macbeth as to why he starts and seems afraid makes us think that such ambitions have been in Macbeth's mind. Immediately after this strange meeting with the witches, Ross enters and addresses Macbeth as the Thane of Cawdor. Therefore, how could Macbeth ignore completely the words of the three Weird Sisters, when the first of their promises has been fulfilled? It is now
that Macbeth begins musing about the whole situation and turning it over in his mind until he finally concludes:

"If chance will have me King, why chance may crown me, Without my stir."62

Nevertheless, when King Duncan announces that Malcolm, his oldest son, be named the Prince of Cumberland and as such his heir, Macbeth's ambition spurs him on and he decides to no longer trust to chance and says:

"The Prince of Cumberland! That is a step
On which I must fall down, or else o'erleap,
For in my way it lies. Stars, hide your fires!
Let not light see my black and deep desires."63

That Macbeth took to heart the words of the three witches is shown by the letter which his wife received from him. She gives us an insight into his character at the beginning of the play when she acknowledges that he has too much human kindness and therefore it is up to her to encourage him to achieve that which the witches prophecy. This play moves swiftly and no sooner has Lady Macbeth spoken than a messenger announces that the King is to spend the night in Inverness, Macbeth's castle. Naturally she is quick to suggest to Macbeth that here is an opportunity to rid himself of the King.

Following this suggestion, while Lady Macbeth greets the King, Macbeth in a soliloquy mulls over this evil suggestion and finally informs his wife that he will not consider such an

62. Macbeth, I, III, 144-146
63. Ibid., I, IV, 48-51
act. Therefore, we realize that at this point he is indeed loyal to the king and has a simple, trusting nature. Immediately, she informs him that he brought up the idea in the first place and is now backing down. That he has not given up the thought is obvious when his only reply is a timid:

"If we should fail?"64

Then it is that Lady Macbeth knows all Macbeth needs is a little persuasion and so she outlines a complete plan for the murder of Duncan. Macbeth, besides being an ambitious villain is also a highly imaginative man for he sees a dagger and it is after this that we know there will be no turning back for he promises:

"I go, and it is done. The bell invites me. Hear it not Duncan, for it is a knell
That summons thee to heaven, or to hell."65

He is not yet a hardened criminal for "this is not the swift-acting, practical man. He hovers to and fro; now ambition seizes him, now fear. He wants much but dreads to take the straight way to it. He's soft by nature in one part of him, and lets the weaker part of him tyrannise over his bolder thoughts. He needs his wife's quicker, bolder, more practical nature to heighten him into audacious, rapid action."66 This is evident when his wife has to plant the bloody daggers, which

64. Ibid., I, VII, 58
65. Ibid., II, I, 62-64
66. Stopford A. Brooke, On Ten Plays of Shakespeare, p.198
Macbeth forgot to leave behind, near the bodies of the sleepy grooms. Then, too, Macbeth cannot be utterly depraved for he does feel remorse:

"Wake Duncan with thy knocking! I would thou could'st!"67

However, Macbeth having committed his murder is no longer hesitant, but is cool, determined, ruthless, and finds it easy to openly kill the falsely accused guards who might later jeopardize his good name. Upon hearing this Lady Macbeth faints and from then on grows weaker, while Macbeth who has committed a second murder to cover up the first grows stronger and more sure of himself. So, at the conclusion of the second act Macbeth has become King of Scotland.

Macbeth's first thought as king is how to get rid of Banquo since he alone was with Macbeth when the weird women spoke on the heath. There is nothing subtle about Macbeth as he questions Banquo as to how far he plans to ride that afternoon and whether or not his son Fleance is to accompany him. He, too, recalls that the three witches said that Banquo would be the father of many kings and therefore Macbeth states egotistically:

"There is none but he
Whose being I do fear; and under him
My Genius is rebuk'd, as it is said
Mark Antony's was by Caesar."68

67. *Macbeth*, II, II, 74
Therefore, after the fashion of Richard III, he hires two murderers to take care of Banquo, but he, unlike Richard, attempts to make it a more personal matter with them by proving to them that Banquo is their enemy as well as the king's. It is interesting to note that no longer does Lady Macbeth plot for her husband; instead he makes his own plans and only asks that she applaud when the deed is successfully completed.

After Banquo's murder and Fleance's escape, Macbeth imagines that Banquo's ghost is at the banquet and it is Lady Macbeth who takes charge and prevents a revelation of what he has seen to all present. When the apparition has departed Macbeth questions the fact that Macduff failed to attend his banquet. In the next breath he plans to revisit the three witches. So, the joy of the successful villain, as is experienced by Iago and Richard III, is kept from Macbeth.

Once again the three Weird Sisters meet with Macbeth and advise him to beware Macduff and be bloody, bold, and resolute and that he will never be vanquished until Birnam wood shall come to Dunsinane Hill. When hearing, soon after, that Macduff has fled to England, Macbeth once more proves that he is no longer "full of the milk of human kindness" when he orders Macduff's castle seized and his wife and children killed.

It is not long after this that Macbeth, while the English army is approaching, shows his despair when he says:

69. Ibid., I, V, 18
"Seyton! - I am sick at heart. 
I have liv'd long enough. My way of life
Is fell'n into the sere, the yellow leaf;
And that which should accompany old age,
As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
I must not look to have; but, in their stead,
Curses not loud but deep, mouth-honour, breath,
Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not." 70

Here in the last act, Macbeth himself realizes how he
has changed for he mentions that he has almost forgotten the
taste of fears since he boasts:

"I have supp'd full with horrors.
Direness, familiar to my slaughterous thoughts,
Cannot once start me." 71

Upon hearing that the Queen is dead we cannot help pity-
ing him when life appears to him as nothing but a walking
shadow. He spends little time mourning but courageously
battles all who approach until killed by Macduff. But as one
critic states, "Here he fights irrationally, not with the for-
titude of the man controlling his passion by reason, but
rather with the courage of the animal that fights without rea-
son when there is no choice but to fight for its life. Shake-
speare could not say more clearly that this apparent courage
is that of the beast and not of the man." 72

So, a villain receives his just deserts, but of all the
villains we have discussed none has seemed less villainous.

70. Ibid., V, III, 20-27
71. Ibid., V, V, 13-15
72. Lily B. Campbell, Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes, Slaves of
    Passion, p. 237
Here was a man, who at the beginning of the play was not determined to be a villain, but who once started with the murder of a king, finds himself involved more and more and finally he is committing one crime after another. It is also to his credit that "although he curses the witches for deceiving him, he never attempts to shift to them the burden of his guilt." 73

There is some controversy over the relation of the Weird Sisters and Macbeth. Some critics think there was a weakness within his character which let himself be swayed by the witches' suggestions while others, like Kittredge 74 think that "the Weird Sisters are the Norns of Scandinavian mythology who determined the past, governed the present, and not only foresaw the future, but decreed it. Thus the tragedy of Macbeth is inevitably fatalistic." Yet another states that "the witches combine with the murders and the evil in Macbeth's nature and produce in us a feeling that there are strange, mysterious forces in nature tending to evil, which sweep a man away with them to his destruction once he exposes himself to their power." 75

73. Andrew C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p.345
75. Clarence V. Boyer, *The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy*, p.208
All are reasonable assumptions and you may subscribe to whichever one you think most probable. I am inclined to agree with the latter for as Boas thinks, "These witches are an independent vitality of evil whirling through the universe till it finds asylum in a soul where germs of sin lie ready to be quickened into life." 76

It is a welcome respite, after accompanying bloody Macbeth to his end, to turn to Cymbeline (1610) and consider a less violent villain named Iachimo. Incidentally, this play was written during Shakespeare's last period and as such may indeed reflect the serenity which he felt near the end of his career. Certainly it is a far cry from the disorder and monstrous deeds found in Titus Andronicus and Richard III.

Let us inspect this villain, Iachimo (little Iago). In the first place he has no legitimate reason for deceiving Posthumus Leonatus, an English gentleman, and making him believe that Imogen has been unfaithful. In fact, in the fifth act when he is explaining how he tricked Posthumus he remarks:

"The good Posthumus
(What should I say? He was too good to be
Where ill men were, and was the best of all
Amongst the rar'est of good ones)." 77

Therefore, it may be that realistic, experienced Iachimo was anxious to disillusion Posthumus who was still sorrowful because of his separation from Imogen. It is easy to guess

76. Frederick S. Boas, Shakespeare and his Predecessors, p. 413
77. Cymbeline, V, V, 157-160
that Iachimo would have been little distressed in similar circumstances and would have wasted no time in seeking comfort from another lady near at hand.

Soon after his appearance Iachimo, in one respect, reminds us of Shylock. That is, he offers a wager to Posthumus that Imogen has been unfaithful during his absence. However, unlike Shylock he does not leave the outcome of his wager to chance, but takes immediate action to win the wager. Posthumus against whom Iachimo works his evil, is not unlike Othello in that he, too, being honest himself, doubts not the honesty of others.

Iachimo, like Iago, resorts to trickery, and having obtained enough evidence, leaps back into the trunk which is his hiding place in Imogen's room murmuring:

"Swift, swift you dragons of the night, that dawning
May bare the raven's eye! I lodge in fear.
Though this is a heavenly angel, hell is here."78

So, we know this villain is not as fearless as one might think and seems to possess that which was lacking in Iago - a conscience.

Iachimo, with the bracelet as material evidence has won his wager by the end of the second act. Since he cannot kill her himself, being exiled, Posthumus orders his servant Pisanio to murder Imogen. Luckily Pisanio refuses to do this and helps Imogen disguise herself as a boy and secure a

78. Ibid., II, II, 48-50
position as servant to Lucius, General of the Roman forces.

Finally, in the last act Imogen again meets Posthumus, and Iachimo gives a detailed account of his villainy, revealing how in the end he had to resort to trickery to secure the evidence he needed. He does not repent his plotting, but takes great delight in telling this illustrious court audience how clever he was and even pats himself on the back by remarking in the midst of his narrative how cunning he had been in obtaining the bracelet.

However, since this, as in The Merchant of Venice, is just one of several plots which bound together make up the play, and no harm has come of his conniving, when Iachimo kneels, after the dramatic Italian fashion, demanding that Posthumus take his life, Posthumus orders him to "live and deal better with others."^79

Therefore, Iachimo bears but a shadowy resemblance to Iago, who in a similar situation brought about tragedy and chaos. It is interesting to note here that Bradley comments, "No play at the end of which the hero remains alive is, in the full Shakespearean sense, a tragedy; and we no longer class Cymbeline as such, as did the editors of the Folio."^80

Before closing this chapter we must at least mention The Tempest (1611). Here we find the villain did his evil

79. Ibid., V, V, 419
80. Andrew C. Bradley, Shakespearean Tragedy, p.7
deeds before the play. As the play opens Prospero through his magic power controls a tempest in which he causes a ship to founder near the shore of his remote island. The ship carries his two enemies: his brother Antonio and Alonso, King of Naples. These two conspiring together secured Prospero's throne for Antonio and cast Prospero and his young daughter adrift in "a rotten carcass of a boat" twelve years before.

That Antonio is still a thorough villain is obvious when he suggests that Sebastian kill his own brother while he sleeps and so obtain the throne of Naples. To persuade Sebastian to act he reminds him that he did a similar evil deed and comments on how well the role of duke suits him. When Sebastian still hesitates and questions him as to his conscience he boasts:

"Ay, sir; where lies that? if it were a kybe, 'Twould put me to my slipper: But I feel not This deity in my bosom; twenty consciences, That stand 'twixt me and Milan, candied be they, And melt, ere they molest!"

However, this conscienceless villain is unable to do any further damage. Prospero, because of his knowledge of the power which he has, has but to choose whether to show mercy or to kill the plotters. Since he decides to be merciful we find this, as in Much Ado About Nothing, is another example of an ending where pardon and forgiveness are the themes. So, the play ends with Prospero once more Duke of Milan and the

81. The Tempest, I, II, 171
82. Ibid., II, I, 304-308
promise that his grandchildren will become kings of Naples since Miranda is betrothed to Ferdinand, the son of the King of Naples.

Therefore, although the development of the villain character reaches a climax in Shakespeare's works, one more chapter is needed for my purpose since there are others who carry on the tradition of Shakespeare.
CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN IN THE PLAYS

OF MARSTON, TOURNEUR, AND WEBSTER
CHAPTER 2

THEORIES OF CIVILIZATION AND POWER IN THE WESTERN WORLD 1450-1914
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN IN THE PLAYS
OF MARSTON, TOURNEUR, AND WEBSTER

After concluding chapter III with a brief comment on the thwarted villain Antonio and the forgiving Prospero, it is quite a jump into the plays of these three post-Shakespearean playwrights with their unrestrained villains and avengers.

John Marston should surely be mentioned first since as one critic has said, "The long line of distinguished plays following the tradition inaugurated by Kyd of a darkly satirical drama rich in irony and deviltry assumes its full swing in the serious works of John Marston. Marston delights in showing a court in which lust and murder prevail, where diabolical trains are laid alike for the innocent and the guilty and virtue scarcely draws breath in the foul atmosphere. Like Hamlet, Marston broods over the crimes, the vices, and the follies of court life."¹

¹ Henry W. Wells, Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights, p. 25-26

No doubt the success of Shakespeare's Hamlet was in part responsible for the revival of revenge plays, but we must differentiate between them in that as one critic states, "Revenge for a father or son was justified as a code, and such avengers as Hamlet and Hieronimo, who acted from a sense of duty, were never villains. While revenge arising from hatred and offended pride was unjustifiable, and an avenger moved by such motives was always a villain. In Antonio's Revenge both
types of avenger appear. Antonio seeks revenge for the death of his father, whom the villain, Piero, because of jealous hatred, has murdered."^2

Now that we know what to expect let us turn to Antonio's Revenge (1602), the earlier of the two plays which we plan to discuss. This drama is the second part of the play entitled Antonio and Mellida in which the "spiritual heights of which the Elizabethans are capable"^3 are portrayed. The second part on the other hand, "abounds in violent, improbable, and bloody actions, rivaling those of Titus Andronicus."^4

In the Prologue to Antonio's Revenge a warning is issued and a hint of what is to follow is given in these lines:

"If any spirit breathes within this round, Uncapable of weightie passion Who winkes, and shuts his apprehension up From common sense of what men were, and are, Who would not knowe what men must be; let such Hurrie amain from our black visag'd showes: We shall affright their eyes."^5

Immediately following this the first scene opens with the appearance of Piero Sforza, doge of Venice, smeared in blood and carrying a bloody poniard in one hand and exulting:

"Lord, in two houre what a toplease mount Of unpeer'd mischiefe, have these hands cast up!"

2. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.154
3. Henry W. Wells, Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights, p.23
4. Ibid., p.26
I can scarce coope triumphing vengeance up,
From bursting forth in bragart passion.,”

Such boasting is indeed reminiscent of Aaron, Barabas, and the Senecan villains. However, as Boyer says, "Malicious as he is, his malignity does not embrace all mankind as in the case of Aaron and Eleazar. Nor is he entirely motiveless. Sexual lust is a new motive in a Machiavellian villain, and occurs again in only one or two later plays. Although he intends to marry Maria, his passion will bear no nobler name than that of lust."

Like so many other villains Piero has an accomplice, a tool villain named Strotzo, to whom he boasts that he has poisoned Andrugio, duke of Genoa, and stabbed Feliche, a gentleman. That this is only the beginning of his evil deeds is obvious when he tells Strotzo that having poisoned the father he will butcher the son, Antonio, and marry the mother, Maria.

Antonio who is to wed Mellida, the chaste daughter of Piero, is visited by the ghost of his father who cries for revenge. Since he has not learned of his father's death Antonio has no thought of revenge, but instead visits Mellida. Piero enters and tells him she is not the chaste maiden he supposes her to be. Shortly after Strotzo enters and tells the group that Andrugio is dead. The wicked Piero feigns surprise but Antonio is heartsick. So, like Richard III, Piero has packed

6. Ibid., I, I, p.71
7. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.138-139
as much villanyny into the first act as he could and at the beginning of the second act, he too informs us of what his future plans are when in a soliloquy to the coffin of Andrugio he promises:

"Though thou art deade, thinke not my hate is dead: I have but newly twone my arme in the curld locks Of snakie vengeance. ---
Andrugio rots:
Antonio lives: umh: how long? ha; how long?
Antonio packt hence, Ile his mother wed,
Then cleare my daughter of supposed lust,
Wed her to Florence heire. O excellent.
Venice, Genoa, Florence, at my becke,
At Piero's nod.
O, twill be rare, all unsuspected donne."8

So, he too, like Iago thinks he is too clever to be found out.

When Pandulfo comes to Piero mourning for Feliche, his son, Piero blames Antonio for his death and asks Pandulfo to swear to others that Antonio sought his own father's death. Evidently Piero does not have the powers of persuasion with which Richard III is gifted, for Pandulfo refuses.

This villain is not unlike Iago in the pleasure which it gives him to see his victim suffer. Upon finding Antonio groaning and weeping over Mellida's fate, Piero exclaims:

"He greeves, laughe Strotzo: laugh, he weepes,
Hath he teares? o pleasure! hath he teares?"9

In Machiavellian fashion Piero employs his tool villain, Strotzo, as long as he is useful, but as to what his final fate will be is clearly indicated by the lines:

9. Ibid., II, III, p.94
"Ile wring what may be squeas'd from out his use:
   And good night Stotzo."10

That Strotzo's time is nearly up is evident when he promises Piero that he will rush in and tell those assembled for the judging of Mellida that Antonio bribed him to defame her honour and that he also paid him a large sum of money to kill Andrugio. Later he does just that and at the end of his false confession Piero and Castilio strangle Strotzo.

Piero next orders the capture of Antonio on the basis of Strotzo's false accusation. However, Antonio having found out the truth and fearful that he might be seized before he could accomplish his revenge, disguised himself in a fool's habit. When questioned by his mother as to why he chose this disguise his answer proves that Machiavelli is still a strong influence when he replies:

"Why, by the genius of that Florentine,
   Deepe, deepe observing, sound brain'd Macheveil,
   He is (is) not wise that strives not to seeme foole."11

Since he is safe in this disguise, when Piero orders Antonio's capture his friends tell Piero that he has been drowned. Mellida faints upon hearing this news and soon after dies of a broken heart while the atheistic Piero joyfully plans:

"Ile conquer Rome,
   Pop out the light of bright religion:
   And then, helter skelter, all cock sure."12

10. Ibid., II, V, p.97
11. Ibid., IV, I, p.109
12. Ibid., IV, III, p.117
Antonio, meanwhile, has been procrastinating after the fashion of Hamlet. For, since the beginning of the third act, Antonio vows that he will be revenged and almost immediately Piero enters in his night gown. Antonio steps forward, sword drawn, and then refrains from completing the act saying:

"No, not so.
This shall be sought for; Ile force him feede on life
Till he shall loath it. This shall be the close
Of vengeance straine." 13

Finally, in Act V, Scene V, he decides to act and he and his friends seize Piero on the eve of his marriage to Maria, bind him, pluck out his tongue, and triumph over him. Since he cannot speak we cannot quote his last words in which no doubt he would have cried for vengeance as he has done throughout the entire play. However, we know that like Aaron, he had one vulnerable spot in his character and that was in his love for his son Julio. When the conspirators showed him Julio whom Antonio had murdered he wept and seemed to condole him. Soon after they all stab Piero to death. It is certainly unusual to find that Galeatzo, son of the Duke of Florence, praises Antonio for ridding the state of its pollution and allows his crimes to go unpunished.

So, Piero comes to an ignoble end and the reader can feel no sympathy for him since "he is neither intellectual, courageous, nor versatile; but base, murderous, and malicious." 14

13. Ibid., III, II, p.102
14. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.139
It is interesting to note that this habit of procrastinating on the part of the avenger is quite common in the revenge plays for later we shall see how Vendice similarly postpones killing Lussurioso in The Revenger's Tragedy.

After examining this play filled with intrigue and rivalry we must turn to The Malcontent (1604), which is considered one of Marston's best plays and is concerned with the corruptions of court society. As in Antonio's Revenge we have two evil doers. Altofronto, disguised as Malevole, was once Duke of Genoa but has since been overthrown by Duke Pietro and is determined to have revenge as was Antonio. The real villain is Mendoza, a minion, who seeks to advance his own position, and is not unlike Piero in his ambitions.

As the play opens Malevole enters Pietro's court swearing and cursing, yet Pietro likes him since his outspoken remarks are a welcome change from his court full of flatterers. Malevole immediately stirs up trouble by informing Pietro that his wife Aurelia has been unfaithful and that Mendoza is at fault. Pietro is at once aroused and speaks of vengeance. In a soliloquy Malevole promises:

"Duke, Ile torment thee: now my just revenge, From thee than crowne a richer jemme shall part."\textsuperscript{15}

Thus the revenger starts on his somewhat justifiable policy.

It is Mendoza, nevertheless, who is our chief interest.

All references to "The Malcontent" are in H. Harvey Wood, ed., The Plays of John Marston, Vol. I.

\textsuperscript{15} John Marston, The Malcontent, I, III, p. 151
and in a soliloquy he comments on how delicious it is to be in a prince's favor and concludes by lauding the Duchess Aurelia and promising to write a sonnet in praise of her.

Shortly afterwards Ferneze, a young courtier enamored of the Duchess, and his friends persuade Aurelia to make Ferneze her favorite by telling her Mendoza really loves one of her ladies in waiting. As a result when Mendoza next visits the Duchess she spurns him and his sonnet and he departs raving.

However, when Pietro arrives to stab Mendoza to death this clever villain makes good use of what he has just learned and turning a disadvantage to an advantage he tells Pietro that he will prove to him that it is Ferneze on whom he should be revenged. Pietro agrees and Mendoza makes the plans whereby Ferneze will be surprised in the Duchess' room and killed by Mendoza. The Duke readily agrees to carry out his part of the plan. Once alone Mendoza, like Iago, gloats over his success and the astuteness of his intellect when he says:

"Who cannot feign friendship, can nere produce the effects of hatred: Honest foole duke, subtile lascivious Dutches, silly novice Ferneze; I doe laugh at yee, my braine is in labour til it produce mischiefe." 16

Soon after Mendoza sees Ferneze sneak into the Duchess' room and he seems to outline the Machiavellian code when he says gleefully:

"Hee's caught, the Woodcockes head is i'th noose, Now treads Ferneze in daungorous path of list, ----

16. Ibid., I, VII, p.160
Ile be reveng'd. Duke thy suspect
Dutches thy disgrace, Ferneze thy rivell-ship,
Shall have swift vengeance, nothing so holy,
No bend of nature so strong,
No law of friendship so sacred,
But ile profane, burst, violate,
Fore ile indure disgrace."17

When the Duke arrives to take part in the plan he informs Mendoza that since he is ill and has no children he is making Mendoza his heir. The villain is no doubt pleased to hear this and when the startled Ferneze rushes from Aurelia's room he thrusts his sword into him and at the same time calls him a fool.

The fickle Aurelia attempts to win back Mendoza and he tells her the Duke hates both of them. Here for a moment she reminds us of Lady Macbeth when she asks if they should murder him. Unlike Macbeth, Mendoza does not hesitate but instantly agrees. She is pleased and promises to make him Duke. Once alone this deceiver marvels:

"I must be Duke, why if I must, I must. ----
I see God made honest foolos, to maintaine craftie knaves: ----
The dutches is wholly mine too; must kill her husband
To quit her shame, much: then marry her: I,
O I grow proud in prosperous trecherie."18

Not long after this Malevole worms his way into Mendoza's confidence in much the same way that Ithemore became Barabas' accomplice. Mendoza gives him money and instructs him to murder the Duke. He also tells Malevole how once he is Duke he

17. Ibid., II, I, p.163
18. Ibid., II, V, p.172
will banish Aurelia and marry the wife of the banished Duke Altofronto to strengthen his position.

Malevole finds Pietro hunting in the forest and explains that he was hired by Mendoza to kill him. Malevole then gives Pietro a hermit's gown and beard as a disguise and returns to inform Mendoza that the Duke is dead.

Like Richard III, Mendoza works swiftly and banishes the Duchess and asks the hermit to poison Malevole. Treacherous Mendoza then orders Malevole to kill the hermit and tells both of them that their crime will be blamed on Maria. When alone once more Mendoza comments:

"We that are great, our soul selfe good still moves us.—
One sticke burnes tother, steele cuts steele alone;
'Tis good trust few: but O,'tis best trust none."19

By the end of the fourth act Pietro has renounced his throne and Malevole has removed his disguise and accepted it. Mendoza is ignorant of this turn of events and since Maria obstinately refuses to marry him he orders her death. Finally, believing all his opponents are dead Mendoza boasts:

"Now is my trechery secure, nor can we fall:
Mischeife that prospers men do vertue call,
Ile trust no man, he that by trickes gets wreathes,
Keepes them with steele, no man securely breathes,
Out of deserved ranckes the crowde will mutter, foole:
Who cannot beare with spite, he cannot rule:
The chiefest secret for a man of state,
Is, to live sensles of a strengthlesse hate."20

19. Ibid., IV, III, p.193
20. Ibid., V, III, p.208
When confronted by Malevole, Pietro, and Ferneze, all armed, he is a changed man and pleads for his life. Malevole obliges by dismissing him saying:

"Hence with this man: an Eagle takes not flies." 21

Probably it is the fact that the evil doers are dismissed and not killed that this play is labeled a comedy in the induction.

In conclusion, Marston seems not to have copied one particular type of play but seems to return to the pre-Shakespearlean times in the use of sensational situations, boastful Senecan characters, and Machiavellian villains. So, melodrama is back again but unfortunately as Boyer claims, "The appeal of melodrama is instantaneous, because it is exciting; but it is temporary. Tragedy, on the other hand, vindicates itself slowly, but its appeal is more lasting, because it treats of the inter-relation of real character and situation, and thereby offers a profound criticism of life. As Marston's plays were very popular he was soon imitated, especially by Tourneur and Webster, who never allowed the stage business to drag after they had learned Marston's useful trick." 22

Let us turn to Cyril Tourneur's plays since "his plays are closest to Marston's, not only in time but in temper." 23

This is particularly true in The Revenger's Tragedy (1607) for

21. Ibid., V, IV, p.213

22. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.141

23. Muriel C. Bradbrook, Themes and Conventions in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.165
with its atmosphere of blood and horror and evil passions, this melodrama follows in the steps of John Marston and reminds us of Seneca.

Although Shakespeare embodied the characteristics of a malcontent in Don John and Hamlet, it was Marston who emphasized the figure by featuring it in his play called The Malcontent. Here in The Revenger's Tragedy, Tourneur has made Vendice a malcontent. As Boyer states, "There is no intention on the author's part to portray an avenger of the Hamlet type, or a Machiavellian villain. Instead we have an unsuccessful, discontented, cynical philosopher — a malcontent; a man neither good nor great, but vindictive and energetic enough to avenge by underhand means a specific injury." 24

Upon examining the list of characters in the play we find that they have been given abstract names such as Supervacuo, Ambitioso, and Lussurioso, which carry us back to the allegories of the Middle Ages. As the play opens Vendice, the malcontent, is brooding over his wrongs and the corruption of the times and sets the evil in the play before us when he states:

"Duke! royal lecher! go, grey-haired adultery! And thou his son, as impious steeped as he: And thou his bastard true begot in evil: And thou his duchess, that will do with devil: Four excellent characters!" 25

24. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.146

All references to "The Revenger's Tragedy" are in John A. Symonds, ed., Webster and Tourneur.

He then promises the skull of his mistress which he holds in his hand that he will revenge her death which the old Duke caused. Soon after he learns that Lussurioso, the Duke's son, is seeking an ill-contented fellow who will be his tool villain and Vendice, disguised as Pisto, obtains the position.

Vendice's first duty assigned him by Lussurioso is to woo his own sister, Castiza, for Lussurioso. Having agreed to undertake this task Vendice once alone comments:

"Sword, I durst make a promise of him to thee; Thou shalt disheir him; it shall be thine honour."26

From the beginning of the second act through the fifth act this play presents a panorama of evil characters, each equalling if not surpassing the others in his corrupt designs. However, Vendice is our main concern since it is he who influences the turn of events more than any other character.

Since his first duty is to win Castiza for Lussurioso whom he despises it is interesting to note that his make-up is such that although he believes her to be firm in her refusal of the lustful Duke's son, yet he is just doubtful enough to think that it might offer a challenge to his persuasive ability, and there is just enough of the devil in this villain's make-up for this situation to tempt him. He does, however, feel pleased when his sister refuses his advances. He is not easily discouraged, however, and next enlists his mother's aid by means 26. Ibid., I, IV, p.360
of fair words and a bribe. When Castiza returns he whispers in an aside:

"Meet her: troops of celestial soldiers guard her heart. Yon dam has devils enough to take her part." 27

Thus he labels his own mother and she seems to merit such an opinion in her attempt to persuade Castiza to accept Lussurioso. Vendice does not let his mother carry on her campaign alone, but assists her in describing the delights of court life and is relieved to find Castiza adamant in her resolve.

Gratiana, his mother, orders him to return to Lussurioso and bid him welcome and promise him that she will sway Castiza to favor him. Even now Vendice considers killing him, but procrastinates, saying:

"O, shall I kill him o'th wrong side now? no! Sword, thou wast never a backbiter yet. I'll pierce him to his face; he shall die looking upon me." 28

Vendice next informs Lussurioso of the love affair that is going on between Spurio the bastard and the Duchess. As a result Lussurioso, planning to catch them in the act, mistakenly rushes upon the Duke and Duchess and is himself caught and promised death by the Duke. This act exposes the evil in Ambitioso and Supervacuo when they pretend to plead for Lussurioso's life, but in reality they twist their words and phrases so that they malign him instead. So it goes throughout the play.

27. Ibid., II, I, p.369
28. Ibid., II, II, p.376
for nearly every character is up to some malicious mischief which we shall not include except when it concerns Vendice.

Vendice has not forgotten his main purpose which is to revenge his mistress' death. Since the Duke has asked him to meet him with a lady, for in his disguise he plays the part of a pander, Vendice, the clever opportunist, realizes his chance for revenge is here. He brings in the skull of his betrothed dressed up and poisoning the lips of the skull vowes:

"What fails in poison, we'll supply in steel." 29

When the Duke arrives Vendice presents the skull of Gloriana to him and before he is aware that she is only a skull the Duke kisses her lips and sinks down dying. That Vendice seeks more than personal revenge is obvious when upon the Duke's death he remarks to his brother Hippolito:

"The dukedom wants a head, though yet unknown; As fast as they peep up, let's cut 'em down." 30

Here then, is more evidence that after Shakespeare the villain has degenerated and has become increasingly more wild-eyed and animal-like.

From here on Vendice is able to discard his disguise since Lussurioso seeks a villain to kill Pisto. The versatile Vendice steps out of his disguise as Pisto and promises to rid Lussurioso of Pisto.

29. Ibid., III, IV, p. 393
30. Ibid., III, IV, p. 397
This fiend now plots Lussurioso's end and delights in dressing the dead Duke in Pisto's clothing. When Lussurioso enters and orders him to stab this Pisto, not realizing it is his own father, Vendice joyously does so, for as he had remarked shortly before Lussurioso's entrance:

"O, I'm mad to lose such a sweet opportunity!"31

Vendice, his brother, and other lords later enter and stab Lussurioso and his friends and report their deed to Antonio the new Duke. However, unlike the ending in The Malcontent, these criminals are to be executed.

Vendice's last words are not those of a ranting criminal but a sensible acceptance of his fate for in part he comments:

"May not we set as well as the duke's son? Thou hast no conscience, are we not revenged? Is there one enemy left alive among'st those? 'Tis time to die, when we're ourselves our foes: When murderers shut deeds close, this curse does seal 'em:

If none disclose 'em, they themselves reveal 'em!"32

In conclusion, I am inclined to agree with one critic when he says of the characters in general and of Vendice in particular, "The social corruption which transformed them into reptiles, has made him a fiend incarnate. Penetrated to the core with evil, conscious of sin far more than they are, he towers above them by his satanic force of purpose. Though ruined, as they are ruined, and by like causes, he maintains 31. Ibid., V, I, p.420
32. Ibid., V, III, p.431
the dignity of mind and of volition. Yet Tourneur has endowed Vendice with redeeming qualities. The hero of this crooked play is true to his ideal of duty, true to his sense of honour. He dies contented because he has perfected his revenge, preserved his sister's chastity, and converted his mother at the poniard's point. Where all are so bad and base, Vendice appears by comparison sublime."33

Boyer's comment on Vendice shows us how far this villain is removed from those of Shakespeare when he states, "The hero himself takes no hold on our sympathies. The Machiavellian villain compelled our admiration by his audacity even when we could not pardon his crimes. But Vendice is neither a Hamlet paralyzed by grief, nor a Barabas consumed by fiery energy. He uses poison, but that alone does not constitute a Machiavellian. He does not startle us by his boldness - he is barely courageous. His ill will toward the world is not the malignity of an Eleazar, but the grudge of a malcontent."34

In The Atheist's Tragedy (1611) we find D'Amville, like Vendice, is a villain-hero who fails to arouse our sympathy. Since the sub-title of this play is The Honest Man's Revenge, we realize that the situation will no doubt be similar to those which already have been discussed in this chapter. When

34. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.148-149
D'Amville, the brother of Montferrars the Baron, first appears he is talking to Borachio, his accomplice. Wealth is the subject of their conversation and both agree that without wealth man leads a miserable existence. As if to prove this fact, Charlemont, the Baron's son enters saying that he is anxious to go to war with the army, but that his father refuses him money for maintenance. D'Amville being an opportunist gives him a thousand crowns and the reason for his generosity is clear when Borachio comments:

"Methinks the pregnant wit of man ought make
The happy absence of this Charlemont
A subject of commodious providence.
He has a wealthy father, ready even
To drop into his grave. And no man's power,
When Charlemont is gone, can interpose
'Twixt you and him." 35

D'Amville admits that Borachieo's conclusions are correct.

His next act is to attempt to marry his older son Rousard to Castabella who loves Charlemont. The purpose of this match is because, as he states:

"This Castabella is a wealthy heir;
And by her marriage with my elder son
My house is honoured and my state increased.
This work alone deserves my industry;
Make this but an induction to a point
So full of profitable policy,
That it would make the soul of honesty
Ambitious to turn villain." 36

All references to "The Atheist's Tragedy" are in John A. Symonds, ed., Webster and Tourneur.

36. Ibid., I, II, p.256
So, he too, refers to his actions as a policy, and as we shall soon see he has many Machiavellian traits. In fact, like Richard III, he tells us what his next act will be in the lines:

"This marriage will bring wealth. If that succeed, I will increase it though my brother bleed." 37

Therefore, by the second act we know that the chief ambition of this treacherous villain is to secure wealth and that he will even murder his own brother to realize his ambition. It soon becomes obvious that his intelligence enables him to control his brother, as Edmund does his father.

Like most villains D'Amville does not depend on chance alone but devises plots to hasten his success. His first plan worked out better than he had anticipated, for when Borachio, in the disguise of a soldier, comes to Montferrars with proof that Charlemont is dead, the Baron knowing that his own life is so uncertain, makes a will naming D'Amville his heir.

Now that the Baron is the only obstacle left, D'Amville and Borachio plan his murder. It is clearly arranged so as to seem an accident. D'Amville thrusts his brother into a gravel pit and Borachio, hiding in the pit, knocks out Montferrars brains with one stone and lays his head on another so that it will appear that he struck his head on the stone when falling and died. The two murderers rejoice in their cleverness and D'Amville feeling the assistance of Nature says:

37. Ibid., I, II, p.257
"Now farewell, black Night;  
Thou beauteous mistress of a murderer.  
To honour thee that hast accomplished all  
I'll wear thy colours at his funeral."38

Not long after Charlemont enters, having been visited by his father's ghost urging revenge, and D'Amville has him imprisoned for inciting a riot and because he owes him one thousand crowns. However, Charlemont pays his debt and once he is free D'Amville tells Borachio:

"That fellow's life, Borachio,  
Like a superfluous letter in the law,  
Endangers our assurance."39

Borachio readily agrees to kill Charlemont with the pistol which D'Amville gives him. That taken care of, D'Amville now has the problem of finding an heir for the wealth and position that he has acquired. Since his younger son will not marry, and his older, who is married to Castabella, is too sickly, he decides it is up to him and Castabella to produce an heir.

From here on disaster dogs D'Amville's footsteps. Borachio is killed instead of Charlemont, who arrives in time to save Castabella from D'Amville. And that D'Amville lacks the stamina of a Machiavellian is evident when he says distractedly:

"I begin to feel the loathsome horror of my sin,  
The countenance of  
A bloodless worm might ha' th courage now  
To turn my blood to water.  
The trembling motion of an aspen leaf,

38. Ibid., II, IV, p.280
39. Ibid., IV, II, p.305
Would make me, like the shadow of that leaf,
Lie shaking under 't.
I could now commit
A murder were it but to drink the fresh
Warm blood of him I murdered to supply
The want and weakness o'mine own,
'Tis grown so cold and phlegmatic."

Next his younger son Sebastian is killed in a fight and almost simultaneously Rousard dies. We do feel some regret when he realizes that all he has worked and plotted for has been for naught and leaves him utterly bewildered. At the trial of Charlemont who is accused of murdering Borachio, D'Amville asks that his life be spared so that he, D'Amville, may learn from him the secret of a contented mind. Unsuccessful in this attempt, when the executioner comes forward to kill Charlemont, D'Amville seizes the ax, admits his crimes, strikes out his own brains, and in his dying speech admits:

"But Nature is a fool. There is a power
Above her that hath overthrown the pride
Of all my projects and posterity,
For whose surviving blood
I had erected a proud monument,
And struck 'em dead before me, for those deaths
I called to thee for judgment. Thou didst want
Discretion for the sentence. But yon power
That struck me knew the judgment I deserved,
And gave it."

So, this play ends with that crime does not pay moral, clearly indicated.

Is D'Amville a Machiavellian villain? We must agree that

40. Ibid., IV, III, p.315
41. Ibid., V, II, p.336
he is partly for as Boyer says, "He scoffs at goodness and providence, he does not hesitate to murder his brother, and to dispose of Charlemont by trickery with the aid of an accomplice; and he laughs gleefully at the success of his superior cunning. However, in comparison with the Machiavellian villain he does not engage in political intrigue; he is not antagonistic to the world at large; he does not desire to get rid of anyone but the Montferrars in order to inherit their property, he takes no pleasure in the suffering even of his enemies; he does not kill his accomplice, and he does not use poison."\textsuperscript{42} This quotation, along with the villain's sudden and abrupt change from a schemer to an utterly bewildered person who has seen more than he can bear and who is interested in securing peace of mind, seems to indicate that the influence of Machiavelli is at this time diminishing in importance.

When we come to John Webster, our third and final post-Shakespearean playwright, it is pertinent to note that one critic feels that, "As an artist he stands midway between Kyd and Shakespeare."\textsuperscript{43} The fact that his drama \textit{The Duchess of Malfi} was presented in Boston only last year is proof that Webster's fame still lasts and surpasses that of Marston and Tourneur. Most critics seem to feel the reason for this is

\textsuperscript{42} Clarence V. Boyer, \textit{The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy}, p.167-168

\textsuperscript{43} Henry W. Wells, \textit{Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights}, p.45
the fact that Webster includes an ampler share of sympathy and
tenderness in his works than does Marston or Tourneur.

In discussing The White Devil (1612) we find some critics
consider Webster's plays difficult for the reader since he
crowds so many fantastic incidents into a single action. In
contrast compare Lucas' opinion in which he states, "Those of
today who find fantastic in Webster the cruelty of Flamineo or
a Brachiano's ravings, should open here and there the solid
pages of Gregorovius and read the things Renaissance Italy
found credible." 44

Before considering The White Devil, since it is rather
involved, let me outline the plot briefly. The Duke of Brachiano
falls in love with Vittoria, wife of Camillo, nephew of Cardi-
nal Monticelso. Her brother Flamineo furthers this intrigue
by arranging to have Branchiano's duchess poisoned, while he
himself breaks the neck of Vittoria's husband. Vittoria, how-
ever, is at once brought to trial for murder and adultery be-
fore Cardinal Monticelso, uncle of murdered Camillo, and Fran-
cisco Duke of Florence, brother of the murdered duchess. She
is condemned by them to confinement in a house of Convertites.
She is rescued by Brachiano, who carries her off to Fadus,
where they are married. Meanwhile the Cardinal is elected to
the Papal throne, as Paul IV, and excommunicates the lovers;
while the Duke of Florence, determined to avenge his poisoned

44. Frank L. Lucas, ed., The Complete Works of John Webster,
Vol. I, p. 93
sister with the aid of Lodovico who had secretly loved her, goes in disguise to Padua. There they kill Erachiano by poisoning his helmet.

Flamineo, who has just murdered his brother in a brawl, seeing his sister left the Duke's heiress, tries to blackmail her; but is interrupted by Lodovico and his comrades, who complete their vengeance by killing Vittoria and him together. Before they can escape, the murderers are caught and executed by Giovanni, the Duke's successor.

At first glance there seem to be three characters in this play vying with each other for the title of villain. Inquiring of the critics as to whom they consider the villain, we find a difference of opinion. Bradbrook says, "Brachiano is both hero and villain,"\(^45\) while "Flamineo is a blend of a malcontent and of a tool villain."\(^46\) Boyer agrees with him in that he believes Flamineo "is a thorough villain, not the villain hero, as he but serves another."\(^47\) While Lucas, a recognized authority on Webster's works comments, "It is easy to think of the chief characters of The White Devil as merely a trio of conventional Renaissance villains; and yet how clearly the deeper dye of Flamineo's cynicism reveals itself in a single exclamation of

\(^{45}\) Muriel C. Bradbrook, Themes and Conventions in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.190

\(^{46}\) Ibid., p.192

\(^{47}\) Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.158
his impatient worldly-wisdom." While later he states, "Webster took the Machiavelli of popular imagination and made him Flamineo. And yet, lest even he and his black familiar Zanche should lack our pity at the last, to Flamineo he gave a devil's wit, and to both that unwinking courage, that gift of dying game, which in his eyes covered so many sins." Therefore, in this thesis, let us accept the opinion of Lucas and make Flamineo our main interest.

Upon examining the text of The White Devil (1612), we find that what Flamineo is and what he seeks in life is evident when he complains to his mother that she has sent him here and there to be educated and finally:

"I visited the court, whence I returned
More courteous, more lecherous by far,
But not a suit the richer."  

We also realize that once Flamineo has agreed to aid Brachiano in his illegal desires, he is ruthless and unswerving in his purpose. When Brachiano hesitates, Flamineo immediately quiets his anxiety and quickly replies:

"Some trick now must be thought on to divide
My brother-in-law from his fair bedfellow." 

When Brachiano still doubts and questions, Flamineo seems to


49. Ibid., p.94

All references to "The White Devil" are in John A. Symonds, ed., Webster and Tourneur.


51. Ibid., I, II, p.9
sum up the whole situation of life in general and of this play in particular when he says:

"'Tis just like a summer birdcage in a garden; the birds that are without despair to get in, and the birds that are within despair, and are in a consumption, for fear they shall never get out."

Although cynical in its outlook this statement does seem to describe the situation in this drama for each character is dissatisfied and is involved in at least one evil plot to bring about revenge of some kind.

Here it seems appropriate to include a quotation from Lucas which seems to offer a plausible explanation as to why Webster's plays were so popular even if not so enduring as Shakespeare's. He states, "If we are to read them through without a good deal of disturbance and repulsion and perplexity, it is also essential to make some effort of historical sympathy to enter into the spirit of that great and brutal age. For the men who crowded The Phoenix or The Red Bull lived, both in the theatre and outside it, far more in the moment for the moment's sake than the cultured classes of today; and accordingly it was a succession of great moments that they wanted on the stage, not a well-made play."

To return to Flamineo, we find that like Iago, whom he resembles, Flamineo has a high regard for his own brilliance.

52. Ibid., I, II, p.9-10
and makes fun of Camillo's lack of intelligence when he describes him saying:

"This fellow by his apparel
Some men would judge a politician;
But call his wit in question, you shall find it
Merely an ass in's foot-cloth."54

Flamineo, by his clever talk, next delights in proving how superior he is mentally by talking Camillo into agreeing to a plan whereby Brachiano, unknown to Camillo, will be able to visit Vittoria at night.

Soon after clever Vittoria tells Brachiano how she dreamed that Camillo and Isabella, Brachiano's wife, buried her alive, but were both struck dead by a whirlwind and fell into the grave they had dug for her. Here wise Flamineo remarks:

"Excellent devil! she hath taught him in a dream
To make away his duchess and her husband."55

Therefore, since he too is a devil in his own right, he cannot help admiring the adroitness of his sister, though we realize it is not the woman he is praising but her ingenious mind, for earlier he has likened all women to "curst dogs".56

Much of the evil planned in the first act is executed in the second. Flamineo's duty is to kill Camillo and he employs no accomplice but breaks Camillo's neck in vaulting practice. Therefore, we know he is no coward.

54. John Webster, The White Devil, I, II, p.10
55. Ibid., I, II, p.17
56. Ibid., I, II, p.15
Despite her ability, Vittoria is tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be confined in a house of Convertites. Flamineo, however, is not suspected and is free to continue his evil actions. This trial does bring forth another avenger in the person of Francisco de Medicis, brother of the poisoned Isabella, who looking over the list of available murderers to revenge his sister's death, hires Count Lodovico. So, it is no wonder Flamineo comments to Brachiano:

"As in this world there are degrees of evils,
So in this world there are degrees of devils." 57

Certainly, these two brief lines point out the main ingredients that make up this play. As we have mentioned before the characters seem to represent the various types of evil present in the world.

Flamineo is made more human and appealing by the fact that he does love Zanche after a fashion for he says, "I do love that Moor, that witch, very constrainedly. She knows some of my villainy. I do love her just as a man holds a wolf by the ears: but for fear of turning upon me and pulling out my throat, I would let her go to the devil." 58 Strangely enough, she is as dangerous to him as he imagines and turns against him when he refuses to marry her.

After Lodovico strangles Brachiano, Flamineo as evidence that he does possess a conscience says:

57. Ibid., IV, I, p.69
58. Ibid., V, I, p.88-89
"I have lived
Riotously ill, like some that live in court,
And sometimes when my face was full of smiles,
Have felt the maze of conscience in my breast.
Oft gay and honoured robes those tortures try:
We think caged birds sing, when indeed they cry."59

Finally as a test of Vittoria's and Zanche's love toward him, Flamineo gives them a chance to kill him and they leap at the opportunity. Once more he rails at women and their unfaithfulness, but a short time later when Vittoria dies, this doomed Flamineo who shortly before had tried to murder her, cannot help but cry in admiration:

"Thou'rt a noble sister!
I love thee now."60

We must agree that she is far more magnificent than Lady Macbeth ever attempted to be.

In his own last moments Flamineo seems to gain some stature himself, for with great self-control he asks whether they stabbed him with a Toledo or an English blade and with a pity, which Iago never inspired, we watch this villain being murdered by scoundrels with only half his ability while he reflects:

"'Tis well yet there's some goodness in my death;
My life was a black charnel. I have caught
An everlasting cold; I have lost my voice
Most irrecoverably. Farewell, glorious villains!
This busy trade of life appears most vain,
Since rest breeds rest, where all seek pain from pain.
Let no harsh flattering bells resound my knell;
Strike, thunder, and strike loud, to my farewell."61

59. Ibid., V, IV, p.111
60. Ibid., V, VI, p.123
61. Ibid., V, VI, p.123-124
Here it is interesting to note Lucas' comment as he states, "The final slaughter in The White Devil has dozens of counterparts elsewhere, including Hamlet. Throughout all his work there is nothing one half as horrible as the putting-out of Gloucester's eyes in Lear. It is merely that Shakespeare can do no wrong. The most exaggerated fuss of all has been made about the dead man's hand in The Duchess of Malfi." 62 I am inclined to agree with Lucas that no one scene or one character is any worse than those which we have discussed, but I also think that the fact that he fills his plays with so many such scenes and an almost complete cast of vile, evil characters that the result is overpowering.

Let us turn to The Duchess of Malfi (1613-1614) for a second sample of Webster's work. Lucas, the champion of Webster, comments, "I know it is customary to prefer The Duchess of Malfi for the ridiculous, but typically English reason, that its hero and heroine are more worthy of our moral approbation. As if that mattered!" 63 He then quotes several critics who agree with him in finding The White Devil the superior play.

Let us turn to this drama and compare the villain Bosola with Flamineo and other earlier scoundrels.

As this play opens we realize that once more we have a situation where the majority of the characters vie with each


63. Ibid., p.100
other in boldness and sin. Since Bosola is our chief concern we must follow his actions throughout this drama and merely mention the less important evil-doers as they cross his path.

Although Ferdinand and his brother the Cardinal are not so striking as Bosola we must mention them in some detail first, since they are villainous criminals. Both are anxious to prevent their sister, the Duchess, from marrying. In the beginning Ferdinand takes charge of this situation, not because he is the more capable but since he holds no religious position as does the Cardinal. That both are of the same calibre is clear when Bosola remarks, "He and his brother are like plum-trees that grow crooked over standing-pools; they are rich and o'er-laden with fruit, but none but crows, pies, and caterpillars feed on them." 64

Since the comments of the other characters concerning these two scoundrels ably describes them let us quote a few to round out our character sketch. As for Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, Antonio says concerning his justice:

"If he laugh heartily, it is to laugh  
All honesty out of fashion.----  
He will seem to sleep o' the bench  
Only to entrap offenders in their answers;  
Dooms men to death by information;  
Rewards by hearsay." 65

How this deceitful Ferdinand secures Bosola as his accomplice

All references to "The Duchess of Malfi" are in John A. Symonds, ed., Webster and Tourneur.

64. John Webster, The Duchess of Malfi, I, I, p.135
65. Ibid., I, I, p.139
The text on this page appears to be a continuous block of paragraphs, possibly discussing a topic in depth. Due to the nature of the content and the lack of visible headings or subheadings, it is challenging to isolate specific sections or themes. The text seems to be formatted in standard paragraphs, indicative of an academic or formal document. Without more context or clearer visibility, it's difficult to extract precise information or key points from this page.
we shall discuss later. It is this Ferdinand who has the most
to say when the brothers warn the Duchess not to marry again.
Nevertheless, the Cardinal's remarks although brief are just as
emphatic. The irony of it is that the Cardinal, whose reli-
gious front hides his evil nature, himself has as his mistress
Julia, the wife of Castruccio. In fact he is more to be feared
than Ferdinand, for as Antonio says, "Observe his inward
caracter: he is a melancholy churchman; the spring in his face
is nothing but the engendering of toads; where he is jealous of
any man, he lays worse plots for them than ever was imposed on
Hercules."66

When these two hear of the Duchess' affair, Ferdinand
raves and speaks of cutting her up in small pieces or burning
her and her lover alive. The Cardinal remains calm and asks
Ferdinand if he is stark mad, as indeed he seems. Finally
Ferdinand vows that he will discover her lover and upon learning
that she is already married he promises never to see her
again.

Shortly after the Cardinal resigns his religious post and
puts on the uniform of a soldier. Almost simultaneously he
banishes the Duchess, Antonio, and their children. However,
she is not to escape so easily for Bosola, at the command of her
brothers, escorts her to the palace where she is held a
prisoner.

66. Ibid., I, I, p.138
Although Ferdinand has sworn never to look on her again he has no intention of allowing her to live peacefully within the palace. He visits her in the dark, insults her children by calling them cubs, and presents to her a dead man's hand wearing her wedding ring. To make her misery complete he then shows her artificial figures of Antonio and her children, appearing as if they were dead. Finally he secures a band to play incessantly, and eight madmen to dance around her and so drive her crazy. Ferdinand, however, is the one who appears unbalanced by this time and upon viewing the bodies of her dead children he remarks unfeelingly:

"The death
Of young wolves is never to be pitied."67

In the last act Ferdinand becomes wolfishly insane and he is not to be pitied when Bosola finally stabs him, for he has lived too long and done too much evil.

As for the Cardinal, he takes charge once Ferdinand has gone mad and directs Bosola to kill Antonio. To protect himself the Cardinal allows no one to see Ferdinand lest he reveal the murder of the Duchess and he poisons his mistress for the same reason. That the Cardinal allows Bosola to live only so long as he is useful is obvious when he says:

"O, my conscience!
I would pray now; but the devil takes away my heart
For having any confidence in prayer.
About this hour I appointed Bosola
To fetch the body: when he hath served my turn,

67. Ibid., IV, II, p.212
He dies."

Finally, the Cardinal orders his men to ignore any shouts for assistance which they hear at night in order that he and Bosola may dispose of Julia's body undetected. The obedient men, therefore, ignore the Cardinal's cries for help and Bosola kills the two brothers without interference from their followers.

However, it is Bosola to whom we must now turn. That Bosola is a shrewd appraiser of human nature is obvious when he says of the Cardinal, "Some fellows, they say, are possessed with the devil, but this great fellow were able to possess the greatest devil, and make him worse." He then goes on to describe the court which abounds in flatterers, panders, intelligencers, atheists, and many more such monsters. As proof that in his bitterness he is not making things out to be worse than they really are we have similar reports from Antonio, steward of the household of the Duchess and from his friend Delio. It is this same Delio who gives us a brief glimpse into Bosola's past when he mentions the fact that Bosola spent seven years in the galleys for a notorious murder. So it is not surprising to find that Bosola has said of himself, "Slighted thus! I will thrive some way: blackbirds fatten best in hard weather; why not I in these dog-days?"

68. Ibid., V, IV, p.234
69. Ibid., I, I, p.134
70. Ibid., I, I, p.134
Bosola's first job as gentleman of the horse to the Duchess, is secured for him by Ferdinand, her brother, who is a master of intrigue. In return Ferdinand orders him to spy on his sister and discover which of her suitors she prefers since he is determined to prevent her from marrying again. Therefore, it is as an intelligencer that Bosola first plays the part of a tool villain. Having taken the gold offered by Ferdinand, Bosola exhibits some evidence of having a conscience. He convinces himself that he must do as Ferdinand wishes since he has accepted the gold and it would be an ungrateful act for him to do otherwise. Thus he seems to be a victim of circumstances who is too weak to be good surrounded by so much evil. While it is just this questioning of his motives and blaming the gold for his turning villain that prevents him from being a powerful figure like Barabas or Richard III.

In the second act Bosola, suspecting that the Duchess is pregnant, offers her some early apricots which make her ill. Feeling that his suspicions have been confirmed, he finally secures proof that the Duchess has just had a son. This villain immediately sends word of this to her two brothers Ferdinand and the Cardinal.

The irate Ferdinand returns to find out whom she loves. It is Bosola, however, whom the Duchess takes into her confidence. She asks him to take her jewels to Antonio, her lover, and once more he comments on the baseness of being an intelligencer, but it does not keep him from revealing this to
The Duchess is imprisoned in the palace and Ferdinand, who visits her in the dark since he has sworn never to look on her again, gives her a dead man's hand, and has artificial figures of Antonio and his children looking as if dead appear before her. Bosola informs her that they are dead so that she will cease to grieve and truly seems to pity her when he says to Ferdinand:

"Faith, end here,
And go no farther in your cruelty." 71

Shortly after, Bosola arrives dressed as an old man and says he has come to make her tomb. This is true for the executioners arrive and Bosola takes charge of the slaughter. After the Duchess is strangled he orders Cariola, the waiting woman, and the children killed next.

After her death the main interest centers on Bosola. When Ferdinand arrives after the murders have been committed, it is Bosola who questions him:

"Do you not weep?
Other sins only speak; murder shrieks out:
The element of water moistens the earth,
But blood flies upwards and bedews the heavens." 72

Ferdinand does show some remorse, but Bosola interrupts his musings to ask for his reward. Poverty, then, is the driving force which causes him to remain a villain, despite his brief

71. Ibid., IV, I, p.201
72. Ibid., IV, II, p.212
lapses into remorse and pity when he weeps at the fate of the Duchess.

In the last act, Ferdinand being ill, the Cardinal orders Bosola to find Antonio in Milan and kill him and of the Cardinal Bosola notes:

"This fellow doth breed basilisks in's eyes,
He's nothing else but murder; yet he seems
Not to have notice of the duchess' death.
'Tis his cunning: I must follow his example;
There cannot be a surer way to trace
Than that of an old fox." 73

Nevertheless, Bosola carries out his evil promise and kills Antonio. From here on Bosola becomes the avenger. Since it was the Cardinal who was instrumental in having him sentenced to the galleys, his first act of revenge is to secure his death. Ferdinand is his final victim since he regards him with contempt and in payment for his monstrous deeds gives him nothing but a pardon which is worthless to the gold-seeking Bosola.

His last words show his repentance when he says:

"Let worthy minds ne'er stagger in distrust
To suffer death or shame for what is just." 74

Finally, Boyer says, "Bosola's death is in itself tragic. He therefore becomes the villain-hero." 75 And although goodness and bravery are shown to exist in this villain, "Neither in his

73. Ibid., V, II, p.223
74. Ibid., V, V, p.240
75. Clarence V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy, p.156
villainy or his revenge does he display the passion and will of a Barabas, the intrepidity and brilliance of a Richard, or the ingenuity of an Iago." 76

Another critic has concluded in comparing Webster's two great villains, "Flamineo is the worse, but the more engaging character. He is no Bosola, hesitating at every turning in the path of crime, and converted when it is too late by pity for the victim he has tortured to death. Flamineo is a far gayer soul; and, being less unhappy, less ready to change his heart and repent." 77

Therefore, we must agree that by the time of Webster, the Machiavellianism found in Shakespeare's villain-heroes has disappeared and in its place we have a character who is a combination of a malcontent and a tool villain. None of the villains described in this chapter has any greatness of intellect or of courage which is to be found in the more memorable tragedies described in chapter III. In fact, the villain character at this time seems to have become far cruder and less refined than that found in the majority of Shakespeare's plays.

76. Ibid., p.164
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN CHARACTER IN ENGLISH DRAMA TO JOHN WEBSTER

CONCLUSION
Found in the office of a young man in East 42nd St.

November 8
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN CHARACTER IN ENGLISH DRAMA TO JOHN WEBSTER

CONCLUSION

Now that the more important villains from the Miracle and Morality plays through the dramas of John Webster have been analyzed, let us see what conclusions may be drawn. In examining these villains my purpose has been to attempt to discover if any changes have occurred in the villain since his beginnings in the early religious plays. If any such changes are obvious I hope to discover how great and radical they are.

I found in the beginning that the villain was a half-comic, half-tragic figure in the early religious plays. Although he appeared as the Devil, Satan, or Herod, he must have been a popular stock character since he was soon included in the secular dramas. His appeal has evidently been of a positive nature ever since his earliest beginnings for, although he undergoes various changes in the hands of each dramatist, he is present in every tragic drama through the work of John Webster.

After coming from the theological dramas into the world of men I realized that from the Devil character evolved a villain who became a vehicle by means of which the dramatist might show the violence and cruelty which is in people. At this stage we find a villain, modeled after Seneca, who is not much of a hero, but an evil man and monster.
who wins only our hatred. For, along with his villainy he has not the stature of a hero.

The next development in the villain character is his promotion from a villain to a villain-hero. It is now that a definite type, the Machiavellian villain, makes his appearance. The characteristics of this villain have been prominent in the majority of the villains discussed in this thesis. Thus, at the end of chapter I we have a vigorous, tyrannical villain-hero, with both Senecan and Machiavellian characteristics, as exemplified by Cambyses and Selimus.

Upon studying that famous trio of Kyd, Greene, and Marlowe it was easy to see why The Spanish Tragedy and Tamburlaine were the chief sensations of the English stage of the sixteenth century. For, they were attuned to the spirit of the times when men delighted in bloody crimes and high adventure. Here such villains as Iago and Richard III are anticipated in the methodical villainy of Lorenzo. However, the most important development in the villain character at this time is made by Marlowe. It is he who adds the human element and thus gives his villain-hero life and movement. It was interesting to realize that Marlowe created a descendant of the earlier devils in the person of Mephistophiles. Nevertheless, this is the exception rather than the rule for it is Barabas, that bloodthirsty character delighting in devilish intrigue, who is to serve as a pattern after which later
villain-heroes are to be fashioned.

However, under Shakespeare's pen the earlier Senecan influence has been refined and the Machiavellian pattern has been remodeled. For, in comparison with the ranting, bloodthirsty villains in the pre-Shakespearean dramas as described in chapter I, Shakespeare's villains are far more refined, quiet, and dignified. They no longer rant and rave and attempt to murder all who in any way interfere with their plans. However, since his first period was one of experiment it was not surprising to find that his Aaron shows the direct influence of Kyd and Seneca. Nevertheless, Shakespeare's villains never become the monsters that Seneca's do. From then on his villains are more Machiavellian by nature and have an intellectual astuteness far surpassing any earlier villains. His villain characters have matured and as such are more than just a writhing mass of evil desires. These villain-heroes have a reality and naturalness which Marlowe's never had. That is why the villain characters discussed in chapter III have reached such heights and become so unsurpassed that they are the great characters which we dote upon in tragedy. Indeed, that is why great actors delight in portraying these people who have dabbled in nearly every form of slaughter. It is the largeness of their minds and spirits we admire, rather than their habits we envy.

Since the villain-hero reached his height in Shakespeare's
works, the more mediocre dramatists who followed him, unable to even approximate his work, produced a depraved and degenerate creature who was often insane and always entirely evil and villainous. Certainly Piero, one of Marston's creations, a typical villain of this period, who first appears exulting, smeared in blood and carrying a bloody poniard in one hand, is base and murderous throughout the play. While a return to the tragedy of blood with a revival of Senecan influence is obvious not only in Antonio's Revenge, but also in the plays of Tourneur and Webster. The result is that there is no longer a distinct cleavage between the hero and the villain. For, we have bloody and spectacular plays in which the women vie with the men in boldness and in sin.

So, in setting out to trace the development of the villain character from the Miracle and Morality plays through the dramas of John Webster, I think this study has shown that he had a changing personality. After starting on the lowest spoke of the wheel of fortune and eventually, in the expert hands of Shakespeare, reaching the top, he later descends to become the wild-eyed and animal-like creature of the post-Shakespearean plays. Although after Shakespeare, I found a crudeness creeping in which was lacking in his villain characters, one cannot help but realize that the villain is a recurring literary tradition and will probably never be entirely dropped from the tragic drama.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN CHARACTER IN ENGLISH DRAMA TO JOHN WEBSTER

AN ABSTRACT
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN CHARACTER IN ENGLISH DRAMA TO JOHN WEBSTER

AN ABSTRACT

In tracing the villain character in English drama I began with a discussion of his beginnings in the early religious plays. In the Miracle plays such as The Harrowing of Hell and The Massacre of the Innocents I found the later villain suggested in the characters of Satan, the Devil, and Herod. These may be considered definite forerunners of the villain, for Herod's ranting and bragging was found to look toward Tamburlaine and Faustus. In the Moralities the attendant Vice, who endeavoured to entrap mankind into the power of evil, also contributed to the make-up of the later villain.

Next it was necessary to discuss the characteristics of the Senecan villain, after which I proceeded to consider the early secular plays beginning with Corboduc. Here we have the appearance of two parasites, counsellors of evil, who grow more vicious and bring us a step nearer the villain. Since in The Misfortunes of Arthur not only the Senecan influence but also the Machiavellian was present, it was helpful to define those characteristics which are considered Machiavellian. From here on I attempted to show to what extent the above mentioned types have been incorporated into each villain examined in this thesis. Finally, I discovered that the Vice character gradually disappeared as a separate and distinct character. So, I
found in the early English minor plays that the majority of the villains are a combination of Senecan and Machiavellian influences and that by the time of Cambyses a very definite villain-hero had emerged.

In chapter II, among Shakespeare's predecessors I realized that in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Kyd who introduced the popular revenge melodramas, anticipated such villains as Iago in the methodical villainy of Lorenzo. In *James IV*, I found that Robert Greene preferred to portray a Machiavellian villain like Ateinin.

However, although these early villains all have some of the characteristics of later villains, whether Senecan, Machiavellian, or a combination of both, it is not until Marlowe's villain-heroes that the human element is added. In fact, probably no play has exerted so great an influence on English drama as his *Tamburlaine the Great*. Although Tamburlaine did not resort to treacherous schemes as so many Machiavellians have done, he committed such atrocities that he is definitely a villain-hero. While his Duke of Guise, a typical Marlowe hero, is over-ambitious, scheming, cunning, and sinister like Barabas and therefore quite different from hot-headed Tamburlaine. In *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* I found a descendant of the earlier devils in the person of Mephistophiles. Nevertheless, this was the exception rather than the rule. Finally, in Barabas, Marlowe creates a bloodthirsty
monster, delighting in devilish intrigue, who is to serve as a pattern after which later villain-heroes are fashioned. At this same time the tool villain or hired assassin made his appearance and I dealt briefly with him.

Upon examining Shakespeare's villains I realized that in Titus Andronicus which is modeled after Kyd's tragedy of blood, the bestial, bloodthirsty Aaron the Moor, is not unlike Barabas. Therefore, it is not until Richard III that a more perfected villain appears. For, Shakespeare combines qualities found in Tamburlaine with those found in Barabas and endows Richard III with a reality which no other villain had yet possessed. Nevertheless, Richard III is a competent villain who removes everyone who stands in the way of his ambition.

Since I tried to include villains as they appeared in Shakespeare's four periods of development, I next discussed The Merchant of Venice. Shylock, in the way in which he sought revenge, was less crude and bloodthirsty than our earlier Senecan villains and certainly more open and above board than Barabas or Richard III. So, here I found a new, more human villain who was quite different from that madman Barabas. It seemed as if Shakespeare had tamed the wild, ranting villain of Kyd and Marlowe.

Next I briefly commented on that melancholy villain Don John, of Much Ado About Nothing. Unlike Shylock, he has little justification for his actions and relies on his comrades to
help him plan and execute his mischief. However, he has no great sinister qualities and his plots are eventually unsuccessful.

By the time of Shakespeare's third period, I found the villains more refined and dignified as in the case of King Claudius in *Hamlet*. This genteel villain, having killed his brother and married his widow, was anxious to settle down and rule his country well. I realized that Shakespeare had forsaken the ranting, bloodthirsty villain and introduced one with a conscience.

In *Othello* Shakespeare depicted an almost perfect villain, Iago, plotting to bring disaster to an almost perfect hero, Othello. Here I found a villain who realized that those who outranked him were sadly inferior as far as mental ability was concerned. This clever, deliberate opportunist is cool and calculating. He is quick to recognize Othello's most vulnerable characteristic and never misses an opportunity to pick up little things and magnify them until they assume great importance. Finally, having brought about tragic happenings, he dies stoically. So, he is not a murderer like Richard III but thoroughly evil in a more fascinating way.

In *King Lear* Edmund is a more successful bastard than Don John. Edmund, like Iago, is of a discerning nature and finding his father not unlike Othello in his unsuspecting nature, is quick to take advantage of the situation. However,
I realized that Edmund failed to stand out as a great villain since this tragedy is full of characters possessing various degrees of vileness and cruelty.

Finally, in this same period I examined Macbeth who, unlike most villains, is a hero in everyone's eyes at the beginning of the play. Here we watch the transformation of a man from a hero to a villain-hero with the aid of the Weird Sisters and Lady Macbeth. Though hesitant to murder in the beginning, this villain soon became cool, determined, and ruthless. So, by the end of the play this man who was determined not to be a villain, having started with the murder of a king, finds himself committing one crime after another. I also discovered that there has been some controversy over the relation between the Weird Sisters and Macbeth and discussed the opinions of well-informed critics.

In Shakespeare's last period I found a less violent villain named Iachimo in Cymbeline. He, like Iago, resorts to trickery but seems to possess a conscience which Iago lacked. Therefore, he fails to bring about tragic happenings and is forgiven by Posthumus. Therefore, Iachimo bears but a shadowy resemblance to Iago, who in a similar situation brought about tragedy and chaos.

Finally, I described briefly The Tempest in which the villain did his evil before the play. Antonio who seized Prospero's throne is still a thorough villain when we meet him
shipwrecked on Prospero's island. However, this conscienceless villain is unable to do any further damage because of Prospero's power. Prospero, who could take revenge on the plotters decides to be merciful and so a potential villain never develops.

Although the development of the villain character reached a climax in Shakespeare's works, I felt one more chapter was needed since there are other dramatists who carried on the tradition of Shakespeare. Therefore, in chapter IV, I have discussed the villain character as he is presented by the three post-Shakespearean playwrights John Marston, Cyril Tourneur, and John Webster. Here I found a revival of the revenge type of play which was partly due to the success of Shakespeare's Hamlet. Starting with Marston's Antonio's Revenge, I focused my attention upon the villainous Piero who is motivated by a jealous hatred. He was reminiscent in his boasting of Aaron, Barabas, and the Senecan villains. This villain, like the other villains in this chapter, employed a tool villain as an accomplice as had Barabas, Macbeth, and other previous villains. While in Machiavellian fashion I found he, too, employed this accomplice only so long as he was useful. When Piero comes to his ignoble end we feel no sympathy for he has been base and murderous throughout the play.

Mendoza, the villain in The Malcontent, sought to advance
result.
his own position as did Piero. Like Iago, Mendoza gloated over his success and the astuteness of his intellect. I found that like Richard III he moved swiftly and plotted to be rid of those who aided his evil plans. Unlike most villains when confronted by those against whom he plotted evil he weakened and pleaded for his life.

Since these plays were popular Tourneur and Webster imitated Marston. In The Revenger's Tragedy the villain, Vendice, is surrounded by evil characters. However, I included the malicious mischief of the other characters only when it concerned that of Vendice. I showed here how the villain character had degenerated and become less like the great Shakespearean villains.

Next, I discussed The Atheist's Tragedy and found D'Amville, in his desire to secure power and wealth, exhibited several Machiavellian traits. Nevertheless, other characteristics seemed to indicate that the influence of Machiavelli was diminishing in importance.

When I came to John Webster I first discussed The White Devil. Flamineo, who at the beginning was a blend of a malcontent and a tool villain, finally emerged as the main villain. In his high regard for his own brilliance I found him like Iago. However, I watched Flamineo being murdered by scoundrels with a pity which Iago never inspired.

In The Duchess of Malfi, Bosola was my main concern and
yet it was necessary to mention in some detail the villainous actions of Ferdinand and his brother the Cardinal. Bosola was a shrewd appraiser of human nature, yet his questioning of his motives and blaming the gold he received for his turning villain prevents him from being a powerful figure like Barabas or Richard III.

Therefore, in this last chapter I stated that none of the villains described here had any of the greatness of intellect or of courage which was found in the more memorable tragedies described in chapter III. In fact, the villain character at this time seems to have become far cruder and less refined than that found in the majority of Shakespeare's plays.

In the appendix which follows these four chapters I felt it appropriate to comment on Lust's Dominion, in which Eleazar, who is not unlike Barabas, appears and on Arden of Feversham, in which Alice Arden appears as the villain-heroine. I commented on Eleazar's Machiavellian characteristics and compared him with such villains as Barabas, Iago, and Richard III. I found him the same cruel monster from beginning to end. Alice Arden dominates the play, which has been attributed to Shakespeare. She is compared with Lady Macbeth and is far more domineering and ruthless. Although Alice Arden repents, her sudden conversion seems insincere and we have a figure far less pathetic and tragic than Lady Macbeth.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN CHARACTER IN ENGLISH DRAMA TO JOHN WEBSTER APPENDIX
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAIN CHARACTER IN ENGLISH

DRAMA TO JOHN WEBSTER

APPENDIX

In *Lust's Dominion* or The Lascivious Queen (1600), thought at one time to have been written by Christopher Marlowe, we have Eleazar, who is not unlike Barabas in the manner in which he seeks to advance himself. That things will soon be topsy-turvy is evident when at the very beginning he states:

"On me does music spend this sound! on me,
That hate all unity!"1

That he is capable of causing trouble is doubtless true for this villain whom the Queen-Mother loves boasts fearlessly:

"I cannot ride through the Castilian streets
But thousand eyes, through windows and through doors,
Throw killing looks at me; and every slave at Eleazar darts a finger out,
And every hissing tongue cries, "There's the Moor;
That's he that makes a cuckold of our king:
There goes the minion of the Spanish Queen.
That's the black prince of devils; there goes he
That on smooth boys, masques and revellings,
Spends the revenues of the King of Spain."
Who arms this many headed beast but you?
Murder and lust are twins, and both are thine."2

So Eleazar sets the stage and the tone of this play in which murder and lust are the key words. Like Shylock, Barabas, and Iago, when questioned by Alvero as to whether the Queen were with him, Eleazar displays a chink in his armor and a

All references to "Lust's Dominion" are in W. Carew Hazlitt, ed., A Select Collection of Old English Plays, Vol.XIV.

1. *Lust's Dominion*, I, I, p.97
2. Ibid., I, I, p.100
possible cause for his future actions when he evades the issue by replying:

"A queen with me! with me a Moor, a devil,  
A slave of Barbary, a dog - for so  
Your silken courtiers christen me."3

While like Richard III he gives promise of villainy and bloodshed to follow when he says:

"But ere I die,  
Sword, I'll bequeath thee a rich legacy."4

and next he orders:

"Now, purple villainy,  
Sit like a robe imperial on my back,  
That under thee I closelier may contrive  
My vengeance; foul deeds hid do sweetly thrive."5

and in Machiavellian fashion:

"I care not, I,  
How low I tumble down, so I mount high."6

His main hope which he contrives to never let slip through his fingers seems to be "sweet opportunity". Even the dying King Philip of Spain warns that although wise, Eleazar is also warlike and too ambitious and must be kept down before he attempts to win the crown. Although the nobles try to do just that by banishing this villain, the new King Fernando recalls him and gives the ruffian an office of importance. This is certainly a "sweet opportunity" for Eleazar wastes no time in

3. Ibid., I, II, p.103  
4. Ibid., I, II, p.103  
5. Ibid., I, II, p.103  
6. Ibid., I, II, p.104
spreading, under the cloak of religion, false rumors concerning the bastardy of Lord Philip, the Prince of Spain, and in urging the Queen-Mother to poison this prince. His next act consists in assigning the murder of the Cardinal to two Moors - "tool villains". After these murderers have outlived their usefulness, they are killed, for he, too, believes that:

"Slaves too much trusted do grow dangerous." 7

Although, as a rule, others execute his criminal acts, he murders the king. He oversteps the Machiavellian characteristics of killing only those who interfere with his rise to power and seems to take a delight in slaughter when he mourns:

"O, for more work, more souls to post to hell,
That I might pile up Charon's boat so full,
Until it topple o'er! O, 'twould be sport
To see them sprawl through the black slimy lake." 8

After he is proclaimed king, he plans a wholesale murder of the former rulers of the country that is comparable with Barabas' attempt to massacre all the Turks. His Senecan fiendish delight is apparent as he boasts:

"Spain, I'll new-mould thee: I will have a chair
Made all of dead men's bones; and the ascents
Shall be the heads of Spaniards set in ranks." 9

His God seems to be Saint Revenge, yet he like Iago seems to have little motive for he is a conquered prince in high favour who practically governs his conquerors through his

7. Ibid., II, V, p.127
8. Ibid., IV, III, p.153
9. Ibid., V, III, p.183
...
influence with the Queen. The purpose behind his violent actions seems best summed up in his own words:

"Tyrants swim safest in a crimson flood."\textsuperscript{10}

Philip finally stabs Eleazar who dies unrepentant and cursing them all. Here we feel no sympathy for he has, unlike Barabas with whom we could sympathize up to a certain point, been the same cruel monster from beginning to end.

Another play suitable to be included here is Arden of Feversham (1590) which has been attributed to Shakespeare. Here we have one of the earliest domestic tragedies which "relates the history of a nearly contemporaneous murder."\textsuperscript{11}

As this tragedy opens we realize that Alice Arden is the villain-heroine and in that capacity dominates the play. She is in love with Mosbie and is anxious to rid herself of her husband Thomas Arden. When Arden tells her he is leaving to spend a month in London she pretends to be heartbroken, but when alone she cries:

"Sweet news is this. O that some airy spirit Would in the shape and likeness of a horse Gallop with Arden 'cross the Ocean, And throw him from his back into the waves!"\textsuperscript{12}

Therefore, from the very first scene she is driven by this desire to bring about the death of Arden.

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., V, III, p.175

\textsuperscript{11} Ashley Thorndike, ed., Minor Elizabethan Drama, "Introduction", p.XII, Vol. I

All references to "Arden of Feversham" are in Ashley Thorndike, ed., Minor Elizabethan Drama, Vol. I.

\textsuperscript{12} Arden of Feversham, I, I, 94-97
The tool villains which are employed in this play are numerous. First there is Michael, Arden's servant, to whom she promises Mosbie's sister if he succeeds in killing his master and she admonishes him:

"But, Michael, see you do it cunningly."13

Next there is Clarke who furnishes a poison which can kill within an hour. In Machiavellian fashion she uses this poison but is unsuccessful.

Before leaving for London, Arden plays into the plotters' hands by becoming friends with Mosbie and even allowing him to frequent his house in his absence. However, Mosbie shows he has a slight conscience when he tells Alice he has sworn an oath not to solicit her while Arden lives. Alice acknowledges that she is conscienceless when she retorts:

"Tush, Mosbie; oaths are words, and words is wind, And wind is mutable: then, I conclude, 'Tis childishness to stand upon an oath."14

Like Lady Macbeth she then tells Mosbie how Arden will be murdered as he walks in the streets of London.

Greene, who has a grievance against Arden, is the next tool who agrees to secure two murderers to kill him. That Mosbie is the secondary villain with some ideas of his own is obvious when he says of Greene:

"Such bees as Greene must never live to sting."15

13. Ibid., I, I, 165
14. Ibid., I, I, 437-439
15. Ibid., III, V, 276
So, he agrees with Eleazar that such assistants can prove dangerous. He also plans to have Michael and Clarke kill each other and thus rid himself of their menace. While of Alice he says:

"I may not trust you, Alice:  
You have supplanted Arden for my sake,  
And will extirpen me to plant another.  
'Tis fearful sleeping in a serpent's bed,  
And I will cleanly rid my hands of her.  
But here she comes, and I must flatter her."16

The murderer, Black Will, deserves mention since he is a tool villain like Ithamore in that he lists all the evil he has done to prove that he is capable of killing Arden, although he does admit he was never so long in killing a man.

Unlike Lady Macbeth, Alice Arden is the dominating force throughout the play. One reason for her continued appearance may be the fact that the murder is delayed until the last act when it is finally committed in Arden's own home. Alice even helps stab Arden saying in her cold-blooded fashion:

"Take this for hindering Mosbie's love and mine."17

Soon after Franklin finds Arden's body and Alice is quick to question him as to whether there is any clue to his murderer and is no doubt gratified to hear that he doesn't know who committed the crime.

The Mayor distrusts Alice and she and Mosbie quickly admit their guilt and are condemned to die. Unlike Barabas

16. Ibid., III, V, 288-293
17. Ibid., V, I, 239
she does repent saying:

"Let my death make amends for all my sins."^{18}

However, she is a complete egotist to the end for she could have saved Bradshaw's life by admitting that he only delivered a letter from Greene to her and knew nothing of the contents, but she tells him:

"Leave now to trouble me with worldly things, And let me meditate upon my saviour Christ, Whose blood must save me for the blood I shed."^{19}

Although Alice Arden repents, her sudden conversion seems insincere and we have a figure far less pathetic and tragic than Lady Macbeth.

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