Lives of Shakespearian Actors

Lives of Shakespearian Actors I

David Garrick

Edited by
Michael Caines

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LIVES OF SHAKESPEARIAN ACTORS I

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LIVES OF SHAKESPEARIAN ACTORS I

VOLUME 1: DAVID GARRICK
VOLUME 2: CHARLES MACKLIN
VOLUME 3: MARGARET WOFFINGTON

LIVES OF SHAKESPEARIAN ACTORS I

DAVID GARRICK, CHARLES MACKLIN AND MARGARET WOFFINGTON BY THEIR CONTEMPORARIES

VOLUME
1

DAVID GARRICK

EDITED BY

MICHAEL CAINES

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements vii
General Introduction ix
Introduction xvii
Bibliography xxxi
Chronology xxxvii
Note on Copy Texts xliii
Abbreviations xlv

Garrick's Early Years 1
James Boaden, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick* (1831–2) 3
The Garrick Debates 21
David Garrick, *An Essay on Acting* (1744) 23
Samuel Foote, *A Treatise on the Passions So Far as They Regard the Stage* [1747?] 51
Garrick and Quin 63
[Anon.], *A Clear Stage and No Favour: Or, Tragedy and Comedy at War* (1746) 67
[Anon.], *The Life of Mr James Quin, Comedian* (1766) 71
Roscius 79
John Hill, *The Actor: A Treatise on the Art of Playing* (1750) 83
Charles Churchill, *The Rosciad* (1761) 87
Garrick's Voice 93
John Hill, *The Actor: A Treatise on the Art of Playing* (1750) 97
John Hill, *To David Garrick, Esq.: The Petition of I* (1759) 99
Thaddeus Fitzpatrick, *An Enquiry into the Real Merit of a Certain Popular Performer* (1760) 110
Garrick in Tragedy 127
[Anon.], 'Remarks on the Tragedy of the Orphan', *Gentleman's Magazine* (November 1748) 131
'Joseph Pittard' [John Shebbeare?], *Observations on Mr Garrick's Acting* (1758) 136
Francis Gentleman, *The Dramatic Censor* (1770) 146

Garrick in Comedy 149
John Hill, *The Actor: A Treatise on the Art of Playing* (1750) 153
Francis Gentleman, *The Dramatic Censor* (1770) 157
Battle of the Romeos 159
[Anon.], 'A Comparison between the Actors at the Two Houses in the Play of *Romeo and Juliet*', *Gentleman's Magazine* (October 1750) 161
Garrick the Playwright 163
Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick, Esq.* (1801) 167
Arthur Murphy, 'Hamlet, with Alterations' (1772) 185
John Adolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister* (1839) 204
Garrick's Jubilee 213
M.H., 'A Trip to the Jubilee', *London Chronicle* (15–17 August 1769) 217
Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick* (1780) 218
Garrick Discombobulated 233
George Anne Bellamy, *An Apology for the Life of George Anne Bellamy* (1785) 237
Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies* (1784) 246
Disapproval and Hostility 251
[Anon.], *Theatrical Monitor* (14 November 1767) 255
David Williams, *A Letter to David Garrick, Esq., on His Conduct as Principal Manager and Actor at Drury Lane* (1772) 261
Ironic Appraisals 271
George Colman, *A Letter of Abuse, to D—d G—k, Esq* (1757) 273
David Garrick, *Reasons Why David Garrick, Esq., Should Not Appear on the Stage* (1759) 288
The Lark 301
Percy Fitzgerald, *The Life of David Garrick* (1899) 305
Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick* (1780) 319
A Cosmopolitan Actor 327
Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick* (1780) 331
Jean Noverre, *Lettres sur la Dance, et sur Les Ballets* (1760) 340
Garrick Retires 351
Percy Fitzgerald, *The Life of David Garrick* (1889) 355
Two Afterlives 371
'An Old Comedian', *The Life and Death of David Garrick, Esq., the Celebrated English Roscius* (1775) 375
T. W. Robertson, *David Garrick: A Love Story* (1865) 395
Appendix A: Translation of Jean Noverre, *Lettres sur la Dance, et sur Les Ballets* (1760) 417

Notes 421

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The volumes of *Lives of Shakespearian Actors* follow in the footsteps of Pickering & Chatto's successful *Great Romantics* and *Victorian Literary Figures* series in seeking to bring to the attention of contemporary readers texts which demonstrate how the 'lives' with which we have become familiar were first created and shaped. Volumes devoted to individual figures present the reader with texts which, unhindered by the questionable advantages of hindsight, show contemporary responses to the writings and performances which were shaping the cultural life of their times. Reproduced where possible in facsimile, the texts which feature in these volumes give a taste of contemporary debates about culture, reputation, and the deeply contested minutiae of representation. They show reputations in the making, the flux of careers, the play of influence, and the evolution of writing and acting styles whose full impact might not be realized for decades. Working with a broadly new historicist approach, the volumes seek to uncover for modern readers the tensions of the moment of creativity and the multitude of circumstances which produce both that moment and, crucially, responses to it. Out of those responses are born the lives that have become familiar to us, and the critical reputations which are our starting point as modern readers and viewers.

Lives of Shakespearian Actors seeks to show the genesis of those reputations in both the responses that were made to the actors on whom the series focuses, and in the ways in which they themselves determined, and were innovative within, the work that they carried out. Unlike the purely literary series, this set of volumes will also seek to give a taste of the actors' work itself, for instance through pictorial records of their productions, or through brief notice of the ways in which their own approach shaped the lines they spoke and the figure they cut on stage. Clearly, unlike, say, a Victorian novelist, the work of these actors is not easily retrievable. We cannot watch and recapture the impact that their on-stage presence created, so have to compensate as far as we can by the partial means available to us. We can, though, begin to appreciate the often innovative significance of the appearances of Kean, Macready, or Irving, by 'hearing' the lines that they made their own and seeing the distinctive bodies which spoke those words,

mediated though those bodies necessarily are by the imagination of the visual and plastic artists whom they inspired. Coupled with the sense given in these volumes of the range and nature of the responses made at the time, we can begin to appreciate the texture of the lives and performances of which we read, and of the impact that those lives and careers had on the reputation of Shakespeare and his works.

The volumes in *Lives of Shakespearian Actors* cover the work of actors, British, European and American, across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a period in which Shakespeare's worldwide reputation was being fostered by increasingly scholarly attention from editors, critics and biographers; by the imaginative reworkings his words inspired in writers, painters, sculptors and composers; and by performances which increasingly asserted Shakespeare's proper place as being on the stage and within a modern dramatic repertoire, rather than simply in the pages of a book. Taken as a whole, these volumes assert the centrality of the lived performance as a necessary part of Shakespeare's cultural legacy, and definitively place him within a public arena. One of the broad contributions that this series will make to an understanding of Shakespeare's *nachleben* is its emphasis on the contribution made by theatre performers to what we now popularly conceive of as the 'bardolatry' which is part of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' legacy to us as modern spectators and readers of Shakespeare. None of the writers, artists and critics of the Victorian period, for instance, would appropriate and rewrite Shakespeare as they do were it not for their culture's immersion in, and recognition of the vitality of, their theatrical Shakespeares. Mr Wopsle's Hamlet in *Great Expectations* (1860–1) is produced directly out of Dickens's experiences as a theatre practitioner and audience member, and represents the lambent quality not of a single performer, but of the essence of the performance, of its reliance on the chance configuration of its audience, on the paucity of staging conditions, on the precarious line – which Mr Wopsle so gloriously crosses – between success and ridicule, and on the ability of Shakespeare's lines to resonate and take new forms despite their speaker.

The story of Shakespeare's fortunes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is precisely one of the evolution of the resonances of his words and personal fame within the shifting frameworks of literary culture, theatrical representation and a burgeoning interest in celebrity. In September 1769, David Garrick organized a Shakespeare Jubilee in Stratford-upon-Avon. It was ostensibly the occasion for the dedication of the new town hall but became a two-day celebration of the town's playwright, and of his leading interpreter, Garrick himself. One of the highlights of the event was Garrick's donation of a statue of Shakespeare, at which he recited his 'Ode upon Dedicating a Building and, Erecting a Statue, to Shakespeare, at Stratford-upon-Avon', a taste of which can be gleaned from its concluding movement:

Now swell at once the choral song,
Roll the full tide of harmony along;
Let Rapture sweep the trembling strings,
And Fame expanding all her wings,
With all her trumpet-tongues proclaim,
The lov'd, rever'd, immortal name!
SHAKESPEARE! SHAKESPEARE! SHAKESPEARE!

At once a celebration of Shakespeare and the efforts to which Garrick had dedicated much of his career, the ode was one of the few highlights in a festival which did not go entirely to plan, with rain and flooding disrupting the planned ball and fireworks, and inadequate facilities in the town itself, which, unlike now, was unprepared for the onslaught of the visitors who came to worship Shakespeare. The planned pageant of Shakespearian characters was cancelled owing to bad weather. Garrick did, however, retrieve this particular part of the Jubilee in later theatrical versions of it which accrued significant financial gains for him in future years. This was, curiously perhaps, one of the few overtly theatrical elements of the Jubilee, which did not include an actual performance of any Shakespeare play. The omission of Shakespeare's own words from the celebrations tacitly recognizes the contested nature of those words in a period in which Garrick was working to restore, as his theatrical successors would too, a more authentically 'Shakespearian' text and set of practices to the stage. Rather, the Jubilee celebrated Shakespeare the man, and initiated the modern cult of Shakespeare's celebrity which made of Stratford-upon-Avon a sacred site devoted subsequently both to the relics of the playwright and to its own financial gain.

That recollections of the Jubilee are indivisible from responses to Garrick as well as to Shakespeare reflects a crucial element of Shakespeare's story in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As he and his texts moved to re-occupy a stage previously dominated by adaptations of his work, such as Colley Cibber's *Richard III* and Davenant and Dryden's *The Tempest*, Shakespeare was dependent on the efforts of actors to promote his texts and their working versions of them. The 'sanctity' of his texts emerges precisely out of the combination of the worship of him which Garrick's Jubilee initiates, and the revisionist work of performers like Garrick himself, which William Macready and Henry Irving subsequently maintain. Alongside critical attention to the playwright, the cooperation of the stage is necessary to promote the re-emergence of Shakespeare's own words in the theatre.

Garrick's Jubilee also initiates another narrative which continues, though sometimes rather questionably and in more muted form, throughout our period: that of the increasing respectability of the actor. Garrick undoubtedly used the Jubilee to augment his own position as a leading figure in late eighteenth-century cultural life, a position which rested fundamentally upon his

alliance with Shakespeare. The relationship between Shakespeare and his performers is undoubtedly a deeply symbiotic one throughout this period: he relied upon them for his continued appeal and ever-acknowledged 'relevance' to the moment, and they needed the cultural dignity and kudos which Shakespeare was increasingly accruing to bolster their own social and artistic standing. Henry Irving became the theatre's first knight largely because of his Lyceum Theatre's sumptuous productions of Shakespeare in the 1880s and 1890s, which became part of a recognized social calendar. But the most evident beneficiaries of Shakespeare's increased theatrical status were arguably those actresses whose on- and off-stage careers were enhanced by the respectability and cultural weight of being known as a Shakespearian actress. Ellen Terry, Irving's leading lady, was adored for her performances as Juliet, Portia, Ophelia, Cordelia, Beatrice and Imogen; and even her Lady Macbeth did not dent her popularity. Her status had little to do with the critical success she achieved in these roles, and everything to do with the more ineffable character of the 'charm' that she came to see as such a limiting attribute. Helen Faucit is, however, perhaps the figure for whom Shakespeare worked best in achieving the highest degree of social standing. It was through acting his roles, in her case, most notably Rosalind, Hermione and Juliet, that she was able to maintain a stage career that lasted from the 1830s through to the 1870s, when she performed Beatrice at the opening performance in the new Memorial Theatre at Stratford in 1879. It was when watching her 1844 Rosalind that her husband Theodore Martin fell in love with her, and through him and her exemplary acting and morality that she became a member of Queen Victoria's court circle where she helped the young royals with their performances. Faucit's life showed what ambition, backed by judicious self-advertisement and choice of roles, could achieve for the Victorian actress.

Faucit is also representative of another trend in this period in that she had a second career, after her stage performances ended, as a writer. As our period progresses, the amount of critical material being written about Shakespeare, and the number of scholarly editions of the plays and poems, increases massively, and much of that material was produced by performers whose uniquely intimate access to Shakespeare's words was exploited in their texts. Helen Faucit's accounts of acting in Shakespeare are given in *On Some of Shakespeare's Female Characters*, first published in 1885, and then revised and expanded in 1891. The essays on the heroines, which first appeared as letters in *Blackwood's Magazine* in the 1880s, combine accounts of the roles' stage histories with Faucit's own experiences and thoughts, snatches of autobiographical writing, and her speculations as to the after-lives of the characters. It is a fascinating book and forms an important part of our knowledge of the peculiarly Victorian Shakespeare. But Faucit is not alone in her authorial efforts. Fanny Kemble published *Notes upon Some of Shakespeare's Plays in 1882*, Henry Irving put his name to an edition

of the plays in 1888, Samuel Phelps was involved in an earlier edition in 1854, and Charles Kean had aided in the production of a series of editions of individual plays in the 1850s, a practice later followed by Herbert Beerbohm Tree. In addition, several actors, including Terry, Adelaide Ristori, and Sarah Bernhardt, published autobiographies which were also, more incidentally perhaps, perspicacious reflections on the Shakespeare that the nineteenth century had created.

This Shakespeare was, of course, increasingly a global phenomenon. As will become clear as the series develops, the modern Shakespeare was the sum of parts constructed through international eyes and performances. As the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries progressed, the phenomenon of touring became both more feasible, with new railway and other transport developments, and more necessary, as the costs of maintaining a signature London theatre, such as the Irving Lyceum, were so prohibitive that they had to be subsidized by gruelling provincial and international tours. The practice of touring might also, of course, be an opportunity for more propagandistic motives too, as English touring companies exported their own take on Shakespeare. Sometimes, as with Macready's 1848–9 tour to America, this backfired. Macready went to America as the leading Shakespearian actor of his generation in Britain, but in America he came into conflict with Edwin Forrest, the leading American tragedian. Rival cliques ensured that Macready's tour, while generally well received, was often the target of hostility which finally, and fatally, erupted in the Astor Place riots in New York, 1849, where about twenty people were killed and many more injured. International hostilities and lurking historical rivalries found their outlet in competing performances of Shakespearian tragedies.

The trans-Atlantic relationship was not, however, always so fraught, as volumes on Ira Aldridge, Forrest, Edwin Booth, and Charlotte Cushman will show, though nationalist awareness is usually an important factor in reviews. In responses to Cushman, for instance, English reviewers are both liberated from anxieties about her femininity (because her nationality means that they don't have to concern themselves about her propriety), and are freed to respond more imaginatively to her creativity in appearances in male roles such as the Romeo she played opposite her sister Susan in London in 1846. Ironically perhaps, one measure of her success was the extent to which she reminded reviewers of Macready.

The relationship between England and Europe was less reciprocal as far as nineteenth-century Shakespeare was concerned. The 1820s and 1830s saw a number of English companies heading to Paris, where their impact was considerable. Harriet Smithson in particular is credited, during her 1827 visit under the management of Emile Laurent, with effecting a major impact on a generation of poets and composers, including her future husband, Hector Berlioz. In 1844 Helen Faucit and Macready followed in her footsteps, and gave performances

of *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *Macbeth.* For Faucit, and subsequently for her devotedly publicity-minded husband, this was the beginning of a career-long practice of defining Faucit in opposition to the French modes of artistry which were particularly associated with the French tragedian Rachel. However, once these tours were completed, the practice of British Shakespearian actors travelling to the continent tended to lapse, in part surely because of the almost omnipresent threats of unrest in France. But continental companies maintained their visits to England throughout the nineteenth century. London theatres hosted German, Italian, and French touring companies including such well-known figures as Tommaso Salvini, Ernesto Rossi, Adelaide Ristori, Eleanora Duse, Sarah Bernhardt, Charles Fechter and the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen's company. These were, however, simply the best known names of a century's intensive European fertilization of Britain's Shakespearian theatre. Though a handful of performers attempted English versions of Shakespeare, most notably Ristori, who played Lady Macbeth in English in 1882 after several seasons of playing the role in an Italian version, and the Polish Helena Modjeska whose 1881 Juliet fell foul of critics who were protective of the character as something of a national icon, most actors performed in their own languages, watched by audiences prepared to bring along playscripts to help them through the evening. The theatrical Shakespeare of the nineteenth century was profoundly international, and this series pays tribute to some of its leading figures and the lasting impact they had on English interpretations of Shakespeare, and on the shape of theatre more generally during that period.

However, the first volumes in the series locate us within the mid- to late eighteenth century, when Shakespeare's theatrical voice was a muted one, often known through adaptations, and other forms of transmutation. Charles Macklin, David Garrick and Margaret Woffington were three of the leading figures of the Shakespearian stage at this time. Subject to suspicions at one time of a ménage à trois, they were also three of the leading Shakespearian actors of their day. The most eminent of them is Garrick, complete with the usual regalia of plaques, paintings, sculptures, street names, even a London club, commemorating him. Best known for his tragic roles, Garrick initiated a new phase of theatrical realism, a 'naturalism' which we would not perhaps recognize as such, but which struck his contemporaries as challenging previously accepted traditions. The natural would become a theatrical talisman for the Victorians of the next century, as would Shakespeare himself, and Garrick would also become significant for subsequent generations as an actor who specifically championed Shakespeare's work: to a large extent, Garrick made his fortunes coterminous with those of the writer for whom he helped to achieve national pre-eminence.

One of Garrick's friends during the early part of his career was Charles Macklin, who, like Margaret Woffington, was born in Ireland, and whose long life

spanned most of the eighteenth century. He worked his way up through touring companies to achieve regular work in London in the early 1730s. As Paul Goring astutely notes in his introduction to the volume on Macklin, his life in England was spent in trying to make his name, accent and person acceptable to an English audience, not by passing as English, but rather by playing the role of an 'acceptable alien', one of whose guises might be that of the stage Irishman. This figure of alienation seems one amenable to Macklin both on and off stage in a life which embraced both theatrical and civil unrest and conflict. Known best as an actor, he was also a manager, acting coach, would-be scholar, and a successful playwright. His impact is perhaps best represented through his approximation to the naturalistic on stage, not, as Goring notes, through his physical gestures, but rather through his voice, some sense of which can be gleaned from the responses to him which are recorded in this volume. It is perhaps a regrettable aspect of his vocal innovations that they, unlike Garrick's more physically striking newness, cannot be so easily transmitted through other media, and hence are more readily overlooked than his contemporary's successes.

The last of the trio of actors in this first set of *Lives* is Margaret, or Peg, Woffington, whose personal details are sketchier still than Macklin's. Accounts of her life range, as Nicola and Robert Shaughnessy observe, through a variety of tropes which would become familiar media for making known the life of the actress: the Cinderella motifs which attended her first coming to London, and which would subsequently be replaced by the more rapacious narratives of greed and sexuality often associated with the successful actress. The Shaughnessys note as Woffington's key contribution to eighteenth-century Shakespeare, and one which would determine the parts and fortunes of many of her nineteenth-century successors, her part in prompting the revival of Shakespearian comedy in the 1740s. Her success in breeches roles led to her playing Rosalind in 1741, and further comic heroines in subsequent seasons. Woffington went on to carve out a recognized occupancy of the London stage, which was only helped by her personal relationship with Garrick, and the gusto with which she entered into a series of rivalrous encounters with other actresses.

Following a brief return to Ireland, Woffington ended her acting career in London, financially secure by means of a legacy. Her own legacy is more insecure, and has been subject to the various prejudices attendant upon the figure of the actress since her death, as speculation, sentiment, and scholarship have vied for control of her reputation. As this series progresses, we will see how the claims of posthumous reconstruction often work against the lambency of the lived career, as the transitoriness of the live performance renders its participants vulnerable to the memories of its audience and their agendas. Throughout *Lives of Shakespearian Actors*, lives and after-lives speak to each other as the reader is enabled to negotiate the variety of voices and agendas which shape and re-shape

the work and reputation of the Shakespearian actor, and indeed which continually rework the parameters and connotations of that concept.

G.M.

INTRODUCTION

Here is a provocative view of David Garrick from the nineteenth century:

> He was not a profound student of Shakespeare, nor had he unqualified reverence for his genius. In compliment to the greatest if not only detractor of Shakespeare in the literary world – Voltaire – he maimed 'Hamlet' by cutting out the grave scene and 'burking' *Osric*. The rapidity and intensity of his style enabled him to give a novel and spirited picture of *Richard* and wonderful mimetic faculties account to me largely for the effects he created in *Lear*; but as a tragedian, in the strict sense of the term, he was almost as mentally dwarfed as he was physically stunted, however otherwise his biographers, the Irish dramatist and barrister, Murphy, or 'the author,' as Johnson said, 'engendered from the corruption of a bookseller,' Davies, may describe him. He had not the dignity of Quin, the power of Mossop, or the physical endowments of Barry. Certainly he was nowhere with Barry in *Othello*, and came up to him in only the banishment scene of *Romeo*. His *Hamlet*, I feel persuaded, was not equal to that of Betterton or Charles Mayne Young, or his *Macbeth* to that of William Charles Macready.
>
> This, I am aware, is not the traditional opinion of Garrick in tragedy, and acting will, it is true, ever be a matter of opinion, even amongst those who judge from personal knowledge, whilst it is almost impossible from descriptions in books to form a positive notion of what an actor was on the stage; but the authority which fortifies me in the foregoing opinions happily warrants me in believing that Garrick was, nevertheless, beyond all question, the greatest histrionic artist of his time, or perhaps of any time, because the most original and most comprehensive. He was the author of excellent farces and prologues, and acquainted not only with books but men as they are or were in his time. Full of tact and the peculiar cleverness of a showman, he was a thorough man of the world, so that 'as deep as Garrick' was a phrase of the times. Although Dr Johnson affected occasionally to despise both the actor and his art, he lamented Garrick's death as 'that stroke which had eclipsed the gaiety of nations and robbed the public stock of harmless pleasure;' and Goldsmith describes him as 'a medley of all that is pleasant in man.' [1]

With these two paragraphs, Robert E. Hunter makes a striking attempt to put Garrick in his place – to cast him as a 'showman', a sociable, clever fellow, but neither an intellectual ('a profound student of Shakespeare') nor the supremely unchallengeable actor of some accounts, a dab hand at a farce but a blasphemer against the sacred Shakespearian text. How dare this man alter *Hamlet*? Like

many before and after him, Hunter takes umbrage against the very idea. And then he conjures a number of names to remind the reader how Garrick failed to make some other Shakespearian roles his own.

Tellingly, all of these roles – Othello, Romeo, Hamlet and Macbeth – are roles in tragedies. The only comic character of Shakespeare's with which Garrick was strongly associated was that of Benedict in *Much Ado About Nothing*. Hunter would be hard pressed to find any actor in any age whose name could be so closely associated with that part. Certainly, none of the other actors he mentions – the dignified James Quin, the powerful Henry Mossop, the handsome and tall Spranger Barry, and so on – could be said to have Garrick's capacity for variety, his skill in both comedy and tragedy. He showed 'unparalleled vitality and versatility'.[2] For those who saw him act, the marvel of it was that one actor could embody such different characters, from the rakish Ranger in *The Suspicious Husband* to the foppish Fribble in his own *Miss in Her Teens*, from Lear to Hamlet to Macbeth to Romeo to Richard III. There were certainly actors who took on more roles, bearing in mind Garrick's time-consuming duties as a theatre manager for most of his career, but none could match him for the fresh insights and life that he brought to a part. Apparently determined to make as great an impact as possible, he took on *King Lear* in his crucial first season, 1741–2, along with roles as different as Sharp, the title character in his own farce, *The Lying Valet*, Bayes in *The Rehearsal* (giving him the opportunity to send up the stiffer style of performance perfected by some eminent tragedians), and Lothario in *The Fair Penitent*. In terms of the number of nights on stage, it was Garrick's busiest season.

Also missing from Hunter's account is a sense of Garrick's impact on his contemporaries, many of whom regarded him as a phenomenon, hailing him as a new 'Roscius', and hyperbolically lauding him, as would James Boaden, as 'the first *actor* of his own, if we may *not* rather think, of *any* age'.[3] Evidence for the esteem in which Garrick was held may be found in diaries, letters, newspapers, pamphlets, memoirs, memorabilia, paintings, sculptures, street signs – and riddles:

> Why is Mr. Garrick like an old maid? Because he has no fellow. Why is Mr. Garrick like an odd Glove? Because he has no fellow. Why is Garrick manly enough? Because he does not act a-Miss.[4]

That Garrick failed in Othello is beside the point; less exalted actors before and after him were expected to take on an extensive number of characters of the same type, and relatively few star performers were truly at home in both comedy and tragedy. Barry, for one, was an absolute specialist in tragedy; Quin was celebrated for his playing of Falstaff, but that was about as far as comedy entered into his repertoire. In this respect, Hunter's account of Garrick resem-

bles that of Horace Walpole, who in his desperation not to give Garrick any credit whatsoever, invokes a similar range of acting talent in an effort to establish his inferiority.[5] There is no painting of Mossop or Macready wavering between tragedy and comedy; and in Joshua Reynolds's depiction of Garrick caught between the two muses, it is the wanton Comic one on his right who is winning the struggle – who has familiarly laid hands on him and is drawing him away, as he apologetically opens his left hand to the remonstrating Tragic Muse. He cannot help smiling as he does so.

In the debate over Garrick's genius for both comedy and tragedy, and in the absence of a Historic Muse, there is still, however, a third option, as one observer discovered at the dinner table:

> 'Twas there with keen, though polished, jest,
> You sat, a pleas'd and pleasing guest;
> With social ease a part sustain'd,
> More humorous far than ere you feign'd.
> [. . .]
> Clio 'whispered in my ear'
>
> 'Go, bid it be no more disputed,
> For what his talents best are suited;
> In mimic characters alone
> Let others shine – but Garrick in his own'.[6]

What starts as the conventional dilemma – is Garrick better suited to 'Blithe Comedy' or to the service of 'the buskin'd Muse'? – ends up as a further explanation for his appeal both in his own day and as an icon of the sociable, civilized Georgian theatre world. Part of the Garrick phenomenon was that this player could exert such fascination and influence in polite society, and for some of his biographers this has made him all the more worthy a subject.

Garrick's versatility may be understood as an obvious advantage of his acting style – his 'rapidity and intensity' and his 'wonderful mimetic faculties' – which, with the useful example of Charles Macklin before him, he had precociously developed, if not perfected, by 19 October 1741 – the day when he made his celebrated debut as Richard III, at Henry Giffard's theatre in Goodman's Fields, in Colley Cibber's version of Shakespeare's play. For one modern commentator, it seems as if Garrick must have inaugurated an age of critical sensitivity. Leigh Woods suggests that 'it was Garrick's unfamiliar precision and profusion of [stage] business which sensitized his contemporaries to it': 'As a consequence, they began to write it down and preserve it as something both unique and significant. As long as stage-business had remained stable, it had no need of preservation in critical accounts: it was being preserved on the stage'.[7] Sheer novelty, in this view, forced the comparison between the 'natural' new style of Garrick and the old. A typical example would be

this weighing up of Garrick's Abel Drugger, his much-repeated turn in *The Alchemist* by Ben Jonson, againsr Colley Cibber's:

> I call the simple, composed, grave Deportment of the former Comic, and the squint-ey'd grinning Grimace of the latter Comical. The first obtains your Applause, by persuading you that he is the real Man. The latter indeed opens your Eyes, and gives you to understand, that he is but personating the Tobacco-Boy: But then to atone for the Loss of the Deception, you are ready to split with Laughter, at the ridiculous Variations of his Muscles.[8]

While Thomas Davies testifies to the immediate impact of Garrick's Richard III:

> Mr. Garrick's easy and familiar, yet forcible style in speaking and acting, at first threw the critics into some hesitation concerning the novelty as well as the propriety of his manner. They had been long accustomed to an elevation of the voice; with a sudden mechanical depression of its tones, calculated to excite admiration, and to intrap applause. To the just modulation of the words, and concurring expression of the features from the genuine workings of nature, they had been strangers, at least for some time. But after he had gone through a variety of scenes, in which he gave evident proofs of consummate art, and perfect knowledge of character, their doubts were turned into surprize and astonishment, from which they relieved themselves by loud and reiterated applause.[9]

Ironically, the first line that Davies picks out for praise, apparently following the critics in October 1741, is Garrick's speaking of a written line not by Shakespeare but Cibber, from his popular alteration of *Richard III*: 'Off with his head! / So much for Buckingham!'[10] Nevertheless, Garrick and Shakespeare and 'nature' would become associated terms in the theatre criticism of the next thirty-five years – and though the last of these cannot be taken at face value, its principal meaning appears to be simply that Garrick could convince his contemporaries that he was 'the real Man'. Repeatedly, in the anecdotal urban folklore of Georgian London, Garrick is credited with the ability to take people in, on stage or not.

This talent was no miracle; besides whatever Garrick had learned about acting as a childhood enthusiasm, he had spent a few years incognito, learning his trade with Giffard, and learning from the example of his then friend Charles Macklin. The story that he had studied an unfortunate madman in order to play King Lear only enhanced the reputation of that performance. But while Macklin was initiating a revolution with his triumphant playing of Shylock at Drury Lane, Garrick, as he later confessed, was passing a few scenes in a Harlequin's costume at Goodman's Fields (another indication of the gulf in capabilities fixed between him and Quin et al). It was through those mimetic faculties of his that Garrick acquired his famed 'naturalness' on stage. Though not absolutely a pioneer in this respect, it was to him that the revolutionary impetus passed. An argument could perhaps be made

for Garrick as a Lockean hero – an empirical observer whose observations would affect the development of the whole art of acting, both in England and abroad. Again, it is unlikely that any of his rivals could have done this.

Hunter's purpose, in making his strident assessment of Garrick's strengths and weaknesses, is to clear the way. Despite his failings as a lover and actor of Shakespeare, Garrick is found to be the ideal man for the task of organizing the first festival in honour of the playwright in the place of his birth: 'Take him for all in all, therefore, no one could have been more thoroughly qualified to manage a national jubilee than he who undertook it in Stratford-upon-Avon in 1769'.[11] Notoriously, on this occasion, there were no performances of any Shakespeare play, though there were many lines from Shakespeare woven into the various texts written by Garrick for the occasion – not least of all, the variations on a theme of 'We shall not look upon his like again' that appeared on Jubilee tickets, carved in mulberry and so on. Staging Shakespeare's plays was Garrick's day job; he saw the pilgrimage to Shakespeare's birthplace in Warwickshire, where there had been no theatre in Shakespeare's day and where it would have been foolhardy to try to build one from scratch in the time available, as quite a different sort of occasion. If luck and the English weather had been on his side, there would have been a procession of Shakespearian characters through the town, fireworks (they failed to fire, first time round at least) and a ball that did not end with guests having to wade away from the ballroom (a temporary structure in risky proximity to the banks of the Avon). Hunter's low regard for Garrick as a Shakespearian tragedian does not necessarily contradict his conception of the showman as the right person to organize the Jubilee.

As the example above illustrates, there has been some disagreement over the nature of Garrick's achievements and his place in cultural history. This may, however, have more to do with the fundamentally elusive nature of theatre than anything else. One biographer of Garrick has described his career as 'almost monotonously successful'.[12] Others see it as full of incident and the danger of derailment. It has more of a dramatic structure than the word 'monotonous' would suggest, with distinct phases demarcated by events such as Garrick's debut and his becoming James Lacy's co-patentee at Drury Lane, the half-price riots of 1763 leading to the long break of almost two years on the Continent, and his retirement season. On Garrick's return from France in 1765, for example, he took on no more new roles (not counting prologues or epilogues, or his walk-on part in processional piece *The Jubilee*) and performed generally less often. He continued, however, to write and speak to the audience in prologues and epilogues.

As Philip Highfill puts it:

> It is difficult to give Garrick his due as the foremost actor of his age, just as it is hard to praise him sufficiently as a manager and a benign social force, without at the same time diminishing the accomplishments of other performers and even falsifying history.

> Burke's remark that he raised his art to the rank of a liberal profession was inspired by admiration for the artist. If it was meant to suggest that Garrick had done it all alone, it was as partial as Johnson's remark, inspired by admiration of his conduct, that Garrick had 'made his profession respectable.' But the great curve of accomplishment did coincide with Garrick's active years. It perhaps peaked around the year of his retirement, 1776, and then went into slow decline through the Kemble era.[13]

Just as it may be, as Hunter says, difficult if not impossible 'to form a positive notion of what an actor was on the stage' from, say, biographies or other partisan records that vaguely enthuse about their subjects but permit little in the way of vicarious theatre-going, so giving Garrick 'his due' in the wider context is not easy. Certain highly useful records, such as *Lichtenberg's Visits to England, as Described in His Letters and Diaries* or Garrick's own accounts of his travels to France and Italy (countries where he found his celebrity had to some extent preceded him), only appeared in print in the twentieth century. Certain eighteenth-century accounts would have been available only to a few, such as letters, or in variant forms (original paintings and their more widely disseminated prints, for instance). The selection of texts that follows, written during and after Garrick's lifetime, is intended to suggest something of the range of opinions that he inspired, for various reasons, among friends, enemies, (relatively early) theatre historians and anonymous observers, especially but not exclusively in relation to his avowed reverence for Shakespeare – the cornerstone of his enduring reputation.

It did not take Garrick long to establish his identity as the national poet's foremost champion. After *King Lear* and *Richard III* in his first London season, came a (relatively) textually restored version of *Macbeth* and attempts on *King John* (in competition with Colley Cibber's alteration of that play at Covent Garden), *Othello* and *Henry IV Part 1* (with James Quin in his usual role of Falstaff and Garrick as Hotspur). Revivals of several more neglected Shakespeare plays, in one form or another, would follow (some, such as his *Antony and Cleopatra*, were short-lived). When Garrick opened his management of Drury Lane on 15 September 1747, the prologue he spoke, officially written by Samuel Johnson, but 'clearly composed after much confabulation with Garrick', made obvious his intentions for the theatre and its repertoire with its opening eight lines:

> When Learning's triumph o'er her barb'rous foes
> First rear'd the stage, immortal Shakespear rose;
> Each change of many-colour'd life he drew,
> Exhausted worlds, and then imagin'd new:
> Existence saw him spurn her bounded reign,
> And panting Time toil'd after him in vain:
> His pow'rful strokes presiding Truth impress'd,
> And unresisted Passion storm'd the breast.

While Garrick and Johnson excused themselves in the traditional manner:

> The stage but echoes back the public voice.
> The drama's laws the drama's patrons give,
> For we that live to please, must please to live.[14]

If Shakespeare was the 'upstart crow' in the eyes of one of his peers, Robert Greene, then Garrick was equally the mischievous prodigy – not only in his early years as an actor but also, as a novice manager, in the early 1750s, declining to be overwhelmed by the defection of some of his star attractions to John Rich's Covent Garden. A confident reminder of his cultural allegiance came at the beginning of the 1750 season, in a prologue written by Garrick himself: 'Sacred to SHAKESPEARE was this spot design'd, / To pierce the heart, and humanize the mind'. At the same time, Garrick was associating himself with Shakespeare by other means. His approval of William Kenrick's *Falstaff's Wedding*, for example, a comic sequel to *Henry IV Part 2*, was deemed to be worth printing with the play in 1760: Garrick thought it 'a very good imitation of Shakespeare, particularly in the character of Falstaff', though Shakespeare himself remains 'truly *inimitable*'.[15] With an actor-playwright's capacity for drawing on what came memorably to hand, he filled his own works with references to Shakespeare – in the prologue to *Lilliput* (1756), for example, a conjurer promises the audience that 'Swift as Queen Mab within her hazelnut, / I'll set you safely down at Lilliput' – while he could also send up the whole business of Bardolatry (as George Bernard Shaw would call it in 1901):

> Lady Fuz – Pray don't you adore Shakespeare, Sir Mac?
> Sir Macaroni – (yawning) Shakespeare!
> Lady Fuz – Sir Toby and I are absolute worshippers of him. We very often act some of his best tragedy scenes to divert ourselves.[16]

'Sir Macaroni', of course, is hardly a figure of impeccable judgment in this scene, and to such an 'unnatural' modern fop Shakespeare posed a suitably hardy English riposte. 'Our Shakespeare compar'd is to no man / Nor Frenchman, nor Grecian, nor Roman', went a particularly bad couplet in Garrick's 'Warwickshire, A Song'.[17]

Garrick might have felt coy about admitting to acting in a pantomime, early in his career, even if it was incognito for '2 or three scenes' only,[18] but it was, as Jonathan Bate points out, only appropriate that the pantomime in question was *Harlequin Student; or, The Fall of Pantomime*, which concluded with 'the expulsion of pantomime and a representation on stage of the new Westminster Abbey monument'. Significantly, Garrick would return to pantomime with *Harlequin's Invasion*, staged 'at the height of the Seven Years War': 'Shakespeare was made to stand for England and its values, the invasion for the French'.[19] Garrick's drastic

alterations of Shakespeare for performance – such as the *Florizel and Perdita*, based on the last two acts of *The Winter's Tale* – went hand in hand with his public promotion as 'Shakespeare's self-proclaimed representative on earth', as seen in the portrait by Gainsborough, donated by Garrick to Stratford in 1769, in which the actor's posture, as he 'reclines on a bust of Shakespeare', appears to be both 'proprietorial and fraternal'.[20] ''Tis my chief wish, my joy, my only plan', Garrick could enthuse in his prologue to *Florizel and Perdita*,[21] 'To lose no drop of that immortal man', while the prologue to *The Fairies* (the 1755 version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that he denied was his) runs: 'I dare not say WHO wrote it – I could tell ye, / To soften matters – Signor *Shakespearelli*'. The efficacy of Garrick's programme of self-promotion may be seen in the letters that he received from his French friends, addressing him as 'Dear Shakespeare'.

What the Gainsborough portrait also illustrates is Garrick's willingness to oblige the public with images of a private communion between actor and poet. Nothing in the portrait directly suggests that Garrick is, in fact, an actor; its setting is generically rural, and Garrick is dressed in a smart, gentlemanly fashion. Garrick built his Temple to Shakespeare at Hampton in 1755, in the riverside garden of the villa he had bought the previous year.[22] Zoffany painted the Garricks standing on its steps in 1762. Garrick bequeathed to the British Museum, on his death, the Roubiliac statue of Shakespeare that stood within this Temple; typically, it presents us with the image of a contemplative, noble-browed poet, not dissimilar to Garrick himself in Gainsborough's painting, and not so very different from Scheemaker's monument, with its stack of books for Shakespeare to lean on. Such artefacts served to set apart both Garrick and his idol from the hurly-burly of the theatre.[23] At Hampton, the one 'must ever shine' as the other's 'pride, his boast, unequall'd and divine':

> *There*, GARRICK, satiate of well-earned applause,
> From crowds and shouting theatres withdraws:
> *There* courts the Muse, turns o'er th'instructive page,
> And meditates new triumphs for the stage.[24]

Such images also emphasized the purpose of performance, in that they kept Shakespeare's plays 'alive', in contrast to the monuments that commemorated him in another way:

> Art may express yon venerable bust,
> And form each feature to resemblance just;
> But Nature, pleas'd with choicest tints design'd
> Thee! happy symbol of her Shakespeare's mind.[25]

With the circulation of such over-riding images in mind, one modern scholar ('To use modern jargon') sees Garrick as 'perhaps the original master of media

saturation', 'hungry for publicity and resolute in obtaining it'; in this quest, painting served as 'unsurpassed advertisement'.[26]

The effect of all this 'arrogation', as Bate calls it, was to obfuscate the work of Garrick's predecessors in Bardolatry. Arthur Murphy, for example, would overcome his misgivings about Garrick's treatment of Shakespeare's texts when he came to write his *Life of David Garrick*, published in 1801. According to Murphy, 'from the time when our Roscius appeared at Goodman's Fields, dramatic poetry retrieved its honour, and *Lun* and his favourite harlequin gave way to a just representation of nature, to Shakespeare, and Garrick': 'Our great reformer of the stage banished rant and noise ... Shakespeare rose, as it were, from his tomb, and broke out all at once in his lustre ... A subscription among ladies of quality was no longer necessary [to sponsor a revival of Shakespeare in the theatre].'[27]

For others, the great reformer was a more ambiguous figure. While 'the symbolic center [of the performers' sense of professionalism] came to revolve around Garrick (once he had died) and Shakespeare, from whose work Garrick became in the public mind inseparable',[28] the drama's patrons had been busy altering the drama's laws: Garrick's more controversial renderings of Shakespeare were losing their places in the repertoire (Murphy himself had agreed with Samuel Johnson, many years earlier, in disapproving of Garrick's acting texts), and critics, including William Hazlitt and Charles Lamb, denigrated these versions of the plays as sacrilege.[29] Yet, Garrick retained his potency as the figurehead of the acting profession. William Charles Macready, who would later be proud of banishing Nahum Tate's *King Lear* from the stage and replacing it with Shakespeare's, could recall participating in a 'Garrick Jubilee' at the actor's birthplace, Hereford, on the centenary of his birth. Macready performed in *The Wonder* ('the play in which Garrick took leave of the stage'), in Garrick's role of Don Felix; Garrick's farce *The Lying Valet* was also performed, with a 'recitation of Sheridan's monody on his death', dinner and speeches ('the manager's pockets were filled, and his Jubilee was a success. He was much obliged to me ...').

This posthumous splitting of Garrick's reputation – by which his greatness as an actor was accepted, and the Shakespeare he had performed was discarded – reflects an ambivalence in Garrick's own publicizing of his special relationship with the national poet. This was perhaps because the simultaneous acclamation of Shakespeare as both a poet and a playwright posed the question of where his works truly belonged, in the study or on the stage. It was a debate in which Garrick played his part: 'The Shakespeare of the mid-eighteenth century is imagined and re-written as an author at once domestic, national, and moral, and in all of these aspects, which spectacularly converge on the Jubilee, he is rapidly escaping from the stage altogether'.[30] With Shakespeare thus providing him with the

perfect, all-purpose prop, Garrick put his considerable characteristic energy into appearing as conspicuous off the stage as on it: both his admirers and his traducers sometimes found themselves labouring to separate his achievements as a performer from his activities as a manager, a playwright, a poet, a patron of the arts, a well-connected gentleman of means, and as a national icon.

His death in 1779 made that last role particularly obvious. Johnson's tribute (perhaps hyperbolically, given Boswell's objection) invokes the eclipse, with the loss of Garrick, of the 'gaiety of nations', while Sheridan's 'Monody' was recited at Drury Lane by Mary Anne Yates and published shortly afterwards. The stately funeral at Westminster Abbey was conducted with such solemn show, and numbered such an impressive list of peers, politicians, men of letters, and friends from the theatre among its attendees, that it was criticized as overdone for a mere player. For Leigh Woods, Garrick had become, by that point, 'the emblem of an age on the verge of modernity', the diminutive actor representing his diminutive yet glorious country, seeing off superior numbers of rivals. The outpourings of grief in the wake of his death 'may strikes us as hysterical and excessive', but they 'document the extraordinary importance Garrick had in the minds of his contemporaries'.[31] Biographers of Garrick would learn to say of him what he had said of Shakespeare, using the particularly Bardolatrous habit of applying the poet's words to his own greatness – in this case, borrowing Hamlet's words with reference to his father, that 'we' shall not look upon his like again. It seems that Garrick-Shakespeare provided a congenial image of the English cultural past, and that this notion of joint greatness brought out the fustian in nineteenth-century theatre historians:

> We are still waiting for his like to appear again. He is still occupying the chair of the Rosciad, waiting to place an equal there. For a time it was thought that Edmund Kean might worthily occupy it, but he, mighty genius though he was, had not the same comprehensive mastery of the actor's art in all its branches as the great David Garrick.[32]

Elegies like this are perhaps indicative of the vicarious nature of theatre history. A book may be re-read, albeit not in exactly the same way as it was the first time; the performance of a play is unique and irrecoverable, though some facts about it may be verifiable. Even seeing the second performance of a play can involve reflection on the nature of the first (hence the value placed on premieres). The form lends itself to nostalgic recollection ('you had to be there ...') and, within the acting profession, to the creation of some sense of 'a tradition and a hierarchy', as Jacky Bratton has observed. The establishment of the School of Garrick meant not only the cherishing of mulberry medallions with the profiles of Shakespeare and Garrick carved into them, or performing literally in his shoes (as did Samuel

Jerrold at Greenwich in 1798), but belonging to a prestigious community, the 'touchstone, hero and fountain' of which is David Garrick:

> It is not simply the text of the play, but Garrick's performance of *King Lear* that carries meaning for subsequent generations, so that Edmund Kean seeks on his deathbed to pass it on to his son. . . . Matthews's elaborate syntheses – he imitates Kemble imitating Garrick playing Richard III – suggest that there is in these recuperations of past performances an intention to build upon memory, an appeal to organic growth rather than simply to stasis.[33]

Theatre-goers who caught Garrick in the 1770s were aware they were catching him, luckily, at the ebb of his career. Just as he was being glorified in the 1790s and 1800s by those who could still remember him, so a complementary process meant that Garrick's reputation could only grow over the half-century after his death. The period that began with Thomas Davies's *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick* and ended with the publication of *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, edited by James Boaden, is also one in which theatre historians learned to see the mid-eighteenth century as a golden age, with Garrick, whatever his faults, as its undisputed monarch. Theatre, for some, was in decline, even as (or especially as) the potential audience for theatre continued to grow and patterns of theatre-going changed (to take an obvious example, with the transition to the long run and the age of railway travel) during the nineteenth century. 'Nothing more palpably shows that we are miserably lost to a sense of true delicacy, and refinement, than the success of our new, and wretched dramatick productions', wrote Shute Barrington to Percival Stockdale. 'By the ignorance, and impertinence of some theatrical criticks, KEMBLE has, in *our* days, been preferred to GARRICK.'[34] Murphy, recollecting the existence of the Shakespeare Ladies club, imagines that a 'similar institution would do honour to the present age': 'Should the state of our theatres continue to degenerate from truth and nature, it is to be hoped that the ladies of the present time will imitate the example left upon record, and stop the inundation of nonsense, which has for some time been the reigning fashion'.[35]

Such broad dismissals pay Garrick, 'the greatest histrionic artist of his time, or perhaps of any time', an extraordinary compliment, albeit one that tends to obscure a more complex history, in which he plays the hero of the Shakespeare cult and its villain, the epitome of Georgian civility and the modern-minded manager, keenly protecting his own interests, the revolutionary performer and the competent but not outstanding playwright. Examining those various roles more closely may lead to a richer sense of the actor, his times and his achievements.

M.C.

Notes

1. Robert E. Hunter, *Shakespeare and Stratford-upon-Avon, a 'Chronicle of the Time'* (London: Whittaker, 1864), pp. 73–4.

2. Ian McIntyre, *Garrick* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), p. 2.
3. James Boaden, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick, with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831–2), vol. 1, p. iii.
4. Conundrums taken from, respectively, *A New Tea-Table Miscellany: Or, a Bagatelle for the Amusement of the Fair Sex* (London: E. Duncomb, 1750), p. 156, *The Witling: Being a Compleat Collection of the Most Celebrated Conundrums Now in Vogue among People of High Taste* (London: W. Owen, 1750), p. 1, and *Ben Johnson's Jests: Or, the Wit's Pocket Companion*, 3rd edn (London: R. Baldwin, [1755]), no. 325.
5. Letter to the Earl of Hertford, 26 March, 1765, in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. by Wilmarth S. Lewis, 48 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937–83), vol. 38, pp. 524–5.
6. Christopher Anstey, 'To Mr. Garrick on meeting him at Mr. Rigby's', from *A Classical Arrangement of Fugitive Poetry*, vol. 6 (London: George Cawthorn, 1800), pp. 98–9.
7. Leigh Woods, 'Crowns of Straw on Little Men: Garrick's New Heroes', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 32:2 (1981), pp. 69–79; p. 73.
8. Samuel Foote, *The Roman and English Comedy Consider'd and Compar'd, with Remarks on The Suspicious Husband* (London: T. Waller, 1747), pp. 8–9.
9. Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, 2 vols (London: printed for the author, 1780), vol. 1, p. 40.
10. See ibid., vol. 1, p. 41: 'Garrick's look and action … were so significant and important, from his visible enjoyment of the incident, that several loud shouts of approbation proclaimed the triumph of the actor and satisfaction of the audience'.
11. Hunter, *Shakespeare and Stratford-upon-Avon*, p. 74.
12. Margaret Barton, *Garrick* (London: Faber, 1948), p. 48.
13. Philip Highfill Jr, 'Performers and Performing', in Robert D. Hume (ed.), *The London Theatre World 1660–1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), pp. 143–80; p. 166.
14. Carola Oman, *David Garrick* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958), p.106. Johnson's prologue was published on 8 October. Samuel Johnson, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. J. D. Fleeman (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), pp. 81–2.
15. R. W. Babcock, *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry 1766–1799: A Study in English Criticism of the Late Eighteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931), p. 32.
16. David Garrick, *A Peep Behind the Curtain; or The New Rehearsal* (London: T. Becket, 1767), I. ii.
17. [David Garrick], *Shakespeare's Garland. Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads [&c.] Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford upon Avon* (London: T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, 1769), pp. 152–3.
18. David Garrick, *The Letters of David Garrick*, ed. by David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, with associated editor Phoebe de K. Wilson, 3 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), vol. 1, p. 34.
19. Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism, 1730–1830* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 27. Peter Scheemakers's sculpture had been erected in the Abbey in January 1741.
20. Ibid., p. 30. More bluntly, Garrick's biographer Ian McIntyre says Garrick in the portrait looks like 'a drunk leaning against a lamp-post'.

21. Michael Dobson describes the play as 'in effect a priggish, corrective revision of Macnamara Morgan's bawdier adaptation, *The Sheep-Shearing*, which had been in the repertory at Covent Garden since 1754'. Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660–1769* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 190.
22. Carola Oman neatly suggests the parallel nature of Garrick's personal and professional pursuits: 'Garrick had two principal occupations during his summer holiday of 1754: the alteration of Hampton House and the alteration of Shakespeare'. Oman, *David Garrick*, p. 165.
23. Hannah More observed that Garrick seldom had actors at his house in Hampton. 'Evidently the working actor who played host to other actors might compromise his performance as a aristocrat'. Norma Clarke, *Dr Johnson's Women* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000), p. 22.
24. 'To Mr. Garrick on his erecting a temple and statue to to Shakspere [*sic*]', *A Classical Arrangement of Fugitive Poetry*, vol 6 (London: George Cawthorn, 1800), pp. 87–9, ll. 7–12.
25. 'Stanzas, on Seeing Mr, Garrick's Picture placed near a Bust of Shakespeare' by Dr. Harrington, of Bath, from *European Magazine*. Quoted by Babcock, *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry*, p. 121.
26. Lance Bertelsen, 'David Garrick and English Painting', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 11 (1978), pp. 308–24; pp. 308, 316.
27. Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick, Esq.* (London: J. Wright, 1801), pp. 161–3.
28. Highfill Jr, 'Performers and Performing', p. 180.
29. Babcock in *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry* outlines a history of Bardolatry in which the tide starts to turn in 1770s. The *Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine* could still approve of Garrick's *Hamlet* in December 1772: 'To clear this piece of these charges (which were in part not ill-founded) has been the task of the present revisor: how far he has succeeded, the applauses of a crowded and judicious audience have already testified'.
30. Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, p. 186.
31. Woods, 'Crowns of Straw on Little Men', pp. 69–79.
32. Cecil Ferard Armstrong, *A Century of Great Actors 1750–1850* (London: Mills and Boon, 1912), p. 71.
33. Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 118.
34. Shute Barrington, *Letters between the Honourable, and Right Reverend Father in God, Shute, by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Durham... and Percival Stockdale*, 2nd edn (London: J. Ridgway and W. Clarke, 1793), p. ix.
35. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, p. 159.

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CHRONOLOGY

1717 (19 February) David Garrick born at the Angel Inn, Hereford, third child and second son of Peter and Arabella Garrick. His father is a lieutenant in Colonel James Tyrrel's New Raised Regiment of Dragoons, recruiting in Hereford, though the family is based in Lichfield, where Garrick's parents met.

1723 (22 August) George Garrick born.

1727 David Garrick attends Lichfield Grammar School, under the tuition of John Hunter. He stages *The Recruiting Officer* by Farquhar with his friends, and plays Sergeant Kite.

1729 (July) David Garrick's father, now a Captain, takes up a posting in Gibraltar out of financial necessity. David Garrick is sent to Lisbon to serve as an apprentice to his uncle in the wine trade, but leaves within the year.

1736 David Garrick, with his brother George, attends Samuel Johnson's short-lived Edial Hall School. (May) Captain Garrick returns from Gibraltar.

1737 (2 March) David Garrick and Samuel Johnson set out for London together. (9 March) Garrick enrols as a student at Lincoln's Inn. His father dies ten days later. Garrick and his elder brother, Peter, enter the wine trade, basing themselves in Durham Yard, just off the Strand. Peter later continues in the business in Lichfield.

1740 (15 April) *Lethe; or, Esop in the Shades* is performed at Drury Lane, for Henry Giffard's benefit night. (Autumn) Garrick plays the title role in a production of *The Mock Doctor* by Fielding in Clerkenwell. (September) Death of Garrick's mother.

1741 (March) David Garrick, incognito, performs briefly in pantomime staged by Giffard. (Summer) He acts with Giffard's company at Ipswich, under the maiden name of Giffard's wife, 'Lydall'. (19 October) Garrick makes his official London debut at Goodman's Fields, as Richard III, credited as 'a Gentleman who never appear'd before'. (30

November) *The Lying Valet* is performed at Goodman's Fields, with Garrick in the title role of Sharp.

1742 (3 February) David Garrick plays Bayes in *The Rehearsal*; (11 March) he plays the title role in Tate's version of *King Lear*. He makes his final appearance at Goodman's Fields on 24 May as Lothario in *The Fair Penitent* by Rowe and as Sharp, before, two days later, making his debut at Drury Lane as Bayes, followed by Lear and, by royal command, Richard III. (Summer) Garrick plays various roles at Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin, where he acts with Peg Woffington. He returns to Drury Lane for the start of the winter season.

1743 (Summer) David Garrick goes to Dublin for a second summer season. (Autumn) He and Charles Macklin lead the actors' rebellion against Charles Fleetwood, the manager of Drury Lane; when it fails, Garrick returns to act at Drury Lane, but Macklin is barred from doing so, and publicly accuses Garrick of betraying him.

1744 David Garrick buys a substantial number of old play-books from the collection of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford. *An Essay on Acting* is published, just before Garrick debuts as *Macbeth* in his own version of the play (7 January). (16 November) He plays Sir John Brute in *The Provok'd Wife* by Vanbrugh.

1745–6 (Spring) Garrick plays the title roles in *King John* and *Othello*. (December–May) He goes to Dublin to act with Thomas Sheridan, Spranger Barry and George Anne Bellamy at Smock Alley.

1746–7 (February) The dancer Eva Maria Veigel, 'Violette', comes to London from the Continent to perform at the Haymarket. Garrick comes back from Dublin to act at Covent Garden, under the management of Christopher Rich. (14 November) Garrick and James Quin appear together in *The Fair Penitent*.

1747 (17 January) *Miss in Her Teens; or, The Medley of Lovers* performed as an afterpiece at Covent Garden. (12 February) David Garrick creates the part of Ranger in *The Suspicious Husband* by Benjamin Hoadly. (9 April) He officially becomes James Lacy's partner in the management of Drury Lane. (Summer) The managers refurbish Drury Lane. (15 September) Drury Lane opens with Garrick speaking a prologue written for the occasion by Samuel Johnson.

1748 (29 November) David Garrick's alteration of *Romeo and Juliet* is performed at Drury Lane.

1749 (22 June) David Garrick marries Eva Maria Veigel and moves with her in October to 27 Southampton Street, on the south side of Covent Garden, not far from Drury Lane.

1750 (28 September–12 October) 'Battle of the Romeos' between the two Theatres Royal, with Garrick and George Anne Bellamy in the title roles at Drury Lane, and Spranger Barry and Susannah Cibber at Covent Garden.

1751 (23 February) Garrick's revised version of *Alfred* by James Thomson, is performed at Drury Lane. (Summer) The Garricks visit Paris. (29 November) David Garrick's alteration of *Every Man in His Humour* is performed at Drury Lane.

1754 (January) David Garrick rents a house at Hampton on Thames, and buys it outright later in the year. (18 March) A three-act version of *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Catharine and Petruchio*, performed at Drury Lane for Hannah Pritchard's benefit. (7 November) Garrick produces a slightly altered version of *The Chances*, a comedy by John Fletcher.

1755 (3 February) *The Fairies*, David Garrick's operatic version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with music by John Christopher Smith, is performed at Drury Lane. (8–18 November) *The Chinese Festival* provokes rioting at Drury Lane; the damage costs the theatre £4,000.

1756 (21 January) *Florizel and Perdita*, David Garrick's alteration of *The Winter's Tale*, performed at Drury Lane in a double bill with *Catharine and Petruchio*. (11 February) *The Tempest: An Opera* performed at Drury Lane, with music by John Christopher Smith. (3 December) *Lilliput*, drawn from the first book of *Gulliver's Travels*, performed at Drury Lane by a company of children and an adult actor, Astley Bransby, as Gulliver.

1757 (24 March) *The Male Coquette; or Seventeen Hundred Fifty Seven* performed at Drury Lane, as an afterpiece for Henry Woodward's benefit, under the title *The Modern Fine Gentleman*. (20 April) David Garrick buys the manor house and estate at Hendon, as a purely financial venture. (2 December) His alteration of *Isabella; or, The Fatal Marriage* by Thomas Southerne performed at Drury Lane. (22 December) *The Gamesters*, David Garrick's alteration of *The Gamester* by James Shirley, appears at Drury Lane.

1759 (3 January) David Garrick's version of *Antony and Cleopatra*, 'fitted for the Stage by abridging only', performed at Drury Lane. (3 February) *The Guardian*, a two-act comedy, performed at Drury Lane as part of a benefit night for the poet Christopher Smart. (31 December) *Harlequin's Invasion; or, A Christmas Gambol*, performed at Drury Lane.

1760 (13 December) *The Enchanter; or, Love and Magic*, a short opera, performed as an afterpiece at Drury Lane, with music by John Christopher Smith.

1761 (28 November) David Garrick's alteration of *Cymbeline* performed at Drury Lane.

1762 Drury Lane altered and enlarged. (20 March) *The Farmer's Return from London*, an interlude, performed at Drury Lane, with David Garrick as the Farmer. He is sketched in the role by Hogarth, and buys the artist's 'Election' series of paintings.

1763 (January) Thaddeus Fitzpatrick incites rioting at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, in protest at the abolition of half-price admission, which both theatres are forced to re-introduce. (15 September) The Garricks set out on their tour of France, Italy and Germany.

1763–5 The Garricks travel through France and Italy, enjoying themselves but also, at different stages of the tour, suffering serious illnesses.

1765 (25 April) The Garricks return to Southampton Street. (15 November) David Garrick returns to the Drury Lane stage by Royal Command, playing Benedict in *Much Ado About Nothing*. He improves the theatre's lighting by installing a system along Parisian lines.

1766 (20 February) *The Clandestine Marriage*, a comedy written in collaboration with George Colman the Elder, performed with great success at Drury Lane. Garrick and Colman fall out temporarily over the authorship of the piece. (25 October) Garrick's version of *The Country Wife* by William Wycherley, *The Country Girl*, is performed at Drury Lane. (18 November) *Neck or Nothing*, a farce, is performed as an afterpiece at Drury Lane.

1767 (2 January) *Cymon* performed at Drury Lane. (7 April) *Linco's Travels*, an interlude, performed at Drury Lane on Thomas King's benefit night (King had created the part of Linco in *Cymon*). (23 October) *A Peep Behind the Curtain; or, The New Rehearsal* performed at Drury Lane.

1768 *The Dramatic Works of David Garrick* is published in three volumes.

1769 (6–8 September) David Garrick organizes the Great Stratford Jubilee, in honour of Shakespeare, including a procession, fireworks, the first performance of his 'Ode to Shakespeare' and a ball – only for bad weather and local intransigence to turn the event into a humiliating debacle in which Garrick loses a great deal of money. He recoups the money with the phenomenally popular *The Jubilee*, first performed at Drury Lane on 14 October.

1770 (13 December) *King Arthur; or, The British Worthy* performed at Drury Lane.

1771 (28 October) *The Institution of the Garter; or, Arthur's Roundtable Restored*, an afterpiece, performed at Drury Lane, in response to the creation of nine Knights of the Garter earlier that year. David Gar-

rick employs Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg as a designer at Drury Lane.

1772 (28 February) The Garricks move from Southampton Terrace to Number 5 in the Royal Terrace of the Adelphi, which was then still under construction by their friends the Adam brothers; Robert Adam himself is their neighbour at Number 4, while another friend, Topham Beauclerk, moves into Number 3. (July) David Garrick sues William Kenrick for libel in the scandal over the Isaac Bickerstaffe affair; an apology appears in the *Public Advertiser* in November. (23 October) *The Irish Widow* performed as an afterpiece at Drury Lane. (30 October) *The Gamesters* successfully revived with 'Characters New Dress'd in the Habits of the Times'. (18 December) David Garrick's controversial alteration of *Hamlet* performed at Drury Lane.

1773 David Garrick is finally elected a member of the Club. (27 December) *A Christmas Tale*, an extravaganza with designs by Phillipe Jacques de Loutherbourg and music by Charles Dibdin, performed at Drury Lane.

1774 (January) James Lacy, David Garrick's co-patentee at Drury Lane, dies, and his son, Willoughby Lacy, assumes his share of the management. A new, two-volume edition of the *Dramatic Works of David Garrick* is published. (17 September) *The Meeting of the Company* performed as a prelude to open the season at Drury Lane.

1775 (18 March) *Bon Ton, or High Life Above Stairs* performed at Drury Lane as an afterpiece. The Adam brothers decorate and improve Drury Lane extensively over the summer. (23 September) *The Theatrical Candidates*, a musical prelude, opens the season at Drury Lane. (28 October) *May-Day; or, The Little Gipsy* performed at Drury Lane.

1776 (19 January) David Garrick sells his share of the Drury Lane patent to Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Thomas Linley, Dr James Ford and Simon Ewart for £35,000. (25 March) Theatrical Fund incorporated by a bill in Parliament. (April–10 June) Garrick makes his final appearances on stage at Drury Lane, ending with Don Felix in *The Wonder* by Centlivre; the proceeds go to the Theatrical Fund.

1779 (20 January) David Garrick dies at Adelphi Terrace. (1 February) Buried with notable ceremony in Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey. George Garrick dies two days after funeral. (11 March) Sheridan's *Monody to the Memory of Mr Garrick* recited by Mary Ann Yates at Drury Lane. In his will, Garrick leaves the statue of Shakespeare by Roubiliac and his collection of plays to the British Museum.

1822 Eva Maria Garrick dies at the Adelphi, at the age of ninety-eight.

1831 The Garrick Club founded.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Barton	Margaret Barton, *Garrick* (London: Faber, 1948).
BD	Philip Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward Langhans (eds), *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93).
Boaden	James Boaden, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick, with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831–2).
Burnim	Kalman A. Burnim, *David Garrick: Director* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 1961).
Davies	Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick Interspersed with Characters and Anecdotes of His Theatrical Contemporaries. The Whole Forming a History of the Stage, Which Includes a Period of Thirty-Six Years*, 2 vols (London: T. Davies, 1780).
Fitzgerald	Percy Fitzgerald, *The Life of David Garrick*, new and revised edn (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1899).
Hedgcock	Frank A. Hedgcock, *A Cosmopolitan Actor: David Garrick and His French Friends* (London: Stanley Paul, 1911).
Letters	David M. Little and George M. Kahrl (eds), with associated editor Phoebe de K. Wilson, *The Letters of David Garrick*, 3 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).
McIntyre	Ian McIntyre, *Garrick* (London: Allen Lane, 1999).
Murphy	Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick, Esq.* (London: J. Wright, 1801).
ODNB	*The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
Oman	Carola Oman, *David Garrick* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958).

Plays	Harry William Pedicord and Fredrick Louis Bergmann (eds), *The Plays of David Garrick*, 7 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980–2).
Stone/Kahrl	George Winchester Stone, Jr, and George M. Kahrl, *David Garrick: A Critical Biography* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979).

Garrick's Early Years

James Boaden, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831–2), vol. 1, pp. ii–xix. Cardiff Arts & Social Studies Library, shelfmark sp. Coll. WG16.95.G.

The story of Garrick's life up to 1741 has been one of the most consistent elements in his legend. In the *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, Thomas Davies describes him as 'a most sprightly and diverting boy' who 'engaged the attention of every body who knew him'; and if this young 'Davy Garrick' 'did not apply himself with any assiduity to his book', still he was 'remarkable for not being attached to puerile diversions'. Instead, he 'conceived a very early passion for theatrical representation, from which nothing could turn him aside'.[1] After the biographies of Davies and Arthur Murphy, James Boaden, in *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, supplied more details about the financial struggles of the Garrick family and David's important role within it once his father took up a military posting in Gibraltar. The embellishments and corrections of later biographers have not greatly affected this assessment of Garrick as a lively, sociable character, whose interest in theatre was there from the beginning. The friendship with Samuel Johnson emerges with the story of the young Garrick's staging of *The Recruiting Officer*, for which Johnson refused to supply a prologue, and the farcical period in which Johnson taught two of the Garrick boys, David and George, at his Edial school, which he established soon after he married. (David's cheeky attitude to his old friend emerges in stories of him eavesdropping on the Johnsons' domestic negotiations.) Shakespeare receives little mention as of yet. In 1737, the story goes, Johnson and Garrick left Lichfield 'to try their fortunes in the great metropolis',[2] and from there, in most accounts, it is rapid journey on the latter's part from the wine trade to amateur dramatics to *Richard III* and fame.

Formerly a playwright, Boaden (1762–1839) had taken up writing theatrical biography in the 1820s at a moment of personal financial crisis, and had written *Lives* of John Philip Kemble, his sister Sarah Siddons, Dorothy Jordan and Elizabeth Inchbald before he got round to Garrick. All of these works came in

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