SHAKESPEARE AND THE LEGACY OF LOSS

EMILY HODGSON ANDERSON

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To Owen and Dylan—you have my heart

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For Garrick, the master of passion, retired,
And Nature and Shakespeare together expired
—Charles Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney* (1832)

The life of a favourite performer . . . glances a mortifying reflection on the shortness of human life.
—William Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting" (1817)

Acknowledgments

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The Actor

David Garrick died on 20 January 1779. In the days before his funeral, over fifty thousand people visited his home at Adelphi Terrace to see his remains. The funeral, celebrated on 1 February 1779, was a similarly elaborate affair. The procession of Garrick's body, from Adelphi to its final resting place in Westminster Abbey, was accompanied by "upwards of thirty mourning coaches, followed by twice the number of gentlemen's carriages," and the route of the procession was jammed with thousands upon thousands of spectators, "more people present . . . than were ever remembered to have been collected since the coronation."[1] As the comparison indicates, Garrick was interred with a pomp and circumstance worthy of kings: at the time when a poor person's funeral may have cost about £15 and one for the "middling sort" about £100, Garrick's funeral bill was rumored to exceed £1,500.[2]

But Garrick was no king. Instead, he was an actor, indeed the preeminent Shakespearean actor of his day. He was a theater manager, controlling from 1747 to 1776 one of the two major patent theaters in London, Drury Lane. He was a playwright, enriching the stage with such new compositions as *The Clandestine Marriage* (1766) and *The Jubilee* (1769). He was a mentor to other aspiring playwrights and actors, such as the actress Mary Robinson and the playwright Hannah More, and sometimes the gatekeeper who kept others (such as Frances Brooke) from advancing

in their careers. As the scope of his funeral would indicate, he was no obscure figure, nor has he become one. He has been a popular biographical subject, from his own day to the present, and he remains much studied, especially by those interested in the history of the British stage.[3]

Yet if little about his life needs to be unearthed, returning to his death, and his career-long interest in Shakespeare, holds new potential for reshaping how we think about a struggle that obsessed Garrick while yet alive: the conflict he faced, as an actor, with the fleeting, ephemeral nature of his art. "Pity it is," the actor and poet Colley Cibber would write, a year before Garrick would make his theatrical debut, "that the animated Graces of the Player can live no longer than the instant Breath and Motion that presents them."[4] This fact about actors had been mourned before Garrick took to the stage, by Cibber and his contemporaries, but also by Shakespeare in many of the same plays that Garrick would go on to reenact. Garrick, however, called attention to it in new and numerous ways. "But he, who struts his hour upon the stage," Garrick would later write, channeling *Macbeth*, "can scarce extend his fame thro' half an age."[5] Acting in the era prior to any form of recording, and obsessed with fame, Garrick predicated his desire to live forever on an art form he knew could not be preserved.

For his fans, Garrick thus activated, as never before, the dynamic of desire and loss embedded in all acts of performance, and inspired spectators to respond to this dynamic in intense and varied ways. If audiences had long known that "all the world's a stage," eighteenth-century audiences and actors made much of the metaphor's dependence on evanescence, or, as articulated in one of my epigraphs, of how the ephemerality of theatrical performance stands in for "the shortness of human life."[6] Beloved actors, writes William Hazlitt, teach us through their successes about "the shortness of human life, and the vanity of human pleasures. . . . They are the links that connect the beginning and the end of life together; *their* bright and giddy career of popularity measures the arch that spans our brief existence."[7] Writing in the wake of Garrick, Hazlitt muses on what it will mean for other actors to leave the stage, yet he does so, I contend, because of how potently Garrick urged his spectators to sense the loss inherent in performance long before the celebrated actor actually retired or passed away.[8] In performances such as those rendered by Garrick, loss itself becomes an inheritance to be experienced and passed on.

Such a response is retroactively enforced in the commentary on Garrick's death. Garrick might have merited funereal pomp worthy of kings,

but when he died, he died an actor, and he was mourned as an actor, too. Garrick's funeral conjures up memories of that mounted for the Restoration actor Thomas Betterton, Garrick's precursor in reputation and fame, an event that established the then-innovative idea that an actor, like a king, was worthy of great public grief.[9] But whereas Betterton was mourned as what Joseph Roach has termed a surrogate monarch, indicative of the way that throughout his career his acting had channeled the dignity of kings, the eulogies that proliferated at Garrick's death focused instead on what it meant for an actor, as opposed to a poet, or painter, or sculptor, or even a king, to die.[10]

Take, as exemplary, an excerpt from "Verses to the Memory of Garrick," written by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the actor who succeeded Garrick as the theater manager of Drury Lane:

> The Actor only, shrinks from Times Award;
> Feeble tradition is his Memory's Guard;
> By whose faint Breath his Merits must abide,
> Unvouch'd by Proof—to Substance unallied!
> Ev'n matchless Garrick's Art to Heav'n resign'd,
> No fix'd Effect, no Model leaves behind![11]

Sheridan, child of the theater, scion to the actor, playwright, and elocution specialist Thomas Sheridan, and playwright, actor, and theater manager in his own right, mourns in Garrick's passing a larger truth about theatrical life. As Sheridan's monody elsewhere stipulates, other figures, revered for their artistry or governance, leave behind traces of this skill and thus traces of themselves—books they have written, portraits they have painted, laws they have passed, buildings they have named. The actor, however, even a "matchless" actor such as Garrick, is revered for an artistry that cannot remain. He must therefore be mourned double: for his loss, and the loss of our ability to remember him through any surviving "effects."

Yet one model, of a sort, remained, and it resurrected for his mourners a central aspect of Garrick's career. As Sheridan recalls the circumstances of Garrick's funeral—"the general Voice, the Meed of mournful verse, / The splendid Sorrows that adorned his Hearse"—he indicates, too, one monument that now seems to commemorate Garrick: "Shakespeare's image from its hallow'd Base / Seem'd to prescribe the Grave, and point the Place."[12] Prior to housing Garrick, Westminster Abbey had since 1741 been the home to Peter Scheemakers's statue of Shakespeare,

Fig. 1. Peter Scheemakers, monument to Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey, 1740. © The Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Fig. 2. J. Barlow. *Monument to the memory of David Garrick esqr.* (1797). Folger Shakespeare Library Call #: ART G241 no. 43. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

and it is at the base of this statue that Garrick's remains were ultimately interred. Though a separate funeral monument for Garrick himself was planned, it would not be installed until 1797, and so for nearly twenty years, as Michael Dobson has remarked, Shakespeare's statue served as the marker for Garrick's grave.

This statue, too, stood as a symbol of loss: a monument erected in place of the Shakespearean body that was not there, and a testament to the recovery of a playwright whose reputation, at the beginning of the Restoration, had been much in doubt.[13] Garrick's placement at its base was a fitting tribute to his role in the recovery of this reputation, and a commentary on how he had worked to fill the voids (first of the work, now of the body) that the dead Shakespeare had left behind.[14] That Garrick was not single-handedly responsible for reviving Shakespeare on the eighteenth-century stage has been granted by theater historians, but that he himself would have liked full credit for doing exactly this has been established by scholars of Garrick.[15] As his career progressed, he worked increasingly hard to make his reputation inextricable from that of the playwright he would elevate, posthumously, to the status of Britain's "National Poet."[16] And though his contemporary Charles Macklin played an equally important role in increasing the Shakespeare repertoire on the eighteenth-century London stage, it was Garrick who worked tirelessly—through the roles he played, the plays of Shakespeare that he rewrote and staged, and the images of himself and Shakespeare that he circulated and commissioned—to have his identity and Shakespeare's be considered as one and the same.

This book probes the implications of this desire, as layered against the acknowledgment that a dying actor leaves nothing of his art behind. By playing Shakespeare, Garrick raised the playwright to a position of new national importance, but in the process of doing so, he also activated Shakespeare as the social and cultural center around which he, and many other actors and even novelists, could work out questions about how to resist the evanescence of theater and life. How could the artist who stakes his fame on an ephemeral form of art be celebrated or preserved? How do approaches to commemoration change in light of these attempts? And how did Shakespeare become an emblem to other artists for how such preservation could be achieved? These are questions that Garrick, through Shakespeare, was able to ask, and questions that, thanks to Garrick, others would then take up. The chapters that follow tell the story of the answers they obtained.

Only a few turns of fate were responsible for making Shakespeare, and not, say, Christopher Marlowe or John Fletcher, the preeminent playwright of the British stage. With the closing of the theaters during the English Civil War, knowledge about all Jacobean playwrights suffered, and 1659—a time when performances, publications, and criticism of Shakespeare had almost wholly disappeared or not yet emerged—has been identified as the "nadir of Shakespeare's posthumous history."[17] But with the restoration of the monarchy and the stage, Shakespeare started to reemerge. The Restoration theater manager William Davenant, young, energetic, and strapped for plays, successfully begged for a passel of "disposable" scripts by a then "second-string" playwright; the aforementioned Thomas Betterton, through his performances of roles such as Hamlet and Pericles, subsequently helped elevate this "Shakespeare" to a popularity on par with at least Francis Beaumont and Fletcher.[18] Shakespeare received an extra boost in 1737 with the passage of the Theater Licensing Act, when theater managers, now required to submit all new plays to the licenser, found themselves turning for ease to the work of older playwrights and particularly that of Shakespeare.[19] By the early 1740s, almost every known Shakespearean play was being staged for appreciative audiences, and performances of Shakespeare "constituted almost one fourth of London's theatrical bill."[20] In the 1740–41 season, for example, Drury Lane produced fourteen Shakespeare plays, for a total of eighty-five performances in a season of 192 acting nights, and from mid-December to the end of March there were only six acting nights without, at one of the operating houses, a production of Shakespeare.[21]

Of course, as critics such as Jean Marsden and Michael Dobson have discussed, the Shakespeare that eighteenth-century audiences were going to see was often heavily revised.[22] If the eighteenth century welcomed the "full-scale canonization of Shakespeare," it also, simultaneously, engaged in the "wholesale adaptation" of his works.[23] Examples of such adaptation range from John Dryden and William Davenant's spectacle-filled *The Tempest; or, The Enchanted Island* (1667), to Nahum Tate's "happy ending" version of *King Lear* (1681), to Garrick's drastically shortened version of *The Winter's Tale* (1756). While the Licensing Act prompted some managers to return to the original versions of Shakespeare's plays (and indeed most of the "radical adaptations" of Shakespeare were composed prior to 1737), certain adaptations held the stage until well into the nineteenth century.[24] Those that did so tended to show audiences a "domestic Shakespeare," one whom they could identify with "virtuous family life, vigorous trade, and British glory."[25]

In the Restoration and thereafter, in other words, British audiences and playwrights molded Shakespeare to reflect their own concerns: they made him hold "the mirror up to nature" and supported, by their attendance at these adaptations, the version of nature that they already knew. And yet, as the apt *Hamlet* quotation suggests, many Shakespearean plays also interrogate the issue of their reception. Though the discussion of eighteenth-century rewritings of Shakespeare's plays focuses rightly on what the adaptation can tell us about "the values, the taste and theatrical conventions of the age" that is doing the adapting, it leaves out "the agency of Shakespeare's plays themselves, their capacity to influence his later interpreters, editors, readers, and performers."[26] No matter how heavily they were revised, Shakespeare's plays inevitably influence, and sometimes even anticipate, their eighteenth-century revisions.

Nowhere is this dynamic better evidenced than in the relationship of Garrick, and those artists who orbited and informed him, to Shakespeare. One way to read Garrick's investment in Shakespeare, and indeed the way that several of his contemporaries read it, was that it was motivated as much by his concern for his own posthumous reputation as it was by his love for the playwright. Staking his fame on the characters of Shakespeare he performed, the plays of Shakespeare that he cast or rewrote, and the adaptations of Shakespeare that he restored, Garrick sought to find in Shakespeare a model for his own endurance. And suggestively, many of the plays he excelled in, and occasionally plays in which he significantly failed, anticipated these very concerns: how can the artistry of life or theater, defined by its ephemeral and dynamic nature, be remembered or preserved? And what artistic medium is best suited to this act of commemoration?

Such questions persist. Even today, actors stake their reputations on Shakespearean roles, raising the question of how Shakespeare in particular became the node for anxieties about artistic transience and the benchmark for lasting success. But in eighteenth-century England, as the culture responded to a broader sense of loss (of a murdered king; of the missing years of the Interregnum, legally banished by the "Act of Oblivion" from time; and of the many pre–Civil War figures, such as Shakespeare, who ran the risk of being permanently effaced), Shakespeare provided the means by which anxieties about obsolescence could be both focused and redressed. In particular, this book emphasizes, and interrogates, the fact that in a time period replete with what Joseph Roach has termed "the iconography of visual remembrance"—a preponderance of commemorative statuary and portraiture dedicated both to

Shakespeare and those actors who would animate his works—such acts of remembrance were not seen by Garrick and his followers as sufficient.[27]

Instead, Garrick's sought in his enactments of Shakespeare a complementary model for how his own career might be remembered and restored. In contrast to the classical model that would valorize as commemorative the material monument or printed text, Garrick found in his restitution of Shakespeare a way to imagine performance itself as a, and perhaps even *the*, preferable commemorative act. Similarly, instead of lamenting the evanescence that is the benchmark of the actor's art, Shakespeare's plays themselves often embrace this quality as precisely what enables performance's repetition and thus endurance. Hermione's moving statue, in *The Winter's Tale*, becomes an antidote to the static monument that commemorates her loss; Hamlet's Mousetrap play, in *Hamlet*, becomes an emblem for how performance can make history live again.

By playing Shakespeare, and by playing in plays such as these, Garrick would thus establish on multiple levels how performance emerges as an alternative and even an antidote to the commemoration associated with the monument, the portrait, the printed text. Whereas these alternate forms of memorialization testify by their very presence to the absence of that which they recall, Garrick sought to achieve through performance a fantasy in which the missing original could return to life. This was a potent fantasy, one predicated on a desire for immortality even more than commemoration. As such, it was doomed to fail.

In what follows, I illustrate the development of this fantasy through Garrick's engagements with select Shakespearean plays: *Othello*, *Richard III*, *Hamlet*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *The Merchant of Venice*. Garrick acted in many other Shakespearean works, and other titles circulate throughout the book (*King Lear*, *Macbeth*) as they came to offer him occasions for working out concerns about memorialization and obsolescence on the stage. Two of the featured plays—*Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*—appear here in part because even as they reflect in fascinating ways on commemoration, and even as Garrick came back to them at various points in his career, he did not succeed in them, or refused to engage with them in a more than peripheral fashion. Other plays—*Richard III*, *Hamlet* and *The Winter's Tale*—played obvious and influential roles in his career. *Hamlet* and *The Winter's Tale*, in particular, help him establish his counterintuitive model for commemoration: the actor as a living monument to Shakespeare.[28]

Garrick's engagements with these plays also show that he was never

alone in addressing questions about the endurance of the actor's art. Theater is a famously collaborative space, and Garrick was always surrounded by a community of actors and artists from whom he took cues, and whose careers and lives he in turn shaped. While Garrick is the focus for this book, the locus point from which the other stories I tell emerge, several other artists play supporting roles: Aphra Behn, the Restoration novelist and playwright whose novella *Oroonoko* would form an important dramatic response (in its adapted form) to eighteenth-century stagings of *Othello*; Laurence Sterne, the ill and aging eighteenth-century novelist, who would find in Garrick's *Hamlet* an innovative model for his serially published novel *Tristram Shandy* and his life; Mary Robinson, the ingénue and protégée whom Garrick would train for the theater even after his own retirement, and who would find in the character of Perdita both an inspiration and a shackle for her subsequent career; Charles Macklin, the veteran actor, contemporary, and sometime rival of Garrick, who would play his own managerial role in getting more Shakespeare plays on the stage and would through his performance of Shylock enable new conversations about the accessibility of Shakespearean "ideals"; Catherine (Kitty) Clive, the comic actress who played opposite Macklin, and who would through her satirical impersonations challenge the idea of performance's ability to comment on anything beyond the present day; and finally, and most substantially, Sarah Siddons, Garrick's successor as the preeminent Shakespearean actor at the turn of the century, the protégée he initially rejected in favor of Robinson, and the actress who would, through her own aging and retirement, play a crucial role in shifting Romantic ideas about performance, and inciting interest in how one related to a Shakespeare who was read and not staged.

My investigation into the challenge of remembering what is staged begins with one of Garrick's very first onstage appearances, a supporting role in the play version of *Oroonoko*. To contextualize this challenge, I offer a reading of Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688) as rewriting the problem of memorialization put forward in Shakespeare's *Othello*. The novelty of both titular protagonists, I argue, flags the broader trial of how to remember the exotic subject, and also starts to explain how the exotic subject stands in the way of close associations, such as those seen in Garrick's performance of Richard III, between the actor and the part he plays. Behn draws on *Othello*'s indictment of visual memory as supporting her choice to commemorate such a protagonist not in drama but in prose, an indictment that then allows me to reinterpret Garrick's abysmal performances in eighteenth-century adaptations of these works, and

also to explain his corresponding success in *Richard III* and, later, *Hamlet*. For, as I argue in my chapter on Garrick's fascination with *Hamlet* and the importance of both Garrick and *Hamlet* to the eighteenth-century novelist Laurence Sterne, Garrick aspired not simply to commemorate but to revivify Shakespeare, and this was an aspiration that the part of Othello—a part that requires audiences to see the white actor as only ever an imperfect substitute for the character he portrays—could never let him fulfill. These aspirations are articulated instead through parts such as Hamlet and in Garrick's restitution of and Sarah Siddons's performances in *The Winter's Tale*'s famous living statue scene (1756 and 1802–12, respectively).

This question of what it means to be a living monument to a dead author then motivates my fourth chapter, on eighteenth-century rewritings and performances of *The Winter's Tale*. Here, the living statue challenges the stasis of the typical memorial, which confirms the lost life it commemorates but cannot renew. But here, too, gender emerges as a significant factor, since the ability to play a living monument is in this play relegated to Hermione (and Siddons) alone. Garrick's struggles with this fact, and with Siddons, also inform the dynamic of my fifth chapter, featuring the performances that Garrick orchestrated of Charles Macklin and Kitty Clive in *The Merchant of Venice* (1741–59). Clive's potency as a satirical Portia, who confronts Macklin's serious and "Shakespearean" Shylock, accentuates a gendered bid for power that rests in performance's ability not to commemorate but to disappear. My final chapter, which juxtaposes the very different retirements of Garrick and Siddons, takes up this reassessment of performance in light of the preferential treatment given by spectators to Siddons's postretirement staged readings, and closes by reexamining the Romantic "inward turn" toward reading, individualism, and imagination as a response to the loss audiences experienced at Garrick's death and Siddons's decay.

All of these names and stories will circulate throughout this book, and, like Garrick, many of these authors and actors are already well known. But these figures look very different in the context of this discussion, and in the context of the discussion they had with each other about how the establishment of Shakespeare's afterlife could provide a model for their own. For example, Garrick's late-career excision of *Hamlet*'s graveyard scene, discussed in chapter 3, looks different when read in the context of his interactions with Sterne and his career-long interest in performance's relationship to memory and death. Revisiting such historical "evidence" also often reveals slippages in the way that

anecdotes about these actors—such as Alexander Pope's alleged quip in response to Macklin's Shylock, or accounts of Garrick changing his facial expressions while having his portrait done—circulate and change even within contemporary reviews. These slippages then become evidence themselves: of the challenge posed to memorialization by performance, and the way that cultural memory responds, in the words of Rebecca Schneider, by "performing remains."[29]

Finally, though the chapter arguments narrated above may seem sequential, even teleological, the discussions that follow will rarely proceed linearly. Conversations about succession, death, memory, and reenactment circle back on themselves, playing with time in the very manner that they discuss. Just so, the chronology of this book will be wide rather than straight, a more theoretical commitment that I address in chapter 1. How might Garrick's engagements with Shakespeare, and his potent and circulating fantasy that Garrick and Shakespeare could coexist, affect how we narrate theater history and the trajectory of any actor's career? While the beginning of Garrick's career features in my opening readings, and while the book ends with a meditation on the retirements of Garrick and Siddons, my chapters do not adhere to a strict chronology, and the featured actors and authors will emerge and resurface at various points in their careers. Siddons will appear in one of her final theatrical roles, before appearing in her first, and Garrick's late-career adaptations of *Hamlet* precede in my chapters his midcareer changes to *The Winter's Tale*. Such shifts are fitting, given that the rhythms and demands of performance modeled for these actors and authors a cyclic view of time. Performance recreates as it remembers, rendering, as I contend in my next chapter, any sense of absolute origin or absolute ending suspect. That is why I introduce Garrick, here, at his death: for it was his death, or at least the foreknowledge of it, that inspired his quest to make himself, through Shakespeare, live again.

Against Loss

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"SHAKESPEARE revives! In GARRICK breathes again!" claims one mid-century tribute to David Garrick.[1] Against Richard Brinsley Sheridan's lament that Garrick, like every actor, would vanish without a trace, there existed simultaneously the celebration that Garrick had, in his lifetime, brought Shakespeare back to life. "Shakespeare and Garrick, like twin stars shall shine," celebrates Garrick's epitaph in Westminster Abbey, in a similar vein, espousing the belief that if Garrick could revive Shakespeare, then Garrick could aspire to a similar longevity for himself.[2] The statements are, as I emphasize in my introduction, fantasies doomed to fail, and yet they also suggest a thought experiment that I want to pursue. If actors can in some way outlast their "hour upon the stage," how should those of us interested in writing about performance approach the history or chronology of an actor's theatrical career? And how might understanding an actor's career in these terms—as something ongoing, rather than something that is doomed to possess only a short life onstage—affect how we understand performance's ability to commemorate that which it represents?

These questions have implications for how we "do" theater history, even as they are in tension with my own emphasis elsewhere in this book on Shakespeare and Garrick's legacy of loss. While the functions of performance are diverse—from entertainment, to escapism, to the depiction of fantasy characters and worlds—one way critics understand it to function is as a receptacle of memory: actors stand in, not only for

the fictional characters they play, but for the actors who have played those characters before, thus prompting us to remember performances and people now gone.[3] And yet, as this chapter will explore, in the performances popularized by Garrick, the loss of Shakespeare, and, (he hoped) himself, was often presented as never quite complete, so that audiences could enjoy a theatrical experience in which those who should be in most need of commemoration actually still seemed to populate the stage. Within this thought-experiment, actors become not those most in danger of effacement, but those who singularly possess some key to immortality, and those with the power to bring moments and people from the past back forward into life.

Theater history, by contrast, typically tracks an actor's career linearly, from its beginning to its end, and this endpoint, be it retirement or death, is for beloved actors often treated by critics and practitioners as something to be mourned. Garrick, for example, viewed retirement and death as equivalent: in theatrical performance, the experience of which he considered to be limited to the moment of its occurrence, every exit of the actor marked the loss of an experience that could never be reclaimed, while the retirement of the actor took from audiences all such experiences and the chance to ever have such experiences again.[4] As Laurence's Sterne's character Tristram will say to his beloved Jenny, each individual parting, each individual exit from the stage, has the potential to resonate with audience and actor as a "prelude[e] to that eternal separation which we are shortly to make!"[5] It becomes a rehearsal for the more final exit of retirement and a morbid reminder of the ultimate exit of death. And yet, as various critics have explored and as my opening thought-experiment spells out, time in the theater does not move in a strictly linear fashion, complicating the very notion of an exit, and making the end of a performance often hard to track.[6]

This fact in turn revises how we think about the relationship of performance to loss.[7] If endings need not be permanent, then the performer need never truly disappear. In one very potent sense, loss is the teleological endpoint of every drama, as the actor enters only to exit like Macbeth's "poor player" on the stage, who "then is heard no more."[8] But theatrical time is simultaneously cyclical and futuristic, with the same actor enjoying (he hopes) the experience of entering and exiting and entering again. Loss in this experience becomes transient—the invitation for an actor or a performance to live again. These experiences of theatrical time coexist during any performance, even as discussions of

the actor still tend to produce linear, chronological accounts of how a particular performance or a particular actor's career played out.

Accounts of Garrick play to type in this regard. Yet Garrick, perhaps more than any actor of his age, manipulated concepts of theatrical time, most particularly through his fantasy that through him Shakespeare could live again. Garrick's spectators didn't ever forget that he was Garrick—far from it—but they could see the Shakespeare *in* him, and, as my subsequent chapters will show, this fantasy affected eighteenth-century attitudes toward recuperation and obsolescence. This chapter delves more particularly into the theoretical implications of Garrick's fantasy, demonstrating Garrick's utility as a case study beyond what he can tell us about the history of the British stage. Live performance, as most critics of the discipline seem to agree, is always on some level steeped in pathos, as the actors who appear before us evoke the absence of past performances and anticipate their own disappearance.[9] Yet Garrick's Shakespearean performances, while immersed in these dynamics, also did something slightly different. Through these roles, he suggested, aspirationally, that lost performances or icons could be not just referenced as memories or evocations, but revived, in their own personae, by the actor who yet remains himself. Performance in this fantasy offers more than the promise of revival through biological or artistic succession, a promise in which the memory of past performers and performances is preserved via the tributes given by their now-living replacements. Instead, Garrick in his most extreme examples of this fantasy presents performance as that which could bring the dead back to life, to live next to, and not through, the successors who otherwise stand in for them.

The latter scenario can never truly happen, except in the magic of a Shakespearean play. But the reception of Garrick, in his Shakespearean parts, shows that Garrick and many of his spectators came to believe that it had. Many artistic responses to Garrick, as I subsequently discuss, depict Garrick and Shakespeare as coexisting, whether they be occupying alternate sides of a medallion; or blended in a statue ostensibly of Shakespeare, but for which Garrick likely posed; or awaiting, as an already deified figure, the apotheosis of the other. And this belief in the possibility of their coexistence has implications for how we understand the impact of Garrick, then—and for how we talk about performance and performance history, now. It is in part because acting is a time-bound art that actors must base their careers on the practice of standing in for others—not just the dramatic characters they play, but also the

rival actors, or "missing originals," who came before.[10] But sometimes an actor, such as Garrick, aspires to revivification rather than substitution; he envisions a world in which the missing original can return and—as in Garrick's epitaph, which depicts him as a star in the firmament alongside the playwright he had brought back to life—in which the actor who summons that original can remain forever by his side. Though the scenario remains a fantasy, the circulation of this fantasy via Garrick created, I contend, a cultural investment in performance, not as that which models the human condition of mortality, but as that which could transcend it, and Garrick's stage modeled an environment in which the truth of what Joseph Roach calls "surrogation"—a world in which, in performance as in life, loved ones can be recaptured and remembered only by those they leave behind—could be denied.

In such a world, when exits need not be absolute, and past icons need not live only in the past, thinking about performance in linear terms becomes misleading, and the performer or performance becomes not merely a symbol of man's immanent mortality, but a vehicle for revival and an emblem for living on. Garrick's career, this chapter contends, and the rest of the book exhibits, models for us a new way of thinking about theater and theater history: not in linear, chronological terms, but as "a network of signification that moves across time."[11] And as those most embedded in that network, theatrical performers become not only vehicles for commemoration, or even living reminders that memories can fail and fade, but also emblems of vitality who broker an experience that can transcend loss and time.

The Chronology of Garrick

> I departed my theatrical life on Monday the 10th of June.[12]
> —David Garrick, to Suzanne Necker, 18 June 1776

In most accounts, Garrick's Shakespearean career is presented via a chronological arc. He made his first official appearance on the London stage, which was also the occasion for his first Shakespearean role, on 19 October 1741, when he appeared at Goodman's Fields as Richard III in Colley Cibber's adaptation of Shakespeare's play. His next Shakespearean appearance that season was at Goodman's Fields as the ghost of Old Hamlet, on 9 December 1741, and he then played the part of Lear at the same theater (in Nahum Tate's bowdlerized adaptation) on

11 March 1742. Many additional parts were interspersed among these (Bayes, from Buckingham's *The Rehearsal*; Lord Foppington, from Cibber's *The Careless Husband*, for instance), but his first professional season on the London stage was bookended by Shakespeare: he closed out this season by signing articles for what would become his long appointment at Drury Lane, and then repeating there his performances of Lear (27 May 1742) and Richard, this time by royal command (31 May 1742).

During the ensuing summer, at Smock Alley Theater in Dublin, Garrick reprised many of the above Shakespearean roles. He also added one that was new: Hamlet, on 12 August 1742, a part he then brought to Drury Lane, on 16 November of that same year. In the 1743–44 season at Drury Lane Garrick would add to his Shakespearean repertoire the part of Macbeth (7 January 1744), which he prepped and puffed by publishing the anonymous and satirical *Essay on Acting*, a piece that critiques, among other things, the notion of a diminutive actor like Garrick playing the part.[13] He played King John for the first time on 20 February 1745 and then, on 7 March 1745, for the first time, Othello. He played Hotspur once, very unsatisfactorily, on 6 December 1746. On 14 November 1748, he gave his public for the first time a version of Benedict drawn from his own highly redacted version of Shakespeare's *Much Ado*. He debuted Iago on 9 March 1749 and Romeo on 28 September 1750, which he mounted as a twelve-day standoff against Spranger Barry's Romeo, being played at the exact same time at Covent Garden. He first played the Bastard in *King John* on 23 January 1754; he debated performing the part of Coriolanus in his adaptation of that play, but then, on 11 November 1754, gave the part to an Irish actor in his employ, Henry Mossop.

In addition to these roles, Garrick produced during this time period several Shakespearean adaptations, such as his three-act *Catharine and Petruchio* (1754) and his operatic version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, titled *The Fairies* (1755), though he didn't himself take on a part in either play. But then, in his redacted, three-act version of *The Winter's Tale*, he did, debuting Leontes on 21 January 1756. He played Henry IV in *2 Henry IV* for the first time on 13 March 1758, and Antony in a version of *Antony and Cleopatra* that he altered and performed for the first time on 3 January 1758. In 1761 he made his first appearance as Posthumus in his alteration of *Cymbeline*. This was the last new Shakespearean part that he would take on in his career. After a two-year exodus to France and Italy, from 1763 to 1765, he returned to London to restart his acting career with a performance of Benedict, on 14 November 1765. And though

after Posthumus he would attempt no new Shakespearean roles, September 1769 saw the debacle of his rained-out three-day Shakespeare festival, The Jubilee, and his resulting and incredibly popular concoction of songs and processional of Shakespearean characters, *The Jubilee*. On 8 June 1776, at the end of a retirement season replete with his most beloved Shakespearean performances (Richard, Hamlet, Benedict, Lear), he delivered his next-to-last performance ever and his final Shakespearean role, as Lear.

The above account is relatively comprehensive, and this summary can be found in or redacted from various accounts: *The Biographical Dictionary of Actors, The London Stage*, the multiple biographies of Garrick that exist in print.[14] But it also leaves out a lot, and not just about the other roles that Garrick interspersed with his Shakespearean ones, or the multiple occasions on which he reprised the roles that he debuted above. Why bookend his very first London season with Shakespearean roles? Why choose Benedict, out of all his roles, for his return from the continent? What was it like for him to play the role of Iago after playing the part of Othello—or the part of the Bastard after debuting, nine years prior, the part of King John? Why save the role of Posthumus for so late in his career? Why wait to play Romeo until the moment that Barry was also playing it? Why relinquish the part of Coriolanus, at the last instant, to someone else? And why not ever attempt certain Shakespearean roles, such as Shylock?

These questions, despite often being answerable only by speculation, point to how each new role of Garrick's interacts with its contemporary context and with the other roles that Garrick had played or aspired to play. And while more exhaustive accounts (such as the list of performances given in *The London Stage*) include the various times he reprised the given roles and the other roles he played in between, filling in Garrick's timeline still misses what was happening each time he played a part. Garrick's reprisal of Benedict in 1765 would undoubtedly have reflected on his prior performances of Benedict; his Smock Alley appearance as Old Hamlet's ghost inevitably prepared him, and was meant to prepare him, to appear soon thereafter as Old Hamlet's son; his Romeo can only be understood in tandem with that presented by Barry. No single Shakespearean performance of Garrick's existed in a vacuum. Instead, they intersected with, anticipated, and echoed all the other performances that he, and other actors before and contemporaneous to him, had given or would give.

Scholars of performance are more than ready to acknowledge as

much. Yet against the work we do to recover each single performance exists the narrative we subsequently create around it, and this narrative almost always unfolds in chronological terms. Garrick's achievements (and failures) invite us to reexamine how we could narrate the history of his or indeed any actor's career. Even as he is engaged, necessarily, in a sequential, teleological approach to his professional development, my subsequent chapters show that Garrick understands theatrical performance as that which works in nonteleological terms. So while he describes, in my epigraph to this section, leaving the stage for the final time as a theatrical death, he pens this statement at the conclusion of a career that he hoped would give him a way to transport the liveness he so loved about performance off the stage. His vision of performance as key to a new kind of immortality opens up new questions about how time works upon the stage, and about how aspects of "theatrical time" may influence notions of theater history in turn.

Theatrical Time

> I am not able to answer the question, which is so often put to me, whether I shall strut & fret my hour upon the Stage again.[15]
>
> —David Garrick to Dr. John Hoadly, 4 May 1765

For audiences of Garrick, and especially of Garrick as Shakespeare, questions about theatrical time were constantly being engaged. First, and perhaps most obviously, Garrick's approach to Shakespeare accentuated theater's obsession with the past. Garrick's Shakespearean roles always presented his viewers with what Marvin Carlson calls a "haunted stage," in that to see Garrick perform was to confront the ghosts of all the past Shakespearean actors or performances (actors such as Thomas Betterton or, in more recent audience memory, Colley Cibber; or competing Shakespearean performances given by Charles Macklin or James Quin) who came before and would never come again.[16] While as much is true of any act of performance—as any stage is always populated by such ghosts—Garrick perhaps called attention to this fact more than other actors and used Shakespeare to do so more than he did his other roles: some of his most successful performances feature encounters with actual spirits—Hamlet, Richard III, Macbeth—and some of his best-known and oft-reproduced portraits from the time (especially as Hamlet and Richard III) depict these encounters. To see Garrick perform was also

to confront the ghost of Shakespeare himself, who, as I will detail more explicitly in chapter 3 (and as Michael Dobson has so beautifully discussed), often appears in prologues to plays in which Garrick would perform and haunts so much of the writing being done for and around the mid-eighteenth-century stage.[17] Theater in this experience becomes a so-called memory machine, or a place in which we are summoned, through the work of performance, to remember what is no longer there.[18] On such a stage, the experience of loss is everywhere we look.

And yet theater is also always filled with living bodies, which serve as constant reminders of our existence in the here and now.[19] The "nowness" and vitality of live performance is often what draws observers to the stage; to watch Garrick perform was also always to be reminded that he had *not* yet disappeared, while to witness this fact gave his viewers the necessary reminder that they, too, were yet alive. Even as a young actor Garrick would emphasize this point by somewhat paradoxically choosing the part of Lear for only his second Shakespearean role and ultimately (and after some tutoring from Macklin) astonishing audiences with his ability, at twenty-four years of age, to play convincingly the part of a man near death. (The potency of this performance, I would argue, comes from the audience's awareness that Lear's age and fragility, while performed so convincingly, are but a performance: one that makes them attuned to the young and virile body that performs it, even as it highlights Lear's fragility as the end toward which Garrick, like all of us, ultimately tends.) As I discuss in my final chapter, Garrick also triggered this experience, even as he reminded his spectators of its transience, most especially during his retirement season on the stage. Those spectators who risked an outbreak of influenza, for example, to see their beloved Garrick in some of his final performances celebrated their own vitality by their attendance—though they also perhaps compromised that condition by putting themselves in a prime position to get sick. On such a stage, loss is always waiting in the wings.

Simultaneously, the fact that ghosts have been replaced by bodies gestures to a cycle within performance that will keep recurring, and to an experience of anticipation shared by actor and spectator alike.[20] The sense that loss was imminent triggered for Garrick and his spectators the frisson of anticipation, an experience, for example, activated, and ironically forestalled, by Garrick's Othello. As I discuss in the next chapter, this role eludes Garrick's mastery even as it goes to the heart of his own, future-oriented desires for posthumous fame: it is a part in which he demands that spectators will, after his death, "speak of me as I am."[21] The

fact that performance is always vanishing brings Garrick great anxiety; that it is (in William Hazlitt's words) "always setting out afresh" brings him hope.[22] As the epigraph to this section shows, Garrick, returning to England in 1765 after two years away from the stage, was well aware of both potentials, and though his absence may have doomed him to obsolescence, theater, as he writes to Hoadly, also always offers the opportunity (though it doesn't guarantee it) for an "again." On this stage, loss is a condition to transcend.

Finally, the Othello quotation, with its paradoxical tenses—for Othello asks that future generations speak of him as he *is*, not as he was—gets at yet another experience of theatrical time evident in Garrick's career. By playing Shakespeare, Garrick is commemorating Shakespeare, and anticipating his own—Garrick's—future success. But as the tributes that opened this chapter also show ("SHAKESPEARE revives! In GARRICK breathes again!"), he is also suggesting that he, Garrick, can through himself bring Shakespeare back forward into life, and that he, Garrick, can remain indefinitely by Shakespeare's side. Garrick in this fantasy is not merely a conduit for the playwright, but also one who will have the privilege of meeting his hero, reintroducing him to the modern world and sharing his contemporary experiences and space. "By each other's aid we both shall live," asserts one anonymous poetic tribute to Garrick, as spoken hopefully by the soon-to-be-resurrected spirit of Shakespeare. "I, fame to thee, thou, life to me, shalt give."[23] This theatrical experience—in which Garrick and Shakespeare may occupy, simultaneously, the same time and place—supplements the ghostly quality of Carlson's stage, on which a dead Shakespeare can only ever be commemorated and mourned. It augments the present-ness of theater, in which Garrick reminds viewers of his own liveness, and the anticipatory quality of his performances, in which Garrick encourages spectators to see him rise again. In this particular work of resurrection, Garrick surpasses, too, the work of the typical reenactor, in which the actor remains a clear and necessary substitute for the person he or she reenacts.[24] Instead, Garrick presents a world in which he and Shakespeare may coexist on equal terms, and a fantasy for spectators in which moments in time seem to collapse or conflate.

Garrick's ability to make the historical and theatrical past coeval with the present—if only for the brief time that spectators could see him on the stage—encourages those of us interested in theater history to resist reinscribing onto our reconstructions of performance a linear trajectory that the experience of those performances disavows. It also means that

those of us interested in studying performance should rethink how we approach that work of reconstruction. For if Garrick conveys an experience in which the past is never truly lost, nor something to be studied only through intermediaries or replacements, then for those spectators persuaded by such an experience, the act of reconstructing a performance need not be viewed pessimistically as a work of only-ever partial approximation. Instead, what Garrick suggests (and characters like Othello, too, when he declares, "And smote him—thus") is that performance gives us the ability to interact directly with those figures or experiences we thought had disappeared.[25]

Celebrating Performance

> Show his eyes and grieve his heart; / come like shadows,
> so depart.
> —*Macbeth*, 4.1.132–33

Using Garrick as a critical case study, then, this book sets out to celebrate performance, and the theatrical experience, even as it takes seriously the documentary challenges that come with studying it. Whereas my first book showed that nondramatic writers sought to import into their novels some of the characteristics of the stage, this book thinks more deeply about how the commemorative and recuperative aspects of performance differ from those achievable in other media, such as novels or portraiture, that are less dynamic than the stage.[26] The dynamism of performance is, for the project of commemoration, both a blessing and a curse: the temporal nature of performance means that the actor's skill can never be accurately recovered or depicted in some static form, but the temporal nature of performance also means that a new performance can repeat and echo prior performances, becoming a living monument to those performances that have come before.[27] And for Garrick, as it does so—and unlike other more typical monuments that stand as testaments to the absence of that which they replace—it offers to bring back the very subject it depicts.

Garrick's project, though fueled by anxiety, thus remains a very hopeful one, whereas for many scholars of performance, the acknowledgment that we can never fully recapture the experience of performance often overshadows the hopefulness of our pursuits. Taken to the extreme, as it sometimes seems to be by Hazlitt, for example, the impossibility of recovering a performance or performer can motivate arguments that we

abandon altogether our attachment to the stage. But, as my final chapter will show, antitheatricality can often be a symptom of theater-love—only one piece of a complicated, affective response to theater, and a protective, coping mechanism designed to defuse the strong desires that come with loving something or someone we know will disappear. Documenting performance will always remain fraught, yet the ephemerality that poses the challenge to documentation is something to mourn *and* to embrace—as that which incites a level of desire that could not otherwise exist. We see this in spectators' response to Garrick's retirement, as discussed in chapter 6. To go back even further in time, we see this in the feelings experienced between Homer's Odysseus and Penelope at their ultimate reunion, when they cling to each other "*as though* forever," and when the acknowledged impermanence of life motivates their sustained embrace.[28]

The physical intimacy of theater is similarly a constant reminder of the impermanence of life and the mortality that haunts us all. And yet theater is not simply a crucible for mourning, but a space to celebrate the vitality and liveness that the experience of loss brings to light. The "shadows" that the witches show to Macbeth, invoked in this section's epigraph, flit across the wall to be seen no more. And yet these shadows—the future descendants of Banquo, who will soon replace the childless Macbeth upon the throne—will yet manifest in physical form. They vanish only for a time, soon to be seen again, and to carry on the legacy of their father and the right to rule.

As I will revisit in my final chapter, it is this same sentiment from *Macbeth*—the very lines cited as the epigraph to this section—that will inspire some of Hazlitt's meditations on the ephemerality of the stage and on the tragic loss of Garrick. "Come like shadows, so depart" heads Hazlitt's essay "Of Persons One Would Wish to Have Seen," Garrick being appointed as the favored person of interest, and the one he is most sad never to have met.[29] In the context of Hazlitt's essay, the lines read as a lament on the evanescence of actors and the impossibility of retrieving them and, more broadly, as a lament on the shadowy nature of our own existence. But in the context of the play, the lines are both more hopeful and, for Macbeth, more threatening; the witches speak them to reinforce the immanence and potency of biological succession. What is now shown to Macbeth as but a brief vision is threatening not because it will disappear, but because it will soon come to pass.

Just so, the ephemerality and loss associated with performance are but one facet of a medium that is equally about the experience of extended

life. And for Garrick, whose engagement to *Macbeth* I will touch upon in chapter 4, performance provided the antidote to the very professional and personal anxieties that it fueled. As an actor, he worried about being remembered after he left the stage; as a man, he confronted a more general problem—one that he seemed not to have mourned in any obvious sense—of dying childless and without an heir. Though on his own deathbed he reflects without compunction on this fact (as I discuss in chapter 3), it is intriguing that many of the Shakespearean roles he masters and many of the roles discussed in this book are characters that similarly die without successors: Othello, Hamlet, Richard III, Macbeth.[30] Macbeth in particular, in the lines cited above, is threatened by the lineage of another and is simultaneously a character who reflects tragically, in speech that Garrick would restore to Shakespeare's script from a prior alteration made popular in 1664 by Sir William Davenant, on the parallels between the career of an actor and the ephemerality of human life: "Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player / That struts and frets his hour upon the stage / And then is heard no more" (5.5.24–26).[31] And yet, as shown in the previous section, when the same sentiment creeps into Garrick's own correspondence, it is both with the acknowledgment that his time on the stage may be over, and with the hope that he may yet have another chance. (He did.)

With the exception of Othello, his personal successes with these roles thus show Garrick surmounting the tragedies experienced by the characters he plays. His successes endorse his larger belief that performance can do what biology cannot; they also help Garrick model an experience of time that isn't merely about "light[ing] fools / the way to dusty death" (5.5.22–23). *Macbeth* (and indeed *Richard III* and *Hamlet*) are plays in which the central characters reflect obsessively on the nature of time, and not just in Macbeth's "Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow" speech, but also in Lady Macbeth's call to forget the past ("what's done is done") and in Macbeth's obsessive anxieties about the future ("we have scorched the snake, not kill'd it; / She'll close, and be herself") (3.2.13; 3.2.14).[32] And yet in his performance of this character, and his other Shakespearean roles (and as noted above, Garrick performed Macbeth after already impressing audiences with the characters of Richard III, Lear, and Hamlet), Garrick conquers the anxieties about time and loss that his characters feel. Instead, he presents time as less linear, more comprehensive: he gives his spectators a sense that through theater, many moments in time may coexist.

It was the experience of this fantasy that, as I will argue, made the

ultimate loss of Garrick so painful to his spectators, even as it was this experience that transformed performance into a practice to be celebrated as key to how beloved figures could be not only remembered, but preserved. My subsequent and nonchronological chapters on Garrick seek to represent this potential through example, by preserving something of the interlocking nature of Garrick's various roles. In doing so, I yet recognize that in setting out any story of an actor's performances or career, we necessarily choose for it a sequence that, in its original state, it transcends; I recognize that my own approach to Garrick's career, as narrated here, can't fully escape this tension. But I strive to remain conscious of it and to inspire us to think more broadly about alternate modes of narrating theater history, especially when these alternatives and their implications—that performances and performers will live on, somehow, to narrate themselves—are investigated so consciously for us by one man via his, ostensibly linear, theatrical career.

Black Garrick versus Richard III

✦ ✦ ✦

Many stories about Garrick start with his stunning London debut, at Goodman's Fields, in the role of Richard III.[1] On 20 October 1741 he wrote to his brother Peter that as his career as a wine merchant had put him out some four hundred pounds, as his "trade [was] not increasing," and as his "Mind (as you must know) has always been inclind'd to ye Stage," he had chosen a new career path: "Last night I play'd Richard ye Third to ye Surprize of Every Body."[2] Advertised on playbills merely as "a Gentleman who never appear'd before," Garrick had, the night prior, stunned the London community, and in the nights that followed he would lure spectators away from the larger houses at Covent Garden and Drury Lane.[3] Within a month Garrick was acting in a range of roles, and his subsequent rise to celebrity was unchecked.

But Garrick's initiation to acting actually predates this well-known account. He had been interested in theater, and in actors, since arriving in London in 1737. He had had a skit, *Lethe*, accepted in 1740 by Charles Macklin, the then theater manager at Drury Lane. And, in the spring and summer before his "official" London debut, he most likely appeared on the stage twice: first, as an emergency understudy for the actor Richard Yates, who was playing the part of Harlequin at Goodman's Fields in London, in a new pantomime titled *Harlequin Student*, and next, over the summer in the theater at Ipswich, as the slave Aboan in Thomas Southerne's stage adaptation of Aphra Behn's novella, *Oroonoko*.[4]

Then and now, these appearances receive far less attention than his

Richard III debut, a reaction that Garrick seems to have desired. He was yet a novice actor, just venturing on the stage. If, as tradition has it, he did fill in for one night as Yates's Harlequin, his character would have been masked and his identity disguised.[5] And though records don't indicate that Garrick demanded such secrecy while involved with the summer troupe at Ipswich, his biographer Thomas Davies describes his role there as offering Garrick something similar to the Harlequin's mask. As Davies asserts, the part of Aboan was carefully selected in case Garrick failed, as "under the disguise of a black countenance, he hoped to escape being known, should it be his misfortune not to please."[6]

One of the very first roles Garrick ever played on the stage, then, was that of a black man, in a part that treated this blackness as a mask, and in a play that bore a complicated relationship to one of Shakespeare's. Adapted for the stage first in 1695 from Aphra Behn's 1688 novella of the same name, Thomas Southerne's *Oroonoko* tells the story of the titular slave prince who is brought to Surinam, tortured, and finally killed. But Southerne veers in various ways from Behn's plot, most significantly changing her black protagonist's love interest, Imoinda, from black to white in a conscious gesture toward the interracial relationship featured in the Restoration stagings of *Othello*.[7] To heighten these associations, theater managers often staged *Oroonoko* and *Othello* on back-to-back nights, with the same actor cast in the title roles.[8]

Though Garrick first appeared onstage in the supporting role of Aboan, he too seemed to associate, and aspire to, these lead parts. Ever strategic about his own reputation, Garrick didn't attempt either role until he had established his position as the eighteenth-century Shakespearean actor par excellence and popularized his intention to revive Shakespeare's national reputation. Yet neither Oroonoko nor Othello assisted Garrick in this project, despite the fact that Garrick remained fascinated by the part of Othello up until his death, and despite the fact that both works reflect on the problems of ephemerality and commemoration that so fascinated Garrick throughout his career.

Take, as an example, Othello's infamous final speech. "I pray you, in your letters, / When you shall these unlucky deeds relate," states Othello, moments before stabbing himself to death, "Speak of me as I am."[9] A plea that captures Othello's desire to be remembered, the moment also sets up reenactment as key to how commemoration can be achieved: Othello goes on to kill himself while describing a past scene of violence in which he similarly stabbed to death a "turbaned Turk" (5.2.353).[10] The act confirms the challenge of remembering the unfamiliar, as with-

Fig. 3. Frontispiece from *Oroonoko: A Tragedy*, Thomas Southerne, 1776. 141451, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

out such a gesture, Othello's past military glory threatens to die with him since no one now present witnessed the acts he describes. Furthermore, the acts themselves consist of experiences so novel or exotic—those "moving accidents" and "hairbreadth scapes" (1.3.135, 136)—that without the guidance of Othello's gestures spectators would presumably struggle, subsequently, to "speak of them." Finally, the scene demonstrates that, facing death, Othello has regained the eloquent charisma he possessed in the opening acts. And yet there is a particular poignancy in Othello's command that others speak of him "as I am," asserted mere lines before he ends his life. Activated at the last moment he can realistically deploy the present tense, the command suggests Othello's paradoxical desire to be preserved in collective memory, not as static monument, but in all his lived immediacy: speak of me, in the future, as I am in the moment—though the "now-ness" of any moment is challenged by the acts that recreate it.

This desire, to be remembered in perpetuity as someone not yet gone, was a motivating force behind Garrick's career, and it was this desire that he used parts like Othello and, more successfully, Richard III to achieve. Like Othello, Richard III is a character who aspires to flout death and obsolescence, but in his case he does so by usurping the almost-magical status of king. "The king is dead! Long live the King!": as the well-known phrase asserts, the death of the monarch can only ever be greeted with news of his succession, creating a scenario in which, as Joseph Roach has written, the sovereign body becomes symbolically immutable—representative of the continuity necessary for governmental power.[11] It is this "body" that the crippled Richard successfully commandeers, and in this accomplishment, Richard models for Garrick an innovative approach to a theatrical career: he suggests that the actor, like the usurping king, can seize new roles and through this practice efface, rather than acknowledge, the memory of his predecessors in those parts. Acting in Colley Cibber's adaptation of Shakespeare's play, and in a part that Cibber had himself for decades played, Garrick sought to accomplish as much in a role that also anticipated and even perhaps inspired his subsequent interest in Othello: among his many emendations, Cibber gives the dying Richard a speech that he had culled from one spoken by Shakespeare's Moor ("Perdition catch thy arm—the chance is thine").[12] And though Richard III was a part mired in the same matrix of disguise and inter-actor competition that would ultimately sideline Garrick as Othello, the hunchbacked king stands out in Garrick's career for his phenomenal success with the part.

It was, according to all accounts, a role he acted from his very first appearance "with great applause."[13]

One question posed by this chapter, then, is why Garrick was able to succeed in one part and not the other, and what exactly was represented by this success. As both Richard and Othello, he attempted onstage a naturalism that had been foreshadowed only by his mentor, Macklin, and in so doing, Garrick strove to break the mold.[14] Yet with Othello, Garrick was criticized for trying too obviously (and unsuccessfully) to outdo his rivals, while with Richard, as his biographer and contemporary Arthur Murphy notes, he "scorned to lacky after any actor whatever."[15] And according to Murphy, and other contemporary reviews, Garrick as Richard succeeds in this project because of how utterly he merges with the part—a potential that the exotic, outsider status of Othello (and Oroonoko) would never allow him to achieve. One of his problems with Othello would then come from the potential effects—initially embraced by Garrick—of blackface, which signaled, if not a "mask," then at least an emblem of artifice deployed. Later, when Garrick would attempt these title roles with his identity and reputation well known, the appearance of blackface would function as a constant and conscious reminder that the actor remained but an imperfect substitution for the character so displayed. It was this reminder that Garrick in his other roles saw as an anathema to memorialization, just as it was this reminder that Behn sought to efface in her decision to keep her exotic protagonist Oroonoko off the stage.

In her choice to shift from performance to prose to commemorate her protagonist, Behn thus sets up the second major question of this book: what artistic medium is best suited to commemoration? The question has deeps roots in the classical tradition, and also anticipates contemporary critical discussions about the potential opposition between the document-based, seemingly stable "archive" and the seemingly fluid "repertoire" of performance.[16] The static, material quality of the printed word has long been—fallaciously, according to contemporary thought—privileged as the receptacle of historical evidence, a preference that Behn, in writing *Oroonoko* as a nondramatic prose narrative, extends.[17] In taking over a part such as Oroonoko, Garrick takes a different position in this debate, even as his failure in this part would seem to initially endorse Behn's decision. In order, then, to set the stage for Garrick's larger project of commemoration through performance and to establish how roles such as Richard III, and later Hamlet, rectified the challenges to this approach that parts such as Oroonoko and Othello would pose, I first revisit Behn's struggles with the dramatic representation of Oroono-

ko and then situate Garrick's performances within a history of *Oroonoko* and *Othello* on the eighteenth-century stage.

Aphra Behn and the Memory of Othello

Both Shakespeare's *Othello* and Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* are texts invested in issues surrounding memorialization: who is worthy of being remembered and how these memories can be preserved. "'Tis a short Chronicle," Behn characterizes her tale in its dedication, "of those Lives that possibly wou'd be forgotten by other Historians, or lye neglected there, however deserving of an immortal Fame."[18] Midway through her story, she laments that Oroonoko had the "misfortune . . . to fall in an obscure World, that afforded only a Female Pen to celebrate his Fame," yet concludes with the hope that "the Reputation of my Pen is considerable enough to make his Glorious Name to survive to all Ages" (36, 65). Othello, similarly, oscillates between disclaimers about his abilities and his obvious eloquence and aspirations. "Rude am I in my speech," he insists, "and . . . little shall I grace my cause / in speaking for myself" (1.3.81, 88–89). Yet he seduces the Venetian court in much the same way he did Desdemona, and his final speech shows how much he relies on the lasting import of his words.

While both texts are more commonly read for their engagements with issues of race and gender, the examples cited above show that these same issues inspire debates about memory and representation.[19] Behn, for example, invokes her gender as a possible liability in her project to preserve the memory of Oroonoko and implies that his slave status leads to his "neglect"; Othello references his militaristic career and lack of finer education (and, by implication, his racial difference and outsider status) as excuses for possible limitations in his speech. Similarly, Behn would cite Shakespeare during the course of her theatrical career, summoning his supposed lack of education as vindication for her own, "unlearned" attempts: "Plays have no great room for that which is men's great advantage over women, that is Learning," Behn writes. "We all well know that the immortal Shakespeare's Plays . . . have better pleas'd the World than [Ben] Johnson's [*sic*] works."[20] The fact that Behn, Oroonoko, and Othello are all "other" makes them atypical candidates for "immortal Fame" and leads them to claim parallel difficulties in articulating that which they wish to represent. Margaret Ferguson thus reads *Oroonoko* as Behn's "transmutation" of *Othello*, crafted as such in order to

"dramatize, for . . . late seventeenth-century readers . . . novel or newsworthy relations between white and nonwhite persons" and to explore the parallel negotiations required of subjects who for reasons of race, gender, or education share an "outsider" status.[21]

No wonder, then, that *Othello*, according to Behn's biographer Janet Todd, likely "meant much to [Behn] as a young woman."[22] As someone who had lived through the Interregnum, Behn had witnessed firsthand the reemergence of the theater, and as someone who began her professional writing career as a playwright, she would have witnessed the novel position held by those who pursued this career.[23] Emerging from the theatrical void created by the Civil War, playwrights such as Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant were tasked with "reincarnating" theatrical traditions of the 1630s, while women playwrights were emerging as a brand-new breed.[24] The white, professional woman writer was as exotic in her own way as the Venetian Moor, and *Othello* ghosted much of Behn's work, even those projects not explicitly concerned with race. Her first play, *The Forc'd Marriage* (1671), features a jealous (white) warrior husband, Alcippus, who attempts to kill his wife—by suffocation, in Behn's first printed edition of the play; the lead of her 1676 play *Abdelazer: or, The Moor's Revenge*, which features a black protagonist torn between love and jealousy, was first enacted by Thomas Betterton, who would go on to become the Restoration's most famous Othello.[25] The association between the professional woman writer and Shakespeare's protagonist was also encouraged by Behn's likely exposure to Restoration productions of *Othello* that featured, in the role of Desdemona, the first professional actresses on the public stage.[26] While Behn doesn't "whiten" her Imoinda, these historical conditions produce connections with *Othello* in terms of the relationship Behn would portray between *Oroonoko*'s white narrator and Oroonoko himself, a suggestion explored by subsequent biographies of Behn that extrapolate from these connections to titillating, albeit unfounded, claims about Behn's and the historical Oroonoko's Othello-esque affair.[27] Within the text, the narrator-protagonist connection established by Behn is more innocuous, yet still resonant with her Shakespearean source: Behn's narrator couches her attempt to memorialize Oroonoko as the bedrock on which her own posthumous reputation will rest, even as she finds her "outsider" status a challenge to establishing this reputation, similar to those challenges confronted by Othello.

But the challenges of representation faced by Behn's narrator and Othello have something to do with genre, too. The story of an enslaved

Coramentien prince, tortured and mutilated by Surinam's English colonists, *Oroonoko* tells of events supposedly drawn from Behn's experience, and she works hard within her text to conflate her authorial and narrator personae: it is an account, as she puts it, of "the Royal Slave I had the Honour to know in my Travels to the other World" (7). Written in the mode of the travel writings made popular by the end of the seventeenth century, Behn's *Oroonoko* must then balance its claims for credibility with the exoticism of the material it depicts. Behn acknowledges, in her dedication, the "unconceivable Wonders" that characterize her tale and the risk of readerly skepticism that can result (7). Or, as Carl Thompson puts it, since the travel writer knowingly describes people and places beyond the audience's ken, the resulting tales often appear so strange as to "beggar belief back home."[28] To address such challenges, travel writers tend to privilege a language of vision. "I was my self an Eye-witness," Behn claims, "to . . . what you will find here set down" (8). By claiming to have been eyewitnesses to the scenes now described, or by relying on similes that "pick out points of visual resemblance" between the known world and the new world now explored, travel writers emphasize their first-person experiential knowledge and the primacy of empirical evidence.[29]

While eyewitnessing in this sense is a rhetorical response to the representational challenges of the exotic or unfamiliar, the language of vision in *Oroonoko* and *Othello* also creates the illusion that readers or spectators can "see for themselves" events or people lodged firmly in the past. The tales of the travel writer, as the past tense deployed by Behn suggests, often "beggar belief" not merely because they consist of outré subject material, but because they describe something that has already happened and that readers must now accept on faith. Behn's narrator and Othello wish to see people or events that can be no longer (and perhaps could never have been) seen; both as a result exhibit what W. J. T. Mitchell terms "ekphrastic hope": they deploy and respond to language that suggests words "might [actually] do what so many writers have wanted [them] to do: 'make us see.'"[30]

In Shakespeare's play, this hope is initially evident in Othello's story of his travels, delivered to the Venetian court at the Duke's request. Like Behn's narrator, and perhaps like Behn herself, Othello is a travel reporter, who manages to seduce his listeners with the exoticism of what he can narrate. Recounting for the Duke the tales he used to win Desdemona's love, Othello delivers what critics have labeled a "fantastical account" that "pushes the problem of credible representation to the limits":[31]

> Wherein I spoke of most disastrous chances,
> Of moving accidents by flood and field,
> Of hairbreadth scapes i' th' imminent deadly breach,
> Of being taken by the insolent foe
> And sold to slavery, of my redemption thence
> And portance in my travel's history,
> Wherein of anters vast and deserts idle,
> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven,
> It was my hint to speak. Such was my process.
> And of the Cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Grew beneath their shoulders. These things to hear
> Would Desdemona seriously incline. (1.3.134–46)[32]

Othello's account seduces both Desdemona and the audience of the Venetian court, not because he can make them literally see cannibals, but because he can give them, in his verbal reenactment of these moments, the sight of one who did. Just so, Richard Steele recollects, as he mourns the death of the great Restoration Othello Thomas Betterton, how the delivery of this "charming Passage . . . where [Betterton] tells the Manner of winning the Affection of his Mistress, was urged with so moving and graceful an Energy, that while I walked in the Cloysters, I thought of him with the same Concern as if I waited for the Remains of a Person who had in real Life done all that I had seen him represent."[33] Like Desdemona and the Venetian court, Steele remembers experiencing through Betterton the ability of verbal depiction to equate the representation of experience with the experience itself, and the magic of staged declamation as that which joins these verbal representations to a physical body that all can see.

And yet it is this very physical body, be it Betterton's or Othello's, that will vanish, leaving behind only its "Remains." Perhaps that is why it is this passage—read as a temporary if not doomed example of drama's ability to make visible the past—that motivates one of Behn's few direct allusions to *Othello*. Midway through her account of Oroonoko's amazing escapades in Surinam, she describes an incident in which he kills an otherwise strangely indestructible tiger. The description of this feat, which she admits "possibly will find no Credit among Men" (46), inspires Oroonoko to recall his prior acts of military heroism in Coramentien, among them the Othello-like "Accidents in War, and Strange Escapes."[34] Like the passage in *Othello*, this moment in Behn's tale features an example of

remembered exoticism, with the pastness of the moment deepened by the literary memory of *Othello* that Behn invokes.

The literary allusion in Behn's tale supports an initial endorsement, shared between both texts, of visual evidence as that which can capture the foreign, novel, or exotic experience in a way that language can't. *Othello* features, in the words of James A. Knapp, an "appeal to the language of vision as the language of proof," just as rumors that Oroonoko's previously indestructible tiger has withstood multiple wounds pass as folklore until Oroonoko removes the heart to show "seven bullets of lead in it . . . and the wounds seamed up with great scars" (46).[35] Such an endorsement, in keeping with the conventions of travel writing, marks an increasingly typical, novelistic response to emerging scientific habits of observation, in which the visual becomes privileged as the source of epistemic fact.[36] Yet *Oroonoko*'s echoes with *Othello* also conjure up a much earlier set of conventions, in which Othello's investment in visual evidence finally emerges as his tragic flaw. To read Behn's text as alluding to *Othello* is ultimately to see Behn deploying an aspect of literary history—engaging in an act of literary memory, as it were—that opens up questions about the insufficiency of vision, and specifically about one's inability to see or witness past events.

This fact starts to explain why, in both *Oroonoko* and *Othello*, the rhetoric of otherness (the attempt to describe foreign subjects and events) and the rhetoric of memory (the attempt to recapture through description people and incidents from the past) overlap. Both goals pose a similar challenge to description; and indeed for any travel writer, which Behn's narrator and Othello in part are, both goals are at stake. Despite being separated by the conventions of genre—from drama to novella, and from the fictional narrations of a fictional Othello to the dubiously autobiographical narrations of Behn—the challenges of such narrations remain the same. Behn's 1688 narrative, for example, recaptures events that Behn as narrator insists transpired during her journey to Surinam in the 1660s, some twenty years before, while Othello's account of Anthropophagi dates from some moment in his similarly mysterious past.[37] Both characteristics of these narratives, their otherness and pastness, resist being depicted by empirical means and lend each narrative its fantastical, credibility-straining nature. No matter how detailed his descriptions, listeners cannot see for themselves the events Othello recounts, and the reliability of his testimony is compromised by his later contradictions: his claim, for example, that his mother received the infamous handkerchief from a conjuring Egyptian, versus his subsequent insistence that

she received it from his father (3.4.55–56; 5.2.217–18).[38] Similarly, while early biographers of Behn drew on *Oroonoko* for many of their "facts" about her life, early scholarship on Behn's tale, dating from Ernest Bernbaum's 1913 piece in *PMLA*, is dominated by the question of how "factual" Behn's account of Surinam actually was.[39] What potentially verifiable details Behn provided—such as the claim that a relative of hers had been appointed lieutenant general of Surinam—Bernbaum finds lacking in support, making him unwilling to accept other details on her "uncorroborated word," while her accounts of Oroonoko's homeland of Coramentien, which she supposedly hears of from Oroonoko rather than seeing for herself, borrow heavily from the conventions of romance.[40]

But if the connections between *Oroonoko* and *Othello* flag the absence of true empirical proof and raise the question of to what extent any act of ethnological reporting can or should be believed, they also illustrate alternate strategies of capturing otherness and memory that elude the limitations of the visual approach.[41] For all their reliance on a terminology of vision, Behn and Othello are, after all, committed to words. Othello is a storyteller, just as Behn remains committed—somewhat mysteriously, given her prior theatrical career—to narrating this particular story in nondramatic prose. One's past history, Othello's speech to the Venetian court suggests, can at least be reconstructed through language, and all of Behn's narrated spectacles—the tiger's heart, the Edenic Surinam, Oroonoko's blackness—remain visual markers trapped within the very description they are said to transcend.

These contradictory impulses exhibit what W. J. T. Mitchell sees as the natural inverse of "ekphrastic hope": "ekphrastic fear," or "the moment in aesthetics when the *difference* between verbal and visual mediation becomes a moral, aesthetic imperative."[42] For Behn, channeling the memory of *Othello*, the distinction becomes necessary because visual evidence imposes a definitive concept of otherness and history that Shakespeare's play exposes as flawed. If seeing really is believing, then a visual representation risks convincing the viewer of a false reality, or displacing the exotic other it strives to recreate. Thomas Southerne, the playwright who in 1695 adapted Behn's narrative for the stage, attributed Behn's turn away from drama to this fact: "she thought either that no actor could represent him [Oroonoko], or she could not bear him represented."[43] The logic here is that images of Oroonoko or his experiences might be terrifyingly less impressive than their imagined counterparts, whereas verbal description, because it offers up a necessarily incomplete reconstruction, becomes more suited to capturing the exoticism of the

past. By preserving Oroonoko in words that flag the insufficiency of the visual image they seek to describe, Behn escapes what Murray Krieger labels the "stasis" or "closure" of the ekphrastic moment.[44]

This is a technique anticipated in *Othello*. Othello's speech to the Venetian court, if it strains the limits of credibility, in the process recapitulates, in Catherine Nicholson's words, "the pleasurable effects of travel itself, transporting listeners from the 'ordinary and accustomed' to things novel and strange."[45] Othello's verbal account of this exotic experience recreates for listeners an accurate experience of exoticism, and in this context, the validity of Behn's and Othello's travel narratives emerges less from the tenuous link they bear to material reality than from their ability to recreate and sustain the experience of exoticism or estrangement that they narrate.[46] By this logic, the exotic experience need not be seen to be understood, and indeed is better captured through verbal reconstructions that encourage imaginative participation and challenge closure (a belief I will revisit in my final chapter, as relevant to the Romantics' critique of a staged Shakespeare). Behn's allusion to Othello's tale of exotic travel indicates that both narratives ultimately privilege linguistic recreations of otherness and history over "ocular proof."

Like Othello in his suicide speech, however, Behn's narrator doesn't just aspire to recreate the past but to preserve it, and it is this movement—from the individual work of remembering to the collective work of memorializing—that Behn's recycling of *Othello*, in light of that play's closing meditations, finally helps her achieve. Featuring what Rebecca Schneider dubs "the syncopated time of re-enactment," Othello's suicide speech renders an exotic experience comprehensible by bringing it forward in time.[47] "Speak of me as I am," he demands, in a shift of tense that suggests how his current actions corroborate those unfamiliar scenes of violence that he narrates—the circumcised dog, in this case, being both Othello and the turbaned Turk.[48] But unlike his speech to the Venetian court, which duplicates on this level the conventions of reenactment, this speech also suggests that these accounts will continue to be retold:

> I pray you, in your letters,
> When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
> Speak of me as I am. Nothing extenuate,
> Nor set down aught in malice. Then must you speak
> Of one that loved not wisely, but too well;
> Of one not easily jealous, but, being wrought,

> Perplexed in the extreme; of one whose hand,
> Like the base [Judean / Indian],[49] threw a pearl away
> Richer than all his tribe; of one whose subdued eyes
> Albeit unused to the melting mood,
> Drops tears as fast as the Arabian trees
> Their med'cinable gum. Set you down this.
> And say besides that in Aleppo once,
> Where a malignant and a turbaned Turk
> Beat a Venetian and traduced the state,
> I took by th'throat the circumcised dog
> And smote him—thus. (5.2.340–56)

Othello has not been a play explicitly concerned with memorialization until the moment that Othello must confront his own obsolescence. Now, he strives to recreate for audiences the experiences of his past, but also to inspire them to go on recreating the same. On some level, his aspiration resonates with the presumed promise of drama: that the genre, dependent on the repetitive nature of performance, will ensure that Othello's story continue to be performed. Microcosms for the workings of theater itself, Othello's speeches, and particularly his last, exemplify how drama, in the words of Marvin Carlson, is a "ghostly" genre, with each present action or performance (the suicide) haunted by one that came before (the murdered Turk).[50] But the haunted stage, Carlson's "memory machine," looks forward as much as back, in that it anticipates that such behaviors will continue, hauntingly, to resonate through time.[51] Instead of trying to recapture imperfectly some exotic other or past event, Othello's suicide speech transcends the challenges of representation by referring finally to itself: the act Othello describes is simultaneously the one he commits.

Othello would, I contend, captivate Garrick in part for precisely this reason. The performative power of his final "thus"—the moment at which his word becomes action, and his action becomes reenactment and enactment all at once—gets to the heart of the achievements that Garrick would try to balance in his own tributes to Shakespeare. And yet the irony finally of *Othello* is that for all of the play's destabilizing of visual evidence (Lodovico's closing lines, "the object poisons sight; / let it be hid" [5.2.364–65], come to mind), its generic status demands that such effects be achieved via spectacular events. Othello's reenactment is finally one that spectators can see, just as the "ghostly" nature of theater that Carlson identifies coexists paradoxically with its depen-

dence on the actors' flesh and blood. It is this requirement that Behn, educated in the workings of the theater, finally latches onto and inverts. For her, visual evidence stands in the way of preservation by suggesting, fallaciously, that the exotic object can be transported or recaptured; linguistic description, by contrast, embraces this futility, preserving in that way a ghostly other—a space for the unknown. And yet if Behn was opposed to commemorating her protagonist via visual depiction, or on the stage, many subsequent Restoration and eighteenth-century artists, actors, and playwrights would find the spectacle of performance key to how the character, author, or actor could be preserved. Garrick in particular would espouse this approach, even as the spectacle of Othello would frustrate Garrick's ability to achieve the conflation of representation and event to which Garrick aspired, and that Othello himself so perfectly enacts.

Becoming Richard, Becoming Othello

Only seven months after his theatrical debut as Aboan, Garrick wrote to his brother Peter, "I shall soon be ready . . . in the part of Othello."[52] A part that obsessed him throughout his career, it was also a part that he considered frequently in pictorial terms. "The scene you chose for Othello," he writes to Francis Hayman in 1745, the artist who had recently done the illustrations for Thomas Hanmer's 1744 edition of Shakespeare's collected works, "strikes me more & more"—so much so that he writes to Hayman again about a year later, with further advice:

> The scene [from *Othello*] which in my Opinion will make the best Picture, is that point of Time in the last Act, when Emilia discovers to Othello the Error about the Handkerchief. . . . Othello . . . must be thunderstruck with Horror, his Whole figure extended. . . . I shall better make you conceive My Notion of this Attitude & Expression when I see You.[53]

Garrick's reference reflects not only his continued fascination with Othello—a part that, despite his letter to Peter, he never mastered, and a part that at the time of this letter to Hayman he had already played for the last time—but his commitment to conceiving of the play and its characters in visual terms. He offers, repeatedly, to demonstrate the various characters' postures for Hayman, flagging the potential shortcomings of

his verbal directions and privileging instead the "attitude" that can be conveyed only by sight.[54] Like the other iconic poses that Garrick would offer up to admiring artists (his confrontation with old Hamlet's ghost, discussed in chapter 3, or Louis-François Roubiliac's statue of Shakespeare, discussed in chapter 4, for which, rumor has it, Garrick posed), Garrick attempts to create a relationship between the living pose that he can strike for Hayman and the artist's ability to freeze that pose in time. Hayman seems to have been persuaded, and his revised illustration of this scene is included as the frontispiece to Charles Jennens's 1773 edition of the play.[55]

While the visual iconography of *Othello* obsessed Garrick, it was his performance in *Richard III* that inspired artists, at around this same time, to think of that play in pictorial terms. One of the most often reproduced images of Garrick remains William Hogarth's 1745 portrait of Garrick as Richard III, in which Garrick as Richard awakes from his nightmare in act 5, frozen and fending off ghosts (a posture he would perfect in subsequent years as young Hamlet).[56] It was this portrait that, according to Heather McPherson, launched the "vogue for theatrical portraiture"—defined as portraits done of an actor or actors in character—that established in the eighteenth century such "close links between the visual and performing arts."[57] Yet it was this portrait, too, that got to the heart of the challenges confronted by artists when attempting to capture on canvas the genius of what Garrick (or other actors) achieved. For his Richard III painting, for example, Hogarth "made so many attempts and scrubbed out the face so often that in the end he painted it separately, on a piece of canvas that was later stitched into the whole."[58] What Hogarth was struggling with, apparently, was not just the malleability of Garrick's expressions (a characteristic of Garrick that tormented many artists, as I discuss in chapter 6), but the challenge of finding and then depicting the "real self" of an actor so "completely subsumed in the role."[59] Garrick's success as Richard drew in part from his choice to abandon the singsong style of declamation and deliver his lines in a manner "free and natural"; the result of this shift was that he seemed, uniquely for the time period, "to identify himself with the part."[60] In the tent scene especially (the scene painted by Hogarth), his biographer Arthur Murphy notes, "his soliloquy . . . discovered the inward man. Everything he described was almost reality."[61] Such comments indicate that his contemporaries found him to be a memorable performer because of his close identification with his role, even as this very association, by one critic's argument, forced those artists who would commemorate him to confront the limitations of what they were trying to achieve.

Fig. 4. Francis Hayman, engraving of Othello and Desdemona from Thomas Hanmer's edition of Shakespeare, 1743–44. 137505, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

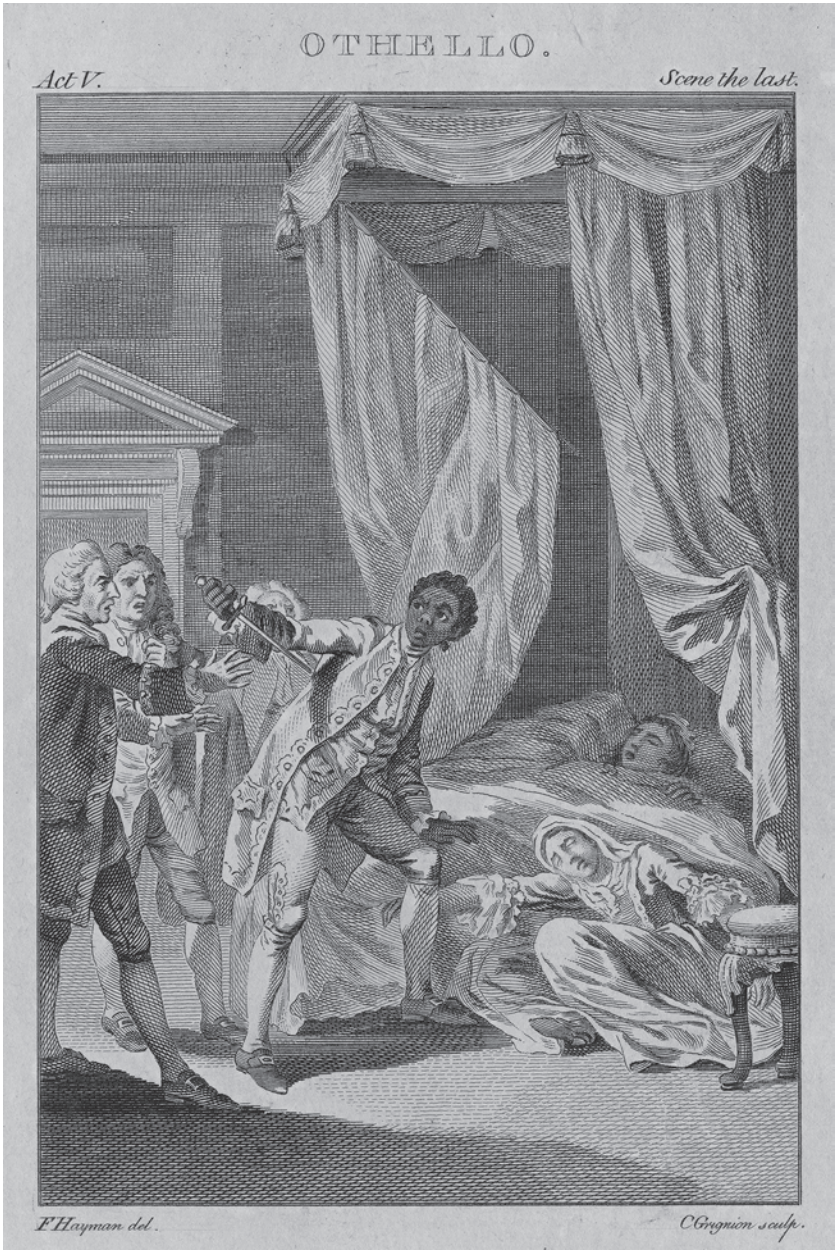

Fig. 5. Francis Hayman, *Othello, act V, scene the last* (1773). Folger Shakespeare Library Call # ART S52801 no.37. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Fig. 6. William Hogarth, *Mr. Garrick in the character of Richard III* (1745). Folger Shakespeare Library Uncataloged Garrickiana Maggs no. 123. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Such dialogue also highlights divergent opinions about the artistic medium best suited to commemoration, a debate that other eighteenth-century practitioners would take up. "Mrs. Behn will not be forgotten," the novelist and critic Clara Reeve would claim in 1785, "so long as the Tragedy of *Oroonoko* is acted."[62] Written almost one hundred years after Behn's *Oroonoko* had first appeared, the claim proves its own point. And yet, as discussed above, Behn had very purposely not written *Oroonoko* as a play: the work cited by Reeve, as key to Behn's posthumous reputation, was one of the numerous dramatic adaptations of her piece.[63] Beginning with Southerne's adaptation in 1695, *Oroonoko* would be adapted by John Hawkesworth in 1759, Francis Gentleman in 1760, and under the title *The Prince of Angola* by John Ferriar in 1788.[64] These plays deviate sig-

nificantly from Behn's nondramatic version—adding a comic subplot in the case of Southerne, changing character names, and most significantly turning the female protagonist from black to white—and yet, according to Reeve, their existence preserves Behn's memory because of their ability to be performed.

Performance is similarly crucial to the memorialization of her protagonist, at least according to her dramatic adaptor Southerne: "[Behn] had a great command of the stage, and I have often wondered that she would bury her favorite hero in a novel when she might have revived him in the scene."[65] Southerne's verb equates the novel with death but also with concealment, a "buried" protagonist existing out of sight, out of mind. As in Reeve's comment, performance promises her hero "revival," while the inverse scenario implies obsolescence: an unacted *Oroonoko* means a dead hero and a forgotten Behn.

These suggestions stand out for how sharply they deviate from Behn's stated ideals. If she concludes the tale of her protagonist with the hope that "the Reputation of my Pen is considerable enough to make his Glorious Name to survive to all Ages" (65), she begins the tale with a meditation, influenced by a classical comparison of poets to painters, on the powers of this "Pen":

> A Poet is a Painter in his way; he draws to the Life, but in another kind; we draw the Nobler Part, the Soul and Mind; the Pictures of the Pen shall out-last those of the Pencil, and even Worlds themselves. (5)

Behn's comparison recapitulates the Horatian *ut pictura poesis*—in which the descriptive abilities of painting vie with those of prose—and in the process co-opts for prose the preservational capacities of other forms of art. Channeling another Horatian conceit, in which writing offers its author a "monument more lasting than bronze," Behn depicts the "pictures of the pen" as enduring when other kinds of pictures, even "Worlds themselves," are gone.[66] Further, Behn posits the author's ability to "dra[w] to the Life" as directly proportional to her ability to ensure that her subject lives on: the verisimilitude of the written work bleeds into its ability to grant her "an immortal Fame" (5). This latter assertion resonates with Othello's anxieties about resemblance and substitution: his fear that for all his exoticism he has failed to preserve his uniqueness as a husband and a lover, and his attempts to defuse further acts of substitution by standing in for his prior self at the moment of his death. For Behn, the playwright now turned novelist, the work of preserving

the exotic protagonist, and thus his author, inspires a meditation on how the mimetic capabilities of painting and performance suffer when compared to those of prose.

Garrick's experiences in the stage version of *Oroonoko* would add a new wrinkle to this debate. The fact that Garrick even had the chance to act in a dramatic version of *Oroonoko* likely owed much to the theatrical effectiveness of *Othello*. From the time it premiered, sometime in 1604, to the closing of the theaters in 1642, *Othello* had been a popular commercial play.[67] *Othello* was one of three Shakespearean plays reprinted for reading during the Interregnum (it appeared in quarto in 1655, in addition to *The Merchant of Venice* [1652] and *King Lear* [1655]), and when the theaters reopened in 1660, it was one of the plays in King's Company repertoire: the performance that Samuel Pepys records from 11 October 1660, at the Cockpit Tavern in Drury Lane, makes it "probably the first of Shakespeare's tragedies to grace the re-established London stage."[68] With a very few exceptions, it was performed at least once a year in London from 1660 to 1800, with as many as twenty-two performances in 1734 and twenty in 1746.[69]

London statistics are similar for dramatic renditions of *Oroonoko*. Jane Spencer labels it "one of the most frequently performed plays of the eighteenth century," and from the premiere of the Southerne play in November 1695, some adaptation of the play was performed almost every year until 1795, with the exception of 1699–1701.[70] Many years it enjoyed multiple performances: as many as eleven in 1720 and ten in 1751. The repertoire patterns indicate that performances of the two plays mirrored each other in terms of frequency, with popular years such as 1751 (eleven performances of *Othello*, ten performances of *Oroonoko*) being offset by years in which both plays were less frequently seen (1758, with three performances of *Othello* and one performance of *Oroonoko*).[71]

These patterns in scheduling often encouraged direct comparisons between the plays: on 28 December 1751 spectators could choose between a performance of *Othello* at the Little Haymarket Theatre (cast not listed), or one of *Oroonoko* at Drury Lane (featuring an Irish actor, Mr. Dexter, in the lead).[72] Sometimes a theater manager scheduled the plays on back-to-back nights, as when Drury Lane presented this same Dexter as Oroonoko on 13 April 1752, followed by Henry Mossop in his debut as Othello the next night.[73] (Both men were Irish actors in David Garrick's employ, and Dexter had enjoyed a run of five performances as Oroonoko back in October, when he debuted that part, while Mossop had previously made a name for himself as Zanga, the villainous "black

Iago" in Young's *The Revenge.*)[74] Even more suggestively, managers would at times double-cast the leads and schedule the plays in quick succession. Spranger Barry, who had been playing the role of Othello since his Dublin premiere of the part in 1744, appeared as Shakespeare's Moor at Covent Garden, 19 April 1751, and then on 22 April 1751 in his Oroonoko debut.[75] Perhaps the most suggestive instance of this double casting occurs in the early nineteenth century, when, billed as "Mr. Keene, Tragedian of Colour," the American-born black actor Ira Aldridge appeared at Brighton's Theatre Royal as Oroonoko on 16 December 1825 (he'd first played this part at London's Coburg Theatre two months before) and the next night for the first time as Othello.[76] Other actors throughout the century who performed both parts, though not always at the same times in their careers, included Barton Booth, James Quin, David Garrick, Spranger Barry, and Edmund Kean.

Many of these same actors, leading men associated with tragic roles, also, during this time period, played Richard III. They enjoyed varying levels of success—Garrick as Richard would overshadow Quin, as I will go on to discuss, whereas Quin would by most accounts outdo Garrick as Othello—and this success seems contingent on how well the various actors encouraged or compromised their association with the role. Richard, a villainous version of the actor-par-excellence—a character who is also "a master performer," as some critics have claimed—had long encouraged, sometimes in ways that threatened the actor's offstage reputation, audiences to associate the actor with the character he played.[77] Garrick's predecessor for the role, Colley Cibber, writes, for example, about his inspiration, Samuel Sandford, and how Sandford's physiognomy and his success contributed to others reading his admirable performance of Richard as a comment on the "defects of his person."[78] Cibber, reflecting then on his own tenure in the role, attempts to defuse this interpretation, claiming, "Sandford always appeared to me the honester Man, in proportion to the Spirit wherewith he expos'd the wicked, and immoral Characters he acted."[79] Yet Cibber's defensive interpretation, inevitably launched with his own reputation in mind, shows the potency of such associations and thus the need for his defense.

Such defenses were never as necessary with parts like Oroonoko and Othello. Actors weren't understood to associate so closely with these roles, for the obvious reason of the characters' race. The makeup materials used by actors to play in blackface—from tallow and pigment, to burnt cork, walnut juice, and "hogges-grease," to (somewhat ironically) burnt ivory—created for spectators an "illusion of verisimilitude" that

remained obvious throughout the production as a theatrical conceit.[80] Actors and plays often called attention to this conceit by flagging the conventions employed to blacken them, either intentionally by featuring within the play white characters disguised temporarily as black,[81] or unintentionally, as when Barton Booth, in his 1698 Dublin premiere of Oroonoko, wiped his sweaty face to reveal himself as half-black, half-white.[82] Some actors did indeed seek to heighten the effects of verisimilitude, for example when Quin, who made his first London appearance as Othello in 1722, appeared in blackface wearing an all-white costume complete with a powdered wig and white gloves. Francis Gentleman, who would go on to author one of the midcentury stage adaptations of *Oroonoko* and edit Shakespeare's plays, recorded the wig in particular as contributing to a "magpye appearance . . . as tended greatly to laughter," which was forestalled when Quin methodically removed his gloves.[83] He had blacked his hands as well as his face, and these hands became, in Gentleman's words, "more realized" by their methodical exposure.[84] The phrase indicates that audiences who likely expected the makeup to encompass only Quin's face were pleased at this "illusion of verisimilitude"—the idea that Quin's blackness was complete.[85]

But even in such a case, Quin's true identity as a white man was never in doubt. Though theater lover and critic Ignatius Sancho, known in his time as "the extraordinary Negro," approached Garrick in the 1760s about playing Oroonoko and Othello, some type of speech defect prevented him, so that until 1825, when Aldridge took over the roles, Oroonoko and Othello, along with all other black parts, were always played by white men.[86] Playing a black man on the stage in early modern England thus always invoked for the audience a version of what W. E. B. Du Bois terms "double consciousness"—in this case a knowledge, shared between actor and audience, that the blackface actor was always only standing in for the ghostly black body that wasn't there.[87]

While this dynamic would apply to all early modern actors playing blackface roles, it resonates in special ways with thematic issues at the heart of Behn's and Shakespeare's texts. In regard to Behn's *Oroonoko*, the embodied practices of the stage, which should activate Behn's anxieties about visualization, instead approach her nondramatic attempts to preserve otherness by acknowledging its inexpressibility. Within her text Behn takes steps to mitigate Oroonoko's strangeness (even as she emphasizes it) by flagging his Roman nose, his English hairstyle, his linguistic accomplishments—even his "gleaming" blackness makes him distinct from the other slaves, marks him as truly royal, and thus makes

him a more fitting stand-in for an English king.[88] On the stage, however, instead of, as Behn seems to fear, claiming to elide the representation of the protagonist with the protagonist himself, the body of the actor functions as a constant, metatheatrical reminder that it is merely a substitute for an absent individual it cannot displace. (For all Behn's emphasis on the extreme blackness of Oroonoko, he seems to have been portrayed onstage in standard blackface throughout the eighteenth century, and one edition, at least, indicates that his royalty should be marked by fancier costuming than the other slave characters, rather than any difference in skin tone.)[89] According to a critic like Srinivas Aravamudan, the theatrical performance of *Oroonoko* in this regard transcends the literary depictions of Behn, who, in addition to Anglicizing her protagonist, threatens, though her demonstrated sentimentality toward him, to undermine his exoticism and make him akin to the slave-as-pet popular in early eighteenth-century culture and popularized in visual art.[90] Southerne's tragedy and its subsequent adaptations by contrast restore Oroonoko to life and dignity by revealing the staged Oroonoko as theater's always-imperfect substitute for what isn't there.

Similarly, the actor who plays Othello comes closest to capturing the true version of those "unlucky deeds" that Othello in his suicide speech begs to have passed down. While the character Othello strives to overcome the practice of dramatic substitution by restaging in his final moments an action that he himself previously carried out, the actor playing Othello, from Shakespeare's time through the eighteenth century, reminded audiences of the discrepancy that exists between the event being represented and the representation itself. If Othello's fear is that a white man (Cassio) has been his substitute in bed, then the white actor who plays the black character successfully embodies, and perpetuates, this fear.

Until Aldridge's appearance, then, the dramatic associations between *Oroonoko* and *Othello* exist not just on the level of a shared depiction of race, or noble pathos, but in terms of how these embodied roles flag the processes of substitution inherent in all acts of performance, yet self-consciously interrogated in these very plays. Othello ultimately begs spectators to retell a tragedy of what Joseph Roach dubs surrogation—a tale of incomplete assimilation, suspected adultery, and past actions regretted and replayed.[91] *Oroonoko*, too, is a text thematically invested in issues of substitution, and for exactly these reasons, Roach finds Thomas Southerne more than vindicated in his decision to adapt Behn's story for the stage.[92] If theatrical performance consists of what Roach dubs the

"process of trying out various candidates in difference situations—the doomed search for originals by continuously auditioning stand-ins,"[93] then Behn's *Oroonoko*, a tale that many critics have read as an allegory of Stuart politics, and a tale that forges tragic echoes among the circum-Atlantic slave trade, the deposition of Charles I, and ideological attitudes toward women, seems a theorization of performance just waiting to be played out.[94] And the substitutions deployed by Behn and Southerne extend beyond historical to literary circumstance, as *Oroonoko*, on the page and stage, remains an account "ghosted" by Shakespeare, and specifically by a Shakespearean character remembered for the anxieties about surrogation that he embodies and yet attempts to forestall. When abutted to his plan to reanimate Shakespeare, these anxieties and ambitions would mirror Garrick's own.

Garrick, Ascendant

In December 1744, three months before he would debut Othello, Garrick wrote to his friend John Hoadly, "I rise or fall by Othello very soon: *oh it comes o'er my Memory*."[95] The quotation, one of numerous *Othello* lines that Garrick would appropriate in correspondence, references in context that infamous symbol of empirical proof: "Her honor is an essence that's not seen," taunts Iago, "they have it very oft that have it not. But for the handkerchief—" (4.1.16–18). "By heaven, I would most gladly have forgot it!" cries Othello, in response; "O, it comes o'er my memory / As doth the raven o'er the infected house" (4.1.19–21). The raven and the handkerchief both stand in for visible "proofs" of otherwise intangible, invisible things: thereby trustworthy, according to Othello, and thereby susceptible to manipulation, according to the outcome of the play. But the link between the visible, empirical object and memory is suggestive too: the visible object makes Othello remember what he would otherwise forget; it prevents a past circumstance from sliding into oblivion. Such logic is identical to that summoned earlier by Reeve and Southerne, as central to the theatrical memorialization of Behn's protagonist and Behn. Such logic seems at the heart of Othello's decision to replay in his suicide a scene from his militaristic past. And yet whether they are depicted in performance or in prose, Oroonoko and Othello remain characters whose defining exoticism rests in what is missing from any act of representation—what cannot be seen.

It was this tension, I contend, that explains part of Garrick's rather

underwhelming impact in both plays. While Garrick made his very first theatrical appearance (as Aboan) in Southerne's *Oroonoko*, he wouldn't play Oroonoko until later, in the debut of Hawkesworth's adaptation of the play at Drury Lane on 1 December 1759.[96] Hawkesworth's play ran with Garrick in the lead for eight performances in three months, but each month showed a declining profit. Garrick then dropped the play from the Drury Lane repertoire and seems not to have played the role again.[97] *Othello* also intrigued Garrick early on, and, as indicated in his 1741 letter to his brother Peter, he appears already to be rehearsing it shortly after his general London debut.[98] He wouldn't play it, however, until 7 March 1745, and after that he only played it three more times: again on 9 March, then once in Dublin in February 1746, and a final time on 20 June 1746 at Covent Garden.[99] Lines and quotations from *Othello*, however, continue to "c[ome] out . . . throughout his vast correspondence—more frequently than from any other play," and Othello was one of the roles Garrick was attempting just prior to his retirement.[100] "I have been rehearsing Othello," the ill and aging Garrick writes to George Colman in October 1775, though he wouldn't ultimately live to perform it.[101]

Many factors seem to have contributed to Garrick's failures in these parts. During the eighteenth century, Oroonoko and Othello tended to be the property of bombastic or declamatory "ranters" such as James Quin, and Garrick's new more "naturalistic" style varied from this approach.[102] That fact, coupled with his short stature, made him physically unsuitable for the part. Whereas the six-foot tall Spranger Barry, in the part of Othello, apparently moved his female spectators to sigh, "Would that Heaven had made me such a man," Garrick as Othello moved his rival Quin to quip, "Here's Pompey; where's the tea-kettle," a derogatory reference to the black servant boy featured in William Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress*.[103] Oroonoko, also often played by ranters, similarly strained Garrick's abilities. Arthur Nichols describes the "melting and passionate addresses" required of the lovers in the final act as "the very kind of dialogue Garrick found most difficult to manage," and cites Thomas Davies as recording how "the lustre of his eye was lost in the shade of the black color."[104] Also relevant is the fact that many of the most successful Othellos and Oroonokos of the period were Irish (Barry, Mossop, Dexter) or of Irish descent (Quin). Not only was Irishness associated with the physical size supposedly necessary to play these roles, but the outsider-status of the Irish actor in England would also have associated him with the outsider represented by these parts. In this regard, Garrick almost had to fail at both roles to prove his Englishness.[105]

Additionally, some critics speculate that his failure as Othello rested in his overzealous attempt to outdo his rival in the part, Quin. Garrick's debut of Othello featured the reinstitution of the trance scene, an episode for years redacted from the text; Garrick's rationale here, at least as relayed by his soured mentor Charles Macklin, was that his diminutive size enabled a collapse that the much larger Quin could only stage awkwardly and with trouble.[106] In this case he was applauded, but spectators generally sensed the inter-actor rivalry as a hindrance: "He endeavored throughout to play everything different from Quin," comments friend Richard Rigby, "and failed, I think, in most of his alterations.[107]

Other apologists for Garrick, such as his biographer Arthur Murphy, tried to pin his failures on the requirements of blackface. Known for his highly expressive countenance, Garrick and Murphy both indicated that the requisite makeup hindered the communication of his expressions.[108] Garrick's contemporary Samuel Foote (another comically inept Othello) would similarly claim that Othello's "black Covering . . . hinders our discerning the Action of the Muscles."[109] Barry, by contrast, experienced none of these difficulties, and the *Theatrical Review* notes that Barry's eyes, when "set off by the hue of the Moorish complexion . . . becom[e] capable of conveying his soul's meaning to the most distant spectator."[110] Early in his career, however, Garrick did seem to rely upon the obfuscating properties of such a part, as when he hoped that the black countenance of Aboan would keep his identity secret if he wished it to remain so.[111]

But by the time Garrick first played Othello, in 1745, such anxieties had been assuaged. He would no longer have been desirous, or capable, of having his identity disguised; instead, his Othello would have resonated with his public as being performed by the same man who had so impressed them as Richard III. And his successes as Richard could well have set him up to succeed as Othello, especially as in excelling as Richard he had overcome many of the same difficulties that would haunt him in this other part. Like Aboan, his first appearance as Richard could have functioned potentially as a disguise. He was, as mentioned, advertised on the playbill for Richard III merely as that of "a GENTLEMAN (who had never yet appeared on any stage)," and the part of the hunchbacked king required of the actor such a severe "physical transformation" that at least one critic speculates it might represent Garrick's "desire to hide himself in the role."[112] Once Garrick's identity did become associated with this part, he had to contend with the fact that he was choosing a role with a well-known genealogy: as mentioned above, Colley Cibber,

acting in his own adaptation of Shakespeare's play, had played the role for years prior, and Cibber had in turn based his interpretation on his careful study of Sandford's Richard III.[113] In his own time, Garrick, who played in the adaptation authored by Cibber, was taking on yet another role enacted by Quin, and Quin and Garrick apparently agreed at Drury Lane to act "parts of importance alternately," particularly, and significantly for this chapter, those of Richard III and Othello.[114]

Whereas Garrick would suffer from these comparisons when playing Othello, as Richard, and much like the king he played, he emerged victorious. Quin soon realized that his competing performances were gaining nothing from the comparisons with Garrick: "Richard and King Lear were his great parts without a competitor," states Garrick's biographer Arthur Murphy, "for Quin, though he did not immediately resign those characters, was not able to contend for a victory."[115] "His Richard the Third," similarly states Garrick's other contemporary biographer, Thomas Davies, now referencing Quin's, "could scarce draw together a decent appearance of company in the boxes . . . he was, with some difficulty, tolerated in the part, when Garrick acted the same character to crowded houses, and with very great applause."[116] Pope, upon seeing Garrick perform Richard, apparently exclaimed, "That young man never had his equal, and never will have a rival."[117] As Richard, unlike with Othello, Garrick was celebrated for giving, in Murphy's words, "completely an original performance. All was his own creation: he might truly say, '*I am myself alone.*'"[118]

According to these assessments, what Garrick accomplished as Richard was tied to Garrick's ability to efface his competition, which was tied in turn to his ability to merge completely with the part. Applying to Garrick the sentiment spoken by Richard about himself—"I am myself alone"—Murphy highlights that by playing another Garrick exhibits his uniqueness, and also that, by playing another, Garrick may fully become himself.[119] This was a performance strategy that he would perfect, as described in my next chapter, with a part such as Hamlet—but not, interestingly enough, a strategy that he could ever master with Othello. Though he tried to use that role as well to reform the acting styles espoused by rivals such as Quin and to reclaim the parts with which such actors were equated, the role proved resistant, and maybe blackface was finally to blame—not, certainly, for the reasons stated by Murphy or Foote, but because the requirements of blackface demand that the actor always and obviously be recognized as the imperfect surrogate for a black body that isn't there.

In other words, if all performance involves an act of surrogation, in which the actor is on some level recognized as the substitute for the character he plays, Garrick's failures in Othello expose that he was trying to use his Shakespearean roles to do something else. Garrick's success in *Richard III* and then in subsequent Shakespearean plays and roles—Hamlet, as discussed in my third chapter, and Leontes in *The Winter's Tale*, in my fourth—depended on a growing investment in merging with his character, en route to his larger project of styling himself as Shakespeare brought to life: not a substitute for, but a revival of the man himself. Whereas roles such as Othello (when played by a white man) or, as discussed in my later chapter on *The Merchant of Venice*, breeches parts such as Portia's Balthasar (when played by a woman), reminded viewers emphatically of the slippage between actor and role, Garrick increasingly gravitated toward Shakespearean parts in which this slippage could be forgotten, and in which he could therefore enact through the character the fantasy that he aspired to achieve on a larger level with Shakespeare. The roles in which he experienced great success suggestively model this possibility, whereas a part and a play like *Othello* or *Oroonoko* remain embedded in an illusion of verisimilitude that Garrick was hoping to transcend.

While Garrick wasn't single-handedly responsible for the tabling of *Oroonoko*, his surrender of this lead part was "accompanied by the removal of *Oroonoko* from the [Drury Lane] production schedule," and into this void he would insert ever more Shakespeare.[120] His plan, which he articulated at the reopening of Drury Lane in 1747, is laid out in an ironic prologue scripted for him by Samuel Johnson:

> But who the coming Changes can presage,
> And mark the future periods of the Stage?—
> Perhaps if Skill could distant times explore,
> New Behns, new Durfeys yet remain in Store.
> Perhaps, where Lear has rav'd, and Hamlet dy'd,
> On Flying Cars new Sorcerers may ride.[121]

Garrick, as Jane Spencer puts it, "wished to purge the stage of such low amusement, and . . . his tenure at Drury Lane coincided with that theatre's dropping of . . . Behn's work."[122] But in choosing Shakespeare over Behn's adaptations, and in choosing a Shakespeare that was not *Othello*, Garrick was also purging the stage of a Shakespeare recalled indirectly. Instead, Garrick would work to recreate a newly "embodied" Shake-

speare, a strategy that even his tremendous success with *Richard III*, a play in which the monarch's trajectory also means he dies without a successor, motivates Garrick to expand. As Hamlet, he memorializes the playwright by styling himself as his reembodiment rather than his successor, and this strategy—a memorialization founded on revival and reincarnation rather than on absence and loss—attempts to do for Shakespeare what Othello's observers, for all of Othello's aspirations, never can: to bring Shakespeare back into the present moment and to speak for him in his own persona. Or, as Othello would say, to "speak of me as I am."

Hamlet, David Garrick, and Laurence Sterne

✦ ✦ ✦

For Garrick, *Hamlet* would allow him to accomplish everything that he failed to accomplish with *Othello*. While playing Othello, the actor and his role would always be recognized as distinct, but while playing Hamlet, Garrick's identity would merge increasingly with that of his character, and eventually with that of Shakespeare himself. This phenomenon would help Garrick offset his own ephemerality by supporting his status as what his contemporaries termed a "living monument" to Shakespeare. The living monument, as this chapter details, provided Garrick with a way to avoid the pathos of being remembered but not revived, as, in contrast to the static memorial, the concept of the living monument held out the promise—to the memory of Shakespeare, but also to Garrick—of constant life. For worshippers of Garrick, the concept of the living monument also asked them to reconsider how they had thought about the function of more traditional monuments, from portraits, to statues, to the printed text. Just such a reconsideration emerges in the work of one of Garrick's most invested worshippers, the ill and aging novelist Laurence Sterne.

This chapter considers how both men sought to move beyond traditional attitudes toward ephemerality, commemoration, and the printed word, and how in doing so both Garrick and Sterne gravitated toward a possibility modeled for them by *Hamlet*. For example, in one of the

most definitive statements on memory in the play, Hamlet exposes written records to be only partial memorials, in need of being supplemented with some alternate technique:

> Remember thee?
> Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat
> In this distracted globe. Remember thee?
> Yea, from the table of my memory
> I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
> All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past
> That youth and observation copied there,
> And thy commandment all alone shall live
> Within the book and volume of my brain,
> Unmixed with baser matter. . . .
> Now to my word:
> It is "Adieu, adieu, remember me."
> I have sworn't.[1]

The passage shows Hamlet, actor-like, remembering the command to remember by verbally running his lines, but Hamlet also remembers the ghost's command by writing, as his reference to "tables" connects his memory to the seventeenth-century "table book," the notepad-like device used by seventeenth-century audiences to record things they wanted to recall.[2] By promising the ghost to record "thy commandment" in the "book and volume" of his brain, Hamlet conflates his mental exercise with his reliance on text, and the final phrase he quotes is likely one he speaks and writes, and reads.

This passage thus stands out not only for its general emphasis on memory—a concept central to the play—but for its exploration of remembering as a process that relies upon both writing and speech. Independently, the memorial capacities of either medium are flawed, as any artistic "preservation fantasy," in Aaron Kunin's phrase, must grapple with the fact that neither the material embodiment of text nor its spoken enunciation can exist outside of time.[3] The tablets, papers, stones containing written tributes will, like the human body, erode and age, while the verbal tribute, read or repeated, exists only in the moment of its articulation. And yet these processes may feed off each other in a constant cycle of remembrance, one taking over as the other one fades. If Hamlet's repetitions of "remember thee / remember me" are performative, accomplishing the act they purport to describe, this is because

the citational abilities of performance—Hamlet's ability to ventriloquize his father's spoken command—work in tandem with the preservational capacities of print.

Hamlet, then, challenges the idea that memorials must exist solely in fixed and static records, distinguished from the ephemeral qualities they commemorate. Instead, it dramatizes that the ephemeral tribute can be recycled and thus revived, seen in the way young Hamlet carries out the desires of his dead father or, even more metatheatrically, in Hamlet's decision to restage for Claudius the circumstances of his secret crime. Ephemerality in the play thus becomes crucial to, as opposed to at odds with, the process of commemoration, and it is this fact, I argue, that explains the importance of *Hamlet* to both Garrick and Sterne.[4] An actor who was also a theater manager and a playwright, Garrick, like Hamlet, often rewrote the Shakespearean words he would then enact, while Sterne, an author obsessed with the materiality of writing, packed his novels with theatrical references and techniques.[5] In so doing, both men, as I will argue, sought to align the practices of print with those of performance. And for both men this attempt was motivated by their anxieties about the transience of fame and life, and mediated by *Hamlet*.

Garrick and the Immortality of the Stage

The story of Sterne's relationship to Garrick starts in 1760, with a letter he sent him containing a strategic and unsolicited address:

> Sir,
>
> I dare say you will wonder to receive an Epistle from me, and the subject of it will surprise you still more, because it is to tell you something about books.
>
> There are two Volumes just published here which have made a great noise, & have had a prodigious run; for in 2 days after they came out, the Bookseller sold two hundred—& continues selling them very fast. It is, The Life & Opinions of Tristram Shandy. . . . If you have not seen it, pray get it & read it, because it has a great Character as a witty smart Book, and if you think it is so, your good word in Town will do the Author, I am sure great Service; You must understand, He is a kind a generous friend of mine whom Providence has attached to me . . . & I could not think I could make a

> better return than by endeavouring to make you a friend to him & his Performance.[6]

The cryptic nature of the letter rests in its pronouns, as, though written by Sterne, it presents "the Author" of *Tristram Shandy* and the author of this letter as distinct. Sterne, it turns out, was leery of approaching Garrick without an introduction, and so sent his note to the singer and actress Catherine (Kitty) Fourmantel (a young performer Sterne likely first met when she was singing the fall before in York) with instructions that she copy it and send it on to Garrick as if from herself.[7] Sterne's "performance," referenced in the final line, thus encompasses both the authoring of his novel and this letter, as, through an act of textual impersonation, Sterne seeks to put himself in company with the actor to whom he writes.

While Sterne's personal correspondence with Garrick, initiated three weeks later, suggests his stratagem was successful, Sterne's choice of muse remains intriguing. By the time Sterne wrote his letter, in January 1760, Garrick had become a powerful, well-connected man. From the time Garrick had first ventured onstage in blackface to the time that Sterne salutes him, Garrick had taken over the theater management of Drury Lane, married, and established himself as the preeminent actor of the day. But he was still, as Frank Donoghue points out, "in a position to offer tangible help only to playwrights."[8] Sterne's choice of benefactor was backward in the sense that Garrick couldn't provide him with traditional—financial—support.

So what did Sterne hope to get from Garrick? One answer was an immediate association with the theater and the theater's ability to "captur[e] the attention of a mass audience."[9] Sterne wanted to market himself and his work to a large number of people, and Garrick and the theater offered him an available model for how to do so. But Sterne was also getting, in his own words, a particular kind of fame. In volume 4 of *Tristram Shandy*, published a year subsequent to Sterne's introductory letter to Garrick, Sterne's protagonist Tristram ventriloquizes the appeal that his flesh-and-blood author had recently made: "—O Garrick! What a rich scene of this would thy exquisite powers make! And how gladly would I write such another to avail myself of thy immortality, and secure my own behind it."[10]

The significance of Tristram's tribute hinges on Sterne's understanding of how Garrick's immortality was affirmed by the actor's art. "Performance's only life is in the present," the contemporary critic Peggy Phelan asserts, and while recent critics of performance have pushed

back against this assertion, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century critics and actors saw ephemerality as creating associations that the actor must combat.[11] Writing in 1817, William Hazlitt would lament the disappearance of once-famous actors and the "fleeting and shadowy essence of the stage."[12] Garrick, too, was wracked by fears of what Stuart Sherman calls "theatrical extinction."[13] Throughout his career, his biographer Arthur Murphy explains, "The love of Fame was Garrick's ruling passion, even to anxiety," and if "Anxiety for his fame was [Garrick's] reigning foible," such anxiety seemed to emerge from Garrick's fear that, as an actor, he could always and easily be replaced.[14] His biographer Thomas Davies records that Garrick was "weak enough to be alarmed at every shadow of a rival," and despite the fact that, "as an actor, [he] scarce ever had a competitor," he was nonetheless sensitive to even "the slightest attack."[15] Yet in the quotation from *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne and Tristram privilege performance as the source of one's—even another's—lasting reputation: the author writes the words, but the performer and act of performance immortalize what the author has done. Even Sterne's choice of preposition invokes the stage, as Sterne lodges his own immortality "behind" Garrick's, taking the actor as his mask.

In such a tribute, Sterne was following Garrick's lead. Garrick, like Sterne, was obsessed with his posthumous reputation, and well aware of the ephemerality that haunted the actor's craft. Yet Garrick also embraced his transience as an advantage, a strategy evident in his decision to absent himself for two years (from 1763 to 1765) from the London stage, so as to convince "the public, that the success and splendor of the stage depended solely on himself."[16] This strategy, in which the experience of his absence would inspire the clarion call for his return, was also one he developed in his interactions with the playwright whose work would likewise inspire Sterne.

Since the Restoration, the recovery of Shakespeare had hinged on a seeming paradox, as the moment at which British society was most devoted to preserving the playwright was also the moment at which it was most devoted to changing him. Playwrights such as John Dryden and Nahum Tate sought to simplify Shakespeare's language, restore neoclassical unity to his plays, and render his characters more realistic, while critics from Thomas Rymer to Alexander Pope supported such emendations. Misguided as later critics would find these revisions, in the Restoration and eighteenth century they were crucial to the continued circulation of Shakespeare's work. As Michael Dobson has pointed out, adaptation supported rather than compromised Shakespeare's

emerging national reputation, such that the canonization of Shakespeare's plays and the apotheosis of the author emerged from the full-scale adaptation of his works.[17]

Garrick, like the Restoration playwrights who had preceded him, played a crucial role in this project. Garrick's Shakespeare obsession can be seen throughout his career: in his performances of Shakespearean characters, his decisions as a theater manager to include more Shakespeare in the Drury Lane repertoire, and his experiments as a playwright with rewriting and restaging popular Shakespearean plays.[18] As discussed in my first chapter, his major Shakespearean roles included, but were not limited to, Richard III, Lear, Macbeth, Romeo, and Benedict; among his Shakespearean adaptations are *Macbeth* (1744), *Romeo and Juliet* (1748), *Catharine and Petruchio* (1756), *Florizel and Perdita* (1756), two versions of *The Tempest* (1756, 1773), and two versions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1755, 1763).[19]

Additionally, and by the time Sterne approached him, Garrick had become for his contemporaries "the definitive Hamlet."[20] He had first appeared in the play in his 1741 debut season at Goodman's Fields, but had avoided the lead part in favor of Old Hamlet's ghost (the very part rumored to have been played by Shakespeare).[21] His London premiere of young Hamlet, made finally at Drury Lane on 16 November 1742, was something that he seems to have strategized carefully, "rehearsing" the part during summer performances in Dublin's Smock Alley Theatre, recalibrating his performance in response to spectators' responses, and bringing it to London only once his own reputation was firmly on the rise.[22] When he did perform it in London, he was an immediate success, repeating his performance ten more times before the end of 1742.[23] By the time he retired, in 1776, he would have performed the role eighty-seven times: more than he performed Macbeth, Richard III, or Lear.[24]

It was this role in particular that would cement Garrick's reputation as Shakespeare's mouthpiece and successor. Writing in 1775, toward the very end of Garrick's career, the theater aficionado Georg Christoph Lichtenberg would reflect on the cultural impact, as Hamlet, that Garrick had made: "How many Hamlets . . . are there in the world," queries Lichtenberg rhetorically, "that are what this man is within his four walls?"[25] And while all aspects of Garrick's performance struck spectators as compelling, Lichtenberg and Garrick's contemporaries seemed especially impressed by Garrick's reaction to his father's ghost. "As no Writer in any Age penned a Ghost like Shakespeare," writes one reviewer in 1772, "so, in our Time, no Actor ever saw a Ghost like

Garrick."[26] Henry Fielding commemorated the encounter in his 1749 novel, *Tom Jones*, when his comic character Partridge goes to see Garrick act Hamlet only to become terrified that the onstage ghost was real; Benjamin Wilson further memorialized Garrick's reaction in his oft-reproduced 1754 painting of the scene.[27] Garrick himself encouraged this focus by treating this moment in the play as a "point," or a pose held static specifically so that audiences could pause and appreciate the artistry of what the actor achieved onstage, and, in the case of Wilson, translate this artistry into a portrait or print.[28] Years later, Lichtenberg duplicates the posture preserved in Wilson's image, in his description of seeing Garrick see the ghost:

> His hat falls to the ground and both his arms, especially the left, are stretched out nearly to their full length, with the hands as high as his head, the right arm more bent and the hand lower, and the fingers apart.[29]

"Now, my dear B.," Lichtenberg prefaces this account to his friend Heinrich Boie, "I wish you could see [Garrick], with eyes fixed on the ghost."[30] Emphasizing his desire to have his friend experience, visually, a phenomenon now lost to time, Lichtenberg duplicates Garrick's own artistic project in attempting to freeze a fleeting encounter with his paternal past.

Associating himself with the part Shakespeare was rumored to have played, then moving to the son who will commemorate his forgotten father, Garrick used the role to advertise his aspirational relationship to Shakespeare. Such a project, as reviews indicate, first requires him to merge with the character and channel Hamlet's thoughts. "When Garrick entered the scene," his biographer Arthur Murphy would write of his performance in the role, "the character he assumed, was legible in his countenance; by the force of deep meditation he transformed himself into the very man."[31] Friedrich Gunderode, a Francophile visiting London who saw Garrick act the part toward the end of his career, admired his ability to speak "the famous monologue in the first scene of the third act with the greatest concentration of his whole being. His soul felt at the moment the full import of these words, otherwise he could not have uttered them as he did."[32] Yet another version of this belief—that Garrick channeled utterly the thoughts and feelings of Hamlet—was ventriloquized by Fielding's Partridge: "if that little man there upon the stage is not frightened, I never saw any man frightened in my life. . . . I am sure, if I had seen a ghost, I should have looked in

Fig. 7. James McArdell, *Mr. Garrick in Hamlet, act I, scene 4*, after a painting by Benjamin Wilson (1754). Folger Shakespeare Library Call # ART G241 no. 94. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

the very same manner, and done just as he did."[33] Similarly, according to Hannah More, Garrick as Hamlet "seemed himself engaged in a succession of affecting situations, not giving utterance to a speech, but to the instantaneous expression of his feelings . . . it was a fiction as delightful as fancy and as touching as truth."[34]

For More and Garrick's other fans, however, this identification spoke to more than just Garrick's ability to channel Hamlet. Lichtenberg also considers how Garrick's Hamlet urged spectators to become "attuned to Shakespeare's mind," and for More, the melding of Garrick with Hamlet showed how "naturally, indeed . . . the ideas of the poet seem to mix with his [Garrick's] own."[35] This sense, that through Garrick's Hamlet one might have access to the mind of Shakespeare, had been similarly encouraged by midcentury tributes to Garrick written, ostensibly, by Shakespeare's ghost. "But know, much honour'd man, my hov'ring shade . . . / Pours on thy senses an enraptur'd flow," states the ghost to Garrick, in one such epistle. "Say, didst thou never feel an impulse soft / Come thrilling to thy breast? . . . / Then was thy kindred soul imprest by mine."[36] Shakespeare's ghost, in a poetic tribute to Garrick included in the *London Magazine*, also assures his actor that "my genuine thought when by thy voice exprest / Shall be deemed the greatest and the best."[37] Such tributes reinforce the belief that the thoughts of Shakespeare, like those of Old Hamlet, remain accessible even from beyond the grave, as long as a suitable mouthpiece for these thoughts exists. By inserting the actor back into one of his most famous roles, these tributes appoint Garrick as this mouthpiece, casting him as the "Hamlet" to his "father's" ghost.[38]

This phenomenon would be reinforced by images that conflate Garrick with Shakespeare, yet continue to cast Garrick as Hamlet in the process: Isaac Taylor's 1769 print *Garrick with Shakespearean Characters*, in which Garrick leans against the bust of Shakespeare while instructing the other characters to "o'erstep not the modesty of nature," or the 1769 enamel miniature that features Shakespeare on one side, Garrick as Hamlet on the other (Garrick's likeness is captioned, "Who held the mirror up to nature").[39] Even more than the "point" that inspires Wilson's portrait, such images emphasize the symbiotic relationship Garrick encouraged between performance and the "sister arts." As opposed to recording a set moment within a production, these images speak to the more dynamic type of Shakespearean commemoration that, through his performances of Hamlet, Garrick was able to achieve: he became for his audiences "an actor who does not just play Shake-

Fig. 8. Isaac Taylor, *O'er step not the modesty of Nature. Ham* (1770). Folger Shakespeare Library Call # ART S527.2 no. 140. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

speare's roles, but plays Shakespeare."[40] As he did so, he became not simply a manifestation of the playwright's characters, but a "living monument" to the playwright himself.

For example, in the wake of such performances, "the sculptor's curious art" became associated with "false tributary fame, and senseless joy," while the acting of Garrick would come to represent "the noblest trophies SHAKESPEARE can receive."[41] "By each other's aid we both shall live," explains the anonymous poetic tribute quoted in chapter 1, again issued, Old Hamlet style, from Shakespeare's ghost. "I, fame to thee,

Fig. 9 a and b. David Garrick as Hamlet, with William Shakespeare, double-sided enamel (1769). Folger Shakespeare Library Call # ART 241260 (realia). Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

thou, life to me, shalt give."[42] Similarly, in yet another epistle, the ghost of Shakespeare elevates the actor over the Scheemaker statue mentioned in my introduction, erected to the memory of Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey:

> THOU art my living monument; in THEE
> I see the best inscription that my soul
> Could ever wish: perish, vain pageantry, despis'd!
> SHAKESPEARE revives! In GARRICK breathes again![43]

The preference for Garrick as a monument, in these tributes, draws from the very ephemerality of his art—its "liveness"—that he, as an actor, elsewhere struggles against. It is the dynamism of his monument that promises Shakespeare's "revival," something "the sculptor's curious art" can never bestow. In contrast to the static monument that smacks of deadness, its lack of animation confirming the lost life it commemorates but cannot renew, the actor as "living monument" promises the playwright access to constant life.

Just as Hamlet's performance of the Mousetrap play toggles between a recreation of Old Hamlet's past and prophecy of Hamlet's future, Garrick's performances thus revivify Shakespeare even as they prophesy his own extended reign. Garrick would reinforce this promise in his rewritings of Shakespeare's scripts. Over the course of his career Garrick would make numerous adjustments to the 1718 acting version of *Hamlet* he'd inherited from actor Robert Wilks and poet-playwright John Hughes, with perhaps his most memorable, if not significant, change being the still-persistent misquotation, introduced in Garrick's 1751 acting version of the text, of "Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him well."[44] Garrick's constant revisions to the text of *Hamlet* illustrate an attitude toward print consistent with his attitudes toward performance, in which keeping "the enterprise alive" depends on the promise—all too familiar to an actor—of an installment yet to come.[45] Such an attitude was similarly supported by his burgeoning engagements with the periodical press, and his increasing reliance on newspapers to publicize his acting—what Stuart Sherman terms his "tactical intimacy with newsprint"—in which his strategy of self-promotion depended on the fact that "by replicating their format and changing their content every day, [newspapers] push toward an open-ended run."[46] In both print and in performance, Garrick worked to reframe as a virtue those qualities of liveness and ephemerality that in another context would carry with them the promise of decay.

Garrick's published alterations to *Hamlet*, one dating 1751 and one from 1763, thus reflect a trend in his attitudes toward print and memorialization that had been building throughout his engagements with the text: Garrick shortens Hamlet's act 4, scene 3 discourse on worms; he does the same with Gertrude's description of Ophelia's death.[47] Then, in 1772, Garrick cut the gravedigger's scene altogether, a drastic emendation meant to rectify what he termed the "rubbish of the fifth act."[48] Ostensibly, he cut the scene to speed up the pacing of the play, and also to address what contemporaries had found a disturbing juxtaposition between the play's tragic ending and what the nineteenth-century biographer James Boaden termed the graveyard scene's "rude jocularity."[49] But to cut the scene meant removing one of the more iconic testaments to mortality and commemoration—Yorick's skull—and to replace the static, tangible prop with his own ability to rewrite the text. Like the "living monument" that he would come to represent, and unlike the skull of Yorick that he chooses to excise, Garrick's rewritings of Shakespeare present the playscript as dynamic—something whose afterlife rests in the promise that it can be rewritten.[50]

Sterne would never see Garrick's final version of the play. By 1768 Sterne was dead, and by 1765 the relationship between Sterne and Garrick had cooled. No definitive evidence exists that, even during the height of their friendship, Sterne ever saw Garrick act the Danish prince.[51] But Sterne, who had adopted the pseudonym "Hamlet" in a 1747 letter he sent to the *Protestant York Courant*, engages in his references to Garrick an actor, a role, and an attitude toward text that had by 1760, when he addresses him, become emblematic of what it meant to be a living monument to Shakespeare.[52] Whereas Ben Jonson could claim of Shakespeare, in the 1623 First Folio, that "thou art alive still, while thy Book doth live," midcentury tributes to Garrick instead find the playwright's "best inscription" in the performances of an actor on the stage.[53] The applicability here of "inscription" to the act of performance suggests not merely the actor's primacy over text, but the ability of text to partake in the actor's art. Sterne's textual references to Garrick, and to *Hamlet*, thus work to establish for the novelist a new model of immortality, as they help Sterne extricate his own novel *Tristram Shandy* from the classical conceit that would make the literary text "a monument more lasting than bronze."[54]

Theatrical Tristram

From his close relationship with Garrick, to his own theatrical strategies of self-promotion, Sterne wrote *Tristram Shandy* while deeply steeped in theatrical traditions, and these traditions are "everywhere apparent."[55] In 1760, mere weeks after he had initiated his correspondence with Garrick, Sterne wrote to him again to propose a "Cervantic Comedy" to be made out of the materials he planned for subsequent volumes of *Tristram Shandy*. These volumes, he promised, would be "still more dramatick" than his first two installments, and he asked for only "half a word of Encouragement . . . to make me conceive, & bring forth something for the Stage."[56] Garrick presumably did not provide such encouragement, but even without it, Sterne's "theatrical" method of composition is evident in the "less dramatick" first volumes that he here promises to improve. "I propose," Sterne wrote to his publisher Robert Dodsley in 1759, of the novel he had then just begun, "to print . . . two small volumes . . . at my own expense, merely to feel the pulse of the world, and that I may know what price to set upon the remaining [as yet unwritten] volumes from the reception of these."[57] Presenting his first volumes as

part of a fluid, even diagnostic creative process, Sterne embraces print publication as an ongoing form of entertainment that, as in the open-ended run of the playhouse, recalibrates in accordance with audience response.[58]

To aid himself in taking the "pulse" of the world, Sterne also quickly embraced what he called "the Shandy style" in his own correspondence and conversation. "I Shandy it away fifty times more than I was ever wont," he bragged to Garrick in 1762; "[I] talk more nonsense than you ever heard me talk in all your days."[59] He dubbed himself "ce Chevalier Shandy" after his ill-fated protagonist Tristram Shandy, and later apologized to Garrick, in the persona of Tristram, for an angry letter he had sent regarding the repayment of a debt.[60] Impersonations that he carried out in his letters and the drawing rooms and salons of the literary elite, Sterne's displays seem eventually to mark little more than Sterne being Sterne. "I have not seen the great Tristram since his return except at the Drawing Room," writes Elizabeth Montagu in a 1765 letter to her sister, while Samuel Johnson repeats to a friend (who then records it in a letter) that "in a company where I lately was, Tristram Shandy introduced himself."[61]

Just as frequently, however, Sterne presented himself as his character Parson Yorick, the ill-fated vicar inspired by (and, according to Sterne, descended from) Shakespeare's like-named jester, who in Sterne's novel dies in volume 1.[62] As early as 1759, Sterne writes to his inamorata Catherine Fourmantel (the likely model for Tristram's "Jenny") as "Yorick," and goes on to publish his first collection of sermons under the title "The Sermons of Mr. Yorick" (with a second title page identifying these as "Sermons by Laurence Sterne").[63] Most notably, Sterne adopted the persona of Yorick in his love letters and journal to Mrs. Elizabeth Draper, the woman with whom he was infatuated at the end of his life. In one such entry, dated 28 May–2 June 1767, he describes himself as

> confined to my bed—so emaciated, and unlike what I was, I could scarse be angry with thee Eliza, if thou Coulds not remember me. . . . Alas! Poor Yorick!—"*remember thee! Pale Ghost—remember thee—whilst Memory holds a seat in this* distracted World—Remember thee,—Yes, from the Table of her Memory, shall just Eliza wipe away all trivial men—& leave a throne for Yorick—adieu dear constant Girl—adieu—adieu.[64]

Sterne channels Shakespeare here in an effort to collapse historical distance, his alternate persona linked to his desire that Eliza remember

"what [he] was." And yet these conflations are never straightforward, and never quite complete. Ironically, the fidelity that Sterne as Yorick desires from his Eliza is exactly what, in a literary sense, he fails to exhibit, as he finds reassurance in an adapted (or misremembered) quotation that casts him as some combination of "poor Yorick," Hamlet, and Old Hamlet's ghost. Sterne's quotation illustrates how important it is to his ideas about memory that Tristram and Yorick, who align "almost seamlessly" with Sterne, also have a multiplicity of Shakespearean roots.[65]

Sterne's inspiration for this exercise—his sympathetic identification with, among other characters, the source of literature's most famous skull—likely came from the long-standing tuberculosis that had rendered him as famous for his skeletal appearance as he was for his prose (a fact that Thomas Patch's 1765 caricature of "Sterne bowing to Death" would mock).[66] Years before he started writing to Eliza, Sterne embraced *Tristram Shandy* as a physic for his illness, calling his novel a "fence against the infirmities of ill health" meant to "ad[d] something to this Fragment of Life" (xv). The image of the dying author, scribbling frantically to stave off death, offers the written word as counterpoint to the ever-decreasing dimensions of Sterne's body, with his additive expression working against the sense of ephemerality only too evident in his own physical wasting away.

And yet, as Sterne's associations with Yorick recall, even the dead body leaves something behind:

> CLOWN: This same skull, sir, was Sir Yorick's skull, the king's jester.
> HAMLET: This?
>
> *Takes the skull*
>
> > Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him, Horatio: a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy: he hath borne me on his back a thousand times; and now, how abhorred in my imagination it is! my gorge rises at it. Here hung those lips that I have kissed I know not how oft. Where be your gibes now? Your gambols? Your songs? Your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar? (5.1.173–81)

In Shakespeare's play, Yorick's skull functions as an image of mortality, or man's impermanence, but also as evidence of man's material remains. "To what base uses we may return!" exclaims Hamlet, but Yorick's skull is not yet the featureless "dust" that Hamlet will later lament (5.1.192).

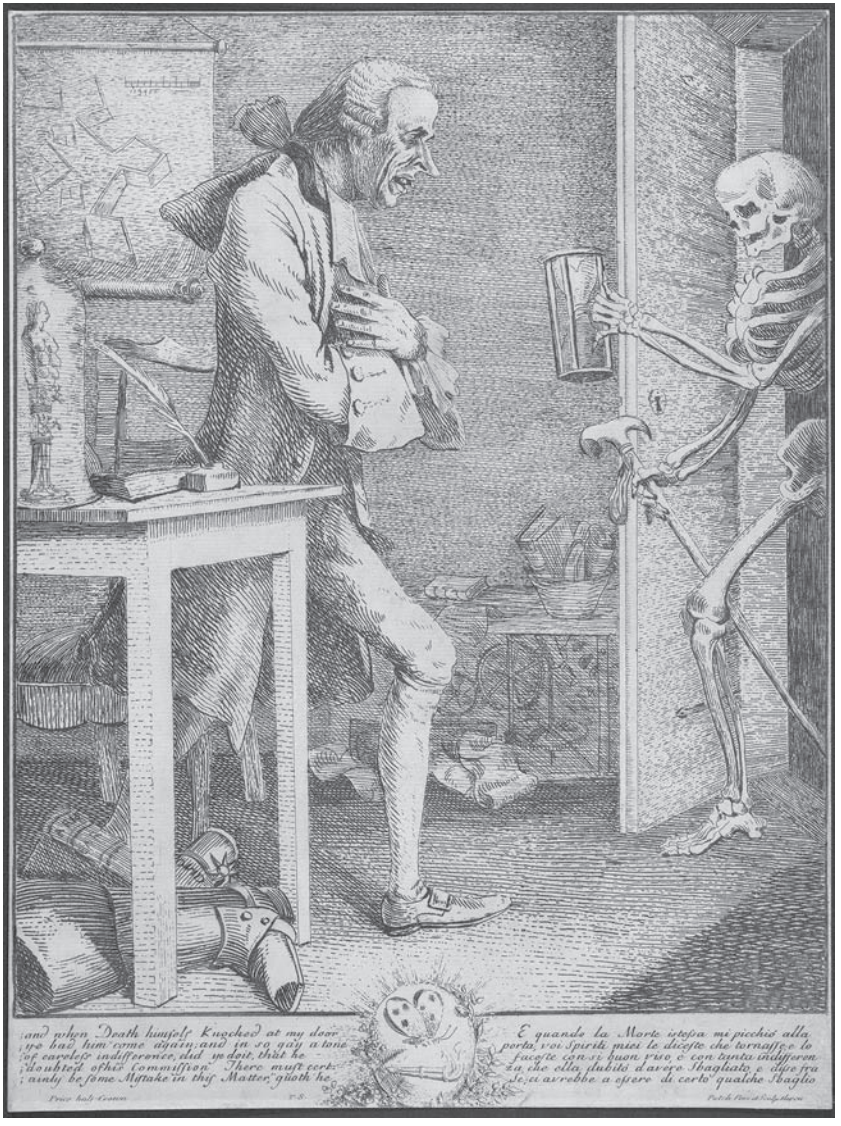

Fig. 10. Thomas Patch, *Sterne Bowing to Death* (c. 1765). © Trustees of the British Museum.

Instead, the skull, like the tombstone, is a monument of sorts: not just a *memento mori* for Hamlet, but "a physical revenant" of Yorick himself.[67] The material object inspires Hamlet's memory of the ephemeral, as Hamlet evokes the fleeting actions and appearance of his jester—the lips, the songs—on the solid foundation that the skull provides.

In his letters, public performances, and most seminally his novel, Sterne would similarly revitalize the dead Yorick, remembering, as Hamlet does with his dead jester, how the once-living Yorick used to be. Yet unlike Shakespeare's skull, Sterne's Yorick begins the novel as a fully fleshed out textual subject, capable of demanding attention and speaking for himself:

> "I beseech thee, Eugenius, quoth Yorick, taking off his night-cap as well as he could with his left hand. . . .—I beseech thee to take a view of my head." (21)

Here, in Parson Yorick's deathbed speech, the head forces itself into view as a still-living artifact, conjuring up Hamlet's graveyard apostrophe (the same apostrophe that Garrick would ultimately excise) with a twist. While the death of Yorick that quickly follows distills for Sterne the Hamlet-esque question of how such a character is to be remembered, his revisions to this scene suggest that it won't be through his bones.

Nor will it be through his offspring, as Sterne's attitudes toward biological succession provide yet another set of revisions to his Shakespearean source. Whereas in *Hamlet* the father hopes to live on through the traits and features of the son (connections that are formalized through the recycling of a proper name), *Tristram Shandy* waxes pessimistic on the perpetuation of names and family traits. Names in Sterne's novel famously go awry, while Shandy genetics seem to result in sexual impotence (Tristram's and Uncle Toby's, but the slightly endowed great-grandfather is suspect too) that threatens to end the Shandy line. Even Walter's successful procreation is stymied by his eldest son's death and his second son's now-imminent demise. Sterne's Yorick initiates, but also frustrates, this promise of succession. A character Sterne claims as a living descendant of Shakespeare's own, Parson Yorick stands for nine-hundred-odd years of Yorick lineage, and stands out in the novel as a biological triumph (16). But this context only serves to make Yorick's apparently childless death more tragic, as it necessitates, on the part of Tristram and Sterne, alternate ideas about how one's memory will be preserved.

Instead, Parson Yorick remains present in this novel thanks in part to

the sermons he leaves behind.[68] The way these sermons travel throughout the novel—trapped inside Walter's copy of *Stevenius*, dropped in the mud, resurrected years later to be plagiarized and reprinted—shows text, like bone, functioning as the individual's physical, material trace. In Tristram's words, the reappropriation of Yorick's sermons subjects Yorick, like Hamlet's jester, to being "plunder[ed] . . . after he was laid in his grave," with the reported recycling of Yorick's sermons now rendered equivalent to Prince Hamlet's careless treatment of Yorick's skull (102). Sterne has an antidote to such plundering in mind: just as the true memorial in Hamlet's graveyard scene isn't the skull but the apostrophe it prompts, the sermon memorializes Yorick by inviting survivors to take up, and respond to, what he leaves behind. In this sense, Yorick's liturgical annotations, a series of Italian musical terms left in the margins of his text, act as stage directions for future delivery, in keeping with the elocutionary advice Walter Shandy gives Corporal Trim when reading one of Yorick's sermons aloud (301, 88). As memorials to Yorick designed to circulate through performance as well as through print, the sermons assuage Sterne's fears about misappropriation, in that they encourage readers, ultimately, to recognize the final "plagiarist" of Yorick as Sterne himself. When Trim, for example, reads out Yorick's sermon on conscience—which Sterne had preached at York during the summer of 1750 and published separately, as a six-penny pamphlet, three weeks later—Sterne presents himself as speaking the words of Yorick in an act that becomes implicitly theatrical: not plagiarism, after all, but performance.[69] Like Garrick, and like Othello, Sterne sidesteps the rubric of substitution to present a Shandean ideal in which the theatrical surrogate and the original for whom he speaks can be one and the same. As he does so, he reinforces that it is not, or not only, the text or skull that offers a "record" of Yorick, but the live performances that these remains inspire.

Sterne's other memorial to Yorick, the epitaph, offers a similar wish fulfillment, en route to becoming another example of the written word designed to travel from eye to mouth, and text to text.[70] Shakespeare's famous phrase—"Alas, poor YORICK!", here restored from Garrick's misquotation—serves in Sterne's novel as the "monumental inscription" on Parson Yorick's tomb (22).[71] The revision grants Hamlet's spoken lament endurance by inscribing the speech on a substrate more durable than the copy text of Erasmus that Walter Shandy mars with his penknife, or the sand on which Spenser's speaker, in sonnet 75 of the *Amoretti*, attempts to write his lover's name (167).[72] Yet Sterne's

act of reappropriation also relies on the instability of the epitaph, one bred of its existence, like the sermon, at the nexus of speech and text. Epitaphs, as Debra Fried explores, activate a blurring between the "stasis of . . . inscription" and "the language of voice": they are at once "emphatically written" testaments to "a voice now stilled" and, in the first-person epitaphs that Fried examines, "consoling fiction[s]" of one last vocal address.[73] Sterne takes full advantage of these two registers, making Yorick's epitaph a script etched in stone that others repeat: "Not a passenger goes by without stopping to cast a look upon it,—and sighing as he walks on, Alas, poor YORICK!" (22). Visually, the phrase appears twice in Sterne's text, once enclosed in a box to indicate its status as written epitaph, and once, freed from its box, to indicate its liberated status as speech.[74] Sterne's textual repetition of the phrase places print and performance on a continuous Möbius strip, as the gravestone becomes a site of memory through a textuality that inspires reenactment.

In invoking this interplay, via the sermon and the grave, Sterne brings the function of the novel that much closer to the stage. If Sterne's most obvious examples of reenactment within the novel remain the fortifications of Uncle Toby, which Toby uses to recreate the fateful, historical battles of his military career, these examples somewhat misleadingly reinforce a binary between lived experience and the expression or document of experience as such.[75] "His life," as Tristram aptly summarizes the condition of Uncle Toby, "was put in jeopardy by words" (62), and Toby's monumental fortifications stand in for his inability to make others otherwise understand what he remembers from his military pursuits. Sterne's novel, however, much like Yorick's epitaph, blurs this divide.[76] The novel as epitaph suggests that we read Sterne's text, like the inscription on Yorick's tomb, as both monumental record and live performance, a complex status that the often noticed "intermixture of Tristram's life with the narration of it" confirms.[77] Writing for Sterne becomes, in the words of Paul de Man, writing on Wordsworth's assessment of the epitaph, not just a mode of reflection but "a discourse of self-restoration"; it is at once the document of some prior event and the event itself.[78] An attempt on the part of Sterne to outrun death more than to be remembered beyond it, Sterne's novel commemorates the past by keeping the past, quite literally, alive.

In this manner, *Tristram Shandy* challenges our understanding of memorialization as dependent on a sense of static fixity, and challenges the association of the novel as genre with the material fixity of print. In the eighteenth century, the ubiquitous influence of theater urges us

to read novels, and to see eighteenth-century readers reading novels, as often akin to live events.[79] Thinking of *Tristram Shandy* as an epitaph rather ironically exposes this fact as at least one of the attractions offered to novelists by the stage.[80] For though it is ostensibly the site of commemoration and closure, a tomb can offer no stable monument as long as bones move and ghosts walk. Just as the "canonized bones" of Old Hamlet "have burst their cerements" to roam the earth (1.4.47, 48), Sterne's Yorick is tormented by unfinished business, and his ghost apparently "*still walks*" (103).[81] Sterne's novel aligns itself with ephemerality—in the printing practices, and the characters, that "kill and revive by turns."[82]

For example, consider again Sterne's embodiments of, and oscillations between, the characters of Tristram and Yorick. Critics interested in these identifications—Sterne's choice to adopt these personae in public, and his choice to shift between them—discuss his behavior as a marketing ploy founded on oppositions.[83] "It was to Sterne's advantage to promote the intimate relation subsisting between himself and his popular creation," states M. C. Newbould, so that playing the part of Tristram was "essential to his novel's and his self-promotion."[84] "I . . . have converted many unto Shandeism," Sterne writes to Garrick in 1762.[85] But, since Tristram and *Tristram Shandy* were a bit too risqué to suit every taste, Sterne also appears to his public as "the benevolent Parson Yorick," offsetting indecencies with sermons and partly appeasing critics who might take issue with a real-life clergyman penning nothing but bawdy jokes.[86] Or, as Newbould puts it, "Alternately playing the roles of light-hearted jester or gravely witty parson enabled Sterne to sustain a respectability tempered with permissible levity that might appeal to a broad spectrum of divergent reading tastes."[87]

Yet these roles, so clearly opposed in the above descriptions, are in their source texts much more closely intertwined. On one hand, Sterne as Yorick and Sterne as Tristram exist in a "duck-rabbit" relationship, in which one pairing must always displace the other:[88] Yorick must die for Tristram's story to begin, just as Yorick and Hamlet can share the stage only when one of them is dead. And yet Tristram as jester borrows something from his dead counterpart, as the original jester, in both play and novel, is Yorick himself. Just as Hamlet takes over Yorick's "antic disposition," Tristram, and not Parson Yorick, becomes Sterne's character of "infinite jest."[89]

Tristram thus memorializes Yorick not simply through his textual tributes, or the possession of his sermons, but through his reenactments of the man himself. We see this in the way Tristram takes over the jester's

disposition, but also in the way he finally subordinates his narrative to Yorick's voice. He constantly revives Yorick, recording his death early in volume 1, but letting him reappear through flashbacks in the "symposia" scenes of volumes 5, 8, and 9. Yorick, at the end of Tristram's novel, is alive again, and narrative "closure" for Sterne means giving Yorick the last (joking) words.[90] It is through the character of Tristram that Yorick is remembered, as by playing one character Sterne enables the recurrent reanimation of the other. This dynamic, so similar to the one that Garrick modeled for Sterne, and Hamlet modeled for Garrick, demonstrates a cycle of continued life inaccessible to the author, or actor, memorialized solely by his material remains.

Garrick's Autopsy, "Yorick's" Skull

The circumstances surrounding Sterne's own burial would prove this final point. Dead in March 1768 from fluid in his lungs, Sterne was interred in the burial ground at St. George's church in Hanover Square, an easy and popular target for grave robbers. Rumors soon began to circulate that Sterne's body had been removed for anatomization by medical students, and by 1769, several lurid accounts appeared in the press:

> It has been whispered about some time in great Confidence, that the Skeleton of the famous Yorick has been exhibited in one of our English Universities, and it seems now to be put beyond all Doubt by a Gentleman's having applied in Town to search for the Body, and it could not be found. Another Gentleman is well assured of the Identity of his Skull by two or three of the Teeth being remarkably prominent, which were well remembered by those who knew the Deceased. The curiosity of having Yorick's Scull was, no doubt, the Inducement, and to be able to say
>
> "This same Scull, Sir, was Yorick's Scull"
> "Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him well . . ."[91]

Once the anatomy professor at Cambridge was informed whose body he likely had, he sent it back to Paddington to be reburied, but in the transition no proper marker was set upon Sterne's grave.[92] Two Freemasons later erected a headstone in the approximate place and gave it an inscription of their own: "Alas, Poor Yorick," reads the tomb, "Near

to this Place, / Lyes the Body of / The Reverend Laurence Sterne, A.M."[93]

Significantly, what is valorized in each instance isn't just Sterne or his novel, but the way Sterne's legacy allows others to get in on his act. According to the *Public Advertiser*, the obsession with Sterne's body illuminates a larger obsession: the possibility of playing Garrick's Hamlet (note the misquotation) to "Yorick's" skull. In lamenting their Yorick, spectators insert themselves in a tradition of reenactments, as they reanimate Sterne by replaying his favorite roles. Sterne remains alive in the public memory not merely for the novel or for the body he leaves behind, but for the performances he continues to inspire.

Perhaps this is why Sterne's skull had yet to rest in peace. When, in 1969, the Laurence Sterne Trust learned that the Paddington burial ground was to be sold, they received permission to search for and remove Sterne's remains. Faced with an assortment of bones and skulls, the secretary in charge called in an anatomist and rushed home for his bust of Sterne. The anatomist "laid the bones on a table and began . . . comparing the skulls with the bust. One matched perfectly. The crown had been sawn off."[94] Alas, indeed: as the bust of Sterne faces off, Hamlet style, with "Yorick's" skull, the evidence of autopsy corroborates the eighteenth-century grave-robbery accounts.

So the Trust, established in 1966 to preserve the memory of Sterne, arranged another funeral. They reinterred Sterne's bones at St. Michael's Church, Coxwold, and transported the Freemasons' headstone there from London. "Alas, poor Yorick," again reads Sterne's migrating grave. These reports pit monumentality against theatricality, or show the gravesite finally to be more ephemeral than the characterizations of Sterne. They also show how Sterne's dueling bids for immortality start to pay off, as the body that can be disinterred and lost is yet remembered in terms of the character he played. Sterne's tomb, with all its violations, stands as a testament to how his strategies of reenactment are appropriated by others—how, in death, he was recast as the character he brought back to life. And as the platform for this practice, Sterne's novel shows that tributes to the dead exist not merely in monumental or written records, but in how these records are taken up by others and reperformed.

"Alas, poor Garrick," similarly begins one tribute to Garrick, penned shortly after his funeral had taken place.[95] But in this case, no skull appears. Garrick proved resistant to the appropriation of his physical remains, following in death, as he had in life, the model of Shakespeare.

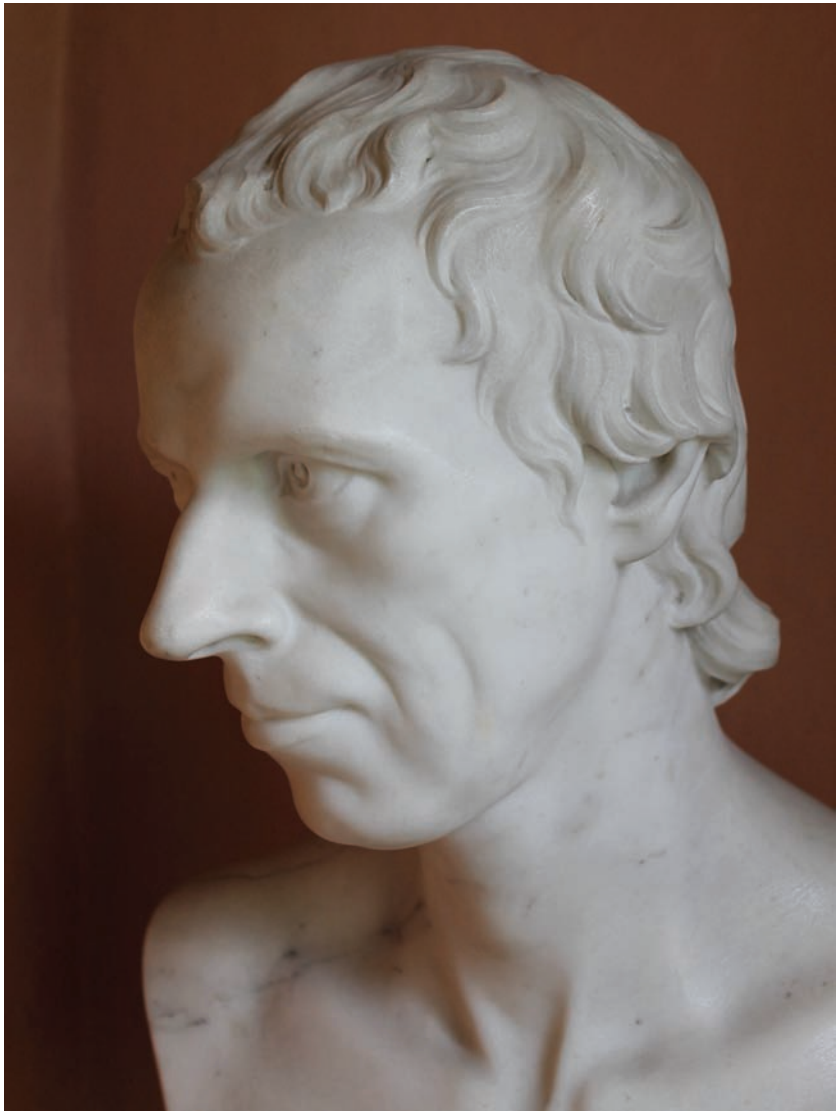

Fig. 11. Joseph Nollekens, *Bust of Laurence Sterne* (1777). Shandy Hall, Coxwold, Monkman collection. © Laurence Sterne Trust.

For legend has it that Shakespeare himself, so struck by the sight of the charnel house that abutted the chancel of the Holy Trinity Church, at Stratford-upon-Avon, where he was ultimately interred, composed the epitaph and curse that still marks his grave:

> Good friend for Jesus' sake forbear
> To dig the dust enclosed here!
> Blessed be the man that spares these stones,
> And cursed be he that moves my bones.[96]

In Shakespeare's own time, the threat of the charnel house—a receptacle into which the bones from old graves were tossed, Yorick-style, to make room in the same graves for new bodies—meant that the theft of his grave would mark a blatant disregard for, and not a fascination with, the playwright's remains. And yet, "Alas, Poor William Shakespeare. Where Does His Skull Rest?" reads the headline to a recent article in the *New York Times*. As Shakespeare's fame spread, even the curse was not sufficient to prevent the suspected robbery of his own skull, in 1794, from his grave—nor to prevent twenty-first-century researchers from using radar research and radio waves to try to verify the rumor that the author of Yorick had indeed lost his head.[97]

No wonder that some celebrities, desirous of commemoration, nonetheless resist the violent forms of adulation that such commemoration may inspire.[98] Like Sterne, Garrick had for years been something of a functional invalid, suffering periodically from the symptoms of what seemed to be kidney disease, and in the lead-up to his death, audiences became fascinated with his physical deterioration and subsequently fascinated with his physical remains. He was attended regularly by medical practitioners, and accounts of his symptoms circulated publicly, as, for example, those his biographer Arthur Murphy includes as troubling Garrick just prior to his death:

> His water stopped suddenly . . . he had likewise a discharge of mucus from the urethra, accompanied with straining and considerable torture. His pulse was low and quick . . . ; his tongue white; he was sometimes costive and occasionally subject to a diarrhea.[99]

Such symptoms seemed to indicate the existence of a bladder stone, and "it was accordingly proposed to examine him . . . in order to ascertain the fact."[100] But the still-living body, like Sterne's yet living Yorick, can

intervene. "Mr. Garrick was one of those who have an unconquerable aversion to any instrument being passed into the bladder; he resisted all intreaties on the subject, declaring he would rather die than submit to it."[101] Garrick's physicians, like his public, must live yet a while longer with the mystery of Garrick intact.[102]

Die of course he did, some four months later, and an autopsy was subsequently performed. But the examination, while it answered some questions, also perpetuated Garrick's mystique:

> No stone was found in the bladder; but, on moving the peritoneum covering the kidneys, the coats of the left only remained, as a cyst full of puss; and not a vestige for the right could be found.[103]

The resistant patient in life, Garrick in death continues to frustrate the quest to take ownership over his physical remains. Physicians in search of a tangible object as the cause of his pain are confronted instead with evidence of his body's premature decay, as Garrick had apparently been lacking one kidney since birth. If Sterne's skull represents a surviving physical artifact that his audiences can appropriate at will, Garrick's missing kidney becomes in another sense emblematic. Even more than the tubercular novelist, the actor leaves behind no physical evidence of his art.

In retrospect, Garrick's art, in life as on the stage, manifests in his ability to transcend the physical body, or, to expose the physical body as offering only an incomplete record of what he had achieved. Indeed, Murphy, as his biographer, reflects with "astonishment" on what may well have been Garrick's greatest performance: their encounter just two months prior to his death, and "the gaiety of a man, who was in so desperate a state of health, and, in fact, so near his end."[104] The "essence" of Garrick wasn't even biologically preserved. Like Yorick, he dies without a child, a fact he seems never to have mourned. Days before his death, he told one of his doctors "that he did not regret his being childless; for he knew the quickness of his feelings was so great, that, in case it had been his misfortune to have had disobedient children, he could not have supported such an affliction."[105] The Shandean pessimism about biological succession is, in Garrick's case, played out, so that in all respects—as an actor, as a man, as a corpse—Garrick had to seek out complementary methods by which he could live on.

As the eulogies to Garrick attest, he found a version of this alternative, somewhat paradoxically, in the very theatrical tributes that mourn-

ed his loss. The phrase "Alas, poor Garrick" perpetuates the role for which he had become perhaps best known on the English stage, and yet the poignancy of this tribute, the fact that it can be offered up only as a commentary on his death, also explains why, throughout his career, Garrick would seek to establish a symbiotic relationship between theatrical performance and the more classical forms of commemorative art. Just as Hamlet commits his memories to script and voice, just as Sterne seeks to live both on and beyond the printed page, and just as Behn, in my prior chapter, reflects on the memorial capabilities of performance versus prose, Garrick's career illustrates that, when it came to addressing the fleeting nature of fame and life, no one type of memorial was sufficient.[106] He would explore this idea most concretely through his engagements with *The Winter's Tale*: a play in which a statue literally comes to life.

Retelling *The Winter's Tale*

✦ ✦ ✦

A year or so after Sterne's death, and only some months after the reported theft of Sterne's skull, Garrick launched his culminating tribute to Shakespeare: his 1769 Shakespeare Jubilee. A three-day event at Stratford planned by Garrick in honor of the playwright, the Jubilee was meant to include a processional of Shakespeare's most celebrated characters and to close with Garrick's recitation of a laudatory ode, including the lines "'tis he, 'tis he / the God of our idolatry."[1] Torrential rain and flooding foreshortened the ceremonies, prevented the parade of characters, and made Garrick, for a time, an utter laughingstock. His contemporary and rival Samuel Foote referenced the event as including "an ode without poetry . . . a horserace up to the knees in water, [and] fireworks extinguished as soon as they were lighted."[2] The performance, as Foote indicates, was remembered best for what had not occurred.

Garrick would have the last laugh, however, when he restaged his rained-out processional a month later, as part of an afterpiece titled *The Jubilee* that would be performed at Drury Lane for a record run of eighty-eight consecutive nights.[3] In mounting this recoup, framed specifically as a satire on the failed Stratford event, Garrick's *Jubilee* showed how he had always meant to capitalize on the ideas of absence flagged by Foote. Regardless of weather, the Stratford celebration was never meant to feature any of Shakespeare's actual plays. Like the broader cultural desire to restore Shakespeare by changing him, Garrick's celebration was intended to memorialize the playwright by accentuating Garrick's own creative

abilities, just as the *Jubilee* processional was meant to commemorate Shakespeare by using his characters as the platform for Garrick's own, entirely new work. In both projects, Garrick's personal motivations—to showcase his talents, and later to redeem himself from the financial and personal humiliations of the rained-out Stratford affair—were, if anything, more evident than the act of literary homage, a fact that Foote, who observes that Garrick strives "to celebrate a great poet whose own works have made him [Garrick] immortal," also notes.[4] Unlike Foote, however, Garrick probably wouldn't have seen his Shakespearean homage as being compromised by its simultaneous acts of self-promotion. As becomes evident in his engagements with *Hamlet*, Garrick's entire career project, leading up to the Jubilee, had been to merge his image with that of Shakespeare's, so that the apotheosis of the one would be equivalent to, and not in tension with, the apotheosis of the other.

This aspiration was increasingly reflected in the period's art. While, as seen in the aforementioned portraits of Garrick as Hamlet, Garrick was regularly portrayed in the character of his Shakespearean roles, other artistic tributes prior to and surrounding the Jubilee conflate him directly with Shakespeare: the masterful Louis-François Roubiliac statue (1758) of Shakespeare that Garrick commissioned and for which, rumor has it, he posed; Thomas Gainsborough's *Garrick Leaning on a Bust of Shakespeare* (1768); and Benjamin Van der Gucht's half-length portrait of Garrick gazing at a medallion miniature of Shakespeare (1769).[5] Such images celebrated the fact that Shakespeare and Garrick had become for spectators "virtually interchangeable," the living manifestation of Shakespeare on earth.[6]

And yet, despite this achievement, Garrick's anxieties about obsolescence were not relieved. "No pen nor pencil can the Actor save," Garrick mourns, in his prologue to *The Clandestine Marriage* (1766): "The art, and artist, share one common grave."[7] The proliferation of images that confirm that Garrick's reputation has attained the status of Shakespeare's also confirm, paradoxically, the insufficiency of these images to preserve the very reputation that they record. Garrick's true skill, as he notes, rests in something that literary or visual attempts cannot convey; tragic, indeed, are the limitations of art.

For Shakespeare, however, these limitations were never set in stone. "Comes it not something near?" (5.3.23), queries the servant Paulina in Shakespeare's play *The Winter's Tale*, upon revealing to King Leontes the statue of Hermione, his dead queen.[8] "Thou art Hermione," agrees the repentant king, tortured anew by the loss he sustained some sixteen years

Fig. 12. Louis-François Roubiliac, marble full-length figure of William Shakespeare (1758). © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 13. ***David Garrick leaning on a bust of Shakespeare*** **after Thomas Gainsborough (c. 1769). Folger Shakespeare Library Call # FPb27. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.**

Fig. 14. Joseph Saunders after Benjamin Van der Gucht, *Mr. Garrick as Steward of the Stratford Jubilee* September 1769 (1773). Folger Shakespeare Library Call # ART 242301. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Fig. 15. John Miller, *Garrick; Shakespear* (c. 1792). Folger Shakespeare Library Call # ART G241 no. 62. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

before (5.3.25). In this example, the extreme verisimilitude of the statue seems to taunt rather than solace Leontes, as it advertises to him what art cannot do: bring back for him the queen he has lost. And yet readers and spectators familiar with this play know there will be exceptions to this rule. Whereas Leontes's first reaction to the statue is tempered by his recognition of how it differs from the Hermione he recalls—"but yet, Paulina / Hermione was not so much wrinkled, nothing / so aged as this seems" (5.3.26–28)—the play soon reveals the statue to be Hermione herself, either revived by magic or kept alive in secret these sixteen years. The exception, then, isn't that the memorial reconstruction must always fall short of its original source, but that the past and present, the original and representation, can ultimately align.

This potential starts to explain Garrick's interest in a play that had, until 1750, been only infrequently staged. *The Winter's Tale* wasn't published until its appearance in the 1623 Folio, and throughout the seventeenth century it was rarely performed. From 1611 to 1634 it was produced only six times, and after 1634 it would remain dormant for over a century.[9] It was finally resurrected in January 1741 at Goodman's Fields,

though it was subordinated to the primary entertainment for the evening, a "Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music Divided in Two Parts" between which were to "be presented a Play (not acted these Hundred Years) call'd *The Winter's Tale*."[10] It was performed again in November of the same year, at Covent Garden, but enjoyed only a short run. Then between 1750 and 1800, *The Winter's Tale*, in a variety of adapted forms, was acted over a hundred times.[11]

One of these adaptations was authored by Garrick, a project that, while it represents his general goals of "rectifying" Shakespeare to suit eighteenth-century tastes, also targets a more conceptual concern: how could the actor or actress, engaged in an ephemeral form of art, find a way to remain? If the magical promise of this play is that the artistic subject and the representation of that subject might be one and the same, that promise overlaps with the other wish fulfillment of the moving statue, that the older generation need not be effaced. It is this play, then, with its emphasis on the resurgence of the older generation, that provided Garrick (as elder statesman to those who would succeed him) with another vehicle to make a statement about the endurance of not only Shakespeare's reputation but his own. It is this play, with its reflections on the opportunistic courtship between members of the second generation, that his protégée Mary Robinson subsequently used to propel her nascent acting career and to publicize her liaison with the Prince of Wales. And it is this play, with its final scene that brings a dead queen back to life, that Garrick's rejected protégée, the actress Sarah Siddons, used at the turn of the century to prepare, grudgingly, to leave the stage. Garrick's relationship to *The Winter's Tale* thus runs parallel to a story of patronage, in which these actresses' engagements with the play recall, in their own careers, their lived engagements with Garrick. And, as this chapter will show, these engagements also recall what Garrick had attempted to achieve in his retelling of Shakespeare's tale.

The Return of Leontes

Garrick's adaptation of Shakespeare's play, titled *The Winter's Tale; or, Florizel and Perdita*, was staged for the first time on 21 January 1756, fifteen years after Shakespeare's play had been revived onstage in its original form.[12] Though Garrick had shortened the play to three acts, it was performed as a mainpiece, often accompanied, as an afterpiece, by *Catharine and Petruchio*, another three-act Garrick Shakespeare adaptation. Listed

in *The London Stage* sometimes by its main title, sometimes by its subtitle, the play enjoyed a popular early run, with subsequent performances in the season described as being "by desire" (13 March 1756) or "by particular desire" (20 March 1756), and a 29 January 1756 performance indicated as by royal command. By February, the words from the songs in the play had become popular enough that they were "printed and . . . delivered gratis in the playbill."[13] Garrick, as Leontes, played opposite Hannah Pritchard as Hermione; his Perdita was, initially, Susannah Cibber (a gifted singer), though on 28 April 1756, Charles Macklin's daughter Maria took over the part of Perdita for the first time (Cibber subsequently resumed it).[14]

All these actors appeared in a play that differed significantly from Shakespeare's. Garrick's most significant change, in making his adaptation, had been to cut Shakespeare's first three acts, so that the play transpires in one place and time. In Shakespeare's original, Leontes suspects his queen Hermione of infidelity with his friend Polixenes, and reconciliation comes only much later with the budding romance between Leontes's grown daughter (Perdita) and Polixenes's son (Florizel). The action of the play as written violated classical conventions of space (shuttling from Leontes's kingdom in Sicilia, to Polixenes's kingdom in Bohemia, and back to Sicilia) and time (transpiring over the course of sixteen years), a fact that Garrick's script, in keeping with the eighteenth-century preference for neoclassical ideals, amends. Garrick hadn't been the only one to try to rectify such violations, and his changes support the suggestion, advanced by many critics, that he took the inspiration for his adaptation from Macnamara Morgan's 1754 similarly redacted three-act version of the play. Titled *The Sheep-Shearing; or, Florizel and Perdita*, Morgan's play focused the action entirely on the young lovers, and Garrick's play, staged a mere two years later, preserves many of these changes, moving various critics to dub his *The Winter's Tale; or, Florizel and Perdita* a "less intelligent" or "priggish" revision of an immediate competitor's work.[15]

Unlike Morgan, however, who cuts the first-generation characters altogether, Garrick preserves the characters of Leontes and Hermione and their reunion in the climactic statue scene. The decision requires some fancy maneuvering: as the entire play now takes place in Polixenes's Bohemia, Garrick must decide that Paulina has fled there after Hermione's "death." He has the aged Leontes journey to Bohemia out of remorse, and has Paulina explain that Hermione fled Sicily with Paulina, to live in Bohemia for sixteen years "veil'd . . . from the world."[16] These contortions suggest a level of artistic determination motivated,

Jenny Davidson suggests, by Garrick's desire to maintain Leontes as one of his "showcase roles."[17] For Michael Dobson, Garrick brings back Leontes and his wife to emphasize the bonds of family over aristocratic rank, rewriting Hermione and Leontes as "private beings. . . . husband and wife rather than a long-heirless king and queen."[18]

That Garrick adapted Shakespeare's play with his own talents in mind is not in doubt, and not surprising. Among the changes he makes, Garrick inserts new speeches for Leontes that confirm him as a penitent, sympathetic figure and that also allow the actor, Garrick, to indulge in the highly emotional, mercurial speeches at which he excelled.[19] But given the original play's investments in themes of succession, and given Garrick's own investments in posthumous fame, his choice to bring back the parental generation resonates as more than simply a fresh opportunity to demonstrate his famous acting style, or to reinforce an emerging commitment to bourgeois versus monarchical values. To revive the statue scene Garrick had to go back to Shakespeare and the complicated approach to commemoration that the scene invokes.

Complicated, because the statue scene can be read as a challenge to memory as much as an endorsement of it. In Shakespeare's final scene, Hermione's reanimation represents, among other things, a return of the original, and the play's ending asks us to consider what happens to substitutes once the missing originals are found.[20] Such a finding remains problematic, both in the casualties it demands (of Mamilius and Antigonus), and in the ramifications it offers to those, such as Perdita, who have for the time being taken Hermione's place. The living don't easily make room for the reanimated dead, nor do the dead return to life without some scars. To move a statue is to lose a monument, and, as indicated by her wrinkles, Hermione's reawakening represents the promise of her eventual demise.

Garrick, the Shakespeare substitute who seeks to balance his position with that of the poet he aspires to revive, was caught up in these very complications. His prologue to *Florizel and Perdita* concludes with the assertion that "'Tis my chief wish, my joy, my only plan / To lose no drop of that immortal man," a seemingly hypocritical claim when attached to a play that cuts three acts from Shakespeare's play.[21] The prologue, however, places Garrick in a long line of Shakespeare adaptors who rely on strategic metaphors to justify their acts of emendation. For writers such as Nahum Tate, Nicholas Rowe, and John Dryden, Shakespeare's works represented an unweeded garden, full of promise but in need of tending, a rough gemstone simply requiring polish, the root

of a tree from which new branches could spread.[22] For Garrick, by contrast, Shakespeare becomes a fountainhead of fine wine, which merely needs to be remixed and rebottled to suit contemporary tastes. Comparing himself to a vintner who, undetected, mixes "Perry" with "Champaign [*sic*]," Garrick admits to combining some of his own material with Shakespeare's.[23] The ends in this case justify the means: "Lest then this precious Liquor run to waste, / 'Tis now confin'd and bottled for your Taste," states Garrick, his changes here subordinated to the project of repopularizing Shakespeare's work.[24] But as he "confines" a "liquor" that now contains an undetectable blend of Shakespeare and Garrick, he specifically identifies the work of commemoration as dependent on his ability to meld his work with that of the playwright he revives.[25] If Garrick's governing metaphor "challenges his auditors to distinguish the original Shakespeare from his own modern 'Perry,'" then his service to Shakespeare inheres in making the substitute and the original merge.[26]

Such a strategy has much in common with those espoused, in previous chapters, by Othello and by Sterne, but it has much in common, too, with the Garrick adaptation that follows. In this context, Garrick's decision to write Leontes back into a play from which he had, by Morgan, been excised, reads as more than an indulgence in self-casting. In casting himself as the paternal character who had been temporarily sacrificed to contemporary taste, Garrick recaptures one more "drop" of his immortal Shakespeare even as he steps into the first-generation, paternal role himself. And by reviving Hermione's scene of animation, Garrick further restores the older generation and the scene in which the original subject and representation of that subject become, literally, one and the same.

At the same time, Garrick's decision to retain the redacted version of the play, in which the majority of the plot focuses on the pastoral scenes of young love, resonates as more than simply an emulation of Morgan or a commercial strategy in keeping with current theatrical trends. For Garrick emends the statue scene so that the reunion of Hermione and Leontes happens in conjunction with, but not at the expense of, the second-generation romance. As Leontes, Hermione, and Polixenes join hands in a final gesture of forgiveness, Garrick gives Perdita and Florizel a complementary verbal exchange:

PERDITA: I am all shame
And ignorance itself, how to put on
This novel garment of gentility,
And yield a patch'd behaviour, between

My country-level, and my present fortunes,
That ill becomes this presence. I shall learn,
I trust I shall with meekness—but I feel,
(Ah, happy that I do) a love, an heart
Unaltered to my prince, my Florizel.
FLORIZEL: Be still my queen of May, my shepherdess,
Rule in my heart; my wishes be thy subjects,
And harmless as thy sheep.[27]

The children who in Shakespeare's play spend the final scene nearly speechless here remind viewers that their circumstances and concerns are as important as those of the parents they revere. They also, simultaneously, articulate a nostalgic attachment to the scenario and roles from which they have just emerged.

Garrick's play thus empowers the successors even as it restores the originals, scripting Garrick's own seemingly impossible wish fulfillment: that he can be both successor to and equivalent of Shakespeare. In this play, however, unlike in *Hamlet*, such wish fulfillment is something the actor playing Leontes can only observe. The actorly ability to be a moving statue or a living monument—a concept that inevitably fascinated Garrick about this play, and to which he referred over a decade before in his *Essay on Acting*, in a passage designed to instruct himself on how to act Macbeth—is here reserved for the actress playing Hermione alone.[28] The living statue in *The Winter's Tale*, in both Shakespeare's original and Garrick's adaptation, literalizes Garrick's professional aspirations, even as it relegates Garrick as Leontes to an audience position, suggesting that his acts of revival (of the statue scene, of Hermione) might ultimately serve others more than himself.

The performance history of this play bears witness to this fact. With Garrick as Leontes, *The Winter's Tale* enjoyed moderate success: thirteen performances in its initial season and a minirevival that featured Garrick for five performances between 1761 and 1762.[29] But Garrick's play fell out of the repertoire after he relinquished the role (which he performed for the last time on 29 March 1762). His successor, William Powell, didn't seem to have the drawing power to maintain public interest in the play. Garrick, who would continue to act at and manage Drury Lane for fourteen years after giving up the role, would witness for himself that, in acting, the promise of revival is balanced with the threat of obsolescence.[30]

Fortunately for Garrick's reputation, his associations with this play transcended his connection to a particular part. As the author of this

adaptation, Garrick could be celebrated as the godlike figure who chooses to subvert or empower the female response, and this reading seems supported by Richard Brinsley Sheridan's decision, in 1779, to stage a revival of Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita* as a memorial to Garrick, who had died earlier that year. He cast in the lead female role one of Garrick's own protégées, an up-and-coming actress with modest theatrical training and a beautiful face. Her name was Mary Robinson, or, as she was subsequently remembered, "Perdita."

"Perdita" Robinson and the Burden of the Past

Mary Darby Robinson's trajectory to stardom has many contemporary parallels: born into a working-class community, she was elevated to heights of fame and notoriety through her beauty, publications, and sexual escapades.[31] As a young girl of fourteen she caught the eye of Garrick, and only the pressure of an early marriage prevented her from immediately taking to the stage. She had a second chance in 1776, when financial troubles and a meeting with Sheridan made an acting career possible and desirable again. Sheridan hired her, but Garrick made her what she was: despite his ill-health, despite his recent retirement, despite the fact that she had in 1773 abandoned his tutorials to marry after he had coached her for the stage, Garrick came out of retirement to prepare Robinson for her Drury Lane debut.[32] When, three years later, Sheridan cast Robinson in his 1779 revival of *Florizel and Perdita*, he confirmed the theatrical aspirations Garrick had revived.[33]

But Robinson's performances as Perdita soon provided more than a reminder of Garrick's tutelage. Appearing in a 1779 royal command performance of *Florizel and Perdita*, Robinson supposedly caught the eye and fancy of the Prince of Wales, and audiences thereafter came to the theater to watch the progression of their affair.[34] Whether or not the performance truly sparked her intrigue with the prince, it provided an excellent venue for fostering it: a story of two young lovers separated by suspected class difference and a father's ire, the script provided fodder for gossip and confirmation that the stage offered a peephole into more private indiscretions. "Every tender speech she ought to have addressed to Prince Florizel," the Prince of Wales asserts, after a night at the theater, "[she addressed] to me."[35] Audiences recognized onstage and offstage parallels, and the evolving affair, which gained in publicity after Robinson retired from the stage in July 1780, continued to be described

in terms of her theatrical persona. In the subsequent months, both the prince and the press would court Robinson under her stage name Perdita, and Robinson embraced the alias (and the prince) with an ardor that was subsequently hard to efface.

This phenomenon, whereby the persona of Robinson and Perdita became inextricable, spoke to a desire among theater audiences to find similarities between the actor and the character she played. This was a desire encouraged by recent developments in print culture, which provided eighteenth-century theater audiences with new access to information about actors' "private" lives. With the advent of the first daily newspaper in 1702, performance reviews and also information about actors' offstage engagements were circulated for the first time, in "real time," via the periodical press; simultaneously, images of actors, circulating in portrait form since the Restoration, sometimes in character, sometimes not, provided supplementary suggestions about the person behind the onstage role.[36] As a result, audiences increasingly evaluated actors not only for how they played a role, but on how closely the persona of the stage character confirmed what audiences knew (or thought they knew) about the actors' behaviors offstage. Lisa Freeman cites, for instance, William Chetwood's account of the Restoration actress Anne Bracegirdle, who received great applause for her rendition of Cordelia, though he notes that Bracegirdle was celebrated more for her own "Virgin Innocence" than for any great skill she showed in performance. In comparison, Chetwood records that Elizabeth Barry's performance of the same character was met with a "Horse laugh" when she took the stage—not because she fumbled or forgot her lines, but because she was known for her offstage sexual antics, and audiences refused to see such a woman in a virtuous part.[37] Parallels between the actor and character are here presented as fortuitous, not practiced. The mimetic relationship between art and life becomes one of happy correspondence, in which, in good acting, the personalities of artistic creation and flesh-and-blood actor conveniently align.

Of course, actors could and did manipulate such assumptions, as strategic acting choices could perpetuate the reputations that they needed in order to play certain parts. In the case of Robinson's successor Sarah Siddons, public performances of what was assumed to be a private virtue allowed her to achieve the kind of liberty onstage that we associate more traditionally with acting today.[38] Siddons's earlier emphasis on her maternal nature—her choice to bring her three children onstage with her in 1782 as the "reasons" why she needed to move from the provincial

theaters and back to the London stage, or her choice to play her first role in London, the part of Isabella (in Thomas Southerne's *Isabella, or The Fatal Marriage*), opposite her own son—conditioned audiences to retain the image of her maternal virtues, so that she was eventually able to portray ruined or immoral women (such as her Lady Macbeth) without damaging her reputation.[39] Siddons's success in this regard rests in what Felicity Nussbaum defines as the ability to create an "interiority effect": "a commoditized version of the self . . . offered to consumers as an *effect* . . . a provisional, multitiered, and situational interiority . . . a kind of property subject to market conditions."[40] Successful actors such as Siddons, Anne Oldfield, and Catherine (Kitty) Clive cultivated an illusion of personal identity through and against their staged characters, recognizing that the audience desire to emphasize points of conflation between actor and role coexisted with the exploitation of distinctions between the same. "A player is the character he represents only *in a certain degree*," claims James Boswell in 1770, channeling Diderot's theories of the actor's detachment from the part he plays.[41]

As a case study in the relationship between the actor and her roles, Robinson stands out for her inability to cultivate, effectively, this aspect of detachment. The early association between her and the character of Perdita would, to a certain degree, stand in the way of her later attempts at redefinition; the persistent use of this label to refer to Robinson suggests the weight of memory, and that the power of an association, once harnessed, can be hard to shake off. For Garrick, likeness (to Shakespeare) marks a standard to attain; for Robinson, likeness (to Perdita) marks an origin to transcend. But the label simultaneously stands in for the impossibility of this desire, as "Perdita" is the second-generation character who forever remains the absent trace of someone else. "And for the babe / Is counted lost for ever, Perdita / I prithee call't," quotes Antigonus in Shakespeare's text, repeating a speech delivered to him in a dream by Hermione's ghost (3.3.31–33). The name symbolizes Perdita's exile and misfortune, but also characterizes Perdita as the conduit for others' desires. She is something to be sought, not simply for her own sake, but for what her finding will accomplish. The loss of Perdita propels Shakespeare's plot, and even in her homecoming, Perdita's identity must hinge on the ways in which she can be easily displaced.

Within Shakespeare's play, Perdita thus stands in for how identity is problematized by the burden of succession. It is precisely because Perdita functions as a substitute for her mother that she struggles to forge her own identity, and her shift in Shakespeare's fifth act, from outspo-

ken shepherdess to her mother's nearly speechless double—Perdita's "standing like stone, with thee!" (5.3.42)—emphasizes the various ways in which Hermione's awakening comes at Perdita's expense.[42] Once a replacement for the missing woman, Perdita now stands in for the missing monument, and what story and identity she had freezes at the moment her mother returns to life.

Within Garrick's adaptation, as discussed above, the second-generation figures become far more independent, and for Robinson, Perdita seemed to present a fitting vehicle for her career. Perdita, not Hermione, is Garrick's female lead, a character whose royal identity is confirmed and rewarded with a prince. Yet when spoken by Robinson, the final exchange with Florizel (cited above) offered audiences an all-too accurate reflection on offstage events:

> PERDITA: I am all shame
> And ignorance itself, how to put on
> This novel garment of gentility.[43]

Lines that in Garrick's script were meant to read as a statement of humility—symptomatic of the "natural" innocence that marks Perdita as truly royal—now, against the background of Robinson's opportunistic flirtation, reflect Robinson's true rusticity and aristocratic aims. For Robinson's audiences, the meaning of the name "Perdita" shifts: from a sign of rightful inheritance denied, to a sign of sexual corruption.

As Robinson would therefore discover, Garrick's Perdita models a form of succession linked—perhaps too firmly for Robinson's liking—to the past. His Florizel and Perdita move forward in their courtship by retaining ties to the pastoral roles that have fostered it (see Garrick's lines for Florizel: "Be still my queen of May, my shepherdess"), and for Garrick, striving to promote himself based on his emulation of Shakespeare, the model makes sense. For Robinson, more invested in ultimately burying her origins, the model became problematic—and not just for the personal reflections on her character it produced during the evolution of the affair. Instead, the affair itself became a defining characteristic of her subsequent career. After retiring from the stage in 1780, Robinson published novels, essays, and poems at a terrific rate, under a series of different pseudonyms and to a good amount of acclaim. She impressed Coleridge with her ear for meter, and her late poetic collection *Lyrical Tales* (1800) provided some much-needed publicity for the anonymous first volume of the *Lyrical Ballads*. The frontispiece she used for much of

Fig. 16. Engraving of Mary Robinson, used as a frontispiece to her *Poems* (1791). 147564, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

this published work, Joshua Reynolds's second portrait of her (1783), shows her trying to represent her mental rather than physical gifts: at times titled *Contemplation*, the portrait depicts her with a melancholy and averted gaze. But even this portrait—with the turn of the head that comes close to what artists dub a "lost profile," and the backdrop of desolate landscape and sea that suggests the exile's plight—shows Robinson redefining herself by referencing her theatrical roots.

The reference indicates one of many ways in which the "Perdita" association was hard for Robinson to live down. In 1783, upon news that she was suffering from a paralytic rheumatic fever, the *Morning Herald* crowed, "The name of *Perdita* will soon be too truly applied to this once all-conquering impure."[44] About a year later, in exile from England, with her finances and royal relationship in tatters, she was dubbed by the *Morning Post* "the lovely, though ill-fated Mrs. Robinson . . . the now too verified *Perdita*."[45] An August 1784 issue of *Rambler's Magazine* mounted perhaps the most cruel version of this association. "Perdita upon her last legs" pictures Robinson as a prostitute, the shriveled legs likely a reference to her now well-known paralysis.[46] For a woman ultimately so invested in reinvention, this physical ailment was painfully ironic.[47] A Perdita paralyzed, frozen into some version of her younger self, Robinson, despite her offstage efforts at redefinition, cannot completely surmount an identity that theatrical association had established. Contemporary scholars continue to affix the name to her biographies, so that she remains known as "Perdita" even today.[48]

The "Perdita" label also flags, for Robinson, the brevity of her theatrical career: it shows contemporaries clinging to Robinson's early indiscretions and career even as it accentuates how short-lived this aspect of her career finally was. Assured in writing that the Prince of Wales would pay her, at his coming of age, twenty thousand pounds, Robinson retired from the stage less than four years after she first set foot on it. He never paid her the full amount, and financial necessity played no little part in her later affairs.[49] As Perdita, Garrick's protégée flames very briefly on the stage, but while her personal conduct is remembered in the stage name, her theatrical career is quickly effaced. For example, when viewing John Philip Kemble's restoration of the play in 1802, the biographer James Boaden found the character of Perdita to be "one of the few [parts] upon the stage that never was adequately performed. . . . *Our* Perdita seems, in spite of the fifth act of the play, condemned *never* 'to be found.'"[50] Despite the intrigue embodied by Robinson's performance of the role, and despite the fact that nineteenth-century tributes contem-

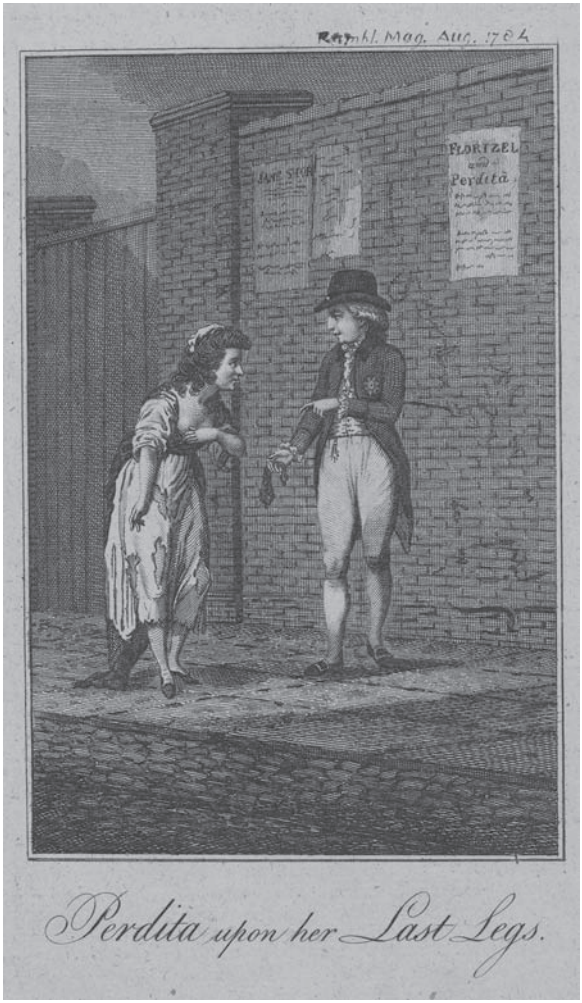

Fig. 17. ***Perdita upon her last legs*****, satirical print,** ***Rambler's Magazine*****, August 1784. © Trustees of the British Museum.**

poraneous with Boaden's review would still reference Robinson by her theatrical name, Boaden's comment shows that, by the turn of the century, the memory of Robinson's theatrical performance has been labeled as inadequate, if not erased.[51]

What Boaden also responds to, however, is the fact that Hermione, if she is included in the production, must by definition overshadow all other characters in her final scene. This was the bind in which, by restoring Hermione, Garrick as Leontes had found himself enmeshed, and in which Boaden's Perdita now finds herself engaged. In contrast to the

memorable association between actor and character presented to audiences when Robinson performed, Boaden's memory of his Perdita is appropriately vague: the Perdita he sees "was a very delicate and pretty young lady of the name of Hickes, thus much I remember of her; but whether she had more or fewer requisites than other candidates for this lovely character, I am now unable to decide."[52] Robinson, offering the titillation of her offstage intrigue and playing opposite the unremarkable "Mrs. Hartley" as Hermione in her renditions of the role, had been able to command audience attention even in the final scene.[53] But for Boaden, watching a new Hermione in Kemble's adaptation of the play, Perdita would have been particularly easy to overlook.

Reanimating Lady Macbeth

In 1802, Sarah Siddons took on the last new role of her theatrical career: Hermione in her brother's rendition of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. She played the part eleven times during the 1802 season. The play was revived again on 11 November 1807, for six performances, and then again in November 1811, midway through Siddons's final official season onstage.[54] While Siddons didn't perform the role with nearly the frequency of some of her others, the fact that she would add a new character to her established regime, and that she would play it in the lead-up to her retirement, suggests that Hermione helped Siddons shape how she wanted to be remembered, and how, at the end of her career, she was received.

Prior to performing Hermione, Siddons had developed associations with many Shakespearean roles. She first caught the eye of Garrick in the provinces in 1775, while performing the breeches part of Rosalind in *As You Like It* (and while flaunting the "big belly" of a woman six months pregnant), and she made her London debut under Garrick in December 1775.[55] Infamously, her first season was a debacle. Garrick did not invite her back, turning his attention instead, in the following year, to Robinson. When Siddons did return to Drury Lane in 1782—after Garrick's death—she initially focused on non-Shakespearean parts: Isabella in Thomas Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage*, Belvidera in Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserv'd*, Calista in Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent*.[56] Then in February 1785 she performed for the first time in London the character of Lady Macbeth, and her impact in this role was instant and enduring.[57] Within days the *Public Advertiser* had declared her "sleeping scene"

Fig. 18. J. Alais, *Mrs. Siddons as Hermoine* [*sic*] [in Shakespeare's] The Winter's Tale (1802). Folger Shakespeare Library Call # ART S568 no. 52. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

as "the greatest act that has in our memory adorned the stage."[58] "The character of Lady Macbeth became a sort of exclusive possession to Mrs. Siddons," states her biographer James Boaden, while her biographer Thomas Campbell asserts that "the moment she seized [Lady Macbeth], she identified her image with it in the minds of the living generation."[59] "Theatrical history deems Sarah Siddons and Lady Macbeth to be synonymous," states contemporary critic Philip Highfill. "We speak of Lady Macbeth," writes the nineteenth-century essayist and Shakespearean critic Charles Lamb, "while in reality we are thinking of Mrs. S."[60]

Siddons's close association with this role made her Lady Macbeth a standard against which her subsequent performances, such as her Herm-

ione, could be judged. For example, Kemble's version of *The Winter's Tale*, while it restored much of Shakespeare's original script (so that the play again oscillates in space and time, featuring a younger Hermione and Leontes in its first acts), was far from a faithful Shakespearean production, and his script contains lines spoken by Leontes that encourage spectators to associate Hermione with Lady Macbeth:[61]

> Hark, hark, she speaks! . . .
> O, pipe, through sixteen winters dumb! Then deem'd
> Harsh as the raven's throat; now musical
> As nature's song, tun'd to the according spheres.[62]

The lines echo, as Judith Pascoe points out, other lines from *Macbeth* for which Siddons, as Lady Macbeth, would have been well known: "the raven himself is hoarse / That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan."[63] In her final performance as Hermione, Siddons would answer her Leontes's delivery of these revised lines some seven months before her concluding performance of Lady Macbeth.

Neither Siddons nor Kemble was the first to associate these two plays. The amended speech in Kemble's version of *The Winter's Tale* is a holdover from revisions first introduced by Garrick and a suggestion that, when working on his *Florizel and Perdita* in 1756, Garrick may have had in his mind the memory of his very first attempt at restoring a Shakespearean play to the stage.[64] On 7 January 1744, he had delivered to the public a restored performance, and script, of *Macbeth*, a version of the play that he had reclaimed from the popular adaptation authored by William Davenant in 1672, and an act of revision that set a precedent for all his future emendations of Shakespeare. The popularity and duration of Davenant's version had been such that Garrick's colleague James Quin, for example, seems not to have known that the version he'd been acting of Macbeth was not Shakespeare's: "Don't I play Macbeth," he apparently responded, to Garrick's announced restoration, "as Shakespeare wrote it?"[65] He didn't, and Garrick's version of *Macbeth*, though not a completely faithful return to Shakespeare's script, was much closer than Davenant's to Shakespeare's original. Garrick rectified, for example, Davenant's changes to Macbeth's final soliloquy on the ephemerality of life, in a passage that then seems to haunt Garrick throughout his career.[66] As a "poor player / that struts and frets his hour upon the stage, / And then is heard no more," Macbeth is a character that speaks to Garrick's own anxieties about fame, and these lines reappear some twenty

years later in Garrick's prologue to *The Clandestine Marriage* (1766) when he mourns, as mentioned in my introduction, that "he who struts his hour upon the stage / can scarce protract his fame thro' half an age."[67]

The same anxieties about ephemerality are present in *The Winter's Tale*, and when, in 1756, Garrick turned his attentions to this play, there are additional indications that, beyond its significance as the first Shakespearean play he would have ever revised, *Macbeth* may have yet been in his thoughts. Garrick had taken special care in framing his appearance in *Macbeth*, publishing before his debut the satirical pamphlet *An Essay on Acting . . . of a certain fashionable faulty actor . . . with a short criticism on his acting of Macbeth* to preempt criticism of his reinterpretation of the part and to poke fun at his own decision, given his slight physical stature, to tackle the part of an imposing war hero.[68] He'd included in this pamphlet the above-noted, and significantly worded, instruction that the actor, after the murder of Duncan, "should . . . be a *moving Statue*," a conceit he then gets to experiment with literally in his adaptation of *The Winter's Tale*.[69] He also chose as his Hermione, for his 1756 staging of *Florizel and Perdita*, the actress Hannah Pritchard, who had since 1748 played his favored Lady Macbeth, and who would then command the role of Hermione until Siddons took it over.[70]

In casting Pritchard as both Hermione and Lady Macbeth, Garrick was also, perhaps to his own detriment, creating an onstage precedent for the strong female virago character that Siddons would subsequently perfect. Throughout her career Pritchard would continue regularly to play both roles, with her success as Lady Macbeth commemorated by Johann Zoffany in a series of paintings he did of Garrick and Pritchard's appropriately statuesque poses after the murder of Duncan.[71] Zoffany's second version of this painting, done in honor of Pritchard's retirement—and an image that therefore functions for Pritchard as "a memento as well as a performance"—accentuates a gendered dynamic that Siddons would inherit, and that would be later reworked through her performance of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*.[72] For Zoffany accentuates as opposed to disguises how the statuesque Pritchard towers over the much shorter Garrick, suggesting that if Garrick at times attempted to overshadow his leading ladies, certain parts, and performers, also threatened to overshadow him.[73]

By taking over Lady Macbeth from Garrick's former leading lady, and by performing the part with such aplomb, Siddons takes steps to overshadow Garrick and Pritchard alike. Yet her Lady Macbeth remains trapped in what Hazlitt would lament as the actor's inevitable cycle of suc-

Fig. 19. Valentine Green after Johan Joseph Zoffany, *Mr. Garrick and Mrs. Pritchard, in the Tragedy of "Macbeth." Act II. Scene III.* (1776). Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

cession, in which "the exertions of the greatest actor die with him, leaving to his successors only the admiration of his name."[74] *Macbeth* is a play that comments far more tragically than *The Winter's Tale* on the themes of genealogy, gender, and succession: faced with the long line of kings sired by Banquo despite his death, Macbeth must confront the fact that the womb often trumps masculine ambition, even as Lady Macbeth, with her mysterious missing child, is denied maternity as an option for living on. And though Siddons herself famously performed her maternity for all to see, as Lady Macbeth, her later performances suffered in proportion to her acclaim.[75] In the years leading up to her retirement, she was critiqued for performing with less than her youthful vigor. She gained weight; she lost teeth; her movements slowed. Her lips were afflicted

with erysipelas, and the condition left her, in her own words, "a frightful object," bereft of even "those poor remains of beauty once admired."[76]

As her performances changed, audiences' responses changed, too, exhibiting both grief at the actress's decline and "a kind of personal offence" that she would make this decline available for all to see.[77] "Her fine features [are] lost," states the poet Henry Crabb Robinson, seeing her onstage a year before she would finally retire, "her disadvantage of years and bulk made as prominent as possible . . . her advancing age is a real pain to me."[78] This pain was most pronounced for spectators like Crabb Robinson, who yet remembered Siddons "in her greatest days," and these disadvantages were most evident in her continued performance of the roles for which she was best known.[79] "She did not play parts like Isabella and Belvidera with the old spirit and *abandon*," her biographer Percy Fitzgerald notes, while another anecdote records that her loss of teeth renders phrases said by her Lady Macbeth now "indistinct."[80] Such criticisms, revisited in chapter 6, demonstrate that theatrical performance can compromise memorialization as much as foster it. For Siddons, these recurrent performances only serve to undermine the memory of what she had previously achieved.[81]

Siddons's performances as Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*, however, avoid these critiques. Playing the part from 1802 until 1811, the same time frame during which she was being criticized for other flawed performances, Siddons received nothing but acclaim. *The Times*, on 26 March 1802, asserted that her interpretation of Hermione "towered beyond all praise."[82] William Hazlitt, who would become one of the elderly Siddons's most outspoken critics, found in her performance of Hermione only things to admire: "In the last scene [she] acted the painted statue to the life—with true monumental dignity and noble passion . . . we shall never see these parts acted so again."[83] States her nineteenth-century biographer Thomas Campbell, "This statue scene has hardly its parallel for enchantment even in Shakespeare's theatre. The star of his genius was at its zenith when he composed it; but it was only a Siddons that could do justice to its romantic perfection."[84]

One explanation for this contrasting reaction was that—unlike Lady Macbeth, or Isabella, or Belvidera—Hermione was a character that Siddons's audiences had seen her play only recently, and they were thus unable contrast her present performances with some memory of a preferable past. And yet, as worked out above, her version of Hermione didn't leave her other roles behind. Instead, the new role allows Siddons to recall, without ineffectively reduplicating, a great performance from

her days of yore. Siddons's Hermione allows her to incorporate references to Lady Macbeth within a character that challenges what Hazlitt would lament as an otherwise inevitable pattern of succession, in which the actor's achievements die with her and are replaced. For Hermione, unlike Lady Macbeth, does not die.

Whereas spectators of the aging Siddons would, as they observed her in other roles, thus bemoan the imminent realization of Hazlitt's lament, in Hermione they could celebrate with Siddons the idea that the dead could return to life. Indeed, more specific reviews show that Siddons in this part was celebrated for more than her similarities, as an aging actress, to Hermione the aging queen. Siddons's predecessor and rival, Mary Ann Yates (who also performed Lady Macbeth), had made a good statue as long as she was posing, but "when she had to speak, the charm was broken, and the spectators wished her back to her pedestal."[85] Siddons, by contrast, could pose and move: "She . . . stood as one of the noblest statues, that even Grecian taste ever invented," states one reviewer."[86] "Mrs. Siddons looked the statue, even to literal illusion," states another.[87] But then, when she comes to life, "The sudden action of the head absolutely *startled*, as though such a miracle had really vivified the marble."[88] Siddons's achievement, like the achievement of the moving statue she represents, becomes her ability to cross from one art form to another and to underline continuities between the stasis of the typical monument and the dynamism of theatrical art.

Long before her performance of Hermione, Siddons had encouraged audiences to see, through her, such connections. Like Garrick, Siddons was a favored subject of portrait painters, who often depicted her in the costumes and characters from her most famous roles.[89] Between 1780 and 1797 eighteen portraits of her were exhibited at the Royal Academy, and she apparently "stole as much time as possible to sit for pictures," with perhaps the most memorable being Joshua Reynolds's *Sarah Siddons as the Tragic Muse* (1784).[90] The prevalence of these images—which tended to blur the generic distinctions of portraiture and history painting—encouraged audiences to see actors themselves as aesthetic objects, what Shearer West calls "virtual pictures without frames."[91] As theaters expanded in size, emphasizing the body of the actor as the crucial tool of communication, performances also often became a series of *tableaux vivants*, in which performers took on "emphatic, rhetorical, markedly static stances leading audiences to see *pauses* in the action . . . as *poses* in an artist's studio."[92] As mentioned in the preceding chapter with Garrick's poses, actors studied history paintings and prints, but

Fig. 20. Joshua Reynolds. *Sarah Siddons as the Tragic Muse* (1784). © Courtesy of the Huntington Art Collections, San Marino, California.

also sculpture, in order to perfect these attitudes, or "points."[93] Siddons took these associations to a new extreme in her onstage performance of Hermione. But she had anticipated these connections when, in the 1785 revival of Garrick's Shakespeare *Jubilee*, she was wheeled in during the pantomime procession, seated in the very posture and costume of Reynolds's tragic muse.[94]

In both her recreation of Reynolds' portrait and her performance of the statue who comes to life, Siddons depicts the flourishing symbiotic relationship between the visual and the dramatic arts.[95] But with the part of Hermione she communicates something different about this relationship than what she sought to have represented and remembered in her choice to bring the Reynolds portrait on the stage. As indicated by the title most often affixed to it, *Sarah Siddons as the Tragic Muse*, or *Mrs. Siddons in the Character of the Tragic Muse*, Reynolds's work didn't seek to capture a representative image of Siddons, so much as preserve Siddons as an "icon for Tragedy" or "an ideal representation of despair."[96] Hazlitt, inspired by her acting and such iconic images in turn, would dub her "tragedy personified," an epithet that similarly commemorates her as an ideal construct, existing outside of time.[97] In staging her own portrait in 1785, Siddons seems to suggest that she must resort to the static forms of visual art if she truly wishes to be remembered by her spectators as ideal. With her performance of Hermione toward the end of her career, Siddons suggests instead that such idealization, or "romantic perfection" (Campbell's phrase), may also be preserved within the more dynamic realm of dramatic art.

The Romantic ethos—that only a Siddons could animate Hermione—thus rings true, but not simply because of Siddons's "attic shape! fair attitude!"[98] As a moving statue, Siddons mounted a challenge to more classical forms of commemoration that insisted the monument must stand in for what time has destroyed. Lauding her success as Hermione, Romantic-era audiences could celebrate Siddons's timelessness in a part that initially seems to reflect critically on the destructive passage of time. As Paulina laments in Shakespeare's text, "O Hermione, / As every present time doth boast itself / Above a better gone, so must thy grave / Give way to what's seen now" (5.1.97–100). Kemble, who cuts these lines, maintains the sentiment in Paulina's chiding of Leontes: "your eye hath too much youth in it. Not a month / Fore your queen died, she was more worth such gazes / Than what you look on now" (5.1.224–26).[99] Among the living, each new generation threatens the status of the old, yet Hermione's reanimation disavows this trajectory, suggesting that art can establish what performance must carry out.

In this formulation, the reanimation of Hermione, or of Siddons, need not be a reminder of her ultimate mortality and demise. As opposed to fixing a woman at the height of her beauty (Pygmalion's project), Shakespeare's statue shows, somewhat ominously, "a woman marked by time."[100] Kemble's version of the play, however, cuts Leontes's observation that "Hermione was not so much wrinkled, nothing / so aged" as this statue seems (5.3.27–28).[101] Describing a role played by his aging sister, Kemble could have simply made the courteous edit. But the change is also consistent with what this role allowed Siddons to achieve. Performing a character that herself embodies the reanimating powers of performance, Siddons as Hermione shows how theatrical performance allows her to recapture the greatness of her prior career.

Siddons and the Memory of Garrick

As a successful Hermione, a role that literalizes the idea of the living monument to which Garrick had aspired, Siddons also recalls that in the course of her career she appropriated Garrick's approach to memorialization as her own. Theater, as Garrick knew all too well, encourages others to stand in for those they seek to emulate or revere, and for Siddons, the process of Garrick-appropriation began for her almost as soon as Garrick had left the stage. Back at Drury Lane in 1782 after Garrick's death, with her own reputation beginning its meteoric rise, Siddons records in her *Reminiscences* one acknowledgment of her growing fame:

> I was now highly gratified by a removal from my very indifferent and inconvenient Dressing room to one on the stage floor, instead of climbing a long stair case; and this room (oh unexpected happiness) had been Garrick's Dressing room. It is impossible to imagine my gratification when I saw my own figure in the self same Glass which had so often reflected the face and form of that unequalled Genius, not perhaps without some vague, fanciful hope of a little degree of inspiration from it.[102]

Siddons's laudatory account is tinged with no little irony, as she'd been deeply hurt by Garrick's refusal, in 1775, to retain her at Drury Lane. Given that Siddons's career was finally about the possibility of rendering her own genius "unequalled," her acknowledgment of Garrick's superlative status registers as strategic more than sincere. The reverence of

the younger generation, as Garrick well knew, could signal ambition as much as nostalgia, and mimetic reflections, especially in theater, can turn cruel—especially when all that remains of Garrick, the actor who once held the "mirror up to nature," is the mirror that reflects his successor's face.

Despite Garrick's best efforts to live forever, Siddons's comment shows that even the most revered actor is inevitably replaced. In Hazlitt's words, the theatrical spectator at the end of the eighteenth century may yet "extol Garrick, but he must go to see [Edmund] Kean."[103] But theater is also all about second chances, as Siddons's performance of Hermione, and her preceding quotation, both attest. Unlike Garrick, who had stunned audiences with his performance of Richard III in his 1741 London debut, Siddons's London debut had failed. Now, returning to a theatrical space she thought she had left behind, and anticipating the fate of the queen she would only much later perform, Siddons shows that such losses need not be for good.

Hermione, however, was a role that Garrick never saw Siddons perform. If the role of Leontes's queen would reflect on Siddons's ultimate good fortune (and offset criticisms about her professional decline), the role that Garrick chose for her debut would become predictive of her temporary struggles. He cast her, for her first London appearance, as Portia in *The Merchant of Venice*, a performance that was met with "anemic reviews."[104] "Her figure and face . . . have nothing striking, her voice . . . is far from being favourable . . . she possesses a monotone not to be got rid of," announced the reviewer in the *Middlesex Journal*.[105] "On before us tottered rather than walked, a very pretty, delicate, fragile-looking young creature, dressed in a most unbecoming manner," stated another. "Altogether the impression made upon the audience by this first attempt was of the most negative description."[106]

Garrick's exact motivations for this casting choice remain unknown, and Siddons's biographer James Boaden defends Garrick's decision and his overall treatment of Siddons during her first year at Drury Lane.[107] As the subsequent chapter will detail, a prior actress under Garrick's employ had had much success as Portia, and as manager Garrick would have wanted all plays at Drury Lane to be well received. Siddons, however, retrospectively attributed her failure to Garrick's pandering to his more established actresses, and his waning interest in anyone's career but his own (his subsequent commitment to Robinson would contradict both these claims).[108] Portia was, she claimed in her *Reminiscences*, "a Character in which it was not likely that I should excite any grand sensa-

tion," and the assertion bears thought.[109] There is something about Garrick's choice of this particular character—that of a daughter, her wishes "curbed" by her father even after his death—that resonates ominously with Garrick's relationship to the novice actress on the stage.[110] The judgments of an established precursor can often constrain the actions of his successors, even when his powers are in decline, and especially when the aspiring successor is a woman. For Garrick, for Siddons, and for their contemporaries Charles Macklin and Catherine Clive, *The Merchant of Venice* would become a testing ground for this fact.

The Merchant of Venice and Memorial Debts

✦ ✦ ✦

"I'll have my bond, speak not against my bond," reiterates Shylock, midway through Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, and the verb "reiterates" here bears special weight.[1] It indicates not only Shylock's immediate verbal repetition, which in the course of the play he will reprise ("I'll have my bond. I will not hear thee speak, / I'll have my bond" [3.3.12–13]), but how in referencing his bond he reiterates the circumstances of the contract established with Antonio in act 1. By naming and renaming it, Shylock insists that his contract be remembered, while the nature of the contract demands that all his present interactions with Antonio be governed by past terms. Shylock's comment thus starts to reveal what this chapter will further expose: that within the text and the performance history of *The Merchant of Venice*, engagements with religion, law, and economics are predicated on a simultaneous engagement with memory and with what I term in this chapter "memorial debts."[2]

For Garrick, this play would allow him to explore, in various ways, his own theatrical "debts." On 15 September 1747, when Garrick officially took over from Charles Fleetwood the management of Drury Lane, he chose to open the season with a performance of *The Merchant of Venice*.[3] By this point in his career, as previous chapters have shown, Garrick was heavily invested in his own Shakespearean-revival project, and characters such as Hamlet (debuted in 1742) and eventually Leontes (debuted lat-

er, in 1756) had allowed and would continue to allow him to investigate the actor's ability to commemorate his Shakespearean muse. Though he never acted in it, *The Merchant of Venice* helped him continue this project, and it was no accident that he chose this play to advertise his new managerial role on the London stage.

For example, the production of *The Merchant of Venice* that Garrick chose to mark the reopening of Drury Lane had a history—well known to Garrick—that went back some six years. For the early part of the century, *The Merchant of Venice* had been absent from the repertoire, as audiences had instead enjoyed the play as George Granville's adaptation *The Jew of Venice*. Granville's 1701 version of the play redacted large portions from Shakespeare's script; most significantly it rendered the character of Shylock into a farcical role typically played by the troupe clown.[4] All of this changed in February 1741, when the actor Charles Macklin debuted a fierce, villainous Shylock and convinced his then-manager Fleetwood to return to Shakespeare's original script.[5] For the next six years—and long thereafter—Macklin would perform this part to great acclaim. When Garrick chose to celebrate his new managerial position, he followed Macklin's lead on casting as well as script. In 1747, as Macklin had done in 1741, Garrick chose to have the part of Shylock played by the veteran actor Macklin, and the part of Portia by a well-known comic actress named Catherine or "Kitty" Clive. He also marked his new managerial role by speaking an occasional prologue to the production, penned for him by Samuel Johnson, in which he lamented the stage's shift away from an "immortal Shakespear" to the "exulting Folly" of "pantomime and song."[6] This was a decline that his ensuing production of *The Merchant of Venice* was undoubtedly meant to address.

But how? Macklin's 1741 decision, maintained here by Garrick, to move from Granville's adaptation back to Shakespeare's script can be seen as one response, though as documented in my prior chapters, Garrick was by no means opposed to Shakespearean adaptation, and many of his own (such as *Florizel and Perdita*, 1756, and his various emendations to *Hamlet*, 1751, 1763, 1772) still lay ahead. In this case, and by contrast, the prologue and subsequent performance suggest that Garrick's concept of an "immortal Shakespear" is best represented by what happens on the stage, and particularly by the onstage dynamic of the two lead characters played by Macklin and Clive. This was a dynamic of which Garrick, as manager, would have been well aware, and which, I contend, helped communicate a sense that despite the mystery of Shakespeare's biography, the intention of the playwright could yet be recaptured and

displayed. Garrick's decision, to found a new phase of his career on these actors' established dynamic, thus not only flaunts his general investment in theatrical traditions but accentuates his belief in Shakespearean intention as something to be recuperated by the actor, on the stage.

"Shakespeare's" Shylock

This is the Jew
That Shakespeare drew.[7]

While we can never know the specifics of Garrick's first *Merchant of Venice* production, we do know that his two lead actors played off each other in very singular ways. In 1741, Macklin's debut of Shylock had struck audiences as, somewhat paradoxically, both novel and nostalgic: "unyieldingly malignant" and a startling departure from the comic Shylock of Thomas Doggett, and yet also in line with the interpretation spectators believed Shakespeare would have desired.[8] Disjunctive with audiences' recent experiences of the play, Macklin's performance elicited a sense that he was restoring the part to its place in an older tradition, albeit a tradition that contemporary audiences could only invent. "Though we have seen the *Merchant of Venice* received and acted as a Comedy, and Shylock acted by an excellent comedian," the playwright Nicholas Rowe had written as early as 1709, when reflecting on the comic performances popularized in Granville's *Jew*, "Yet I cannot but think that the character was tragically designed by the author."[9] "This is the Jew / That Shakespeare drew," Alexander Pope is rumored to have announced in 1741, on first seeing Macklin's villainous Shylock on the stage.[10]

But who, after all, could know if Pope was right? One of the most oft-repeated phrases about *The Merchant of Venice*—a certain "jingle," according John Gross, which "everyone who writes about the stage history of *The Merchant of Venice* is doomed to quote"—the exact provenance of the "Pope" quotation remains as mysterious as the sentiment it asserts.[11] Attributed to Pope, and circulated frequently throughout the eighteenth century and beyond, the lines celebrate Macklin's performance as a corrective to the early eighteenth-century farcical Shylock. They also convey "a certain yearning, shared by all students of the play, to reconstruct somehow the first Shylock": Shylock as he would have been performed in Shakespeare's time.[12]

No matter who coined it, the couplet was an exercise in wishful think-

ing. While Macklin would, as I will discuss, historically research Judaism to prepare for his performance of Shylock, his performance was also undoubtedly playing off contemporary conceptions of Jewishness. Macklin began his tenure as Shylock at a time when Georgian theatergoers were attentive to, and anxious about, the growing number of Jews in England (and in attendance at plays). Due to emerging controversy over the 1753 Jewish Naturalization Act—the so-called Jew Bill, which modified the process by which foreign-born Jews could be naturalized or made "English," and which was repealed after only a few months—these anxieties, and thus the contemporary focus on what it meant to be a Jew, would reach new peaks as Macklin's performances continued.[13] And even with the most careful historical research, Macklin would not have had access to reliable accounts of an original performance of *The Merchant of Venice*, as by 1741, no living memory of Shakespearean performance remained.[14] By 1660, the twenty-six actors listed as "Principall Actors" in the First Folio had died, and Shakespeare's last living descendant would pass away, childless, in 1670. Some memory of Shakespeare undoubtedly persisted among the locals of Stratford, and yet it was never formally passed down, instead existing in late seventeenth-century accounts that were "often garbled, impossible, or self-contradictory . . . their reliability declin[ing] with each passing year."[15] The eighteenth-century audiences who celebrate Macklin as giving them "Shakespeare's" Shylock celebrate an invented concept of Shakespeare, and Shakespeare's ideas of Judaism, drawn from an imagined, idealized past. Their constructions of Shakespeare, and the emerging cultural phenomenon of author-love, conveniently mask the anti-Semitism and anxieties about ethnic passing in which as Georgian theatergoers they were immersed.[16]

While Macklin and his fans may have had specific motivations for playing up their discernment of "Shakespeare's Jew," their desire to access the "real" lost Shakespeare was part of a larger and older trend. Since the Restoration, Shakespeare's plays had gradually been reentering print circulation, with the publication of new quarto editions of individual plays and the appearance of the Third and Fourth Folios in 1663 and 1685.[17] This interest in keeping Shakespeare's words in circulation was augmented by the desire to have more of them: both new folio collections included "new" plays by Shakespeare (most of which have since been disavowed), while in 1728, Lewis Theobald would make waves by announcing his discovery, and adaptation, of *Cardenio*, a "lost" Shakespearean play.[18] By the end of the century, Shakespeare forgeries would be operating in full force, with William Henry Ireland's *Vortigern* (1796)

as perhaps the exemplary, though a spectacularly discredited, instance of a manuscript passed off as Shakespeare's own.[19]

Macklin's performance offered viewers something different. Instead of presenting his audiences with renewed or increased access to Shakespeare's words—the text of *The Merchant of Venice*, which had remained in print even during the Interregnum, is one of the least "lost" of Shakespeare's plays—Macklin's performance gave them access, seemingly, to Shakespeare's thoughts.[20] In performing Shylock in a certain manner, Macklin was credited with embodying the character in accordance with Shakespearean ideals, thus perpetuating the illusion that authorial intention could be retrieved. As the century progressed, the desire to recover these thoughts seemed to build. As Michael Dobson puts it, in response to the eighteenth-century proliferation of Shakespearean biographies and monuments, "The adaptation and appropriation of Shakespeare's plays beg[an] to decline in importance compared to the adaptation and appropriation of Shakespeare himself."[21]

Evidence of this shift can be seen as early as Nicholas Rowe's 1709 biographical preface to Shakespeare's collected works, the same account that contains Rowe's reservations about Granville's "comic" (and thus "un-Shakespearean") Jew. Rowe served as Shakespeare's first proper editor, adding to each play act and scene breaks, entrances, and character lists. He also introduced the collected works with a brief biographical preface—"Some Account of the Life of Mr. William Shakespeare"—which begins with the assertion that "the knowledge of an Author may sometimes conduce to a better understanding of his book."[22] The cobbled-together biography that follows serves as the platform for future biographical investigations into the playwright and marks the first attempt to wed knowledge of the author with the interpretation of his work.

And yet, as indicated by the sparsity of Rowe's account, much of Shakespeare's past simply couldn't be recovered. Rowe had collected surviving oral and documentary evidence, relying heavily on the testimony of Restoration actor Thomas Betterton, whose "veneration for the Memory of Shakespeare . . . engag'd him to make a Journey into Warwickshire, on purpose to gather up what Remains he could."[23] Little remained: later eighteenth-century editors George Steevens and Edmund Malone would demonstrate the unreliability of Betterton's Warwickshire accounts, and while scholarship has continued to flesh out the conditions of Shakespeare's world, known facts about the playwright remain few. As recent Shakespearean biographer Stephen Greenblatt attests, "No contemporary seems to have thought it worthwhile to collect whatever could be

found out about Shakespeare while his memory was still green."[24] There are, as a result, "huge gaps in knowledge that make any biographical study of Shakespeare an exercise in speculation."[25]

Cultural memory, in such cases, yields to invention. If Rowe's biographical context for the plays was tantalizingly brief, this context could be augmented by drawing biographical content from the plays themselves. Such was the approach of Shakespeare's later editor Malone, who, in his 1790 edition of the plays, annotated the plays with an eye toward contemporary allusions and possible references to circumstances in Shakespeare's life.[26] Thus too began the many subsequent exercises in biographical reductivism, which supported the Shakespearean authorship controversy when necessary parallels between the plays' content and known facts about the playwright didn't align.[27] And so, to this day, many accounts of Shakespeare biography proceed. As Greenblatt's own account asserts, "To understand who Shakespeare was, it is important to follow the verbal traces he left."[28]

But even before critics tried to make the written work speak for Shakespeare, they tried to make the dead author speak for himself. The ghost of Shakespeare haunts early eighteenth-century theater—popping up in prologues, dedicatory epistles, and plays—to speak his mind and sanction whatever work ensues.[29] Just such a ghost speaks in the prologue to Granville's adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice*, affirming that "these scenes in their rough Native Dress were mine / but now improv'd with nobler Lustre shine."[30] Like those later readers who find Shakespeare's psyche in his plays, the writers who craft such phantoms engage in the fantasy that the sentiments of a dead author are not relegated to the grave.

Produced almost a century after Shakespeare's death, the statements of Shakespearean intention that circulated in the eighteenth century remain a cultural reinvention. But this cultural desire to know what Shakespeare was thinking also led to fascinating debates about how this mind was represented by the work. Given that Shakespeare was a playwright, writing for the stage, were his intentions to be found in his printed words, or in the performance of his works?[31] The question recalls the Shylock quip attributed to Pope. "Given that any role is going to be significantly altered from its conception in the dramatist's imagination once it is in the hands of the actor and audience," states Charles Edelman, "that Shylock [which Shakespeare "drew"] was lost the moment the play was performed."[32] By this logic, the Jew that Shakespeare "drew," like the accounts of Aphra Behn's Oroonoko in chapter 2, exists solely

on the page. Yet for the eighteenth-century spectators who repeated this refrain about Macklin, the actor was an advantage. Macklin provided a conduit to Shakespeare himself.

The story of how Charles Macklin came to play Shylock is a story of debt. An Irish actor, born sometime at the end of the 1690s, Macklin had come to London in the 1720s to ply his trade. By the 1730s he had achieved a place at Drury Lane and would share, with Charles Fleetwood, the managerial duties there. As Fleetwood's deputy manager, Macklin came to have considerable control over casting and repertoire, and he supervised the spate of Shakespeare plays that held the stage from 1740 to 1741. In fact, in 1747, when Drury Lane switched to the control of Garrick, the number of Shakespeare plays in the repertoire actually started to decline.[33] It is Macklin, then, who must be credited with much of the midcentury Shakespeare revival, just as it is Macklin who is credited with choosing to stage *The Merchant of Venice* as the original, Shakespearean version of the play.

The choice was arbitrary, if we are to believe Macklin's nineteenth-century biographer William Cook. "Chance presented 'The Merchant of Venice' to his notice," Cook claims, as Macklin was merely looking for something that "might add . . . to his rising fame as an actor" and be "appropriate to his own powers."[34] And yet the lead-up to this choice creates echoes with the role he would subsequently adopt. For Fleetwood, though once a man of fortune, had made a habit of borrowing money from friends, and Macklin, in turn, had made a habit of lending him small sums. According to Cook, Macklin did so willingly. Fleetwood had such a modest way of pleading, and Macklin himself considered these loans as "nest eggs . . . a kind of security for my engagements at his Theatre."[35] But all this changed when Fleetwood demanded a much larger amount. "In one of those irresistible hours of solicitation," Fleetwood prevailed on Macklin once more "to become his bondsman: the sum, we believe, was no less than three thousand pounds."[36]

"*Three thousand pounds . . .*" As Antonio, the titular merchant of Venice, experiences, such exchanges never go well. In Macklin's case, he quickly realized that standing security to his employer "very seriously menaced the future liberty of his life."[37] He therefore convinced their mutual friend and poet Paul Whitehead to stand security instead, a negotiation that backfired a few years later when Fleetwood fled to France to escape his debts and Whitehead, whose fortune was now insufficient to cover the bond, was thrown into prison for several years. Macklin, by contrast,

benefited from his prescience. After extricating himself from this final "pecuniary engagement," he found that Fleetwood had "entirely committed [the theatrical concerns of the company] to his care."[38] Macklin now had full autonomy to set the repertoire and choose his parts.

Was this negotiation on Macklin's mind when, as his first expression of this autonomy, he landed "arbitrarily" on Shylock? He never says as much, and yet from his very first lines the part must have triggered memories of the circumstances that preceded his choice. "Three thousand ducats!" the German theater aficionado Georg Christoph Lichtenberg later recalls, while watching Macklin perform. "The first words [Shylock] utters when he comes onto the stage are . . . lisp[ed] as lickerishly as if [Macklin] were savouring the ducats and all that they could buy."[39] Macklin's history with Fleetwood was a history of small, remembered debts and one big risk that could have ruined Macklin for good. A version of this history gets reworked through Shylock every time Macklin, as Fleetwood's former bondsman, takes the stage.

Performances of Shylock channeled Macklin's past in several ways.[40] In his innovative, villainous interpretation, audiences could find shades of recent scandal: Macklin's 1737 murder of fellow actor Thomas Hallam for borrowing Macklin's favorite wig. Sparring over the prop in the green room, Macklin had thrust his cane into Hallam's face, puncturing Hallam's left eye and penetrating his brain.[41] Hallam died the next day, and Macklin was charged with murder, though he was released finally with just a fine. "If God writes a legible hand," his old rival and fellow actor James Quin remarked, conflating Macklin's behaviors with his rather terrifying personal ugliness, "that fellow is a villain," and his appearance was something contemporary artists of the time rarely tried to amend.[42] For his interpretation of Shylock, Macklin's physiognomy was an advantage, as the staged villainy of Shakespeare's character likely recalled, for his first audiences, Macklin's own. More speculatively, Shylock's final forced conversion might have reminded them of Macklin's past as an Irish-Catholic, as, to advance his career, he had converted to Anglicanism and changed his name.[43]

Whether or not Macklin's performance consciously invoked these events, he and his reviewers regularly imported language from the play to describe what it was like to see him act in it. Gearing himself up on opening night for his climactic trial scene, Macklin notes that "the two front rows of the pit, as usual, were full of critics" but attests to being "glad to see them there; as I wished, in such a cause, to be tried by a *special jury*."[44] An actor about to meet his fate, Macklin describes his status onstage in terms of the character—who also, infamously, will be put on

Fig. 21. John Corner after John Charles Lochée, *Charles Macklin*, (1787). Used by permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

trial—he plays. Similarly, biographer James Boaden singles out Macklin's performance in the trial scene, noting that he

> stood like a TOWER . . . "not bound to *please*" any body by his pleading; he claimed a right, grounded upon LAW . . . to this remark it may be said, "You are here describing SHYLOCK"; True; I am describing Macklin.[45]

Like Macklin himself, Boaden doubles Macklin's effect as actor and character, making Shakespeare's quotation describe both Macklin's rendition of the character and the innovative actor too proud to grovel to his crowds. As in Joseph Roach's description of the dysfunctional, theatergoing Hanbury-Williams family, who cite Garrick's Lear as the "moral and emotional reference poin[t] around which their troubled relationship c[ould] be" understood, Macklin and his reviewers use Shylock's experiences to explain his own.[46] The effect then becomes one in which Shakespearean narrative supplants Macklin's personal past.

Certainly, by the end of his career, the memory of Shylock would have replaced memories of Macklin altogether. Macklin performed the role regularly from 1741 until 1789, and after almost five decades of seeing Macklin as Shylock, late eighteenth-century audiences "knew nothing of him but as he appeared on the stage" and thus "judged he must be something like the monster in private life which he was upon the stage."[47] But as early as opening night, Macklin shows a desire to replace his personal history with that of Shakespeare's Jew. He developed the part with a then-unusual commitment to historical authenticity, researching the clothes worn by Elizabethan Jews, reading Flavius Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*, and taking notes in his diary on the general history of the Jews, "from the Creation to the Flood."[48] Though this approach made Fleetwood and his colleagues nervous, it paid off. His initial appearance was greeted with thunderous applause, and by the third act "the whole house was in an uproar." On his exit from this act, Macklin heard Fleetwood whisper, "Macklin, you was right at last."[49]

Clive's Portia

In Belmont is a lady richly left.
—*Merchant of Venice* (1.1.161)

And yet, striking as Macklin's performance was, Shylock in this production was only half the story. Macklin himself recalls his performance as being cemented by the "forcible impression" of act 4's trial scene, the moment at which the characters from Belmont and Venice finally interact.[50] Macklin's Shylock, in this scene, is particularly showcased via his negotiations with Portia—and Portia in this performance was a competing actor determined to anchor the event in farce. Kitty Clive, who debuted the role on the same night in 1741 as Macklin did his Shylock, presented audiences with a satirical version of the character, in which she modeled her behavior on the mannerisms of recognizable eighteenth-century judges.[51] She maintained this approach—varying only the subject of her impersonations—throughout future appearances, attracting some criticism but also much popular applause. Adhering to their respective interpretations, Clive and Macklin played these roles opposite each other for a total of six consecutive seasons (and fifty-one performances), and later reunited for three performances in 1759.[52]

From her debut as Portia, Kitty Clive thus brought a very different agenda than Macklin did to Shakespeare's play. As Mary Robinson would also find, invoking the past didn't always assist an actress in her career, especially when her past contained a series of experiences she hoped her performances would overwrite. "Perdita" Robinson, as detailed in chapter 4, sought out subsequent pseudonyms and literary projects to efface (only somewhat successfully) the highly publicized account of her theatrical affair with the Prince of Wales. Clive didn't have this level of scandal in her past, but she too seems to have striven against prior theatrical associations. Daughter of an Irish father and an English mother, she'd started acting at Drury Lane in 1728 and quickly gained a reputation in singing parts and comedic roles.[53] She was known for her chastity but also for her stubbornness, a characteristic that can be seen in her determined adherence to what critics found to be a misinterpretation of this part.[54]

Though she had begun her acting career playing comedy, Clive, by many accounts, aspired to tragic roles. The *Biographical Dictionary* states, for example, that "year after year she insisted on opening her season with Ophelia, though no female less Ophelia-like ever lived."[55] The aspiration perhaps had something to do with a sense that tragic roles were substantial, lasting and important. "Comedy was critically devalued for generations as the inferior theatrical form," states Richard Findlater; tragedy, by contrast, represented "the pinnacle of theatrical achievement."[56] It is certainly true that many of the actors who remain most memorable

Fig. 22. Engraving after Alexander van Aken, *Mrs. Catherine Clive from the portrait at Strawberry Hill* (1735). Houghton Library, Harvard Theatre Collection, Call # TCS 43.

from this time period—Macklin, Garrick, Siddons—remain so because of their achievements in tragic parts. Hazlitt, as detailed in chapter 4, would celebrate Siddons by dubbing her "tragedy personified," while Sir Joshua Reynolds would commemorate her by painting her as "the Tragic Muse."[57] Clive's passing, by contrast, was mourned by her close friend Horace Walpole in the following lines: "the comic muse with her retired / And shed a tear when she expired."[58]

Yet, in contrast to Findlater's claim, this was also the era of the great comic actresses Frances Abington and Dorothy Jordan, and the era in which the economic success of the period's comedies far outstripped its tragedies. Garrick was as celebrated for his comic Benedict (and many other non-Shakespearean comic parts, such as Archer, in George Farquhar's *The Beaux Stratagem*, and Abel Drugger, in Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*) as he was for his tragic Hamlet or Lear. Nor was eighteenth-century tragedy a "pure" genre. As Felicity Nussbaum has discussed, "Even the most deeply tragic plays in the Restoration and the eighteenth century usually concluded with comic epilogues delivered by actresses," and *The Merchant of Venice*, though it "teeters on the brink of tragedy," has as its full title "The Comical History of . . ."[59] Comedy had its own potency and power, as Clive's performances as Portia would attest. Instead of indicating a straightforward preference for one genre of drama over another, Clive's forays into tragedy thus seem to establish on a more general level the contrasts between comedy and tragedy, here embodied by her performance of Portia versus Macklin's Shylock, that will aid her in establishing the reputation that in *The Merchant of Venice* she seeks to showcase. For, when Clive embraced the role of Portia, she did so in a comic vein. She delivered the famous "quality of mercy" speech—one of the most famous speeches from Shakespeare, and one used repeatedly for nineteenth-century exercises in elocution—as a comic burlesque.[60]

Had Macklin not begun the play with a "Shakespearean" Shylock, Clive's Portia would have undoubtedly received less attention—and critique. The Shylock that audiences had known from Granville's play had been a farcical character; Portia in act 4 is a transvestite character, a character type that was typically comic; and by 1741 Clive was mainly known for her impersonations and comic roles.[61] These factors support Clive's interpretation as designed to meet rather than violate audience expectations, though because Macklin had underplayed his part in rehearsal, there is also a chance that her initial impersonations were an "instantaneous onstage reaction" to how Macklin performed.[62] However Clive arrived at her interpretation, she refused to change it on subsequent

nights, and one way to understand Clive's persistence is as a rebuttal to the audiences and managers who hadn't approved her ventures into other tragic roles. Her satirical Portia, which attracts a good amount of critical fire, was an interpretation that Clive "stubbornly retained, one suspects almost *because* it was so often attacked."[63] A comic Portia could have been Clive's way of thumbing her nose at audiences who refused to see her—after an abortive attempt at Zara (from Aaron Hill's *The Tragedy of Zara*, 1736), a disastrous Cordelia, and the aforementioned Ophelia—as a "tragedy queen."[64] An emerging actress intent on crafting performances that would elevate her to the celebrity status of her masculine peers, Clive, like Robinson after her, found herself stymied in the attempt to reinvent her initial theatrical reputation. She was known for comedy, singing, and impersonations—and these were the talents that audiences would continue to see.

Yet, as mentioned above, Clive was also likely harnessing the power of comedy and impersonation, a power linked in this case to the ephemeral nature of what she enacted. If, on one hand, Clive's satirical Portia stands as a testament to a past reputation she cannot shake off, it also emblematizes an art form that cannot be pinned down. "An impressionist's reputation falls faster than any into oblivion," states Ian Kelly, in his biography of Macklin's other actor protégé, Samuel Foote, and Clive, like Foote, was known as "one of the four or five master mimes of the age."[65] Though Kelly stresses that such actors tend to be forgotten, for Clive and Foote, embracing the role of impersonator meant mocking the posthumous aspirations of a Macklin or Garrick and staking one's reputation, instead, on an ability to reflect the concerns of the present day. Clive performed Portia in the trial scene as a series of impersonations, and reviews indicate that her targets were easily identifiable and ever-changing. "In the Trial Scene," writes her nineteenth-century biographer Percy Fitzgerald, "she presented a *comic Portia*, and lighted the character by mimicking it in the manner of some leading counsel, such as Counsellor Dunning, whose peculiarities she 'took off.'"[66] Another nineteenth-century biographer notes, "The jovial actress, with her delight for fun-making, had found pleasure in giving to Portia a coarse and even flippant character, transforming the trial scene into buffoonery by mimicking the great lawyer Murray, and afterwards Lord Mansfield."[67] The variety of names remembered in these comments indicate that Clive continued to add new lawyer impersonations to each performance, and that audiences continued to identify successfully those she mocked.[68]

What she accomplishes in this role is thus presented as the inverse

of what Macklin does in his. "Mrs. Clive, who obtained no small share of applause [in the role of Portia]," states Francis Gentleman in *The Dramatic Censor*, "was a ludicrous burlesque on the character, every feature and limb contrasted the idea Shakespeare gives us of Portia."[69] His contemporary Benjamin Victor agreed: "The Lawyer's scene of Portia . . . was certainly meant by Shakespear, to be solemn, pathetic, and affecting . . . which [Clive] certainly did not perform as the Author intended."[70] Instead of embodying "the Jew / That Shakespeare drew," Clive's impersonations call audience attention to personalities of the contemporary moment, so that if Macklin's Shylock is celebrated for showcasing theater's ability to conjure, and preserve, an otherwise inaccessible past, Clive's performance emphasizes the present moment she documents. In reality, Macklin, devoted as he was to mimicking his idea of an "accurate" ethnic stereotype, is involved in a performance strategy very similar to Clive's and her impersonations of a legal type.[71] And yet in eighteenth-century parlance, Macklin's project (and the xenophobia attached to it) get repackaged as the admirable project of restoring Shakespearean intention, whereas in Clive's interpretation any Shakespearean ethos is destroyed. When she elicits applause for these performances—which, despite the backlash from critics, she does—it thus represents "the great Power of the Actress in question . . . where she forced the whole Town to . . . applaud her in a Character" that she performed in an explicitly anti-Shakespearean way.[72] Here perhaps is the secret to Clive's persistent impersonations, as in going head to head with Macklin's Shylock she proves herself to be as powerful, and as strategic about her power, as the character of Portia that she represents.

"So is the will of a living daughter curbed by the will of a dead father," opines Portia to Nerissa as she explains, in lines that would have been spoken by Clive, the workings of Shakespeare's famous "casket scene." "Is it not hard, Nerissa, that I cannot choose one [suitor], nor refuse none?" (1.2.23–25). Regardless of Portia's own desires, her father's will dictates that those who would woo his daughter must select from among three riddle-inscribed caskets—of gold, silver, and lead—and that he who selects the casket containing her portrait will be rewarded with the bride. While Nerissa defends to her lady the "good inspiration" of the missing father, and while the caskets will ultimately reward Portia with the lover of her "choice," the complaint foreshadows the other legal bonds, father-daughter relations, and constrained choices that characterize the play. Most of all, the edict haunts Portia, as she finds herself subject to what

in contemporary legal parlance is referred to as "dead-hand control," in which the will of her father (in the sense of legal document and volition) dictates her actions from beyond his grave.[73]

Some version of this dynamic has haunted all the characters in this book. Second-generation substitutes threaten to subsume, not merely stand in for, those they represent, and yet the prior generation remains hard to escape. Statues of dead mothers come to life; paternal ghosts haunt like-named sons; a turbaned Turk is resurrected by the man who took (and takes) his life. If there are no actual ghosts in *The Merchant of Venice*, the specter of this dead father yet hovers over the Belmont scenes, reminding us that, in the words of Harry Berger, "fathers can use children . . . to preserve themselves against the very death toward which marriage is the first step."[74] The birth of children is the first sign of the parent's obsolescence, which the legal control still exercised by Portia's father seeks to offset. That parents "invest" themselves in their children is also seen in the commodification of the daughter on the marriage market, or the infamous manner in which, for Shylock, daughter and ducats intertwine.

Fittingly, then, from the first mention of Portia, beauty and economics overlap. She is both "fair" and "richly left," with "sunny locks" that "hang on her temples like a golden fleece" and equate her fairness with an object of not only magical but monetary power (1.1.169–70). Bassanio's more figurative formulations of value—"Nor is the wide world ignorant of her worth" (1.1.165–67)—always also have a literal meaning, as he treasures Portia for the financial inheritance that will (because she is a woman) pass to Bassanio once he has passed her father's test.[75] But Bassanio's opening tribute to Portia exposes another valence to her worth. As Bassanio plays Jason to her golden fleece, he similarly identifies Portia in this first description as "nothing undervalued / To Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia" (1.1.165–66). Here, the play's ubiquitous economic metaphor signals Portia's literary inheritance: she garners value for her ties to another, historical Portia, and another literary character that Shakespeare would soon go on to describe.[76]

Bassanio's tribute to another Portia is just one of many examples of how, throughout this play, present identities are predicated on past exchanges: no one here seems to stand for, or by, himself alone. Bassanio courts Portia in his own person but also, thanks to Antonio's money, as if he were the titular merchant. This merchant is in turn a facade propped up by the loan from Shylock, who will in turn be propped up by money he borrows from a friend ("I cannot instantly raise up the gross," Shylock

explains, "What of that? / Tubal, a wealthy Hebrew of my tribe, / Will furnish me" [1.3.52–55]). So what of Portia, the rich heiress with no way to access her own funds? "I stand for sacrifice," she announces as Bassanio faces the caskets (3.2.57), an expression that indicates "either . . . I am placed here to be sacrificed, on the verge of being captured and destroyed in order to save my father's kingdom; or . . . I represent sacrifice, stand for the principle of self-giving as I prepare to surrender myself to whatever risks lie ahead."[77] As Berger notes, Portia simultaneously describes the physical condition of being Portia and presents herself as a symbol defined by her father's will. Her claim, "I stand for sacrifice," laments her indebted nature even as, in one sense, it strives against it. I stand here, physically, as myself, before you, she says: I do not want to be seen as the representative of someone else.

Despite Bassanio's "valuing" of her in terms of the literary tradition, Portia therefore has different ideas about how to construct self-worth. While Shakespeare's play plays actively with how past debts and bonds exert power in the present, Portia seeks to find value in herself by devaluing the past. In this sense, the character offers a perfect platform for the theatrical project of Clive. The constraint she complains of in the casket scenes she will shake off, for the duration of the trial scene, when as "Balthasar" she abandons her female role and with it her literary past. Clive's lawyer impersonations achieve for her a parallel effect, and though Clive was acting in a full version of Shakespeare's script, eighteenth-century reviews gloss over her behavior in the casket scenes to focus on her performance in the trial.[78] Her impersonations there gain power from their novelty and transience, twinned signs of the actor's ability to make a break with the past. Unlike Macklin—and Shylock—who define themselves in terms of long and deep tradition, Portia and Clive gain agency, and identity, to the extent they can dissociate themselves from prior bonds. And in Macklin and Clive's performance of Shakespeare's play, these dueling approaches to self-definition were put on trial.

Trial by Theater and Tradition

I stand for judgment. . . . I stand here for law
—*Merchant of Venice* (4.1.103, 142)

When Macklin debuted his Shylock, he singled out as central to his performance one particular scene. Greeted in the third act with applause so

thunderous that he "was obliged to pause between the speeches to give it vent," Macklin nonetheless attributes the "fullness" of his reputation to his conduct in the fourth act trial.[79] To cite Macklin:

> Here I was well listened to, and here I made such a silent, yet forcible impression on my audience, that I retired from this great attempt most perfectly satisfied.[80]

Why was the trial scene, and thus Macklin's confrontation with Clive's satirical Portia, so central to Macklin's success? What Macklin was attempting with the role of Shylock was already evident, and a poor performance by Macklin in this scene, or a performance derailed by that of another actor, could undo everything he had accomplished. And yet it was Macklin himself who chose to cast Clive, already known for her impersonations, thus setting himself up for the potentially awkward face-off that occurs (just as it was Garrick who, six years later, with the Macklin-Clive routine now established, chose to recoup these roles).[81] That both actors enjoyed, and continued to enjoy, plaudits from their audience in this scene also suggests Macklin was not guarding against his failure by setting Clive up for her own. Instead, Macklin's "forcible impression" emerged in tandem with Clive's impersonations, making the trial scene a testing ground not only for Macklin's achievement, but for what the actor can in general achieve on stage. In this case, Macklin's ability to access some deeper resonance of a Shakespearean past is accentuated by Clive's complementary ability to efface it.

The fact that Clive was known for her success in breeches parts also undoubtedly influenced Macklin's casting, though not simply through the association of cross-dressing with comic roles.[82] Instead, Clive's breeches performance as Balthasar anticipates how the absent male body hovers over this play, and how male characters, from the dead patriarch of Belmont, to the absent Antonio, to the banished Shylock, become most memorable when they disappear. "Here is a letter my lady," exclaims the heretofore uninterested Bassanio to Portia, in response to a missive from Antonio, "the paper as the body of my friend, / and every word of it a gaping wound" (3.2.263–65). Specifically, Clive's performance sets up the imminent absence of Shylock, who will be banished and yet very emphatically not forgotten. "His absent presence," states Kenneth Gross, summarizing the character's appeal in the wake of his limited time onstage, "provokes questions, opens up troubling spaces of surmise."[83] As Shylock leaves the stage, stepping into the role of the

absent male, he triggers an audience response that Clive has rehearsed. Her impersonations signal an additional absent and authorizing male presence (that of the contemporary lawyers she mocks) that frames Shylock's banishment with particular verve. Clive's cross-dressing, coupled with the ephemerality of her satire—the topical impressions that change from night to night—anticipate the ultimate ephemerality, and thus the haunting memorability, of Macklin's part.[84]

And yet, in playing Shylock, Macklin was seeking to connect the character with more than just the other absent male characters referenced recently within this play. As mentioned, Macklin researched the role with an eye toward deep historical authenticity, tracing the history of the Jews back to the Flood. Like Shylock himself, he sees this character as standing in for a long religious tradition, and his performance, again like Shylock's within the play, seeks to draw potency from these associations (even as his "restoration" of these associations would have struck his initial 1741 audiences as innovative for the time).[85] "Many a time and oft / In the Rialto you have rated me," Shylock asserts, replaying for Antonio the personal experiences that predate the formation of their bond (1.3.103–4). But he prefaces this account with an even longer view: "Mark what Jacob did," he notes, summoning scripture as precedent for his economic practice (1.3.74). While Portia seeks to dissociate herself from other Portias, Shylock styles himself as a latter-day Jacob, a character who draws power from the characters, and transactions, that have come before.

The trial scene becomes the culmination, and the testing ground, for such a practice. While Shylock's trial is designated specifically to interrogate the bond that initiated the play, it functions much like the travel narratives evoked in chapter 2, which seek to recreate for readers an impossibly empirical account of another person's past. For Shylock, such empiricism is achieved through his constant recursion to the terms of his bond, and his obsession with literalism and verbal repetition. But the trial also enmeshes Shylock in another series of repetitions, as his claims to "stand" for law and judgment echo Portia's claims to "stand" for sacrifice in act three. The phrases signal that one scene stands in for the other, and that two seemingly opposed characters share an unwitting tie.[86] As the casket scene features a contest between a father's and a daughter's will, so too does the trial scene—albeit indirectly and in a different pairing. Through Portia, Shylock confronts the missing daughter, who left his house, like Portia, dressed in drag. Through Shylock, Portia confronts the missing father, who has been an absent presence in her

life. In an uncanny display of unconscious conflict, the trial shows how these characters' present interactions inevitably replay interactions from their pasts.[87]

In later years, these associations would be affirmed concretely when Macklin recast his own daughter in the part. Clive, who would retire from the stage in 1769, played Portia for the last time in 1759.[88] Maria Macklin, who had been acting onstage since her debut as a child on 20 December 1742, took up the part of Portia for the first time at Covent Garden on 10 January 1761.[89] She played the part repeatedly opposite her father throughout the 1760s, often reprising it for her benefit nights, though there is no evidence that she sought to imitate Clive's satirical take on the role.[90] Acting abilities aside, Maria could never achieve in Portia the topical effect of Clive. In her case, the known family dynamic would have reminded viewers of a prior relationship between the actors that existed off the stage, and one that inevitably played up for observers the father-daughter interactions being explored elsewhere in Shakespeare's play. For Maria had been tutored rigorously by her father, in acting as well as languages and other "feminine" accomplishments, and in their biographical entry on Maria, Philip Highfill, Kalman Burnim, and Edward Langhans describe their father-daughter relationship as (like that of Portia and Belmont, or Shylock and Jessica) "odd and intricate . . . [Macklin's] overbearing and intolerant nature . . . posed problems for his daughter and pupil."[91] If Clive activates a series of contemporary memories for her audiences, through her mimicries of figures they could yet see in their daily lives, Maria reactivates a sense of a deeper, familial past that is lost to public view, and it is her standoff with Shylock, and not that of Macklin and the satirical Clive, that is ultimately preserved in the period's art: Johann Zoffany's 1768 portrait of Macklin as Shylock, and Maria as Portia as "Balthasar," facing each other in the trial.[92]

In many ways, then, Macklin used Shylock to interrogate the past, a fact that artists such as Zoffany tried to preserve. The same trial scene portrait, for example, features to the left of Macklin's Shylock, in the audience position, the recognizable figure of Justice Mansfield, one of the legal figures whom Clive, in her impersonations, had mocked. The fact that Zoffany would include Mansfield in the image is initially puzzling, as the portrait almost certainly depicts performances and actors that Zoffany first witnessed in 1767 or 1768, a time when, unlike Clive, Maria Macklin wouldn't have through any impersonations given Zoffany an obvious reason to include the justice in the scene.[93] Macklin and Mans-

Fig. 23. John Zoffany, *Charles Macklin as Shylock, Act 4, scene 1*, 1768, Photo © Tate, London [2017].

field would, however, have a very significant interaction some seven years later, when in 1775 Macklin brought to trial a group of rioters who took issue with what, for Macklin's supporters, was his historically accurate costuming and "laudable" commitment to historical truth.[94] Displeased first with his choice to depict Macbeth in a kilt, rioters protested several times at his performances of *Macbeth* and then finally disrupted him during a performance of *The Merchant of Venice*. Macklin in turn brought the rioters to trial for attempting to "deprive him of his livelihood"—Shylock: "You take my life / When you do take the means whereby I live" (4.1.374–75)—and his claim was granted by Mansfield, in terms that echo the successes of Macklin's career (of Macklin's conduct toward his detractors, Mansfield applauds, "you never acted better").[95] Zoffany's inclusion of Mansfield in his portrait suggests that he amended it in 1775 (he likely first composed the portrait in 1767 or 1768) to include the figure of Mansfield and to capitalize on the successful conclusion of, and extreme publicity surrounding, Macklin's trial.[96] The possibility of Zoffany's continued revisions to this portrait shows how the visual artist,

in commemorating his subject, remains reliant on the dynamism of the stage.[97] At the same time, the "unfinished" nature of the painting comes closest to capturing what the life and acting of Charles Macklin, or any actor, is all about—the medium of visual art in this case acknowledging that an echo is all that can be preserved.

On Macklin's side, and as his reaction to his rioters shows, he, like Garrick and like Sterne, seeks to secure his professional reputation by equating his narrative to that of the character he most frequently portrays. If Macklin brings Shylock to life—and in the wake of Macklin's performances Shylock became a strange, autonomous creation, cited as visiting local farms, acting in plays, and authoring political tracts[98]—Shylock also animates Macklin, a reciprocal movement detailed by spectators such as Lichtenberg, who witnesses Macklin play Shylock in 1775:

> I saw Macklin, who is well known for his extraordinary excellence, his lawsuit, and his physiognomy, play Shylock in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. You know that Macklin as Shylock sounds as well on a play-bill as Garrick as Hamlet. It was on the very evening that he played again for the first time on the conclusion of his lawsuit. When he came on the stage, he was thrice greeted with general applause, which on each time lasted for quite a quarter of a minute. It cannot be denied that the sight of this Jew is more than sufficient to arouse once again in the mature man all the prejudices of his childhood against this race. Shylock is not one of those mean, plausible cheats . . . he is heavy, and silent in his unfathomable cunning, and, when the law is on his side, he is unflinching, just to the point of malice. Imagine a rather stout man with a coarse yellow face and a nose generously fashioned in all three dimensions, a long double chin, and a mouth so carved by nature that the knife appears to have slit him right up to the ears, on one side at least, I thought.[99]

Quoted at length, Lichtenberg uses third-person pronouns that are fascinatingly difficult to track. The lawsuit is Macklin's response to the rioters at his *Macbeth* and *Merchant of Venice*, but the reference applies equally well to Shylock, especially as Lichtenberg shifts in the remainder of the description to Shylock himself. The physical account of Shylock, which must be inspired by Macklin's makeup, costuming, and appearance, seems attributed to the character, with a nod ("nature's knife") to Shylock's most infamous prop.

In recounting this performance, Lichtenberg thus locates Shylock's

lasting and "forcible impression" in Macklin's close association with the role, and the ways in which, by implication, knowledge of Shylock's "past" had come to displace, for audiences, knowledge of Macklin's own. He also, in the process, associates the acting achievements of Macklin with those of Garrick. The association has the support of history as well as style: both famous for being actors who had broken with the popular declamatory approach to delivering lines, Macklin and Garrick had known each other since a few years before Garrick's debut performance as Richard III in 1741 at Goodman's Fields; they had, for a time, been fast friends; and Macklin had mentored Garrick and trained him in parts in which he initially struggled, such as Lear.[100] And yet by the time Lichtenberg writes this account, in November 1775, Macklin and Garrick's often-strained relationship would have soured; Macklin would no longer be playing under Garrick's management; and Garrick would be preparing to retire. What Lichtenberg may not have known, therefore, is one of the things the final section of this chapter shows: that beyond illustrating a shared investment in Shakespearean performance, and a similar level of publicity surrounding signature roles, Macklin's Shylock had in the lead-up to Garrick's retirement exerted its own "forcible impression" on Garrick's career.

Macklin's Exit, Garrick's Stage

> The drama's laws the drama's patrons give,
> For we that live to please, must please to live.[101]

Like Othello, Shylock was a Shakespearean lead never associated with Garrick, though unlike Othello, this was never even a part in which Garrick tried and failed. "He may have felt that he was unsuited for the part," speculates one critic, in response to the fact that "Garrick's is the one great name in the theatre that is not associated with the Shylock role." Competition also likely influenced Garrick's avoidance, as "Garrick had engaged in a heated controversy with Macklin over Fleetwood's management of the Drury Lane . . . and although both men finally emerged on friendly terms . . . Garrick undoubtedly believed that the Shylock role belonged uncontestedly and by priority to Macklin."[102] In contrast to his approach to Richard III, in which competition becomes the vehicle for Garrick's dominance, Garrick here cedes a role in which his precursors would "undoubtedly" overshadow him.

But also like *Othello*, *The Merchant of Venice* was a play that bookended Garrick's career, and he used the many valences of his career to contain and even control what a former mentor and rival like Macklin could do. He ushered in his tenure as theater manager with Macklin's and Clive's performance, then chose to include *The Merchant of Venice* in the repertoire for his 1775–76 retirement season at Drury Lane.[103] Though he didn't play Shylock on any of these occasions, he did, like Shylock, frame his relationship to the play as that of a legal petitioner, pleading his case as manager before a jury of his peers.[104]

As much is indicated by the lines that preface this section, written by Samuel Johnson and spoken by Garrick in the 1747 prologue that he would use to introduce Macklin and Clive. This is the same prologue in which Garrick pronounces his hope that an "immortal Shakespeare" will retain popularity onstage, even though, as this epigraph attests, the stage remains subject to public whims. And so, perhaps, as the prologue continues, "where Lear has rav'd, and Hamlet died / On flying cars new sorcerers may ride."[105] Yet there is something tongue-in-cheek about Johnson and Garrick's legal metaphor, introducing as it does one of the more popular and, by 1747, well-established Shakespearean trial scenes to hold the boards. Johnson and Garrick invoke the idea of the audience as "special jury," but unlike Macklin, who uses the metaphor to introduce a new performance, Garrick is giving his audience back something they know and like.[106]

Indeed, one of the innovations Garrick did introduce to accompany his first production of *The Merchant of Venice* was intended to control the very audience he here seems to humor. In addition to publicizing the respective roles of Macklin and Clive, the playbill announcing their 15 September 1747 performance contains this text: "As Admittance of Persons behind the Scenes has occasioned a general Complaint on Account of the frequent Interruptions in the Performance, 'tis hop'd Gentlemen won't be offended, that no Money will be taken there for the future."[107] Though Garrick wouldn't absolutely prohibit this custom until 1762, when he took an even firmer stance and set to work enlarging the seating capacity at Drury Lane, he reopens Drury Lane with an attempt to forbid audience members from sitting onstage or behind the scenes.[108]

Garrick times this reform, something he seeks to institute at the very outset of his managerial career, to coincide with Macklin's performance. Until now, theatrical performances in the eighteenth century hadn't been invested in the now-standard "fourth wall." Accounts from throughout the century describe actors "breaking character" to address the audi-

ence, or audience members interrupting, with praise or condemnation, the action on the stage. Onstage seating played into this dynamic. Given their physical position, these "spectators" (usually members of the wealthier classes) could be quite disruptive to the action of the play.[109] James Ralph, in his 1728 publication *The Touch-Stone*, dubs them "the Hermaphrodites of the Theatre; being neither Auditors nor Actors perfectly, and imperfectly both," and a 1745 edition of David Garrick's play *Lethe* speaks critically of the "Beau" or "Fine Gentleman" who spends his time at the theater "stand[ing] upon the Stage . . . talk[ing] a-loud."[110] In prohibiting audiences from sitting onstage, Garrick was working toward a different response: one in keeping with his own resistance as an actor to breaking character, and with what Macklin had achieved in being celebrated by audiences as "Shakespeare's" Jew. In fact, Macklin himself had tried to associate his performance with this reform, as an advertisement for a 23 September 1746 production of *The Merchant of Venice*, featuring a performance of Macklin's Shylock and conducted under Fleetwood's flagging control, also declares that "by reason of the many inconveniences that have arose by Gentlemen's being admitted behind the scenes, 'tis hoped it won't be taken amiss, that no money will be taken there."[111]

By trying to ban audiences from the stage, Macklin and Garrick sought to encourage a theatrical experience at which the actor and the character could remain tightly aligned, and at which, therefore, audiences could immerse themselves in a "Shakespearean" past. But if Macklin's Shylock modeled for Garrick a process by which the actor commemorated authorial intention, neither Macklin nor Garrick could always maintain this effect. Both actors' commitment to character was demonstrated by sustained "points," or static tableaux, that they developed and held, sometimes to excess.[112] Garrick, for example, held the pose of his shocked response to Old Hamlet's ghost for so long that audience members began to speculate that he had suffered from memory loss.[113] Similarly, one of the most infamous Macklin anecdotes describes him holding a tableau until "the prompter, thinking his memory failed, repeated the cue . . . several times . . . at last so loud, as to be heard by the audience."[114] While Garrick at least appears to have "creaked back into action" without acknowledging any audience murmurs, Macklin did himself no favors by rushing from the stage to knock the prompter down.[115] "The fellow," he apparently exclaimed, in what would interrupt the action of the play altogether, "interrupted me in my grand pause."[116]

In both cases, the actor's investment in the character causes the very break in illusion it is meant to defer. And though in these anecdotes

neither Garrick nor Macklin actually needed prompting, age and memory loss could trouble the immersive experience each actor hoped to create (the same immersive experience that Clive, through her impersonations, sought to challenge). Macklin kept acting for years after Garrick and Clive retired, and in 1788, nearing ninety years old, he faltered while playing Shylock and turned to address the crowd:

> Ladies and Gentlemen,
>
> Within these very few hours I have been seized with a terror of mind I never in my life felt before; it has totally destroyed my corporeal as well as mental faculties. I must therefore request your patience this night, a request which an old man may hope is not unreasonable.[117]

In this case, Macklin found himself able to continue, but his performances were numbered, and his extended duration in the role accentuates the pathos of these accounts. He doesn't just forget his lines; he forgets lines that he has spent five decades repeating. When, in the green room on that same night, he asks the actress dressed as Portia, "Who is to play Shylock?" he shows himself forgetting an association that his audiences and fellow actors had long sustained.[118]

On 7 May 1789, Charles Macklin appeared onstage as Shylock for the final time. An understudy, one Mr. Ryder, was waiting in the wings to provide assistance, which Macklin quickly found he needed. After managing a few speeches from act 1, Macklin turned to the audience and acknowledged that "he now found he was unable to proceed in the part."[119] The audience "accepted his apology with a mixed applause of indulgence and commiseration, and he retired from the stage forever."[120]

The sympathy and tolerance with which Macklin was supported on such late occasions stemmed from decades of audience loyalty. Macklin's final performances were brokered by financial necessity, and audiences "were always ready to assist in those liberal indulgences to an old and meritorious servant."[121] Yet his moments of onstage forgetting remind audiences of the rifts that exist between the actor and the character he plays.[122] Indeed, the audience that grants mercy to their Shylock does so now out of sympathy for the aging actor they have come to love, not because of some fascination they have with his part. For all of this audience's tolerance, such disruptions explain why, as I explore in my final chapter, Garrick would handle his own retirement so differently, preempting such a breakdown and working in his final performances to

accentuate the vigor of his youth. Such disruptions also explain why the aging Siddons could be criticized for her late-career performances and yet praised for her postretirement public readings, and why, in conclusion, and in direct contrast to the quip Macklin inspired about "Shakespeare's Jew," critics would come to believe that theatrical performance now compromised, as opposed to sustained, the memory of the national poet they so hoped to preserve.

Shakespeare, Retired

✦ ✦ ✦

When *The Merchant of Venice* featured in Garrick's retirement season, staged on 29 December 1775, it was a very different performance than the 1747 event that had marked the beginning of Garrick's managerial career. Kitty Clive had long since retired, and Charles Macklin, still acting, still vital, had moved over to act with Garrick's rivals at Covent Garden.[1] Garrick, who never played Shylock, didn't appear as he had in 1747 to speak the prologue, and his new Shylock, the uninspiring actor Thomas King, could only "remind the judicious of what was wanting."[2] Whereas a savvy Garrick would have anticipated this criticism—as Macklin, against whose memory no actor could compete, had revived his Shylock at Covent Garden just months before—the fact that he didn't, or even that he did and yet proceeded, suggested to some contemporaries that with the prospect of retirement his attentions were shifting from managerial toward more personal concerns.[3]

If the nature of these concerns remains speculative, the news of Garrick's imminent retirement undoubtedly resurrected questions central to this book. How does an actor's aging influence the characters he or she chooses to represent? Who commemorates the actor once he or she retires—and who now stands in for the characters, texts, or authors that the actor once portrayed? How can a living monument commemorate anything if the monument itself can disappear? These questions, vital for Garrick throughout his career, came to a head as he prepared to leave it. And they would emerge again, at the turn of the century, when the actor

who had inherited his mantle as the century's preeminent Shakespearean performer also prepared to leave the stage.

It was this same successor, in the twilight of her career, who suggested that Garrick's looming retirement had compromised his managerial skills. Sarah Siddons, who had spent the early 1770s garnering attention in the provincial theaters, had (as noted in chapter 4) made her disastrous London debut under Garrick's management, as Portia, in the 1775 production of *The Merchant of Venice* mentioned above. Years later, in the *Reminiscences* she composed just before her death, she dwelt with resentment on the failure of her performance, which she attributed to Garrick's miscasting.[4] Portia was, as previously quoted, "a Character in which it was not likely that I should excite any grand sensation," and as such a character in which she had been set up to fail.[5] Lest such a charge seem to contradict Garrick's managerial self-interests, Siddons reminds readers of his impending retirement. "The interests of the Theatre grew I suppose rather indifferent to him," she reflects. "He was retiring from the management of Drury Lane and I suppose chose at that time to wash his hands of all its concerns and details."[6]

The accuracy of Siddons's accusation is less an issue in this final chapter than the implications of retirement, and the resulting patterns of inheritance, that her accusation brings to light. As she indicates, her debut coincides with Garrick's exit; her first performances coincide with Garrick's last. At such a time for Garrick, the managerial concerns of Drury Lane may well have paled beside those related to his own farewell performances, or the progressive kidney failure that would, less than three years from his retirement, lead to his demise.[7] Whatever Garrick was thinking, these competing concerns would have served—for himself and others—as poignant reminders that the art of acting is always, in the words of William Hazlitt, "setting out afresh."[8] Garrick, in his final season, yet aspired to be a living monument to himself, and Siddons's unprepossessing debut wasn't likely to have made either her or Garrick think his challenger was literally waiting in the wings. Yet the types of publicity that accompanied Garrick's retirement also reminded him and his audiences that soon another actor would have to take his place.

Siddons inherited this truth from Garrick, just as she inherited his dressing room and, in many ways, his career.[9] But she and Garrick handled the fact of retirement very differently, and these differences would affect the reputation of the playwright on whom each actor had founded a career. While Garrick spent his final season preemptively drawing power from his imminent disappearance, Siddons engaged in a series

of postretirement performances that wore away audience memories of her greatness and fostered critiques of performance's commemorative powers. At the same time, Siddons entertained companies with a series of postretirement "staged readings" that earned her praise just when her acting abilities were attracting fire. While Garrick's eighteenth-century Shakespeare continued to gain vitality through performance, Siddons's nineteenth-century Shakespeare found new vitality in a medium freed from the requirements of the stage.

As this chapter explores, this shift from Garrick and Siddons thus seems to support a trajectory, one endorsed in certain statements made by Romantic critics, away from performance and toward a growing preference for a Shakespeare who was read and not staged.[10] As yet as this chapter also explores, this preference was nowhere near as universal, or unequivocal, as certain antitheatrical critics of the period would claim. Many cultural factors influenced the backlash against performance; for example, the more general Romantic privileging of the imagination (often summoned by Charles Lamb and Samuel Taylor Coleridge in their responses to Shakespeare), and the association of imaginative freedoms with that which was read rather than seen, coexisted with the progress of the French Revolution and the ultimate execution of the royal family, a political event that played an equally significant role in arguments against the performance of certain, now newly controversial, regicide-focused Shakespearean plays.[11]

The bias against theatrical spectacle that emerged in the Shakespearean critiques of writers such as Coleridge and Lamb also emerged from a love of Shakespeare on the stage: during the 1794–95 season at Drury Lane, a Shakespeare play was still performed on average one night out of every eight, and Coleridge and Lamb frequented such productions.[12] John Philip Kemble, brother of Sarah Siddons and Garrick's successor in 1788 as the manager of Drury Lane (in 1803 he became manager at Covent Garden), continued to draw huge crowds through the opening decades of the nineteenth century with his classically inspired Coriolanus and gothic, historically "authentic" Macbeth, and though Kemble is today perhaps the least remembered of the famous eighteenth-century Shakespearean actors, in his own day spectators found that his skill, coupled with the timing of his theatrical debut and his later managerial roles, made him an obvious successor for Garrick.[13] (A 1798 retrospective on Kemble's rise to fame, published in the *Monthly Mirror*, notes, "it is a circumstance worthy of observation, that just about this period GARRICK retired from the public scene, and it should seem as if NATURE

took THE STAGE under her immediate protection, by thus early endeavouring to atone for the loss it had recently suffered.")[14] The spontaneous and hotheaded Edmund Kean would amaze crowds toward the end of Kemble's career, delivering in 1814 his sympathetic reinterpretation of Macklin's Shylock and his highly physical Richard III (a role in which Garrick remained known as the precedent, as it was a role in which Kemble had not excelled), and for the next few years Kean would continue to impress the likes of Coleridge, Lord Byron, and John Keats.[15]

Siddons was another performer who was instrumental in popularizing Shakespearean performance through the early decades of the nineteenth century, and her postretirement readings drew potency from, even as they stood in contrast to, this prior acting career—just as her acting career drew potency from, even as it stood in contrast to, that of Garrick. If the aging Siddons ultimately pleased her fans more when she gave them an experience of Shakespeare provided by a reader rather than an actor on stage, responses to these readings also show that hearing Siddons read Shakespeare was embraced by spectators as a theatrical experience, and one far more gratifying than the experience of reading Shakespeare alone. Examined closely, the retirements of Siddons and Garrick thus expose continuities as well as tensions: in how Shakespeare is summoned by actors to offset eighteenth-century anxieties about evanescence, and in how eighteenth-century artists, throughout the century, used the literary immortality of Shakespeare to mediate their own. These accounts also suggest that the turn-of-the-century "preference" for reading Shakespeare might not represent a turning away from performance, but a reapplication of its commemorative ideals.

Garrick's Farewell

While Macklin's final days onstage ended with a whimper, Garrick, unsurprisingly, went out with a bang. In January 1776 it was announced that Garrick had "put the finish hand" to the sale of his portion of Drury Lane, and that a syndicate consisting of James Ford, Thomas Linley, Simon Ewart, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan would take control of the theater "in June next." As a result, "The public may now . . . depend . . . that this will be the last season of Mr. Garrick's performing."[16] Ever the showman, Garrick made sure that knowledge of his exit circulated in a variety of ways. On 18 January 1776, the evening that the sale concluded, Garrick played Abel Drugger in Ben Jonson's *The Alchymist.* Asked

by another character whether he has "credit with the players," Garrick emended Drugger's scripted response, stating, "I believe I had *once* but I don't know if I have *now* or not."[17] The man of consummate theatrical influence here wields it once more to mock the fact of his declining powers, but the true joke was that Garrick increased his influence by publicizing his willingness to retire. "He is one of those summer suns," writes his contemporary Hannah More, articulating a sentiment shared by many during this final season, "which shine brightest at their setting."[18]

Such an effect was far from guaranteed. Macklin, as the prior chapter concludes, became memorable for performing long after he should have retired, and the accounts of his final onstage lapses accentuate the hubris of staying too long in the public eye. His biographer William Cook likens him unflatteringly to one of Jonathan Swift's aging Struldbruggs, and it seems as if some spectators made his lapses an object of sport.[19] Sarah Siddons, whose retirement features later in this chapter, experienced similar criticisms at the end of her career, which (as described in chapter 4) her successes as Hermione only partly offset. Though, then as now, criticisms of aging actresses seemed more common and often more vicious than those directed at men, the response to Macklin shows that the aging of male actors could also be subject to critique.[20] Garrick, correspondingly, was resolved not to stay onstage "to be pitied instead of applauded."[21] He would retire (apparently) from desire, not necessity, and all his energy in his last months went into crafting performances meant to cement his "ageless" reputation in the public mind.

Shakespeare predictably played a key role in this project. Though Garrick acted a wide variety of roles in this final season, an emphasis on Shakespeare pervades. He revived *The Jubilee*, the afterpiece-version of his rained-out Shakespeare tribute discussed in chapter 4, for the "first time these 6 years," and it was performed "with still greater splendor" for a total of thirty-four nights.[22] As a result, many of Garrick's non-Shakespearean final performances in mainpieces were followed by gestures toward the playwright on whom Garrick had founded his career. Garrick also brought back his best-known Shakespearean roles in his final weeks. "About a fortnight or three weeks previous to his taking his final leave," his biographer Thomas Davies notes, "[Garrick] presented [the public] with some of the most capital and trying characters of Shakespeare; with Hamlet, Richard, and Lear."[23] Hamlet he had performed twice in the fall, on 29 November and 8 December 1775, but Lear and Richard he withheld until less than a month of his performance season remained. Richard in particular was advertised on the playbill as being

Garrick's "first Appearance in that Character these 4 Years."[24] A week later it would be advertised as his very last.

The appeal and challenge of commemorating novelty, documented in chapter 2, is thus bookended in this final chapter by the appeal and challenge of commemorating disappearance. Garrick titillated audiences by reprising, in his final months, some of his most famous roles, all the while emphasizing that the chance to see his Drugger, or Ranger, or Lear, or Richard would never come again. The result was an audience reaction in which the anticipation of experience was intensified by the anticipation of that experience's loss. "The eagerness of people to see him is beyond anything you can have an idea of," writes More, though this eagerness now draws potency from more than just Garrick's fame. She continues, "The more admirable [Garrick] is, the more painful it is to reflect that I am now catching his departing glories."[25]

Garrick almost certainly strategized this reaction. He had employed a similar strategy back in 1763, the first moment at which he had started to contemplate retirement. He instead left for a European grand tour, which would absent him from England until 1765, the purpose of which, as his biographer Thomas Davies asserts, was to make audiences miss him and want him to return. (One goal of the trip was "the desire of increasing his importance, by not being so often seen.")[26] In his retirement season he inverted this approach, in effect whetting the audience appetite for what he was about to take away. Roles, such as his Lusignan in Aaron Hill's tragedy *Zara*, are glossed by reviewers as being "played finely" in the fall, and then, when he repeats it in March 1776, accentuated as being performed "by particular Desire" and "as Garrick's last time performing the character."[27] Other repeated roles that met with similar publicity include Sir John Brute in John Vanbrugh's *The Provok'd Wife*, Abel Drugger in Ben Jonson's *The Alchymist*, Benedict in *Much Ado About Nothing*, and Hamlet in *Hamlet*. While Garrick's spring repertoire doesn't duplicate his fall repertoire exactly—he adds a few new roles to the ones listed above, including Lear and Richard III—every role he performs in the fall is one that he reprises in the spring.[28]

Audiences responded by mobbing the theater, accentuating in a range of ways how the allure of performance hinges on the knowledge that it cannot remain. Garrick's autumn appearances as Benedict in *Much Ado About Nothing*, for example, occurred while London was in the grip of a severe influenza, yet the chance to see Garrick overrode for spectators the threat of death. "Not withstanding the plague sweeps us away by dozens," writes George Cumberland to his brother, of a November Garrick

performance, "the house was so full you could not have thrust your little finger in."[29] This excessive display of adoration itself posed a risk, for, as one Mr. "Stock Fish" subsequently notes, Garrick's popularity in this final season led to audiences regularly exceeding theater capacity, and thus, through the fact of overcrowding, putting all their lives in peril.[30]

While audiences wagered their own mortality to see an actor about to vanish from the stage, Garrick worked tirelessly to disguise signs of physical weakness in himself. Those who risked infection to see his Benedict came to see an actor who seemed immune to all physical harms. "It cannot be a matter of surprise," notes one review of Garrick's influenza-proof Benedict, "that Roscius should have escaped the infection . . . his spirits and constitution seems [*sic*] proof against the attacks of age itself . . . after above thirty campaigns, [Garrick's] ardour and execution appears [*sic*] rather to increase."[31] Watching Garrick perform Hamlet in his final season, Friedrich Gunderode comments with amazement that though he was "then over sixty years of age" (Garrick was at the time fifty-eight), "he played the part of a young man of twenty with all the verve and sensibility of youth."[32] Such a sentiment was echoed, though a bit more analytically, by Garrick's biographer Thomas Davies. "He was determined," states Davies, hinting at the effort behind the "ageless" quality of Garrick's final campaigns, "to give the publick proofs of his abilities to delight them as highly as he had ever done in the flower and vigour of his life."[33]

In reality, Garrick's final season was extremely taxing. He was often wracked by pain from the kidney stones that would end his life, and his autopsy, which again revealed that he had been born with only one kidney and that his remaining kidney had become but a "cyst full of pus," retroactively exposed the effort that must have gone into these final roles.[34] (His biographer Arthur Murphy reflects with amazement how healthy Garrick had seemed to him upon their encounter some two months before his death—his "degree of vivacity" masking completely the truth of what his autopsy subsequently revealed about his "inward frame.")[35] Garrick amazed audiences in his final season—and Garrick himself felt that he had never "play'd better" than he did in some of these parts—but it was coming at the expense of his health.[36] His loyal prompter William Hopkins noted on 29 November 1775 that Garrick was "never better" in *Hamlet*, but Garrick writes ominously after the performance that "I was . . . dead—dead—dead."[37]

In truth, Garrick's acting had long taken a physical toll.[38] "Whose face has experienced so much wear and tear as his?" Samuel Johnson had

Fig. 24. R. Evan Sly, *Garrick and Hogarth, or the Artist Puzzled* (1845). Folger Shakespeare Library Call # Uncataloged Garrickiana Maggs no. 25. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

famously quipped, in response to the extreme facial malleability that Garrick regularly displayed onstage.[39] The very quality that contributed to his success onstage had long made him a challenge to those portrait painters who would preserve his image, and a long-circulating anecdote describes either Reynolds or Hogarth or Gainsborough giving up on a Garrick-portrait in exasperation, after the joking actor kept subtly adjusting his expression midpose.[40] Perhaps Garrick tortured all these artists in the same manner, at once inviting and frustrating their attempts to capture the actor's greatness in the static medium of visual art. A nineteenth-century caricature preserves in turn the painter's frustration, as Hogarth in this case discards image after image of Garrick in a desperate attempt to keep up, in real time, with what the actor represents.

But if Garrick's talents transcend, in this anecdote, those of the

painter he confronts, these same talents, as Johnson's remark indicates, threatened to wear the actor down. Kidney disease aside, years of engaging in what Charles Burney dubs "an unremitting play of expression" had left Garrick's face "the martyr of time."[41] Like Hermione's in chapter 4, Garrick's wrinkles attested to the realism of his art, yet they also, according to Burney, threatened that effect: "When [Garrick] found neither paint nor candle-light, nor dress nor decoration, could conceal those lines . . . he preferred to triumph, even in foregoing his triumphs, by . . . heroically pronouncing his Farewell!"[42] Though ultimately many factors, including the prior death of his partner and co-patent holder James Lacy, contributed to Garrick's decision to retire, Garrick's physical stamina had certainly decreased.[43] At the height of his career, he might have performed in the course of one season over a hundred nights; in his final year, Hannah More saw him perform only twenty-seven times.[44] Accounts started to circulate that he had lost his "Voice and Articulation," along with his old "fire and spirit."[45] (Significantly, Benedict, the part that he appeared in most frequently in this final season, in the processional of Shakespearean characters in *The Jubilee*, was a nonspeaking part.)

Ironically, the very Shakespearean roles that immortalized Garrick threatened to contribute most to his physical decline. Garrick notably avoided Shakespeare for his very last performance, as on 10 June 1776 he took his last bow as an actor as Don Felix, in Susanna Centlivre's play *The Wonder*. According to several sources, however, he had wanted to end his career as Richard III. States one commentator, "Garrick naturally felt that nothing could round off his career so artistically as to set, so to speak, in the west, in the part in which he had first shone."[46] Richard III was the role in which, at Goodman's Fields, he had in 1741 made his first, stunning London debut, and by playing Richard once more he could reembody for viewers the Garrick of their youth.[47] Of his 27 May 1776 performance, his prompter Hopkins notes that "he never wanted Spirit or Voice thro' the whole part and Convinced the Audience that those Amazing powers he has always possess'd are now as brilliant as ever."[48] Indeed, his "Spirit and Voice" were so strong that his Lady Anne—played by the novice Siddons, rounding out her unsatisfactory first season under his guidance—was impressed by his performance with such "terror" that she "hung back a little when they advanced together from the back of the stage" and would subsequently reflect that "the glance of reproach that he threw at her, was distressing long after to her recollection."[49]

Yet for a grand finale, the part of Richard required Garrick to end

with a fight and a fall, and "he thought that after the fatigue of so laborious a character . . . it would be out of his power to utter a farewell address."[50] The speculation was borne out when Garrick, who did act *Richard III* several times in his final weeks, was compelled to add an extra performance at the king's request. His 3 June performance, advertised as his last, was followed by another unplanned one on 5 June, advertised as by royal command. "It will absolutely kill me," he writes to Hannah More, of the request, "what a Trial of breast, lungs, ribs & What not."[51] Though Garrick rose to the occasion, the effort of playing Richard on almost-back-to-back nights so fatigued him that the company was "led . . . to abandon further performances until Saturday 8 June."[52]

But if Shakespeare exhausted Garrick, he used this fact to good effect. In Garrick's case, performing his frailties also seems to have counteracted them, just as publicizing his departure helped ensure that he would be immortalized in the public mind. He used his last performance of Hamlet, for example, to generate proceeds for "a FUND, for the relief of those who [like Garrick] from their infirmities shall be oblig'd to retire from the stage."[53] The Drury Lane Theatrical Fund, as it was formally known, had been established by Garrick in 1766 (to complement a similar fund established by Covent Garden), but in his final season Garrick made extra efforts to have it protected by an act of Parliament.[54] Contemporaries also referred to it as the "decayed actors' fund," and Samuel Johnson at least saw Garrick's philanthropy as motivated by self-interest. "Alas!" Johnson is rumored to have quipped, "he will soon be a decayed actor himself."[55]

Instead, Garrick encouraged audiences and actors to remember him by accentuating the realization that memories of him would soon be all that remained. Even the roles that focused on his aging thus worked to highlight Garrick's prowess. In contrast to Macklin's final failed attempts to reprise Shylock, for example, Garrick chose for his last Shakespearean role and next-to-last performance (delivered on 8 June 1776) the part of Lear.[56] Performing an "Old . . . Weak Man," in a part he had first popularized when he was twenty-four, allowed Garrick somewhat ironically to show off the consistency of his physical and emotional power.[57] Whereas as a young actor Garrick had amazed audiences with his ability to perform, convincingly, an infirm yet violent man (though infamously Garrick's first performance of Lear, on 11 March 1742, had been underwhelming, and he rallied in the part only after coaching from Macklin), the elderly Garrick amazes audiences not for the part's symmetry to his own age, but with a stamina that links these later performances to his youthful ones.[58] "The curse at the close of the first act [and] his phre-

netic appeal to heaven at the end of the second . . . were two such enthusiastic scenes of human exertion that they caused a kind of momentary petrefaction [*sic*] through the house," the *London Chronicle* states of one of his final performances of the part; "he never appeared so great in the character before."[59] These last performances of Lear moved audiences to "Cr[y] out Garrick for Ever" and moved "the unfeeling Regan and Goneril" to tears.[60] "The little dog made it a *chef d'oeuvre*," reflects his former mentor Macklin, on Garrick's sustained success as Lear, "and a *chef d'oeuvre* it continued to the end of his life."[61]

And yet, watching Garrick perform this part for the final time, these weeping audiences seemed to bewail more than just the loss of Garrick. "Within these three weeks," writes Hannah More on 12 May 1776, "[Garrick] has appeared in Brute, Leon, Drugger, Benedict, Archer, etc. for the last time; and it appears like assisting at the funeral obsequies for these individual characters."[62] For his contemporaries, Garrick transcended emulation—"[Garrick] gives us not resemblances, but realities; he does not exhibit, but creates," asserts Thomas Wilkes—so that the loss of Garrick meant the loss of the very characters he played.[63] And thanks to Garrick's calculated and career-long association with Shakespeare, the loss went deeper still. "For Garrick, the master of passion, retired, / And Nature and Shakespeare together expired," lamented Charles Burney later, on the occasion of Garrick's death.[64] His lament would anticipate sentiments later articulated by Romantic critics of the stage, in that having Garrick so central to the memory of Shakespeare could, with the loss of Garrick, kill Shakespeare and not revive him. On some level, Garrick seemed to cherish this fact. As the biographer James Boaden records, once "Mr. Garrick had quitted the stage . . . he loved to read that Shakespeare and Jonson and Fletcher had retired with him."[65] Mobilizing his physical infirmities in performance, Garrick created a scenario in which his audiences, like those earlier audiences of Macklin, saw him as key to how the playwright was preserved. Regardless of the printed texts of Shakespeare (or Jonson or Fletcher) that continued to circulate, without the actor or the act of performance, these authors remained beyond reach.

Siddons, Offstage

But as the memory of Garrick faded, and new actors—and actresses—took to the stage, this attitude would shift, and one particular actress had much to do with these changing ideals. Though the response to

Macklin showed men as well as women being criticized for aging before the public eye, Garrick's strategic retirement shows that an actor could turn his longevity to his advantage, transforming, with a part such as Lear, his infirmities into strengths. Women, by contrast, remained much more likely to be critiqued for "rendering the footsteps of time traceable," and the fact that one of Garrick's main Shakespearean successors was a woman would have a significant impact on cultural ideas about how Shakespeare should be preserved.[66] Old age in the eighteenth century "was presented as a woman's source of shame, something to be covered over," a fact reflected perhaps in John Philip Kemble's choice to cut the reference to Hermione's wrinkles in the version of *The Winter's Tale* that his sister, Siddons, would perform.[67] Even Siddons's successes with Hermione, as discussed in chapter 4, could not compensate for the criticisms that the visibility of her aging, in other parts, was starting to accrue. Siddons drew upon performance for its reanimating properties, but she could never deploy Garrick's strategy of preemptively announcing, onstage, her aging or the fact of her departure.

Instead, and again unlike Garrick, Siddons committed her last reflections—her *Reminiscences*—to the page.[68] She was seventy-five years old, fatally ill, and perhaps because of her illness, her remarks are short—only forty-four quarto pages. She bequeathed them to her chosen biographer, Thomas Campbell, with orders that he give "elegance and grace" to what she calls, quoting *Othello*, a "round unvarnished tale."[69] "My memory . . . is very fallible," Siddons writes, and "therefore I shall not attempt a regular succession of events."[70] What she does narrate comprises mainly the early part of her career, or the period, according to her modern editor, that must have "stood out in her memory with greatest clarity and significance."[71] Of her retirement, in 1812, she says little. "I thought it due to myself to retire before I should find the world grow[ing] weary of me," she briefly concludes.[72]

The world, however, didn't see her adhering to this resolution. She suffered, her biographer Percy Fitzgerald writes, from a deep *ennui* once she had left the stage, perhaps one factor "to draw her back again to the public life she had quitted."[73] While she made her "final" theater appearance in 1812 at the age of fifty-seven, she continued to give command and benefit performances until 1819—a few appearances in London in 1816 at the command of Princess Charlotte, and a last performance, in the role of Lady Randolph in John Home's play *Douglas*, in June 1819 for the benefit for Charles Kemble. Though many of these performances were given at popular request, responses were mixed.[74] "Mrs. Siddons

retired once from the stage, why should she return to it again?" queries her sometime-admirer Hazlitt, in an essay written four years after Siddons had officially left the stage. "Has she not had enough of glory? . . . Is she to continue on the stage to the very last, till all her grace and all her grandeur gone, shall leave behind them only a melancholy blank?"[75]

Hazlitt's condemnation stands in stark contrast to, even as it draws upon, his memories of her prior performances, when he had found her to be "tragedy personified . . . the stateliest ornament of the public mind."[76] For him, the role that had come to epitomize Siddons's achievements best accentuated this decline. "If we have seen Mrs. Siddons in Lady Macbeth only once, it is enough," Hazlitt claims in 1817, in a critical response to her choice to revive the part onstage.[77] She had used this role for her official retirement performance, on 29 June 1812, and spectators on this night stopped the performance with applause after her famous sleepwalking scene and lamented her subsequent exit as "almost a withdrawing of the character itself from the stage."[78] On her closing night at least, criticism of the fifty-seven-year-old Siddons was in abeyance. Yet the "dignity of the Siddonian form" could not be permanently maintained.[79] As indicated in chapter 4, Siddons's aging had led to performances that increasingly strained audience credulity, and this reaction was intensified when Siddons agreed to revive Lady Macbeth in command performances after she had retired. "The voice seems too ponderous," states Hazlitt, in response to an 1816 revival of the role, "there is too long a pause." In particular, he finds her rendition of "the sleeping scene" a poor imitation of what it once had been: "There was none of this weight or energy in the way she did the scene the first time we saw her, twenty years ago."[80] Referencing his first sighting of Siddons, Hazlitt illustrates how the postretirement performance stimulates the memories of Siddons that it simultaneously threatens to efface. Gone are the links between reenactment and immortality aspired to by Othello, and embraced by Garrick and by Sterne. Siddons's "after-experiments . . . only serve to fritter away and tamper with the sacredness of the early recollection."[81] Far from cementing her reputation, Siddons's continued performances only "remind us of herself by showing us what *she was not*."[82]

And yet, critical as Hazlitt and others were of seeing a retired Siddons resume her place on the stage, other contemporaneous performances of hers were being met at this very moment with praise. During her career she had sporadically entertained audiences with staged readings, and she continued to do so—both at home and in public venues such as

the Argyll Rooms, a privately owned venue on Little Argyll Street—with some frequency after she had retired. These readings channeled, as well as departed from, conventions she'd become accustomed to during her prior theatrical career. As the artist Benjamin Haydon would note, describing an 1821 reading that she gave for her friends at her home on Upper Baker Street, even her more "private" readings were far from informal occasions:

> While we were all eating toast and tingling cups and saucers, she began again. It was like the effect of a mass bell at Madrid. All noise ceased; we slunk to our seats like boors, two or three of the most distinguished men of the day, with the very toast in their mouths, afraid to bite.

The sudden segue between the casual and the staged leaves her guest Sir Thomas Lawrence, famous portrait painter and intimate of the Siddons family, in particularly dire straits. Continues Haydon:

> It was curious to see Lawrence in the predicament, to hear him bite by degrees and then stop for fear of making too much crackle, his eyes full of water from the constraint; and at the same time to hear Mrs. Siddons's: "Eye of newt and toe of frog," and then to see Lawrence give a sly bite, and then look awed, and pretend to be listening.[83]

As the anecdote illustrates, these ostensibly intimate gatherings produced conflicting audience expectations, as Siddons disrupts the signs of intimacy and domesticity—a tea service, a general mingling—with the seemingly unannounced dramatic declamation that refuses to sanction quotidian noises of toast being chewed.

Siddons at these events read from a range of texts, among them *Paradise Lost*, and the poems of Thomas Gray, though her readings at home, given in the final years of her life, were, according to her biographer Thomas Campbell (and as indicated in the anecdote shared by Haydon), all drawn from Shakespeare.[84] These readings, identified by her spectators as theatrical events, yet satisfied her audiences in ways that her postretirement stage performances did not. "I have called it Acting for so it is rather than reading," the playwright Joanna Baillie asserts after one of Siddons's readings, and Hester Thrale Piozzi singles out "Mrs. Siddons's power of amusing five hundred persons, without help from fellow-actors, stage, or scenery" as "a stronger proof than anything in

her previous career of the mighty actor she was."[85] Her biographer Percy Fitzgerald describes the readings as "remarkably successful," and many other observers found them free from the flaws they perceived onstage.[86] Baillie, in reference to Siddons's reading of *Hamlet*, claims she "would rather go to [a reading] once than go to three plays in a large Theatre where [Siddons] herself acted," while Anna Jameson, in her 1831 obituary to Siddons, reflects that "no scenic representation I ever witnessed produced the hundredth part of the effect of her reading Hamlet."[87]

Her audiences' pleasure at these events seems related to the way that, just as an aging Garrick found in Hamlet or Lear or Richard something of "the flower and vigour of his life," Siddons found in these readings a fountain of youth, or at least a venue in which her aging coded more positively than it did upon the stage.[88] Baillie, who heard Siddons read at home and in public, comments that spectators at the Argyll Rooms were "struck with [Siddons] appearing both younger & handsomer tho' seen so much nearer than she has appeared for some years past on the Stage."[89] Siddons's biographer Boaden notes that she used at these readings "a quarto volume printed with a large letter" to compensate for her failing eyesight, and relied periodically upon spectacles, "which she waved from time to time before her, when memory could not entirely be trusted."[90] But the spectacles and memory loss that onstage would have supported calls for her retirement now counted as adornments, the eyeglasses "handled and waved so gracefully, that you could not have wished her to have been without them."[91] Maria Edgeworth, who heard Siddons read from *Henry VIII* at home, found the play "peculiarly suited to her time of life, and to reading," as there was "nothing [in what she read] that required gesture or vehemence incompatible with the sitting attitude."[92]

At the Argyll Rooms, Siddons's readings were even more formal affairs, advertised in advance and presented to a much larger, and paying, audience.[93] Spectators paid a half-guinea to hear Siddons read, and six performances there in 1813 would bring her a total profit of £1,300.[94] The rooms themselves were fitted up in a style of great magnificence, complete with Corinthian pillars and gilt lamps. Siddons read in front of the orchestra, at the far end of the grand saloon, an oblong room containing three tiers of boxes, draped in scarlet, and illuminated with chandeliers. She stood for the whole reading, and was led in to the reading desk by a gentleman, most often her nephew Mr. Twiss.[95] Fitzgerald emphasizes that her "dark hair . . . [and] wonderful eyes" combined to produce "a surprising effect," one no doubt encouraged by "a large red

Fig. 25. ***Sarah Siddons*****, Thomas Lawrence, 1804, Photo © Tate, London [2017].**

screen" that lit Siddons from behind.[96] Such a background accentuated "the figure of the charming reader"; for the aging actress, backlights, as opposed to footlights, were kind.[97] Thomas Lawrence's 1804 portrait of Siddons as a reader, for example, while it doesn't disguise her weight, is nonetheless far more flattering than a roughly contemporaneous caricature of Siddons, which critiques her Dublin performances of Hamlet, the role that audiences subsequently so enjoyed hearing her read.

Lawrence's ability to maintain the dignity of Siddons as a reader probably owed much to the fact that, unlike theater audiences, who came to

Fig. 26. ***A Palpable Hit! Dublin Satirist*** **(1810). Houghton Library, Harvard Theatre Collection, Call # htr thr 489 3 29.**

see actors impersonate a specific character, audiences at her readings came to hear Siddons perform all the parts. This requirement presented its own challenges, and Boaden underlines the potentially awkward effect of "an elegantly drest female['s]" in assuming "the vehement passions, coarse humors, and often unguarded dialogue of every variety of manly character."[98] Yet for Siddons, celebrated often throughout her career for her masculine force, this required fluidity worked to her advantage.[99] Of her reading from *Hamlet*, Baillie asserts that "the part of Polonius she gave admirably . . . I thought she excelled more in Polonius than in any other part."[100] An 1831 essay in the *New Monthly Magazine* singles out as particularly strong her reading of Ophelia, a character she had played but once in her stage career, and of Hamlet (the part in which Siddons's appearance, when she had played the role in Dublin in 1802 and 1805, had been so unflatteringly portrayed), George Joseph Bell commented that Siddons could, in reading, "paint to the spectators a horrible shadow in her mind."[101] In each instance, audiences may appreciate and contrast her delivery of multiple roles, and they judged the

resulting experience to be "like a fine composition in painting" in which "the parts for effect [were] raised and touched by a master's hand."[102] Freed from the necessity of portraying an individual character, Siddons as a reader was free to rise above the constraints of her physical form; her age and characteristics were no longer held up against those of the individual character she portrayed.

She was also free, in the process, to stimulate a new type of imaginative freedom among those who attended. "The ideal can have no place upon the stage," Hazlitt would assert, in his treatise on the *Characters of Shakespear's Plays*, a work composed during the time period that Siddons was still reading aloud; "the boards of a theatre and the regions of fancy are not the same thing."[103] Yet "fancy" could be activated for listeners when hearing Siddons read. Of her reading from *Macbeth*, for example—the play in which she'd so excelled, and the performances for which, in recent years, she'd been most critiqued—her biographer James Boaden emphasizes exactly this effect. "On the stage," Boaden reflects, "where the Wierd [*sic*] Sisters are necessarily consigned to actual persons and positive habiliments, the charm is dispelled; for the imagination has no picture to paint, no mystery to develop."[104] When read aloud by Siddons, however, Macbeth's witches become "poetical creations . . . beings resolving 'into air, into thin air' . . . whose language seems to wander from that element alone."[105] As a reader, Siddons could represent to perfection those parts that defied embodiment; as a reader, Siddons offered her listeners the chance to "flesh out" for themselves that which the body of an actor could misrepresent.

And yet Siddons's readings weren't detached completely from the conventions of the stage. "Oh, that we could have assembled a company of young people to witness this," states one admirer, of one of Siddons's very last domestic readings, "that they might have conveyed the memory of it down to another generation!"[106] Without Siddons, the statement implies, the readings won't have the same impact, nor can their effect seemingly be preserved in prose: the live experience, plus the memory of the multitude, are required.[107] As in theatrical performance, too, the physical presence of Siddons remained important, and viewers came to these readings with their visual judgment of Siddons yet engaged. Though her aging codes more complimentarily in this venue, it remains something that spectators note. Edgeworth, again, appreciates that Siddons's readings were "peculiarly suited to her time of life," and Baillie notes that her weakening voice made her better able to convey in read-

ing a sentiment shared by the young Hamlet and the aging Siddons alike: "the pity and tenderness . . . of one who had lost dear friends, and expected to go to them soon."[108]

Such responses to Siddons show that while Garrick's concept of the actor as living monument to Shakespeare remains potent, it is yet in flux. Like Garrick in his best achievements onstage, Siddons at these readings is lauded for channeling, not the psyche of a particular character, but that of the author himself. According to Boaden, Siddons, in her Shakespearean readings, was able to "divin[e] a meaning in the poet beyond his words," while her biographer Thomas Campbell states, of the effect of the same, "No acting I ever witnessed, nor dramatic criticism I ever read, illustrated the poet so closely and so perfectly."[109] Edgeworth similarly observes after a reading, "I had never before fully understood or sufficiently admired Shakspeare [*sic*], or known the full powers of the human voice."[110] But in this case, and as articulated most explicitly by Anna Jameson, Siddons's ability to channel Shakespeare emerges from differences between what she does as a reader and what she (or Garrick) had done as an actor on the stage. As Jameson reflects, if Siddons on the stage had been "a perfect actress," her readings exhibited "a more astonishing display of her powers than her performance of any single character"; as a reader, Siddons is no longer an actress but "a priestess . . . full of the god of her idolatry."[111]

Jameson's styling of Siddons as priestess channels Garrick, as her tribute, which comes originally from *Romeo and Juliet*, when Juliet urges Romeo to swear by "thy gracious self, / which is the god of my idolatry" (2.2.113–14), had as its most recent context Garrick's "Ode to Shakespeare" that he composed for his Jubilee: "'Tis he! 'Tis he! / The god of our idolatry!"[112] Jameson recycles Garrick's tribute in a manner that reflects performance's patterns of renewal and decay, applying Garrick's phrase to a new Shakespearean worshipper, and, by extension, a new mouthpiece for the poet. But the mouthpiece now is not, or not only, a "perfect actress," but one who unlike Garrick must exceed this role to function as a living representative for the playwright's mind. Siddons's aging, in this context, represents much less of a threat: it becomes something that adds to her gifts and something that renders her, somewhat paradoxically, according to Baillie, "an unconquerable creature, over whose astonishing gifts of nature time had no power."[113]

In contrast then to Garrick's Shakespeare, who could by decaying always "rise again," Siddons's readings model a Shakespeare, and a representative of Shakespeare, who seems poised to escape the cyclic nature

of death and succession. And it is this possibility, as articulated by Baillie, that starts to explain why in some circles a shift away from the actor as the receptacle of Shakespeare's reputation might have taken place. If the Romantics felt at times compelled to speak out against the stage or the actor as the privileged site to commemorate Shakespeare, they were not consistent in these assertions, and their motivations in making them are more complicated than the claims, anticipated a century before by Behn and reiterated in places by critics such as Hazlitt and Lamb, that a human actor will inevitably fail to capture or represent a poetic ideal. Instead, while Garrick's model of commemoration always involved loss—as loss, in the theater, is necessary for the actor or his persona to be born again—Siddons's readings, if not Siddons herself, offered the fantasy that loss might be eschewed: that the "priestess" of Shakespeare could be someone whom time would not affect; that life could be everlasting; and that, when relegated to the imagination, a performance need never end. And, as the final section of this chapter reveals, the critics who came to espouse this fantasy were moved to do so in no little part because of the pain they felt at the passing of Siddons and Garrick. The Romantics were in mourning for performance.

Mourning Performance

Come like shadows, so depart.[114]
—*Macbeth,* 4.1.133

In 1826, well after the death of Garrick and the retirement of Siddons, William Hazlitt composed a fanciful piece for the *New Monthly Magazine.* Titled "Of Persons One Would Wish to Have Seen" and prefaced with a poignant epigraph from *Macbeth*—"Come like shadows—so depart"—the essay describes a group of friends (and the indicated interlocutors likely include Hazlitt's contemporaries Charles Lamb and Samuel Taylor Coleridge) debating whom among the ghosts from their past they wish they could have seen and known.[115] Many well-known names, Shakespeare's among them, are raised only to be shot down ("I have seen so much of Shakespeare on the stage and on book-stalls, in frontispieces and on mantle-pieces," [said B——], "that I am quite tired of the everlasting repetition"), but one name in particular is singled out: "Of all persons near our own time, Garrick's name was received with the greatest enthusiasm," Hazlitt states.[116]

If Garrick's name was put forward with general enthusiasm, Hazlitt's enthusiasm soon emerges as especially potent:

> What a sight for sore eyes that would be! Who would not part with a year's income at least, almost with a year of his natural life, to be present at it? Besides, as he could not act alone, and recitations are unsatisfactory things, what a troop he must bring with him—the silver-tongued [Spranger] Barry, and [James] Quin, and [Ned] Shuter and [Thomas] Weston, and Mrs. [Catherine/ Kitty] Clive and Mrs. [Hannah] Pritchard, of whom I have heard my father speak as so great a favourite when he was young! This would indeed be a revival of the dead, the restoring of art.[117]

Hazlitt's encomium adds a personal tone to the Romantic ethos of belatedness: born just shy of his idol's death (10 April 1778, for Hazlitt's birth; 20 January 1779, for Garrick's death), Hazlitt must draw upon the testimony of his father, along with "the speeches of [Edmund] Burke, the portraits of [Joshua] Reynolds, the writings of [Oliver] Goldsmith, and the conversation of [Samuel] Johnson . . . [all of which] confirm the universal testimony to the merits of Garrick," to recreate what it was like to see Garrick on the stage.[118] But such testimony, for Hazlitt, is not sufficient—nor would be mere "recitations," despite the favor bestowed on Siddons's, and despite the imaginative free-play offered up by one reader reciting lines onstage. "For one, I should like to have seen and heard [Garrick] with my own eyes and ears," Hazlitt insists, and could there be such a possibility, a performance peopled by the dead actors who have flitted through this book, "Who would not part with a year's income at least, almost with a year of his natural life, to be present at it?"[119]

Such a response to Garrick seems in keeping with those recorded throughout this book, even as such a response from Hazlitt seems very different from his "antitheatrical" attempts to push Shakespeare away from the stage. And yet this essay is far from the only piece in which he waxes eloquent about the actors he has loved. In his 1817 essay "On Actors and Acting," he identifies the actor's "fleeting and shadowy essence" as what leaves the stage open to originality, and what inspires the art form to be always "setting out afresh."[120] But even as he acknowledges that the void left by past actors will always be filled, and even as he acknowledges the absolute necessity of seeing who is currently on the stage—a nostalgic playgoer "may extol Garrick, but he must go to see [Edmund] Kean"—Hazlitt slips, again, into fantasy mode:

> If, indeed, by any spell or power of necromancy, all the celebrated actors, for the last one hundred years, could be made to appear again on the boards of Covent Garden and Drury Lane . . . what a rich treat for the town. . . . We should certainly be there. We should buy a ticket for the season . . . We should not miss a single night. . . . We should then know exactly whether. . . . Macklin was really "the Jew that Shakespeare drew," and whether Garrick was, upon the whole, so great an actor as the world would have made him out![121]

Hazlitt's fantasy contains a tinge of skepticism. Maybe, he hints, Garrick wasn't so great; maybe the popular imagination retroactively elevates to greatness a man who in reality was "little better than a Bartlemy-fair actor, dressed out to play Macbeth in a scarlet coat and laced cocked-hat."[122] But that skepticism soon rings hollow: "Certainly, by all accounts, if any one was ever moved by the true histrionic *æstus*, it was Garrick."[123] Hazlitt's skepticism emerges as a veneer for his unrequited desire, an almost childlike petulance that he cannot "have seen and heard" such excellence "with my own eyes and ears." Garrick is gone, and for all the cyclic nature of performance, for all of Hazlitt's optimistic assertions about acting's "setting out afresh," Hazlitt mourns, deeply, the fact that he will never see Garrick act.[124]

That Hazlitt—and perhaps to an even greater extent his contemporaries Lamb and Coleridge—also felt frustration with the stage, and with the staging of Shakespeare's plays, is not in doubt. Hazlitt's treatise *Characters of Shakespear's Plays* (1817) is full of such ripostes, including his claim that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is singularly unsuited to the stage. If the play was read, he asserts, the mind would have free play; but onstage, "That which was merely an airy shape, a dream, a passing thought, immediately becomes *an unmanageable reality*. . . . Bottom's head in the play is a fantastic illusion . . . on the stage it is an ass's head, and nothing more."[125] For many of the Romantic critics, the idealism of Shakespeare's characters meant that they could never be performed. "Shakespeare's characters from Othello or Macbeth down to Dogberry are ideal," Coleridge believed. "They are not the things but the abstracts of the things which a great mind may take into itself and naturalize to its own heaven."[126] Lamb often framed this idealism as an insurmountable boundary to performance, such that "the Lear of Shakespeare cannot be acted . . . the play is beyond all art"; Hazlitt, similarly, insists that the reader of the plays of Shakespeare "is almost always disappointed" in seeing them performed.[127] In such statements, Shakespeare's characters'

qualities can only be "realized" (as it were) in the fevered workings of an inspired reader's brain. "It is *we* who are Hamlet," Hazlitt asserts, as for readers it is the act of imagining, prompted by the disembodied text, that allows Shakespeare's characters to achieve an unrealizable complexity and nuance.[128]

And yet these more critical accounts share space with the same writers' undeniable love of theater. Their fascination with the imaginative potential offered by individual reading shares space with their use of self-consciously theatrical personae (the Elian essays, for Lamb), lifelong interest in theater, and (largely unsuccessful) attempts at writing plays.[129] Hazlitt's critiques, then, when read in the context of his paeans to the theater, emerge less as an aesthetic deprecation of performance than as a personal way of coping with loss. "We miss the favourites, not of another age, but of our own," Hazlitt opines in an 1820 essay titled "On Play-going and on Some of our Old Actors," now reflecting on the great actors he has had the privilege to watch:

> We cannot replace them by others. . . . Who shall give us Mrs. Siddons again, but in a waking dream, a beatific vision of past years . . . who shall in our time (or can ever to the eye of fancy) fill the stage, like her, with the dignity of their persons, and the emanations of their minds? . . . Who shall walk in sleepless ecstasy of soul, and haunt the mind's eye ever after with the dread pageantry of suffering and guilt? Who shall make tragedy once more stand with its feet upon the earth, and with its head raised above the skies, weeping tears and blood? That loss is not to be repaired.[130]

Powerful as the imagination may be, even "the eye of fancy" cannot replicate the wonder that Siddons was onstage. Performance in this instance is painful not because it threatens to constrain the imagination, or because bad actors do an injustice to a Shakespearean "intention" that readers are more likely to reclaim, but because there are those actors—Siddons, in Hazlitt's experience, and, he suspects, Garrick, in a prior age—who achieve such heights of artistry, and move us to such depths of passion, that to lose them does us an injury "not to be repaired."

Hazlitt's lament presents a new way to imagine the legacy of Shakespeare, and of Garrick. In this model, the Romantic retreat into the imagination, the growing emphasis on mind over body seen in everything from the Romantic critiques of a staged Shakespeare to the valorization of poetry and the novel over the stage, becomes a response to the expe-

rience of evanescence imparted by the great actors of the eighteenth-century stage. "The life of a favourite performer," Hazlitt writes, "glances a mortifying reflection on the shortness of human life."[131] If the closet became for Hazlitt the privileged locus for the playwright, it is at least in part because it supports a self-contained aesthetic experience existing painlessly outside the natural progression of decay. The closet offers a space in which Shakespeare's works can be "permanent and accumulating" and in which those who love his work need never experience what Hazlitt feels in watching Siddons leave the stage.[132] The closet also offers a space in which Hazlitt may fantasize about the revival of dead actors, among all the other dead poets and politicians that he and his friends can conjure up, and it is this revival that he singles out, in the essay with which this section opened, as "*indeed* . . . a revival of the dead, the restoring of art."[133] The poet or the painter who leaves behind his works is never truly dead and therefore never truly needs to be restored. But the actor, whose artistry is in his liveness, tortures us when he leaves with a far more visceral sense of loss. This is why, for Hazlitt, it is the revival of actors, more than any other figure from the past, that represents what it means to him more generally to "revive" or "restore," and why it is this fantasy to which in his writings he repeatedly recurs. This, then, is the final legacy of Garrick's loss: this fantastic desire, impossible to fulfill but also constantly recreated, that what Garrick and Siddons had done for Shakespeare through performance, Hazlitt could now, in the interstices of his imagination, do for them.

Notes

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Introduction

1. Both quotations from *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 3 February 1779. The *St. James's Chronicle*, 30 January–2 February 1779, states, "A greater Concourse of People attended than was ever known on a similar occasion." See too Daniel O'Quinn, *Entertaining Crisis in the Atlantic Imperium, 1770–1790* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 395–96.

2. The *General Evening Post*, 30 January–2 February 1779, states that "the expenses were estimated at upwards of £1,500." Percy Fitzgerald cites the funeral as costing "nearly £2000." *The Life of David Garrick* (London: Sumpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, and Kent, 1899), 466. Joseph Knight states that the funeral was "alleged" to have cost £1,500. *David Garrick* (London: Kegan Paul, 1891), 291). The bill, whatever its exact amount, was not immediately paid. For general costs of funerals in the eighteenth century, see Liza Picard, "Funerals," in *Dr. Johnson's London* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), 75–76.

3. For a representative selection of biographies, from the eighteenth century to today, see Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, 2 vols. (London: Covent Garden, 1780); Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick* (Dublin: Brett Smith, 1801); George Winchester Stone Jr. and George M. Kahrl, *David Garrick: A Critical Biography* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979); Ian McIntyre, *Garrick* (London: Trafalgar Square, 2001).

4. Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* (1740), ed. B. R. S. Fone (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), 60.

5. David Garrick, "Prologue" to *The Clandestine Marriage* (London: T. Becket, 1766).

6. William Shakespeare, *As You Like It,* ed. Frances Dolan (New York: Penguin, 2000), 2.7.139-40; William Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting" (1817), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1895), 136.

7. William Hazlitt, "Mr. Kemble's Retirement" (1817), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, 123.

8. For theoretical studies of performance as a medium defined by the experience of loss and disappearance (and also studies that challenge this definition), see Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Re-enactment* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). These studies will be discussed further in chapter 1.

9. See Joseph Roach, "Betterton's Funeral," in *Cities of the Dead*, 73–118.

10. Roach, "Betterton's Funeral," 82; see too O'Quinn's account and slightly different reading of Garrick's funeral (*Entertaining Crisis*, 195–205).

11. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *Verses to the Memory of Garrick, Spoken as a Monody* (London: T. Evans, 1779), 11. Before it was published, the monody was performed as an afterpiece in Drury Lane to Richard Cumberland's *The West Indian*, on 11 March 1779, where it was spoken by Mrs. Yates. See too O'Quinn, *Entertaining Crisis*, 205.

12. Sheridan, *Verses*, 8.

13. Shakespeare was interred in the Holy Trinity Church in Stratford-upon-Avon. On the statue as marking a grave lacking a body, see Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660–1769* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 184. For the tenuousness of Shakespeare's reputation, pre-Restoration, see Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 7–51.

14. For discussions of Garrick's relationship to Shakespeare, see Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*; Reiko Oya, *Representing Shakespearean Tragedy: Garrick, the Kembles, and Kean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Vanessa Cunningham, *Shakespeare and Garrick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Peter Holland, "David Garrick," in *Great Shakespeareans: Garrick, Kemble, Siddons, Kean*, ed. Holland, vol. 2 (London: Continuum, 2010), 8–54.

15. For a "caveat" to Garrick's influence, see Arthur H. Scouten, "The Increase in Popularity of Shakespeare's Plays in the Eighteenth Century: A Caveat for Interpretors [*sic*] of Stage History," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 7.2 (Spring 1956): 189–202. Also see, for example, Fiona Ritchie on the work that actresses and female critics did to advance Shakespeare's national reputation, and the fact that narratives of Garrick's influence eclipse theirs in part because Garrick's career was documented in more mainstream sources. *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 28.

16. See Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*.

17. Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, 12.

18. Quotations from Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, 14. For a more detailed account of this process, see Taylor, 7–51.

19. Scouten, "Increase in Popularity," 197. For more on the circumstances of the Theater Licensing Act and its effects on the eighteenth-century repertoire, see Matthew J. Kinservik, *Disciplining Satire: The Censorship of Satiric Comedy on the Eighteenth-Century London Stage* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2002).

20. Jean Marsden, *The Re-imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 76.

21. Scouten, "Increase in Popularity," 199. During this season, there were three operating houses: the two patent theaters, Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and the unlicensed theater at Goodman's Fields.

22. See Marsden, *The Re-imagined Text*; Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*.

23. Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, 4–5.

24. See Marsden, *The Re-imagined Text*, 15.

25. Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, 187.

26. Dennis Bartholomeusz, *"The Winter's Tale" in Performance in England and America, 1611–1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 3; Peter Sabor and Paul Yachnin, introduction to *Shakespeare and the Eighteenth-Century*, ed. Peter Sabor and Paul Yachnin (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 3.

27. Roach quotation from personal email correspondence, 7 July 2016. For indicative studies of portraiture and statuary in the age of Garrick, see Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991); Heather McPherson, "Garrickomania: Garrick's Image," *Folger Shakespeare Library Online*, 17 March 2013; Heather McPherson, "Picturing Tragedy: Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse Revisited," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33.3 (Spring 2000): 401–30; Gill Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations: Viewing the Actress in British Art and Theatre, 1768–1820* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Chloe Wigston Smith, "Dressing Up Character: Theatrical Paintings from the Restoration to the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Prologues, Epilogues, Curtain-Raisers, and Afterpieces: The Rest of the Eighteenth-Century London Stage*, ed. Daniel J. Ennis and Judith Bailey Slagel (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 70–105.

28. As I will revisit in chapter 3, in the wake of Garrick, "the sculptor's curious art" became associated with "false tributary fame, and senseless joy," whereas the acting of Garrick was lauded as providing "the noblest trophies SHAKESPEARE can receive." Quotations from Richard Rolt's *Poetical epistle from Shakespeare in Elysium, to Mr. Garrick, at Drury-Lane Theatre* (London: J. Newbury, 1752), 3, 4, 5. For more on this conceit, see chapters 3 and 4.

29. See Schneider, *Performing Remains*.

Against Loss

1. See Richard Rolt, *Poetical epistle from Shakespeare in Elysium, to Mr. Garrick, at Drury-Lane Theatre* (London: J. Newbury, 1752), 6.

2. Mr. Pratt, "To the Memory of David Garrick; who died in the year 1779, at the age of sixty-three," quoted in *Church-yard Gleanings and Epigrammatic scraps: A Collection of Remarkable Epitaphs and Epigrams*, ed. William Pulleyn (London: Samuel Maunder, 1829), 80.

3. See Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

4. See too Peggy Phelan for a contemporary articulation of this same sentiment: "Performance's only life is in the present." *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 146.

5. Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, ed. Howard Anderson (New York: Norton, 1980), 430.

6. See, for example, Tracy Davis, "Performative Time," in *Representing the Past:*

Essays in Performance Historiography, ed. Charlotte M. Canning and Thomas Postlewait (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010), 142.

7. On performance and loss, via the trauma inflicted on bodies that suffer and die, see, for example, Peggy Phelan, *Mourning Sex: Performing Public Memories* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

8. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New York: Penguin, 2000), 5.5.24, 26. See too Rebecca Schneider's comment that "the idea of the ephemeral has enjoyed a certain constitutive status in performance studies and has determined, to a great extent, how we think about 'live' performance in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. . . . when I was a graduate student at New York University in the late 1980s and well into the 1990s, I recall anthropologist Michael Taussig, then a professor in the department [of performance studies], joking that the department should rename itself the Department of Ephemerality Studies." *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Re-enactment* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 94–95.

9. See Carlson, *The Haunted Stage*; also Joseph Roach, "Performance: The Blunders of Orpheus," *PMLA* 125.4 (2010): 1078–86.

10. See Roach's concept of "surrogation" and his statement that "the process of trying out various candidates in different situations—the doomed search for originals by continuously auditioning stand-ins—is the most important of the many meanings that users intend when they say the word *performance*." *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 3.

11. Many thanks to my anonymous second reader for this phrase, cited in my reader's report, 1 February 2017.

12. Garrick to Suzanne Necker, 18 June 1776, in *The Letters of David Garrick*, ed. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 3:1111.

13. David Garrick, *An Essay on Acting: In which will be consider'd the Mimical Behavior of a Certain fashionable faulty Actor and the laudableness of such unmannerly, as well as inhuman proceedings. To which will be added, a short criticism on his acting Macbeth* (London: W. Bickerton, 1744).

14. See Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93), 6:1–103; Arthur H. Scouten, ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 3: *1729–1747*, 2 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961), vol. 2; George Winchester Stone Jr., ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 4: *1747–1776*, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962); and as cited in the introduction, for a representative selection of biographies, from the eighteenth century to today, see Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, 2 vols. (London: Covent Garden, 1780); Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick* (Dublin: Brett Smith, 1801); George Winchester Stone Jr. and George M. Kahrl, *David Garrick: A Critical Biography* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979); Ian McIntyre, *Garrick* (London: Trafalgar Square, 2001).

15. Garrick, *Letters*, 3:475.

16. See Carlson, *The Haunted Stage*.

17. See Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660–1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 167.

18. *The Theatre as Memory Machine* is the subtitle of Carlson's *The Haunted Stage*.

19. See Stuart Sherman, "Garrick among Media: The 'Now Performer' Navigates the News," *PMLA* 126.4 (October 2011): 966–82. See too Phelan, *Unmarked*, and specifically her now seminal claim that "performance's only life is in the present" (146).

20. For more on these qualities of performance, see Sherman, "Garrick among Media."

21. For the *Othello* quotation, see William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. Russ MacDonald (New York: Penguin, 2001), 5.2.342.

22. William Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting" (1817), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1895), 137–38.

23. See "Shakespeare's Ghost," in the *London Magazine* (June 1750), vol. 19 (London: R. Baldwin, 1750), 279.

24. See Schneider, *Performing Remains*, on reenactment.

25. For the *Othello* quotation, see Shakespeare, *Othello*, 5.2.356.

26. Emily Hodgson Anderson, *Eighteenth-Century Authorship and the Play of Fiction: Novels and the Theater, Haywood to Austen* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

27. See Roach, *Cities of the Dead*; see too David Román, "The Afterlife of Sarah Siddons; or The Archives of Performance," in *Representing the Passions: Histories, Bodies, Visions*, ed. Richard Evan Meyer (Los Angeles: Getty Institute, 2003), 163–74.

28. *The Odyssey*, trans. Robert Fitzgerald (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), 23.270, emphasis mine.

29. William Hazlitt, "Of Persons One Would Wish to Have Seen" (1826), in *Hazlitt, Selected Essays*, ed. George Sampson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 46–59.

30. Davies, *Life of David Garrick*, 2:348–49.

31. For Garrick's changes to Davenant's script, see Dennis Bartholomeusz, *Macbeth and the Players* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 75–76; see too George Winchester Stone Jr., "Garrick's Handling of *Macbeth*," *Studies in Philology* 38.4 (October 1941): 609–28.

32. See too Davis, "Performative Time," 142.

Black Garrick versus Richard III

1. Garrick was acting in Colley Cibber's adaptation of this play. For specifics on the adaptation, see George Winchester Stone Jr. and George M. Kahrl, *David Garrick: A Critical Biography* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 519, and also 256–59.

2. See *The Letters of David Garrick*, ed. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 1:28.

3. The *London Daily Post*, 20 October 1741, reads, "Last night was perform'd . . . the Tragedy of Richard the Third, at the late Theatre in Goodman's Fields, when the Character of Richard was perform'd by a Gentleman, who never appear'd before, whose reception was the most extraordinary and great that was ever known upon such an Occasion." See too Stone and Kahrl, *David Garrick*, 26.

4. See Stone and Kahrl, *David Garrick*, 24.

5. In a 1741 letter to his brother Peter, Garrick states, "As to playing a Harlequin 'tis quite false—Yates last Season was taken very ill & was not able to begin ye Entertainment so I put on ye Dress & did 2 or three Scenes for him, but Nobody knew it but him and [Henry] Giffard" (*Letters*, 1:34).

6. Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, 2 vols. (London: Covent Garden, 1780), 1:17.

7. On the whitening of Imoinda, see Felicity Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 151–88. Othello and Desdemona were not, of course, the only interracial couple on the early modern stage, and Shakespeare alone provides numerous other examples (Tamora and Aaron, in *Titus Andronicus*; Jessica and Lorenzo, in *The Merchant of Venice*, for example). As this chapter will discuss, however, plot, dialogue, casting, and performance statistics emphasize the association between these two plays. For more on interracial relationships in eighteenth-century drama and literature, see Nussbaum, 239–56; Roxanne Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Ayanna Thompson, *Performing Race and Torture on the Early Modern Stage* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

8. Spranger Barry, for example, appeared at Covent Garden as Othello on 19 April 1751 (a role that he'd debuted in 1746) and then made his debut as Oroonoko on 22 April. See George Winchester Stone Jr., ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 4: *1747–1776*, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), 1:248, 249. Much later in the plays' performance history, Ira Aldridge, the first black actor to play both parts, played Oroonoko on 16 December 1825 in Brighton and then Othello at the same theater on 17 December. See William Torbert Leonard, *Masquerade in Black* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1986), 47. See the second section of this chapter for more such statistics.

9. William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. Ross McDonald (New York: Penguin, 2001), 5.2.340–42. Subsequent references will be cited parenthetically.

10. For discussions of this final scene, see, among others, Derek Cohen, "Othello's Suicide," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 62.3 (Spring 1993): 323–33; Lina Perkins Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 150–51.

11. Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 38.

12. See Colley Cibber, *Plays Written by Mr. Cibber, in Two Volumes* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1721), 1:138. Contrast Cibber's line to Othello's exclamation, "Perdition catch my soul / but I do love thee!" (3.3.90–91).

13. Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick* (Dublin: Brett Smith, 1801), 15.

14. "I spoke so *familiar*, sir," Macklin is cited as saying by his biographer Edward Parry, "and so little in the *hoity-toity* tone of the Tragedy of that day, that the manager told me I had better go to grass for another year or two." Sir Edward Abbott Parry, *Charles Macklin* (New York: Longmans, 1891), 21. Garrick similarly shifted away from the familiar, declamatory style.

15. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 106.

16. Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 1–52.

17. See Matthew Reason, "Archive or Memory? The Detritus of Live Performance," *NTQ* 19.1 (2003): 82–89.

18. Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*, ed. Joanna Lipking (New York: Norton, 1997), 5. Subsequent references will be cited parenthetically.

19. For exemplary readings of race and representation in *Oroonoko*, see Lyndon J. Dominique, *Imoinda's Shade: Marriage and the African Woman in Eighteenth-Century British Literature, 1759–1808* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2012); Srivinas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1680–1804* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 29–70. For exemplary readings of Behn's treatment of gender and race, see, for example, Charlotte Sussman, "The Other Problem with Women: Reproduction and Slave Culture in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*," in *Rereading Aphra Behn: History, Theory, Criticism*, ed. Heidi Hutner (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 212–33; Margaret W. Ferguson, "Juggling the Categories of Race, Class, and Gender in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*," *Women's Studies* 19.2 (1991): 159–81.

20. See Aphra Behn, preface to *The Dutch Lover*, in *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Janet Todd, 7 vols. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1996), 5:162; see too Margaret Ferguson, "Transmuting Othello: Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*," in *Cross-Cultural Performances: Differences in Women's Re-visions of Shakespeare*, ed. Marianne Novy (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1993), 16.

21. Ferguson, "Transmuting Othello," 15.

22. See Janet M. Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 14.

23. Todd, *Aphra Behn*, 126–30.

24. See Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History, from the Restoration to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 14–15; Janet M. Todd, *The Sign of Angelica: Women, Writing, and Fiction, 1600–1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

25. Todd, *Aphra Behn*, 139. See also Virginia Mason Vaughn, *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 135. From the evidence of a cast list found in a 1632 Shakespeare folio, which lists Betterton playing opposite Anne Bracegirdle's Desdemona, Betterton probably first played Othello in the early 1690s—the time at which Bracegirdle succeeded to leading roles. See William van Lennep, ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 1, *1660–1700* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), 387.

26. For accounts that indicate Desdemona was the part first played by a woman, see Thomas Jordan's prologue to the 8 December 1660 production of *Othello*, "A Prologue to introduce the first Woman that came to Act on the Stage in the Tragedy, call'd the Moor of Venice," contained in his *A Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie* (London: R.W. for Eliz. Andrews, [1664]), 21. For early references to Desdemona being the first part played by a woman, see too Rosamund Gilder, *Enter the Actress: The First Women in the Theatre* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1931), 141; Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama, 1660–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 19. For a more contemporary analysis of these references, and more recent studies of the actress in the eighteenth century, see Fiona Ritchie, *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 3–9; Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Helen M. Brooks, *Actresses, Gender, and the Eighteenth-Century Stage: Playing Women* (New York: Palgrave, 2015).

27. Todd, *Aphra Behn*, 37.

28. Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 66; see too Ste-

phen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991); Jonathan P. A. Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560–1613* (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2006); Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988).

29. Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 68; Andrea Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

30. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 152.

31. Catherine Nicholson, "*Othello* and the Geography of Persuasion," *ELR* 40.1 (2010): 73; Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder*, 2.

32. For Shakespeare's sources for this passage, see J. Milton French, "Othello among the Anthropophagi," *PMLA* 49.3 (September 1934): 807–9.

33. *The Tatler* no. 167, 4 May 1710, in *The Tatler*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 2:424.

34. See too Kristina Bross and Kathryn Rummell, "Cast-Mistresses: The Widow Figure in *Oroonoko*," in *Troping "Oroonoko" from Behn to Bandele*, ed. Susan B. Iwanisziw (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 73.

35. James A. Knapp, "'Ocular Proof': Archival Revelations and Aesthetic Response," *Poetics Today* 24.4 (2003): 705.

36. See Cynthia Sundberg Wall, *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 70–95. The literary and scientific emphasis on an "objective" knowledge based on sight would increase as improved scientific technologies for viewing the world made ever more of that world available to be seen. See too Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).

37. See Todd, *Aphra Behn*, 46–55.

38. Michael C. Andrews, "Honest Othello: The Handkerchief Once More," *Studies in English Literature* 13.2 (Spring 1973): 273–84.

39. Ernest Bernbaum, "Mrs. Behn's Biography a Fiction," *PMLA* 28.3 (1913): 432–53; see too Katharine M. Rogers, "Fact and Fiction in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*," *Studies in the Novel* 20.1 (Spring 1988): 1–15; Robert Chibka, "'O! Do Not Fear a Woman's Invention': Truth, Falsehood, and Fiction in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*," *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 30 (1988): 510–37.

40. Bernbaum, "Mrs. Behn's Biography," 435; Rogers, "Fact and Fiction."

41. For the subjectivity of ethnological reporting, see Frisch, *Invention of the Eyewitness*.

42. Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 154, emphasis mine.

43. Thomas Southerne, *Oroonoko*, ed. Maximillian E. Novak and David Stuart Rhodes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), 4.

44. Murray Krieger, "The Ekphrastic Principle and the Still Movement of Poetry; or *Laokoön* Revisited," in *Close Reading: The Reader*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Andrew DuBois (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 88–110; see too Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 153.

45. Nicholson, "Geography of Persuasion," 72.

46. Knapp, "Ocular Proof," 718; Nicholson, "Geography of Persuasion," 73.

47. Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 2.

48. See Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre*, 150–51.

49. For an overview of this textual crux, see Ron Rosenbaum, *The Shakespeare Wars: Clashing Scholars, Public Fiascoes, Palace Coups* (New York: Random House, 2008), 209.

50. Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

51. Joseph Roach, "Performance: The Blunders of Orpheus," *PMLA* 125.4 (2010): 1078–86.

52. Garrick, 29 December 1741, *Letters*, 1:34.

53. Letters dated 10 October 1745 and 18 August 1746, respectively; see Garrick, *Letters*, 1:53, 1:82–83. For more on Hayman's illustrations, see W. M. Merchant's "Francis Hayman's Illustrations of Shakespeare," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 9.2 (Spring 1958): 141–47. For the relationship between Garrick and Hayman, see Kalman A. Burnim, "The Significance of Garrick's Letters to Hayman," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 9.2 (Spring 1958): 149–52.

54. See too Joseph Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), 73–74.

55. In contrast to the act 5 scene described by Garrick, the scene Hayman had previously engraved for the Hanmer edition depicts Othello confronting a still living Desdemona.

56. Heather McPherson, "Garrick as Richard III: Theme and Variations," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737–1832*, ed. Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 206–12.

57. McPherson, "Garrick as Richard III," 206. See too Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 26–57.

58. Jenny Uglow, *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 398.

59. Uglow, *Hogarth*, 398.

60. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1868), 37:174.

61. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 16.

62. Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance* (Colchester: W. Keymer, 1785), 118, qtd. in Jane Spencer, *Aphra Behn's Afterlife* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 20.

63. Though at least three adaptations of the play had been performed by the time Reeve articulates this sentiment, Reeve cites Southerne's: "Mr. Southerne wrote that play, and the most affecting parts of it are taken almost literally from her [Behn]" (*The Progress of Romance*, 119).

64. Thomas Southerne, *Oroonoko* (London, 1696); John Hawkesworth, *Oroonoko, a Tragedy as it is Now Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Thomas Southerne. With Alterations* (Dublin: G. Faulkner, 1760); Francis Gentleman, *Oroonoko: Or the Royal Slave. A Tragedy. Altered from Southerne* (Glasgow, 1760); John Ferriar, *The Prince of Angola, a Tragedy, Altered from the Play of Oroonoko and Adapted to the Circumstances of the Present Times* (Manchester: J. Harrop, 1788).

65. Thomas Southerne, dedication, *Oroonoko*, ed. Maximillian E. Novak and David Stuart Rhodes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), 4.

66. See Horace's third book of odes, as cited in Aaron Kunin, "Shakespeare's Preservation Fantasy," *PMLA* 124.1 (2009): 93.

67. For statistics and accounts of early performances, see Virginia Mason Vaughn, *Othello: A Contextual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 94–95.

68. See Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. C. Latham and W. Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 1:264, qtd. in Michael Neill, introduction to *Othello*, ed. Michael Neill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3. For the status of *Othello* during the Interregnum, see Katherine West Scheil, *The Taste of the Town: Shakespearian Comedy and the Early Eighteenth-Century Theater* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2003), 32. See too Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 189; Vaughn, *Othello*, 94.

69. See Ben Ross Schneider Jr., *Index to "The London Stage, 1660–1800"*, ed. William Van Lennep et al. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979). According to Schneider's index, *Othello* was not performed in London in 1661, 1694, and 1798.

70. Spencer, *Aphra Behn's Afterlife*, 20; see Schneider, *Index*, 801. Schneider's index logs all performances of *Oroonoko* under "Southerne."

71. See Schneider, *Index*, 771–72, 801.

72. See George Winchester Stone Jr., ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 4: *1747–1776*, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), 1:281–82.

73. Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.1:307.

74. For Dexter's run, see Stone, *London Stage*, 4.1:267–69; for Mossop's reputation as Zanga, see Davies, *Life of David Garrick*, 1:161.

75. See Leonard, *Masquerade in Black*, 20 for information about Barry's Dublin debut; see Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.1:248–49 for other statistics.

76. Leonard, *Masquerade in Black*, 47. For more on the career of Aldridge, and especially this debut, see Bernth Lindforth, *Ira Aldridge: The Early Years, 1807–1833* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2011).

77. See Phyllis Rackin, "Richard III: A Modern Perspective," in *Richard III*, by William Shakespeare (New York: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1996), 342. See too Julie Hankey, *King Richard III* (London: Bristol Classic Press, 1981), 9; Peter Holland, introduction to *Richard III*, ed. Peter Holland (New York: Penguin, 2000), xxxii–xxxiii.

78. Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* (1740), ed. B. R. S. Fone (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), 78.

79. Cibber, *Apology*, 80.

80. The phrase is Vaughn's, *Blackness*, 98.

81. See Vaughn, *Blackness*, 14, who cites as examples Richard Brome's *The English Moor* (1659) and William Berkeley's *The Lost Lady* (1638); see too Dympna Callaghan, *Shakespeare without Women: Representing Gender and Race on the Renaissance Stage* (London: Routledge, 2000), 80.

82. Leonard, *Masquerade in Black*, 47; Vaughn, *Blackness*, 155.

83. Francis Gentleman, *The Dramatic Censor: Or, Critical Companion*, vol. 1 (London: J. Bell, 1770), 152.

84. Gentleman, *The Dramatic Censor*, 153.

85. Again, the phrase is Vaughn's, *Blackness*, 98.

86. Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, 213; see too Joseph Jekyll, *Letters of the Late Ignatius*

Sancho, 2 vols. (London: J. Nichols, 1782), 1:x: "He had been even induced to consider the stage as a resource in the hour of adversity, and his complexion suggested an offer to the manager of attempting Othello and Oroonoko; but a defective and incorrigible articulation rendered it abortive." Again, note how Sancho and Garrick conflate these two parts.

87. For Du Bois, double consciousness represents the condition of the black man in a white world: "One ever feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro." W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Jonathan Scott Holloway (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 5. Vaughn appropriates the concept to describe the condition of the audience witnessing a white man play a black part. See Vaughn, *Blackness*, 97–98, 102, 107–8; see too Callaghan, *Shakespeare without Women*, 75–96.

88. See Catherine Gallagher, "Oroonoko's Blackness," in *Aphra Behn Studies*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 235–58.

89. Vaughn, *Blackness*, 156. Indeed, Vaughn makes the point that most eighteenth-century reviews "seldom discuss Oroonoko . . . as [a] blackface rol[e] . . . commentators focused instead on the quality of the acting" (156).

90. See Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans*, 29–70.

91. See Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 2–3.

92. Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 153.

93. Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 3.

94. See Laura Brown, *Ends of Empire: Women and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 23–63; Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 154.

95. Garrick, *Letters*, 1:46.

96. See Arthur Nichols, "A History of the Staging of Thomas Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage* and *Oroonoko* on the London Stage from 1694 to 1851," PhD diss., University of Washington, 1971, 172–73; as well as Garrick, *Letters*, 1:316–17. Garrick had worked with Hawkesworth closely on the revisions prior to casting himself in the lead.

97. Nichols, "History of the Staging," 173.

98. Garrick, *Letters*, 1:34.

99. George Winchester Stone Jr. and George M. Kahrl, *David Garrick: A Critical Biography* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 560.

100. Stone and Kahrl, *David Garrick*, 560.

101. Garrick, *Letters*, 3:103.

102. Nichols, "History of the Staging," 174–75; Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans*, 63.

103. For the assessment of Barry, see William Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin* (London: James Asperne, 1804), 179. Various versions of the Quin quip circulate; for one, see Rev. John Trusler, *The Works of William Hogarth* (London: Jones and Co., 1833), 41–42.

104. Qtd. in Nichols, "History of the Staging," 174. The first and third phrases are Davies's in *Life of David Garrick*; the second one is Nichols's.

105. Thanks to Elaine McGirr for this comment.

106. See James Thomas Kirkman, *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Macklin*, 2 vols. (London: Lackington,1799), 2:260.

107. Qtd. in Stone and Kahrl, *David Garrick*, 561.

108. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 70; see Vaughn, *Othello*, 119–20.

109. Samuel Foote, *A Treatise on the Passions* (London: C. Corbet, 1747), 25.

110. *The Theatrical Review for the Year 1757 and Beginning 1758* (London: J. Coote, 1758), 25.

111. Davies, *Life of David Garrick*, 1:17.

112. Leigh Woods, *Garrick Claims the Stage: Acting as Social Emblem in Eighteenth-Century England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984), 98–99. See too Julia Fawcett, *Spectacular Disappearances: Celebrity and Privacy, 1696–1801* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 146. Peter Holland notes that the physical demands of the role place "an immense strain on the actor's body" and that one twentieth-century actor had to withdraw from the role to have surgery on his back (introduction to *Richard III*, xxxiii).

113. For accounts of Cibber's study of Sandford, see, for example, Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 15–16.

114. Davies, *Life of David Garrick*, 1:85–86. See too James Quin, *Life of Mr. James Quin* (London: S. Bladon, 1766), 88.

115. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 76, 28.

116. Davies, *Life of David Garrick*, 1:96–97.

117. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 175.

118. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 16.

119. In Shakespeare's text, these lines, "I am myself alone," appear in *Henry IV, Part III*, act 5, scene 6; Cibber moves the lines into his adaptation of *Richard III*. See Cibber, *Plays of Mr. Cibber*, 1:87.

120. Nichols, "History of the Staging," 175.

121. Samuel Johnson, "Prologue Spoken at the Opening of the Theatre in Drury Lane, 1747," in *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, vol. 6: *Poems*, ed. E. L. McAdam Jr. and George Milne (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964), 87–90, lines 39–44.

122. Spencer, *Aphra Behn's Afterlife*, 269.

Hamlet, *David Garrick, and Laurence Sterne*

1. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin, 2001), 33–34. 1.5.95–112. Subsequent references to the text will be made parenthetically by act, scene, and line number.

2. For a discussion of how Shakespeare's plays make use of contemporary mnemonic techniques, see Lina Perkins Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre: Recollection, Properties, Character* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). For a discussion of the "table-book," see Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, John Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe, "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55.4 (Winter 2004): 379–419.

3. See Aaron Kunin, "Shakespeare's Preservation Fantasy," *PMLA* 124.1 (2009): 92–106.

4. For Shakespeare's importance to Sterne, and *Hamlet*'s importance to *Tristram Shandy*, see Richard Lanham, *Tristram Shandy: The Games of Pleasure* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 131–50; Kenneth Monkman, "Sterne, Hamlet, and Yorick: Some New Material," in *The Winged Skull: Papers from the Laurence Sterne Bicentenary Conference*, ed. Arthur H. Cash and John M. Stedmond (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1971), 112–23. I'm particularly indebted to Robert L. Chibka's sug-

gestive article, "The Hobby-Horse's Epitaph: *Tristram Shandy*, *Hamlet*, and the Vehicles of Memory," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 3.2 (January 1991): 125–51.

5. For discussions of Sterne's emphasis on textuality and the medium of print, see Peter J. De Voogd, "*Tristram Shandy* as Aesthetic Object," *Word and Image* 4.1 (1988): 383–92. See too Christopher Fanning, "On Sterne's Page: Spatial Layout, Spatial Form, and Social Spaces in *Tristram Shandy*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 10.4 (July 1998): 429–50. For studies of the theatricality of *Tristram Shandy*, see M. C. Newbould, "Shandying It Away: Sterne's Theatricality," *Shandean: An Annual Devoted to Laurence Sterne and His Works* 18 (2007): 156–70; Alexis Tadié, *Sterne's Whimsical Theatres of Language: Orality, Gesture, Literacy* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003); Warren L. Oakley, *A Culture of Mimicry: Laurence Sterne, His Readers and the Art of Bodysnatching* (London: Maney Publishing, 2010). Compared to its numerous pseudonovelistic imitations, Sterne's novel produced relatively few stage adaptations. Leonard MacNally's afterpiece *Tristram Shandy: A Sentimental, Shandean Bagatelle* (1783) is the only eighteenth-century play directly modeled on Sterne's novel, and it leaves out the character of Tristram himself. For more on MacNally's afterpiece, see Oakley, 53–76. Newbould also discusses MacNally's play, as well as subsequent and more tangentially related theatrical responses to Sterne (163–69). For the relationship between Garrick and Sterne, see Ronald Hafter, "Garrick and *Tristram Shandy*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 7.3 (Summer 1967): 475–89.

6. *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Lewis Perry Curtis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 85–86.

7. See Arthur Cash, *Laurence Sterne: The Early Modern Years* (London: Routledge, 1975), 294. Cash acknowledges that the letter lacks Garrick's address or salutation, but cites Wilbur L. Cross, *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1929), 585, for the source and support of the theory that Garrick was in fact the intended recipient.

8. Frank Donoghue, *The Fame Machine: Book Reviewing and Eighteenth-Century Literary Careers* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 63.

9. Donoghue, *The Fame Machine*, 67.

10. Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, ed. Howard Anderson (New York: Norton, 1980), 201. Subsequent references will be cited parenthetically in text by page number.

11. Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 146. For responses to Phelan, see Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Re-enactment* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Stuart Sherman, "Garrick among Media: The 'Now Performer' Navigates the News," *PMLA* 126.4 (October 2011): 966–82.

12. William Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting" (1817), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1895), 137–38.

13. Sherman, "Garrick among Media," 975.

14. See Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick* (Dublin: Brett Smith, 1801), 260, 214. See too Cheryl Wanko, *Roles of Authority: Thespian Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2003), 212.

15. First two quotations from Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, 2 vols. (London: Covent Garden, 1780): 2:380; Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 214.

16. Davies, *Life of David Garrick*, 2:66. Garrick's "grand tour" of the continent during these years was also likely prompted by factors such as illness, professional disagreements, and poor profits at Drury Lane.

17. See Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660–1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

18. See Vanessa Cunningham, *Shakespeare and Garrick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

19. For a complete list of Garrick's roles, among them his Shakespearean performances, see George Winchester Stone Jr. and George M. Kahrl, *David Garrick: A Critical Biography* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), appendix B, 656–58. For a complete list of Garrick's adaptations, see Harry Pedicord and Frederick Louis Bergmann, eds., *The Plays of David Garrick*, vol. 4: *Garrick's Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), xi–xii.

20. Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, 165.

21. Nicholas Rowe, in his preface to the 1709 edition of Shakespeare's collected works, first makes the claim that Shakespeare would have played Old Hamlet's ghost; the anecdote was well known by the time Garrick performs. See Nicholas Rowe, "Some Account of the Life of Mr. William Shakespeare," http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16275/16275-h/16275-h.htm. Accessed 27 February 2015.

22. See Harry William Pedicord and Fredrick Louis Bergmann, "Commentary and Notes," in *Garrick's Adaptations of Shakespeare*, 431. See too Stone and Kahrl, *David Garrick*, 541.

23. See Arthur H. Scouten, ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 3: *1729–1747*, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961), 2:1013–24.

24. For these statistics, see Pedicord and Bergmann, "Commentary and Notes," 431. Stone and Kahrl list Garrick's total number of Hamlet performances as 90 (*David Garrick*, 540).

25. Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Lichtenberg's Visits to England, as Described in His Letters and Diaries*, ed. Margaret L. Mare, trans. W. H. Quarrell (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 15.

26. 20–22 February 1772, *St. James's Chronicle*.

27. Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones*, ed. Sheridan Baker (New York: Norton, 1995), 555, 556.

28. These pauses, or "points," formed abrupt and often prolonged breaks in the course of the dramatic action that encouraged spectators to appreciate the actor's pose, and to compare it to that struck by another actor at the same point in the play. See too Lisa Freeman, *Character's Theater: Genre and Identity on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 32; William Worthen, *The Idea of the Actor: Drama and the Ethics of Performance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 71. For more discussion of this technique, see chapters 4 and 5.

29. Lichtenberg, *Lichtenberg's Visits to England*, 10.

30. Lichtenberg, *Lichtenberg's Visits to England*, 9.

31. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 30.

32. Qtd. in John Kelly, *German Visitors to England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1936), 61.

33. Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 555, 556.

34. Hannah More, quoted in *The London and Paris Observer*, vol. 10 (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1834), 667.

35. Lichtenberg, *Lichtenberg's Visits to England*, 15; More, in *London and Paris Observer*, 667.

36. Richard Rolt, *Poetical epistle from Shakespeare in Elysium, to Mr. Garrick, at Drury-Lane Theatre* (London: J. Newbury, 1752), 10–11.

37. See the tribute to Garrick authored by "Shakespeare's Ghost," in the *London Magazine* (June 1750), vol. 19 (London: J. Baldwin, 1750), 279.

38. See too Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, 167.

39. See Heather McPherson, "Garrickomania: Garrick's Image," for *Folger Shakespeare Library Online*. http://folgerpedia.folger.edu/Garrickomania:_Garrick%27s_Image. Last updated 9 July 2015.

40. Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, 168.

41. Rolt, *Poetical epistle from Shakespeare*, 4, 5.

42. See "Shakespeare's Ghost," 279.

43. See Rolt, *Poetical epistle from Shakespeare*, 6. "This grave shall have a living Monument," states Claudius of Ophelia's tomb (5.1.287). Garrick's fans give meaning to what in Shakespeare's text registers as a mysterious conceit.

44. For the misquotation, Pedicord and Bergmann, "Commentary and Notes," 432.

45. Sherman, "Garrick among Media," 979.

46. Sherman, "Garrick among Media," 971, 979.

47. See Pedicord and Bergmann, "Commentary and Notes," 432. Garrick's 1763 revision to *Hamlet* is printed as William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, a tragedy; as it is now acted at the Theatres Royal, in Drury Lane, and Covent Garden* (London: Hawes and Dodd, 1763). The cited changes appear on pp. 51, 60.

48. See *The Letters of David Garrick*, ed. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 2:845; see too Pedicord and Bergmann, "Commentary and Notes," 433–37. For the text of this alteration, see *Hamlet*, in *The Plays of David Garrick*, ed. Harry William Pedicord and Frederick Louis Bergmann, vol. 4 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), 241–23.

49. James Boaden, *Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1825), 1:111.

50. See too Schneider, who describes the modification of text as akin to "actorly acts" that become remembered for the ways in which they travel: "set down and yet changing hands, jumping from body to body, eye to mouth" (*Performing Remains*, 18).

51. For the changing circumstances of Sterne and Garrick's friendship, see Arthur Cash, *Laurence Sterne: The Later Years* (New York: Methuen, 1986), 214. While Sterne was a devoted follower of Garrick and had certainly seen him perform, he takes his references to *Hamlet* from Lewis Theobald's printed edition of the play. On Sterne's reliance on Theobald, see Robert Folkenflik, ed., *The Life and Times of Tristram Shandy* (New York: Modern Library, 2004), 535, 553 n. 1. The sparse commentary that exists on Garrick's performance in act 5, in prior versions of the play, notes that he seems

too solemn in his initial banter with the gravediggers, that he later corrects such behavior, and that he has a tendency to overact upon leaping into Ophelia's grave. See Kalman A. Burnim, *David Garrick, Director* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), 170–71.

52. For Sterne's use of the Hamlet pseudonym, see Monkman, "Sterne, Hamlet, and Yorick," 123 and also Folkenflik, *Life and Times*, 535 n. 4.

53. Ben Jonson, "To the Memory of my Beloved, the Author, Mr. William Shakespeare, and What He Has Left Us" (1623). http://shakespeare.palomar.edu/folio1.htm. Accessed 24 June 2013. The line "best inscription" is from Rolt, *Poetical epistle from Shakespeare*, 6.

54. The phrase is from Horace's third book of Odes. For the circulation of this sentiment in the eighteenth century, see James Boswell's essay "On the Profession of a Player: Essay II": "The painter can say . . . I paint for eternity!—The poet . . . I have finished a monument more lasting than brass!" *The London Magazine* (August–October 1770), vol. 39 (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, 1770), 469. See too Kunin, "Shakespeare's Preservation Fantasy," 93.

55. Hafter, "Garrick and *Tristram Shandy*," 475.

56. *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, 87. Letter dated 27 January 1760.

57. *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, 80.

58. See Elizabeth Livingston Davidson, "Toward an Integrated Chronology for *Tristram Shandy*," *English Language Notes* 29.4 (June 1992): 48–56; see too Wayne Booth, "Did Sterne Complete *Tristram Shandy*?" *Modern Philology* 47.3 (February 1951): 172–83.

59. See *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, 157.

60. For other examples of Sterne's use of Shandean epithets, see Donoghue, *The Fame Machine*, 65; Newbould, "Shandying It Away," 159. His response to Garrick's request for money begins, "I scalp You!—my dear Garrick! My dear friend! . . . You are sadly to blame, Shandy! . . . Garricks nerves (if he has any left) are as fine and delicately spun, as thy own" (*Letters of Laurence Sterne*, 236).

61. The Montagu quotation appears in the *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, 238 n. 4. The Johnson account is quoted in Newbould, "Shandying It Away," 158. It is also recorded in Cash, *The Later Years*, 109.

62. Ian Campbell Ross, *Laurence Sterne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 226.

63. See *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, 81–82 (dated 1759); Laurence Sterne, *The Sermons of Mr. Yorick*, 2 vols. (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1760). Sterne would later publish two more volumes of sermons, under the same title, on 18 January 1766.

64. In *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, 346.

65. Quotation from Tina Lupton, "Two Texts Told Twice: Poor Richard, Pastor Yorick, and the Case of the World's Return," *Early American Literature* 40.3 (2005): 494.

66. See too Julia H. Fawcett, "Creating Character in 'Chiaro Oscuro': Sterne's Celebrity, Cibber's *Apology*, and the Life of *Tristram Shandy*," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 53.2 (Summer 2012): 142.

67. Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre*, 128.

68. See Lupton for the point that Yorick's sermons grant him a legacy that is "quite literally a textual one" ("Two Texts Told Twice," 490).

69. See Folkenflik, *Life and Times*, 561 n. 52. Sterne's background as a preacher certainly informed his attitude toward plagiarism, as "only five of Sterne's forty-five known sermons are free from borrowings—so far as anyone has been able to show" and "the most frequent plagiarisms are among the [posthumous] sermons which Sterne did not prepare for publication" (Cash, *Early Modern Years*, 219–20). Critics have chastised him for this fact, though not until after his death. As Cash explains, the attitude toward plagiarism in sermons was in flux, having been condoned and even encouraged from the Elizabethan age onward (Cash, *Early Modern Years*, 218). Sterne, however, does have Yorick mock his own tendency to borrow text, accusing himself in an annotation to one of his homilies of stealing "the greatest part of it" (300).

70. Epitaphs became a genre of note to the eighteenth-century critic and friend of Garrick, Samuel Johnson, in an essay he first published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1740. In his "Essay on Epitaphs," Johnson comments that "no critic of note that has fallen within my observation, has hitherto thought *sepulchral inscriptions* worthy of a minute examination, or pointed out with proper accuracy their beauties and defects." See *The Idler: with Additional Essays*, 3rd ed. (London: T. Davies, 1767), 287. In 1810, Wordsworth would follow up on this interest, in his three "Essays upon Epitaphs," reprinted in *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. J. B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 2:49–96. In addition to blurring the boundary between speech and text, Wordsworth reflects that, in keeping with that other blurring advanced by Yorick's epitaph in Sterne's novel—of the identity between author and fictional protagonist—the epitaph "forbids more than any other species of composition all modes of fiction" (2:76); it is a "mode of composition [that] calls for sincerity more urgently than any other" (2:70). See too Michele Turner Sharp, "Re-membering the Real, Dis(re)membering the Dead: Wordsworth's 'Essays upon Epitaphs,'" *Studies in Romanticism* 34.2 (Summer 1995): 273–92.

71. Again, see Folkenflik on how Sterne seems to take most of his references to *Hamlet* from Lewis Theobald's printed edition of the play. *Life and Times*, 535, 553 n. 1.

72. See too Kunin, "Shakespeare's Preservation Fantasy," 94.

73. Debra Fried, "Repetition, Refrain, and Epitaph," *ELH* 53.3 (Autumn 1986): 615, 617. "Written words," says Socrates in the *Phaedrus*, "go on telling you just the same thing forever." Qtd. by Fried, 619; see *Phaedrus*, trans. R. Hackforth, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 275d.

74. See Kate Rumbold, "'Alas, poor YORICK': Quoting Shakespeare in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century Novel," *Borrowers and Lenders: The Journal of Shakespeare and Appropriation* 2.2 (Fall–Winter 2006). http://www.borrowers.uga.edu/cocoon/borrowers/request?id=781458. Accessed 5 July 2012.

75. See Juliet McMaster for one take on how the novel both establishes and regularly troubles this distinction. "Experience to Expression: Thematic Character Contracts in *Tristram Shandy*," *MLQ* 32.1 (1971): 42–57.

76. For connections between the novel and the epitaph, see Ronald Paulson, "The Aesthetics of Mourning," in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century British Art and Aesthetics*, ed. Ralph Cohen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 167. See too Robert Chibka, who refers to the novel as Tristram's "widely sprawling epitaph" ("The Hobby-Horse's Epitaph," 127).

77. McMaster, "Experience to Expression," 54.

78. Paul de Man, "Autobiography as De-facement," *MLN* 94.5 (December 1979): 925.

79. For more on the interactions between the eighteenth-century novel and drama, see Emily Hodgson Anderson, *Eighteenth-Century Authorship and the Play of Fiction: Novels and the Theater, Haywood to Austen* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

80. See too Sherman, "'My Contemporaries the Novelists': Isaac Bickerstaff, Uncle Toby, and the Play of Pulse and Sprawl," *Novel* 43.1 (March 2010): 107–15.

81. See too Chibka, "The Hobby-Horse's Epitaph," 143.

82. Sherman, "Garrick among Media," 979.

83. See Ross, *Laurence Sterne*, 6; Newbould, "Shandying It Away," 157–60; Donoghue, *The Fame Machine*, 56–85.

84. Newbould, "Shandying It Away," 158.

85. *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, 157.

86. Ross, *Laurence Sterne*, 6.

87. Newbould, "Shandying It Away," 159.

88. See Wittgenstein's references to the "duckrabbit" in the *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 167: the image that is at once duck and rabbit but can be perceived as only one of these figures at a time.

89. See too Lanham, *Tristram Shandy*, 132.

90. To support the idea that Sterne finally considered the ninth volume of *Tristram Shandy* to be conclusive, see Booth, "Did Sterne Complete *Tristram Shandy*," 175.

91. The story ran 24 March 1769, in *Public Advertiser*; the account is quoted in Cash, *Later Years*, 330–31. The misquotation, "Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him well," again dates from Garrick's 1751 alteration to the text of *Hamlet*. See Pedicord and Bergmann, "Commentary and Notes," 432.

92. The lack of marker would be lamented, even before the theft, by Garrick in an epitaph he composed for Sterne but which was never inscribed:

> Shall Pride a heap of sculptured marble raise,
> Some worthless, unmourned, titled fool to praise;
> And shall we not by one poor gravestone learn
> Where Genius, Wit, and Humour sleep with Sterne?

See John Pickford, "The Grave of Laurence Sterne," *Notes and Queries* 7.11 (January–June 1891): 25.

93. Qtd. in Cash, *Later Years*, 332.

94. Cash, *Later Years*, 353–54.

95. *Morning Chronicle*, 3 February 1779.

96. For the quotation, and further study of "Shakespeare's epitaphs," see Samuel Schoenbaum *Shakespeare's Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3, 41–46. Shakespeare's epitaph has had to be reinscribed.

97. Christopher D. Shea, "Alas, Poor William Shakespeare: Where Does His Skull Rest?," *New York Times*, 24 March 2016. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/25/theater/alas-poor-william-shakespeare-where-does-his-skull-rest.html?_r=0

98. For statements on this conflict, see Julia H. Fawcett, *Spectacular Disappearances: Celebrity and Privacy, 1696–1801* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

99. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 471.
100. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 472.
101. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 472.
102. See too Fawcett, *Spectacular Disappearances*, 12–13.
103. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 472.
104. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 472.
105. Davies, *Life of David Garrick*, 2:348–49.
106. See again Sherman, "Garrick among Media."

Retelling The Winter's Tale

1. For one reproduction of Garrick's "Ode" see *The Annual Register for the Year 1769* (London: J. Dodsley, 1786), 246. For accounts of the Jubilee, see Christian Deelman, *The Great Shakespearean Jubilee* (New York: Viking, 1964); Martha Winburn England, *Garrick's Jubilee* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964); Brooks McNamara, "The Stratford Jubilee: Dram to Garrick's Vanity," *Educational Theatre Journal* 14.2 (May 1962): 135–40; Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660–1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 214–27. For Stuart Sherman's more recent reconsideration of the publicity surrounding the Jubilee, see "Garrick among Media: The 'Now Performer' Navigates the News," *PMLA* 126.4 (October 2011): 974–75.

2. Qtd. in James Boaden, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1831) 1:xlix.

3. See Harry Pedicord and Frederick Louis Bergmann, eds., *The Plays of David Garrick*, vol. 2: *Garrick's Own Plays, 1767–1775* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 333. Accounts of the exact number of *Jubilee* performances in the 1769–70 theater season vary, and the tallies are likely confused because George Colman mounted a similarly named play during the fall of that same year. Garrick's *Jubilee* was repeatedly revived, significantly in Garrick's retirement season (as I discuss in chapter 6), and would go on to accrue more London performances than any other eighteenth-century play. Pedicord and Bergman list the final total of *Jubilee* performances as 147. Vanessa Cunningham, citing George Winchester Stone, lists the final tally as 153. *Shakespeare and Garrick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 118.

4. Qtd. in Boaden, *Private Correspondence of Garrick*, 1:xlix.

5. See too figure 15, J. S. Miller's (undated) print, which "decoratively links the laurel-bedecked profile portraits of Shakespeare and Garrick (wigless), whose physiognomy is strikingly similar." Cited in Heather McPherson, "Garrickomania: Garrick's Image," for *Folger Shakespeare Library Online*. http://folgerpedia.folger.edu/Garrickomania:_Garrick%27s_Image. Last updated 9 July 2015. Other such images—and they proliferate—are cited by McPherson. See too Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, 179–80; Shearer West, *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).

6. For this quotation, see McPherson, "Garrickomania."

7. David Garrick, "Prologue" to *The Clandestine Marriage* (London: T. Becket, 1766).

8. All citations from Shakespeare's original version of the play are taken from *The Winter's Tale*, ed. Frances E. Dolan (New York: Penguin, 1999).

9. Maurice Hunt, "The Critical Legacy," in *"The Winter's Tale": Critical Essays*, ed. Maurice Hunt (New York: Garland, 1995), 3.

10. Qtd. in Dennis Bartholomeusz, *"The Winter's Tale" in Performance in England and America, 1611–1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 28.

11. For more on the performance history of the play, see Bartholomeusz, *The Winter's Tale* and Jenny Davidson, *Breeding: A Partial History of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 15.

12. George Winchester Stone Jr., ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 4: *1747–1776*, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), 2:521.

13. Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.2:524.

14. Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.2:541.

15. For Morgan's version of the play, and its comparisons with Garrick's, see Vanessa Cunningham, *Shakespeare and Garrick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 76–105; quotations from Davidson, *Breeding*, 31; Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, 190.

16. David Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita* (J. and R. Tonson: London, 1758), 65.

17. Davidson, *Breeding*, 31.

18. Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, 192.

19. Cunningham, *Shakespeare and Garrick*, 83–84.

20. See Joseph Roach on "surrogation," *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 2. For this process within *The Winter's Tale*, see too Joseph Roach, "'Unpath'd Waters, Undream'd Shores': Herbert Blau, Performing Doubles, and the Makeup of Memory in *The Winter's Tale*," *MLQ* 70.1 (2009): 117–31.

21. See David Garrick, "Prologue" to *Florizel and Perdita*, lines 54–55.

22. Nahum Tate, in his "Prologue" to *The History of King Lear* (London: E. Flesher and R. Bentley, 1681), compares Shakespeare's genius to a rich soil that has produced a "Heap of Flowers" now in need of organization. In the preface to the same, he compares Shakespeare's *Lear* to "a heap of jewels, unstrung and unpolished, yet so dazzling in their disorder, that I soon perceived I had seized a treasure." Dryden and Davenant's "Prologue" to *The Tempest; or, The Enchanted Island* (London: Henry Herringman, 1674), compares Shakespeare's genius to the "secret Root" of a tree that now inspires new growth.

23. Garrick, "Prologue," *Florizel and Perdita*, lines 36–37.

24. See Garrick, "Prologue," *Florizel and Perdita*, lines 52–53.

25. Cunningham, *Shakespeare and Garrick*, 79–80.

26. Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, 189–90.

27. Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita*, 66.

28. See David Garrick, *An Essay on Acting: In which will be consider'd the Mimical Behavior of a Certain fashionable faulty Actor and the laudableness of such unmannerly, as well as inhuman proceedings. To which will be added, a short criticism on his acting Macbeth* (London: W. Bickerton, 1744), 9.

29. See Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.2:925. Garrick's version of the play was revived for two performances in 1765 (26 March 1765 and 26 April 1765), but now featured William Powell as Leontes. See *The London Stage*, 4.2:1105, 1111. See too Cunningham, *Shakespeare and Garrick*, 90.

30. Cunningham, *Shakespeare and Garrick*, 90.

31. For a biographical account of Robinson, see Paula Byrne, *Perdita: The Life of Mary Robinson* (London: Harper, 2004). Also see Sarah Gristwood, *Perdita: Royal Mistress, Writer, Romantic* (London: Bantam Press, 2005), for a somewhat different approach to Robinson and her legacy.

32. Garrick tutored her specifically to debut in the part of Juliet. He was, Robinson records, "indefatigable [in his coaching] . . . frequently going through the whole character of Romeo himself, until he was completely exhausted with the fatigue of recitation." *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Robinson, written by herself*, ed. M. J. Levy (London: Peter Owen, 1994), 87.

33. Charles Beecher Hogan, ed., *The London Stage*, part 5: *1776–1800*, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962), 1:297.

34. This is how Robinson presents the timing of the affair in her *Memoirs*, 101–3. See Byrne, *Perdita*, 116–17, though, for questions about this chronology. Note too that these *Memoirs* were written by at least two different hands. Robinson herself begins them and describes her career up until the moment she agrees to begin her affair with the prince. The second part, the *Continuation*, was put together by another person, likely her daughter, from a combination of personal recollection and surviving documents.

35. Original letter, from the prince to Mary Hamilton, contained in the Anson Papers, a private collection; qtd. Byrne, *Perdita*, 114. As described by Robinson in her *Memoirs*, the attention (at least on opening night) is all from the prince. While one of her costars suggests that she will make a conquest, Robinson presents herself as "embarrassed" by the prince's fixed attention and her own performance as flustered or "hurried" as a result (Byrne, 101–2).

36. For the use of newspapers to circulate information about actors, see Sherman, "Garrick among Media." See too Kristina Straub, "The Newspaper 'Trial' of Charles Macklin's *Macbeth* and the Theatre as Juridical Public Sphere," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 27.3–4 (Spring–Summer 2015): 403–4 (revisited in chapter 5). On the portraiture of actors from the Restoration to the middle of the eighteenth century, see Chloe Wigston Smith, "Dressing Up Character: Theatrical Paintings from the Restoration to the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Prologues, Epilogues, Curtain-Raisers, and Afterpieces: The Rest of the Eighteenth-Century London Stage*, ed. Daniel J. Ennis and Judith Bailey Slagel (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 70–105; see too West, *Image of the Actor*.

37. William Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (Dublin: E. Rider, 1749), 28, qtd. in Lisa Freeman, *Character's Theater: Genre and Identity on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 38–39.

38. For Robinson's admiration of Siddons, see the letter quoted in Byrne, *Perdita*, 327–28.

39. See Shearer West, "The Public and Private Roles of Sarah Siddons," in *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and Her Portraits* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999), 6.

40. Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 21.

41. James Boswell, "On the Profession of a Player," in *The London Magazine* (August–October 1770), vol. 39 (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, 1770), 469.

42. Kenneth Gross comments that "the story of a statue's coming to life is knitted

together with a story about living persons who turn into statues." *The Dream of the Moving Statue* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), xi.

43. Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita*, 66.

44. 31 July 1783, *Morning Herald*; qtd. Byrne, *Perdita*, 229.

45. 10 November 1784, *Morning Post;* qtd. Byrne, *Perdita*, 252.

46. See figure 17. Mary Robinson, as a prostitute, is shown begging from the Prince of Wales. The playbills on the wall behind her are headed "Jane Shore" and "Florizel and Perdita." Many other portraits of Robinson, such as Gainsborough's (1781), are quickly known by the "Perdita" label. Gainsborough treats Robinson with far more dignity than her satirists would—but even he associates the woman with the actress and with the affair: he paints Robinson with a miniature portrait of the prince in her hand. For more on the portraiture of Robinson, and this image in particular, see Gill Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations: Viewing the Actress in British Art and Theatre, 1768–1820* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 43.

47. In regard to her literary career, most critics consider her attempts at reinvention to be successful. For example, see Lisa Wilson's claim that "she successfully negotiated the transition to respected female poet, garnering acclaim as the 'British Sappho,'" in "From Actress to Authoress: Mary Robinson's Pseudonymous Celebrity," in *The Public's Open to Us All: Essays on Women and Performance in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Laura Engel (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 169. See too Byrne, *Perdita*, 268; also Linda H. Peterson, "Becoming an Author: Mary Robinson's *Memoirs* and the Origins of the Woman Artist's Autobiography," in *Re-visioning Romanticism: British Women Writers, 1776–1837*, ed. Carol Shiner Wilson and Joel Haefner (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 36–50. For a more skeptical account, see Judith Pascoe, *Romantic Theatricality: Gender, Poetry, and Spectatorship* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 25.

48. For example, see again Byrne's *Perdita* and Gristwood's *Perdita*.

49. See Byrne, *Perdita*, 161–67.

50. James Boaden, *The Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1825), 2:315.

51. For examples of such nineteenth-century tributes, see Byrne, *Perdita*, 419, 421.

52. Boaden, *Memoirs of Kemble*, 2:314–15.

53. Hogan, *The London Stage*, 5.1:297.

54. See Charles H. Shattuck, introduction to *The Winter's Tale*, in *John Philip Kemble Promptbooks*, vol. 9 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974), i–iv.

55. Garrick had heard of Siddons based on her performances of Belvidera in Ottway's *Venice Preserved*. He sent his friend Henry Bate to watch her perform the part of Rosalind in Worcester in 1775. See Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93), 14:4. See too Lindal Buchanan, "Sarah Siddons and Her Place in Rhetorical History," *Rhetorica* 25:4 (2007): 431.

56. See Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 14:8–10, for discussion of these early roles.

57. Though her first Shakespearean role in London, after her ignominious first

season, was actually Isabella in *Measure for Measure*, in 1783. See Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 14:11.

58. The review comes after her sixth performance in the part, on 19 February 1785. See Hogan, *The London Stage*, 5.2:774.

59. James Boaden, *The Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), 2:149; Thomas Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2 vols. (London: Effingham Wilson, 1834), 2:56.

60. Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 14:14; Charles Lamb, "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare, Considered with Reference to Their Fitness for Stage Representation," in *The Romantics on Shakespeare*, ed. Jonathan Bate (London: Penguin, 1992), 112. Siddons was also celebrated in her time for numerous non-Shakespearean tragic roles (Isabella from Thomas Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage*, Belvidera from Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved*, and Jane Shore from Nicholas Rowe's *The Tragedy of Jane Shore*, among others), and I take seriously Russ McDonald's claim that "it is vital that we recognize that . . . our tendency to identify her automatically with Shakespearean parts is a distortion of theatrical history." See McDonald, "Sarah Siddons," in *Great Shakespeareans: Garrick, Kemble, Siddons, Kean*, ed. Peter Holland, vol. 2 (London: Continuum, 2010), 108. McDonald does, however, also acknowledge that if her fame was not built "exclusively or perhaps not even chiefly on the great Shakespearean parts," Lady Macbeth was always an exception to this fact (116).

61. For a full account of Kemble's changes, see Bartholomeusz, *The Winter's Tale*, 42–43.

62. For the text of these lines, see *The Winter's Tale* in Shattuck, *John Philip Kemble Promptbooks*,78; Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita*, 64.

63. For the quotation see 1.5.38–39 in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New York: Penguin, 2000); for the observation, see Judith Pascoe, *The Sarah Siddons Audio Files: Romanticism and the Lost Voice* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 78–79.

64. See George Winchester Stone Jr., "Garrick's Handling of *Macbeth*," *Studies in Philology* 38.4 (October 1941): 609.

65. Qtd. in Dennis Bartholomeusz, *Macbeth and the Players* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 39.

66. Davenant's version reads:

> "To Morrow, to Morrow, and to Morrow,
> Creeps in a stealing pace from Day to Day,
> To the last Minute of recorded Time
> And all our yesterdays have lighted Fools
> The way to dusty death. Out, out, that candle . . .

Garrick restores the lines to the version printed in the Folio:

> To morrow, and to morrow, and to morrow
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
> To the last Syllable of recorded Time:
> And all our yesterdays have lighted Fools
> The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief Candle . . .

For these and other comparisons, see Bartholomeusz, *Macbeth*, 75–76. For additional variations on this speech circulating in the eighteenth century, see Christopher Spencer, *Davenant's Macbeth from the Yale manuscripts: An Edition, with a Discussion of the Relation of Davenant's Text to Shakespeare's* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 51-52, 141.

67. See Shakespeare's "Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player / That struts and frets his hour upon the stage / And then is heard no more." *Macbeth*, 5.5.24–26; Garrick, "Prologue" to *The Clandestine Marriage*.

68. See Garrick, *An Essay on Acting*.

69. Garrick, *An Essay on Acting*, 9. For specifics on Garrick's changes to the play, see the commentary in *The Plays of David Garrick*, ed. Harry William Pedicord and Frederick Louis Bergmann, vol. 3: *Garrick's Adaptations of Shakespeare, 1744–1756* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), 397–406.

70. See Fiona Ritchie, *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 37. Garrick had cycled through Lady Macbeths before landing on Pritchard (Mrs. Giffard had also previously played the role opposite him). After being cast in the role in 1748, Pritchard played Lady Macbeth until her retirement in 1768. Apparently Garrick so preferred acting the part opposite her that once she left the stage, he acted the part only one other time (Ritchie, 37).

71. See figure 19. This print commemorates Pritchard's very last performance onstage, on 25 April 1768, and the role she chose for her retirement performance was Lady Macbeth. Pritchard's health had been failing for several years prior, and her last appearance of Hermione appears to be on 26 March 1765. She had been slated then to play Lady Macbeth, on 22 April 1765, but was too ill, and was replaced by Mrs. Palmer. See Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 12:186. See too Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.2:1105, 1110.

72. Stephen Orgel, "The Authentic Shakespeare," *Representations* 21 (Winter 1988): 20.

73. On the height discrepancy, and the competition between Pritchard and Garrick, see Ritchie, *Women and Shakespeare*, 36. See too Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, 1–3.

74. William Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting" (1817), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1895), 137.

75. For how Siddons used her acting to accentuate her maternity, in part by casting her biological children in roles opposite her, see Ellen Malenas Ledoux, "Working Mothers on the Romantic Stage: Sarah Siddons and Mary Robinson," and Laura Engel, "Mommy Diva: The Divided Loyalties of Sarah Siddons," both in *Stage Mothers: Women, Work, and the Theater, 1660–1830*, ed. Laura Engel and Elaine M. McGirr (Lanham, MD: Bucknell University Press, 2014), 79–104, 217–32 (respectively).

76. Siddons to Mrs. Fitzhugh, in 1801, qtd. in Lisa Freeman, "Mourning the 'Dignity of the Siddonian Form,'" *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 3–4 (Spring–Summer 2015): 610; qtd. too in Roger Manvell, *Sarah Siddons: Portrait of an Actress* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1970), 260.

77. Freeman, "Mourning," 622.

78. Qtd. in Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 14:30.

79. Percy Fitzgerald, *The Kembles: An Account of the Kemble Family*, 2 vols. (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1871), 2:196.

80. Fitzgerald, *The Kembles*, 2:146; *Oxberry's Dramatic Biography* (Bristol, 1825), 1:137. See too Freeman, "Mourning the Dignity," 612, 613.

81. See Lisa Freeman's point, that theatrical performance has the potential to produce "a disturbing and even painful kind of cognitive dissonance in the contrast between what was seen in the mind's eye of memory and what was seen on the stage" ("Mourning the Dignity," 607).

82. Qtd. in Bartholomeusz, *The Winter's Tale*, 51.

83. William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespear's Plays* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818), 281.

84. Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:265.

85. Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:265.

86. Boaden, *Memoirs of Kemble*, 2:314.

87. Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:265.

88. Boaden, *Memoirs of Kemble*, 2:314.

89. For more on Siddons's portraiture, see Heather McPherson, "Picturing Tragedy: Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse Revisited," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33.3 (Spring 2000): 401–30.

90. Quotation from McPherson, "Picturing Tragedy," 406.

91. West, *Image of the Actor*, 112.

92. Claudia Corti, "Poses and Pauses: Sarah Siddons and the Romantic Theatrical Portrait," in *Women's Romantic Theatre and Drama*, ed. Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Keir Elam (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 230. These pauses, or "points," formed abrupt and often prolonged breaks in the course of the dramatic action that encouraged spectators to appreciate the actor's pose and to compare it to that struck by another actor at the same point in the play. See too Freeman, *Character's Theater*, 32; William Worthen, *The Idea of the Actor: Drama and the Ethics of Performance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 71.

93. See West, *Image of the Actor*, 119.

94. See West, *Image of the Actor*, 114. See too Reiko Oya, *Representing Shakespearean Tragedy: Garrick, the Kembles, and Kean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 105.

95. See Gill Perry, introduction to *The First Actresses: Nell Gwyn to Sarah Siddons*, ed. Gill Perry (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2011), 13.

96. First phrase from Corti, "Poses and Pauses," 242; second phrase from anonymous 1784 review of the portrait in the *St. James's Chronicle*, as quoted in McPherson, "Picturing Tragedy," 403. This fact is confirmed by the account that Reynolds apparently wanted to make the skin color of the portrait more true to life, and Siddons resisted, praising the existing color of the skin as "exquisitely accordant with the chilling and deeply concentered musing of Pale Melancholy." Qtd. in Sarah Siddons, *The Reminiscences of Sarah Kemble Siddons*, ed. William Van Lennep (Cambridge, MA: Widener Library, 1942), 17–18. For variations on the title of the portrait, see McPherson, "Picturing Tragedy," 403. McPherson notes that when the portrait was exhibited for the Royal Academy, it was titled in the catalogue "Portrait of Mrs. Siddons, whole length" (403).

97. William Hazlitt, "Mrs. Siddons" (1816), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1895), 94.

98. John Keats, "Ode on a Grecian Urn," in *The Complete Poems*, ed. John Barnard (New York: Penguin, 1977), 345, line 41.

99. See Shattuck, *John Philip Kemble Promptbooks*, 69.

100. Martin Mueller, "Hermione's Wrinkles, or, Ovid Transformed: An Essay on *The Winter's Tale*," *Comparative Drama* 5.3 (Fall 1971): 234.

101. See Shattuck, *John Philip Kemble Promptbooks*, 75, for evidence of the cut.

102. Siddons, *Reminiscences*, 12.

103. Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting," 138.

104. Pascoe, *Sarah Siddons Audio Files*, 35.

105. Review from 29 December 1775, qtd. in Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1941.

106. Qtd. in Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 1:68–69.

107. "It has by many been supposed, that Mr. Garrick was ungenerous and insincere with respect to Mrs. Siddons; that he saw her vast talent, and from a mean jealousy, threw it into shade. But it may be fair to inquire, what proofs he had received of the possession *then* of that genius, which, six years after, it was impossible to dispute? . . . He placed her by his *side* in Richard [Garrick's final performances of Richard III, to which Siddons acted his Queen Anne]; she herself acknowledges alarm and confusion. How was he to anticipate in the trembling Lady Anne, the future Katharine, and Constance, and Lady Macbeth, before whom the long line of theatric queens were all to fade away, and leave to HER alone, the glory of being in fame associated with HIMSELF?" See Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 1:47. Boaden also identifies as a mark of Garrick's good faith his choice to cast her as Mrs. Strictland, opposite Garrick in his final performances of Ranger, in Benjamin Hoadley's *The Suspicious Husband* (*Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 1:40, 41).

108. Siddons, *Reminiscences*, 5.

109. Siddons, *Reminiscences*, 5.

110. William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin, 2000), 1.2.23.

The Merchant of Venice *and Memorial Debts*

1. William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin, 2000), 3.3.4. All other references to the play will be to this edition and will be cited parenthetically in the text by act, scene, and line number.

2. Just a few of the studies on these alternate topics in *The Merchant of Venice* include Barbara K. Lewalski, "Biblical Allusion and Allegory in *The Merchant of Venice*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 13.3 (Summer 1962): 327–43; Janet Adelman, *Blood Relations: Christian and Jew in "The Merchant of Venice"* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Natasha Korda, "Dame Usury: Gender, Credit, and (Ac)counting in the Sonnets and *The Merchant of Venice*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60.2 (Summer 2009): 129–53; Marc Shell, "The Wether and the Ewe: Verbal Usury in *The Merchant of Venice*," *Kenyon Review* 1.4 (1979): 65–92.

3. See George Winchester Stone Jr., ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 4: *1747–1776*, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), 1:7–8.

4. John Gross, *Shylock: A Legend and Its Legacy* (New York: Touchstone, 1992), 108–10.

5. See Arthur H. Scouten, ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 3: *1729–1747*, 2 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961), 2:889.

6. Samuel Johnson, "Prologue Spoken at the Opening of the Theatre in Drury Lane, 1747," in *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, vol. 6: *Poems*, ed. E. L.

McAdam Jr. and George Milne (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964), 87–90, lines 2, 36–37.

7. For quotation, see J. Gross, *Shylock*, 122.

8. J. Gross, *Shylock*, 112. Thomas Doggett had died in 1721. Actors who had played Shylock in *The Jew of Venice* more recently included Boheme, at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 7 October 1730 (to Mrs. Berriman's Portia); Aston, at Covent Garden on 11 February 1735 (to Mrs. Hallam's Portia); and Arthur, at Covent Garden on 23 January 1739 (to Mrs. Hallam's Portia). See Scouten, *The London Stage*, 3.1:83, 460; 3.2:756.

9. Nicholas Rowe, "Some Account of the Life of Mr. William Shakespeare." http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16275/16275-h/16275-h.htm. Accessed 27 February 2015.

10. Gross, *Shylock*, 122.

11. Gross, *Shylock*, 122.

12. Charles Edelman, "Which Is the Jew That Shakespeare Knew? Shylock on the Elizabethan Stage," *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 52 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 99.

13. See James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 195–224.

14. See M. M. Mahood, introduction to *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. M. M. Mahood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1, on dating the play. It was probably first performed in either the 1596–97 or 1597–98 acting season. See Eugenio Barba on how, especially in the age that precedes the electronic memory of films, "theatre performance defines itself through the work that living memory, which is not museum but metamorphosis, is obliged to do." "Efermaele: 'That Which Will Be Said Afterwards,'" *Drama Review* 36.2 (1992): 78.

15. Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 12.

16. For more on the phenomenon of author love, albeit not the love of Shakespeare, see Helen Deutsch, *Loving Dr. Johnson* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). For popular awareness of the growing numbers of Jews in England, as well as more on the influence of the Jew Bill on responses to seeing Jewish characters depicted onstage, see Michael Ragussis, *Theatrical Nation: Jews and Other Outlandish Englishmen* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 14–17.

17. Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, 33–35. Seventeenth-century quarto printings include *Othello* (1681, 1687, 1695, 1705); *Julius Caesar* (six editions between 1684 and 1691), and *Henry the Fourth* (1700).

18. For a discussion of the legitimacy of Theobald's claim, see, most significantly, Brean Hammond's extensive introduction to his recent edition of the play for Arden, *Double Falsehood, or The Distressed Lovers* (London: Methuen, 2010), 1–176.

19. For one discussion of the Ireland phenomenon, see Patricia Pierce, *The Great Shakespeare Fraud* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004).

20. Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 33. *The Merchant of Venice* was printed in quarto in 1652. The other two Interregnum printings, *Othello* and *King Lear*, appeared in 1655. Throughout the eighteenth century, the full text of *The Merchant of Venice* also remained available in folios alongside Granville's adaptation.

21. Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660–1769* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 134.

22. Rowe, "Some Account." http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16275/16275-h/16275-h.htm. Accessed 30 June 2015.

23. Quotation is from Rowe, "Some Account." See too Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, 74–81. Joseph Roach notes this reliance on Betterton as Rowe "setting the trend of placing the life of the poet in the hands of the players." "Celebrity Culture and the Problem of Biography," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 65.4 (Winter 2014): 473.

24. Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (New York: Norton, 2004), 17.

25. Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, 18.

26. See James Shapiro, *Contested Will: Who Wrote Shakespeare?* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010), 59–62.

27. Shapiro, *Contested Will*, 17–79.

28. Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, 14.

29. Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, 169–76.

30. George Granville, "Prologue" to *The Jew of Venice* (London: Ber. Lintott, 1701).

31. For the argument that Shakespeare was also a "literary" dramatist, as intent on writing for print publication as he was about writing for the stage, see Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

32. Edelman, "Which Is the Jew," 444.

33. Arthur H. Scouten, "The Increase in Popularity of Shakespeare's Plays in the Eighteenth Century: A Caveat for Interpretors [*sic*] of Stage History," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 7:2 (Spring 1956): 200.

34. William Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin* (London: James Asperne, 1804), 90.

35. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 81.

36. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 81.

37. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 82.

38. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 89.

39. Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Lichtenberg's Visits to England, as described in his Letters and Diaries*, trans. and ed. Margaret L. Mare & W. H. Quarrell (Oxford: Clarendon, 1938), 40.

40. See too Ragussis, *Theatrical Nation*, 47.

41. William Worthen Appleton, *Charles Macklin: An Actor's Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 30.

42. See figure 21. Quotation from *The Life of Mr. James Quin* (London: S. Bladon, 1766), 99.

43. His birth name was McLoughlin or McLaughlin. See Cook on the circumstances of his conversion and Macklin's rationale for changing his name (*Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 75, 322).

44. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 93, 92.

45. James Boaden, *Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble, esq.*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1825), 1:440.

46. Roach, "Celebrity Culture," 476.

47. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 95.

48. Gross, *Shylock*, 111.

49. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 93–94.

50. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 93.

51. For accounts of this scene, see Judith Fisher, "'The Quality of Mercy' in the Eighteenth Century; or, Kitty Clive's Portia," *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 14.1 (1999): 19–42; Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93), 3:348.

52. See Scouten, *The London Stage*, 3.2:889, 939, 1001, 1139, 1251; Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.1:7, 12; 4.2:761, 762. See too Fisher, "The Quality of Mercy," 27. Outside of these performances, Clive continued to play Portia with other Shylocks: for example, opposite Richard Yates on 10 September 1751, and opposite Samuel Foote on 18 December 1758 (see Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.1:260; 4.2:701). For the credit that Clive must therefore also receive, in terms of advancing Shakespeare's reputation, see Fiona Ritchie, *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 31.

53. Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3:342. See too Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 158.

54. See figure 22. Known for her early pastoral roles, Clive is depicted in theatrical portraits from later in her career, such as this one, as a "dignified figure with her talents indicated by musical scores." Gill Perry, "Divas, Dancing, and the Rage for Music," in *The First Actresses: Nell Gwyn to Sarah Siddons*, ed. Gill Perry (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2011), 86.

55. Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3:359.

56. Richard Findlater, *The Player Queens* (New York: Taplinger, 1977), 65–66.

57. See William Hazlitt, "Mrs. Siddons" (1816), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1895), 94.

58. Qtd. in "Kitty Clive," in Perry, *The First Actresses*, 41.

59. Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, 173, 172. See too Felicity Nussbaum, "The Unaccountable Pleasure of Eighteenth-Century Tragedy," *PMLA* 129.4 (October 2014): 688–707.

60. For the use of this speech in exercises in elocution, see Catherine Robson, *Heart Beats: Everyday Life and the Memorized Poem* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 236, 238.

61. Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, 173.

62. Fisher, "The Quality of Mercy," 25.

63. Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3:359. Though again see Nussbaum, who notes that the "generic hodgepodge" presented by the Macklin-Clive face-off would have been in keeping with a general intermixture of tragedy and comedy on the eighteenth-century stage (*Rival Queens*, 275).

64. Findlater, *The Player Queens*, 63.

65. Ian Kelly, *Mr. Foote's Other Leg: Comedy, Tragedy, and Murder in Georgian London* (London: Picador, 2012), xi; Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3:359.

66. Percy Fitzgerald, *The Life of Mrs. Catherine Clive* (London: A. Reader, 1888), 61.

67. Charles Edgar Louis Wingate, *Shakespeare's Heroines on the Stage* (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell, 1895), 237.

68. See too Fisher, "The Quality of Mercy," 24.

69. Francis Gentleman, *The Dramatic Censor*, vol. 1 (London: J. Bell, 1770), 297. See too Fisher, "The Quality of Mercy," 28.

70. Benjamin Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London and Dublin*. 3 vols. (1761; reprint New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 3:143–44. See too Fisher, "The Quality of Mercy," 21, 29.

71. See Ragussis, *Theatrical Nation*, 45–47.

72. Victor, *History of the Theatres*, 3:142.

73. See, for example, "deadhand control," Wex Legal Dictionary. https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/deadhand_control. Accessed 28 June 2016.

74. Harry Berger, "Marriage and Mercifixtion in *The Merchant of Venice*: The Casket Scene Revisited," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 32.2 (Summer 1981): 155.

75. See Portia's statement, "Myself and what is mine to you and yours / Is now converted" (3.2.166–67).

76. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, featuring his other Portia, was likely first performed in September 1599, two or three years after the first performances of *The Merchant of Venice*.

77. Berger, "Marriage and Mercifixtion," 156.

78. "It is interesting that it is only the 'Lawyer's scene' to which most of [Clive's] critics refer when they mention her inappropriate interpretation" (Fisher, "The Quality of Mercy," 24). For examples of these reviews, see Fitzgerald, *Life of Catherine Clive*, 61.

79. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 93.

80. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 93.

81. See Edward Abbott Parry, *Charles Macklin* (London: Kegan Paul, 1891), 61.

82. Nussbaum, *Rival Queens*, 173.

83. Kenneth Gross, *Shylock Is Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 109.

84. On the ghost as a figure for memory, see Marjorie Garber, *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers* (New York: Routledge, 1987); Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

85. See too Adelman, *Blood Relations*.

86. David Lucking, "Standing for Sacrifice: The Casket and Trial Scenes in *The Merchant of Venice*," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 58.3 (Spring 1989): 355.

87. On other aspects of the unconscious and *The Merchant of Venice*, see Marjorie Garber, "Freud's Choice: The Theme of the Three Caskets," in *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers: Literature as Uncanny Causality* (1987; reprint New York: Routledge, 2010), 98–115.

88. Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3:353–54.

89. Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.2:837; for information on her debut, see Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 10:31, 32.

90. Regarding her benefit nights, see, for example, Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1467.

91. Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 10:36.

92. See figure 23. For the dating of this painting and the identification of the actors in it, see Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson, *The Artist and the Theatre* (London: William Heinemann, 1955), 57. See too Shearer West, "Charles Macklin as Shylock and Lord Mansfield," *Theatre Notebook* 4.3 (1989), 3–9. No portraits of Macklin playing Shylock opposite Clive appear to exist.

93. For the dating of the portrait, see West, "Charles Macklin."

94. Quotation comes from Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 95.

95. See Kristina Straub, "The Newspaper 'Trial' of Charles Macklin's *Macbeth* and the Theatre as Juridical Public Sphere," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 27.3–4 (Spring–Summer 2015): 403–4; Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 10:20.

96. West, "Charles Macklin," 8.

97. West discusses the "unfinished" aspects of the painting—figures sketched in, a generalized background—and concludes, lyrically, that "we can only assume that Zoffany felt unable to complete it, and what would have been his most ambitious theatrical portrait remains a tantalising echo of the life and acting of Charles Macklin" ("Charles Macklin," 8).

98. For these and other such anecdotes, see Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, 220–21.

99. Lichtenberg, *Lichtenberg's Visits to England*, 40.

100. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 96–99, 104–7.

101. Johnson, "Prologue Spoken," 87–90, lines 52–53.

102. For all quotations, see Toby Lelyveld, *Shylock on the Stage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), 22.

103. The latter production was staged 29 December 1775 and then again on 2 January 1776. Both times it was followed, as an afterpiece, with *The Jubilee*. See Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1940–41, 1942.

104. See also Straub on how Macklin's interactions with his audiences regularly combined the "juridical and theatrical" ("Newspaper 'Trial,'" 405).

105. Johnson, "Prologue Spoken," lines 42–43.

106. For the more widespread use of this metaphor to describe theater audiences, see Leo Hughes, *The Drama's Patrons: A Study of the Eighteenth-Century London Audience* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 4–5.

107. For the text of the playbill, see Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.1:7. See too Kalman A. Burnim, *David Garrick, Director* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), 63. Audiences did not take kindly to this regulation. See, for example, the public objection noted at a performance of *The Foundling*, on 22 February 1748: "There was an attempt made by one Catcall, & an apple Thrown at Macklin . . . Greatly hiss'd w^{n} [*sic*] given out I believe the main cause of their anger . . . was their being refus'd admittance behind the scenes" (qtd. in Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.1:31).

108. The custom had been controversial since the beginning of the century and yet remained attractive to managers for the extra revenue it could ensure. See Hughes, *The Drama's Patrons*, 25. See too Burnim, *David Garrick, Director*, 63–64.

109. An account of a benefit performance in 1753 lists the price of the stage at five shillings, or equivalent to a box. Qtd. Richard Leacroft, *The Development of the English Playhouse* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), 119.

110. James Ralph, *The Touch-Stone* (London, 1728), 145; David Garrick, *Lethe* (London: Paul Vaillant, 1749), 17.

111. See Scouten, *The London Stage*, 3.2:1251.

112. William Worthen, *The Idea of the Actor: Drama and the Ethics of Performance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 71–72.

113. See Joseph Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), 87.

114. For one example of this oft-repeated anecdote, see *Garrick and His Contemporaries*, ed. Brander Matthews and Laurence Hutton (Boston: L.C. Page, 1900), 15. See too John Taylor, *Records of My Life*, 2 vols. (London: Edward Bull, 1832), 2:22.

115. See Roach, paraphrasing Lichtenberg, *Player's Passion*, 87.

116. Qtd. in Taylor, *Records of My Life*, 2:22.

117. Parry, *Charles Macklin*, 182.

118. Parry, *Charles Macklin*, 183.

119. Parry, *Charles Macklin*, 183.

120. Parry, *Charles Macklin*, 183.

121. Parry, *Charles Macklin*, 183.

122. See Peter Holland, "On the Gravy Train: Shakespeare, Memory, and Forgetting," in *Shakespeare, Memory, and Performance*, ed. Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 211.

Shakespeare, Retired

1. Kitty Clive retired from the stage on 24 April 1769. Her last part was that of Flora in Susannah Centilivre's *The Wonder*, which she played opposite Garrick's Don Felix. See Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93), 3:353–54.

2. James Boaden, *The Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), 1:36.

3. Macklin performed Shylock, opposite his daughter Maria as Portia, at Covent Garden on 6 and 27 October 1775. (He also performed Macbeth, the role that had initially inspired the rioting and his recently resolved lawsuit, on 19 October 1775.) See George Winchester Stone Jr., ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 4: *1747–1776*, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962), 3:1916, 1920, 1923.

4. Sarah Siddons, *The Reminiscences of Sarah Kemble Siddons*, ed. William Van Lennep (Cambridge, MA: Widener Library, 1942), 5.

5. Siddons, *Reminiscences*, 5.

6. Siddons, *Reminiscences*, 5.

7. Again, as stated in chapter 4, this implication, while circulated by Siddons and others, was disputed by Siddons's biographer, James Boaden. See Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 1:40–48. See too chapter 4, note 107.

8. Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting" (1817), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1895), 137–38.

9. See Siddons, *Reminiscences*, also cited in chapter 4: "I was now highly gratified by a removal from my very indifferent and inconvenient Dressing room to one on the stage floor, instead of climbing a long stair case; and this room (oh unexpected happiness) had been Garrick's Dressing room" (12).

10. This "disillusionment" with theater has been challenged by several critics. See in particular Judith Pascoe, *Romantic Theatricality: Gender, Poetry, and Spectatorship* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997) and Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For more on the Romantic emphasis on reading over performance, see Janet Ruth Heller, *Coleridge, Lamb, Hazlitt, and the Reader of Drama* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press), 1990.

11. See Michael Dobson, "John Philip Kemble," in *Great Shakespeareans: Garrick, Kemble, Siddons, Kean*, ed. Peter Holland, vol. 2 (London: Continuum, 2010), 75–76.

12. See Joseph Donohue, *Theatre in the Age of Kean* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975), 25.

13. Kemble made an interesting contrast to the more naturalistic Garrick for his commitment to a classical style and roles, and detractors would often criticize him for his stiffness and formality. Of Kemble's retirement performance, as Coriolanus, Michael Dobson notes, for example, "Right to the end Kemble would yield to nobody when it came to wearing a toga, declaiming blank verse, and looking like a monument." See Dobson, "John Philip Kemble," 99. Dobson's turn of phrase suggests that Kemble's style also associates the stage with more classical forms of memorialization—since his acting seems to aspire to the static qualities of the monument in lieu of Garrick's malleable countenance, or Siddons's moving statue—in contrast to the dynamism Garrick had endorsed as key to how commemoration could be established onstage.

14. *The Monthly Mirror; reflecting men and manners; with strictures on their epitome, the stage*, "April," vol. 3 (London: Thomas Bellamy, 1797), 68, cited in Dobson, "John Philip Kemble," 66. For the claim that Kemble is the least remembered of the great eighteenth-century Shakespearean actors, see Dobson, 55.

15. Though it should be noted that Coleridge's oft-quoted dictum that seeing Kean act "is like reading Shakspere [*sic*] by flashes of lightning" is not a straightforwardly positive endorsement. See Peter Thomson, "Edmund Kean," in Holland, *Great Shakespeareans*, 152. See too Tracy C. Davis, "'Reading Shakespeare by Flashes of Lightning': Challenging the Foundations of Romantic Acting Theory," *ELH* 62.4 (1995): 933–54.

16. See Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1945, 1946.

17. The prompter William Hopkins additionally notes that Garrick's improvisation had "good Effect—his having Just Sold his Share of the Patent." For both quotations, see Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1945.

18. William Roberts, *Memoirs of the life and correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More* (London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1839), 42, qtd. in *An Eighteenth-Century Journal: Being a Record of the Years 1774–1776*, comp. John Hampden (London: Macmillan, 1940), 278. Hampden's *Journal*, which is cited frequently by compilers of *The London Stage*, isn't a journal in the traditional sense, but a research project conducted by the twentieth-century scholar John Hampden that depicts what a London citizen's journal, kept from 1774 to 1776, might have included. All of the material in Hampden's collection is accurate and taken from contemporary sources—letters and newspaper reports. The only "fiction" involved is that this material had, prior to 1940, been compiled in journal form.

19. See William Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin* (London: James Asperne, 1804), 338–40. Accounts circulate of the finally retired Macklin continuing to attend the theater "more from the force of habit than any gratification" and seeing new per-

formers play Shylock with no recognition of the part (Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 341, 337–38).

20. See Judith W. Fisher, "Creating Another Identity: Aging Actresses in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Aging and Identity* 4.2 (1999): 57–77.

21. Quotation from David Garrick, *Pineapples of the Finest Flavor, or a Selection of Sundry Unpublished Letters of the English Roscius, David Garrick*, ed. David Mason Little (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), 74–75. See too Kalman A. Burnim, *David Garrick: Director* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), 190.

22. See Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1939, 1940.

23. Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, 2 vols. (London: Covent Garden, 1780), 2:327.

24. The playbills indicate this is his first appearance in the role in four years, though Stone, *The London Stage* (4.3:1982) lists "first time in five years" for the 27 May 1776 performance. See Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1984, for notes on his last performances of *Richard III* (3 June 1776 and 5 June 1776).

25. Roberts, *Memoirs of Hannah More*, 43, 42; qtd. in Hampden, *An Eighteenth-Century Journal*, 278. Judith Pascoe, in her study of the appeal to audiences of Siddons's voice, claims that spectators at the end of the eighteenth century were the last to have this precise anticipation of loss, given that the experience of theater changes once technologies of recording are developed. "Siddons's star turns seem especially ephemeral, carried out, as they were just in advance of the technological innovations that might have preserved them" (*The Sarah Siddons Audio Files: Romanticism and the Lost Voice* [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011], ix).

26. Davies, *Life of David Garrick*, 2:66. See too Cheryl Wanko, *Roles of Authority: Thespian Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2003), 212. For Garrick's early thoughts of retirement, while on tour, see Burnim, *David Garrick, Director*, 189.

27. Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1922, 1958.

28. In addition to Lusignan, a complete list of his fall roles include Sir John Brute in John Vanbrugh's *The Provok'd Wife*, which Garrick performs 31 October 1775, then again 31 January, 5 February, and 30 April 1776; Abel Drugger in Ben Jonson's *The Alchymist*, which Garrick performs 25 November 1775, then again on 18 January and 11 April 1776; Benedict in *Much Ado About Nothing*, which Garrick performs five times in November 1776 before performing it again 12 February, 16 March, and 9 May 1776; Hamlet in *Hamlet*, which Garrick performs 29 November and 8 December 1775, then again on 27 April and 30 May 1776; Archer in George Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem*, which Garrick performs 1 December and 23 December 1775, and then again on 7 May 1776; Leon in John Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, which Garrick performs 5 December 1775, then again on 2 May 1776; and Kitley in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humor*, which Garrick performs 18 December, then again 9 February and 25 April 1776.

In addition to these performances, Garrick adds to his spring repertoire Sir Anthony Branville in Frances Sheridan's *The Discovery* (5 performances in January 1776, with the last performance on 7 February 1776), Lear in *King Lear* (in an amended version of Tate's version of Shakespeare's play, on 13 May 1776, 21 May 1776, and 8 June 1776), Richard III in *Richard III* (on 27 May 1776, 3 June 1776, 5 June 1776, in an amended version of Cibber's version of Shakespeare's play, see

note 46), Ranger in Benjamin Hoadly's *The Suspicious Husband* (on 23 May 1776 and 1 June 1776), and finally Don Felix in Susanna Centlivre's *The Wonder* (on 16 May 1776 and 10 June 1776). For all quotations and statistics, see the indicated dates of performance in Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3.

29. Qtd. in Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1976.

30. Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1978. Similarly, at Garrick's final, royal command performance of *Richard III*, the audience had to interrupt the performance for the pit door to be opened, as "so many [people] had Crowded in that they could not sit down" (*The London Stage*, 4.3:1984–85).

31. 7 November 1775, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*; qtd. in Hampden, *An Eighteenth-Century Journal*, 222. These sentiments are in keeping with Joseph's Roach's theory of the celebrity as akin to a deity. See Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

32. Qtd. in John Kelly, *German Visitors to England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1936), 61. Hamlet is of course thirty years old.

33. Davies, *Life of David Garrick*, 2:327.

34. For accounts of the autopsy, see Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick* (Dublin: Brett Smith, 1801), 472.

35. Murphy, *Life of David Garrick*, 473.

36. Garrick, *Pineapples*, 74–75, qtd. in Burnim, *David Garrick, Director*, 190.

37. See letter from David Garrick to Thomas Rackett Jr., 2 December 1775, *The Letters of David Garrick*, ed. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 3:1051, qtd. in Burnim, *David Garrick, Director*, 190.

38. Garrick had toyed with the idea of retirement during his grand tour in 1763–65 and later intimated that he would retire at the end of 1773. See Burnim, *David Garrick, Director*, 189–90.

39. For one articulation of the Johnson quotation, see *Shakespeariana: A Critical and Contemporary Review of Shakespearean Literature*, ed. Charlotte Endymion Porter, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Leonard Scott, 1886), 105.

40. For example, the account in *Shakespeariana* indicates it was Gainsborough, who threw down his brush when faced with Garrick's "Protean phiz" (105). Peter Holland, quoting Ian McIntyre's biography of Garrick, who is in turn quoting James Northcote's memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, describes the encounter as with Reynolds (Peter Holland, "David Garrick," in *Great Shakespeareans*, 29). Ronald Paulson, in *Hogarth: Art and Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993) describes the encounter as with Hogarth (3:285).

41. Madame d'Arblay, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, 3 vols. (London: Edward Moxon, 1832), 2:202.

42. D'Arblay, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, 2:202–3.

43. See Burnim, *David Garrick, Director*, 189–90.

44. Qtd. in Florence Mary Parsons, *David Garrick and His Circle* (New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1906), 343. Stone's "Appendix C," in *David Garrick: A Critical Biography*, however, lists that in his final season Garrick appeared onstage fifty times, plus forty-three walk-ons as Benedict in *The Jubilee*. These numbers represent a significant increase from his prior season's statistics, of twenty-two performances, yet a significance decrease from his peak performance statistics. See Stone, "Appendix C," 659–60.

45. Quotations from 28 December 1775, *St. James's Chronicle*; 7 November 1767, *Theatrical Monitor*, qtd. in Burnim, *David Garrick, Director*, 190. Garrick had also put on weight, which compromised his movements and threatened the verisimilitude of certain roles. He found himself the target of couplets such as "Roscius was in years well stricken / Besides that he began to thicken" (qtd. in Parsons, *Garrick and His Circle*, 342). Around this time Garrick jokingly referred to himself, in a conversation with Charlotte Burney, as "the *fatta*gonian" (qtd. in Parsons, 342–43).

46. Parsons, *Garrick and His Circle*, 348. See too the account on his intention to exit as Richard in the *Atheneum* (London: John C. Francis, 1894), 2:330 and *The Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, ed. David Brewster, vol. 9 (Philadelphia: Joseph and Edward Parker, 1932), 574. While Garrick performed Colley Cibber's version of *Richard III*—itself a highly redacted version of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, with scenes added from Shakespeare's *3 Henry VI*—George Winchester Stone Jr. and George M. Kahrl note that "Garrick gradually made the text his own" and "did not use the Cibber exclusively" (*David Garrick: A Critical Biography* [Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979], 257). For Garrick's adjustments to Cibber's text, see Stone and Kahrl, 256–59.

47. Garrick first performed the part on 19 October 1741. See chapter 2.

48. The quotation from Hopkins's diary is cited in Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1982.

49. James Boaden, *Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble, esq.*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1825), 1:120.

50. See Brewster, *The Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, 574. For an account of the farewell address that Garrick did finally deliver, after his performance of Don Felix, see Percy Fitzgerald, *The Life of David Garrick*, 2 vols. (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1868): "His face was seen to work, as he tried to speak, and with an effort he said—it had been the custom on such occasions to address friends in a farewell epilogue—he had intended following the practice, but when he came to attempt it, found himself quite as unequal to the writing of it, as he would now be to its delivery . . . the moment was a terrible one for him, now parting for ever from those who had lavished on him such favours, and such kindness . . . here he was utterly overcome, and could not go on, from his tears . . ." (2:396–97).

51. Garrick, *Letters*, 3:1106.

52. See Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1985. Kemble additionally notes of this next-to-last performance from Shakespeare, "I cannot say enough about Mr. Garrick's performance tonight" (*The London Stage* 4.3:1985).

53. Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1983.

54. Garrick approached Sir Grey Cooper in January 1776 to help him procure such an act, and the act was successfully published in 1777. See Kalman A. Burnim, "An Introduction to Garrick," http://folgerpedia.folger.edu/David_Garrick,_1717–1779:_A_Theatrical_Life#An_Introduction_to_Garrick. Accessed 3 April 2017.

55. Parsons, *Garrick and His Circle*, 347.

56. See Stone, *The London Stage*, 4.3:1985.

57. The description of Lear is Garrick's, in his letter 23 February [1770?] to Edward Tighe. See *Letters*, 2:682–83. As he had always done, Garrick was acting in Nahum Tate's "happy ending" version of the play, though as he had done with the Cibber text of *Richard III*, Garrick continued to make his own revisions, "giving the play more and more of a Shakespearean flavor" (Stone and Kahrl, *David Garrick*, 265). For a more complete

assessment of the revisions, see Stone and Kahrl, 260–65, 533. See too Harry Pedicord and Frederick Louis Bergmann, *The Plays of David Garrick, Garrick's Adaptations of Shakespeare*, vol. 3 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), 451–52.

58. See Scouten, *The London Stage*, entry for 11 March 1742, "the first time of Garrick's ever appearing in that Character" (3.2:974). For accounts of Macklin's tutelage of Garrick in Lear, see Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 104–6.

59. 21–23 May 1776, *London Chronicle*, qtd. in Hampden, *An Eighteenth-Century Journal*, 280–81; see too Stone and Kahrl, *David Garrick*, 540.

60. See Stone, *The London Stage*, entry for 13 May 1776, 4.3:1977; also quoted in Hampden, *An Eighteenth-Century Journal*, 281; see too Stone and Kahrl, *David Garrick*, 540.

61. Cook, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 107.

62. Roberts, *Memoirs of Hannah More*, 42, qtd. in Hampden, *An Eighteenth-Century Journal*, 278; see too Parsons, "The Garricks' new friend, Hannah More, who was so happy as to see the great actor take leave of Benedict, Sir John Bute, Kitely, Abel Drugger, Archer, and Leon, said, 'It seems to me as if I was assisting at the funeral obsequies of the different poets'" (*Garrick and His Circle*, 346).

63. Thomas Wilkes, *A General View of the Stage* (London: J. Coote, 1759), 262, qtd. in Stone and Kahrl, 508.

64. D'Arblay, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, 2:204.

65. Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 1:66.

66. The phrase was used to describe the aging eighteenth-century author Jane Porter, qtd. in Devoney Looser, *Women Writers and Old Age in Great Britain, 1750–1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 4.

67. Looser, *Women Writers*, 4. See chapter 4 for discussion of this cut.

68. The *Reminiscences* form the brief autobiographical manuscript, spanning the early part of Siddons's career, that Siddons bequeaths to her biographer Thomas Campbell. Campbell transcribes from this manuscript, not without liberties, in his *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2 vols. (London: Effingham Wilson, 1834). Siddons's manuscript was edited and published in the twentieth century by William van Lennep.

69. Van Lennep, quoting Siddons in the foreword to *Reminiscences*, vii. See William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. Alvin Kernan (New York: Penguin, 1986), 1.3.90.

70. Siddons, *Reminiscences*, 1.

71. Van Lennep, foreword to Siddons's *Reminiscences*, ix.

72. Siddons, *Reminiscences*, 32.

73. Percy Fitzgerald, *The Kembles: An Account of the Kemble Family*, 2 vols. (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1871), 2:198, 199.

74. For a full account of her postretirement roles, see Michael R. Booth, "Sarah Siddons," in *Three Tragic Actresses: Siddons, Rachel, Ristori* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 47–48.

75. William Hazlitt, "Mrs. Siddons" (1816), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1895), 94.

76. Hazlitt, "Mrs. Siddons," 94.

77. William Hazlitt, "Mrs. Siddons's Lady Macbeth" (1817), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1895), 121.

78. Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:378.

79. See Lisa Freeman, "Mourning the 'Dignity of the Siddonian Form,'" *Eighteenth-*

Century Fiction 3–4 (Spring–Summer 2015): 597–629, who with this phrase is citing Anna Seward's description of Siddons.

80. See Hazlitt, "Mrs. Siddons," 95–96.

81. Hazlitt, "Mrs. Siddons's Lady Macbeth," 121.

82. Hazlitt, "Mrs. Siddons," 94.

83. Qtd. in Roger Manvell, *Sarah Siddons: Portrait of an Actress* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1970), 304.

84. Judith Pascoe, *Sarah Siddons Audio Files*, 92. For the emphasis on Shakespeare in these readings, see Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:350, 371.

85. Letter from Joanna Baillie to Walter Scott, 28 April 1813, in *Further Letters of Joanna Baillie*, ed. Thomas McLean (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2010), 54; Piozzi qtd. in Florence Mary Parsons, *The Incomparable Siddons* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1909), 271.

86. Fitzgerald, *The Kembles*, 2:214.

87. Baillie, *Further Letters*, 54. Anna Murphy Jameson, "Mrs. Siddons," *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 32 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), 31.

88. Davies, *Life of David Garrick*, 2:327.

89. Baillie, *Further Letters*, 54.

90. Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:383.

91. Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:350.

92. Qtd. in Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:351–52.

93. See the *Morning Chronicle*, 11 February 1813, 24 March 1813, 1 April 1813.

94. See "Siddons, Mrs. William, Sarah, née Kemble" in Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary*, 14:31.

95. On the importance of the performance space and its influence on audience reception, see too Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability, and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

96. Fitzgerald, *The Kembles*, 2:214; Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:391.

97. Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:391.

98. Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:384.

99. For one assessment of the contemporary response to Siddons as masculine, see Heather McPherson, "Masculinity, Femininity, and the Tragic Sublime: Reinventing Lady Macbeth," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 29.1 (2000): 299–333. See too Shearer West, "The Public and Private Roles of Sarah Siddons," in *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and Her Portraits*, ed. Robyn Asleson (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999), and Boaden's comment, quoted by West, that Siddons possessed "a male dignity in . . . understanding . . . that raised her above the helpless timidity of other women" (qtd. in West, 13).

100. Baillie, *Further Letters*, 54.

101. Qtd. in Jameson, "Mrs. Siddons," *New Monthly Magazine*, 31–32, qtd. in Pascoe, *Sarah Siddons Audio Files*, 88.

102. See Fleeming Jenkin, "Mrs. Siddons as Queen Katharine, Mrs. Beverly, and Lady Randolph," from contemporary notes by George Joseph Bell, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. 46 (London: Macmillan, 1882), 26.

103. William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespear's Plays* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818), 134.

104. Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:386.

105. Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:386.

106. Qtd. in Anna Murphy Jameson, *Shakespeare's Heroines* (1832; New York: Broadview, 2005), 406–7.

107. The use of Shakespeare in elocutionary manuals perpetuated a similar debate: could anyone now learn to read, recite, and understand Shakespeare? Or were his words spoken and understood better by some readers than others? See, for example, the debate between Boswell and Johnson in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, over the "to be or not to be" soliloquy and Garrick's (possibly unique) delivery of those lines. James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Frowde, 1904), 2:141.

108. Qtd. in Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:351–52; qtd. in Jameson, *Shakespeare's Heroines*, 406.

109. Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:386; Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:351.

110. Qtd. in Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, 2:351.

111. Jameson, *Shakespeare's Heroines*, 405.

112. For one reproduction of Garrick's "Ode" see *The Annual Register for the Year 1769* (London: J. Dodsley, 1786), 246.

113. Qtd. in Jameson, *Shakespeare's Heroines*, 406.

114. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New York: Penguin, 2000), 4.1.133.

115. William Hazlitt, "Of Persons One Would Wish to Have Seen" (1826), in *Hazlitt, Selected Essays*, ed. George Sampson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 46–59.

116. Hazlitt, "Persons," 47, 54.

117. Hazlitt, "Persons," 54. For more on the backgrounds of the other actors that Hazlitt invokes, see Allardyce Nicoll, *The Garrick Stage: Theatres and Audience in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980).

118. Hazlitt, "Persons," 54.

119. Hazlitt, "Persons," 54.

120. Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting," 137, 138.

121. Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting," 138–39.

122. Hazlitt, "Persons," 54.

123. Hazlitt, "Persons," 54.

124. Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting," 138.

125. Hazlitt, *Characters*, 133; emphasis mine.

126. The quotation is from John Payne Collier's notes on the lecture Coleridge delivered 16 December 1811. See R. A. Foakes, *Coleridge's Criticism of Shakespeare: A Selection* (London: Continuum, 1989), 49.

127. Charles Lamb, "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare, Considered with Reference to Their Fitness for Stage Representation" (1811), in *The Romantics on Shakespeare*, ed. Jonathan Bate (London: Penguin, 1992), 123; William Hazlitt, "Mr. Kean's Richard II," in *A View of the English Stage*, in *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. P. P. Howe, 21 vols. (London: J.M. Dent, 1930), 5:222. Hazlitt's exceptions to his statement, however, are intriguing. Note, for example, his assertion that *The Winter's Tale* "is one of the best acting of our author's plays" (*Characters*, 280). Elizabeth Inchbald, actress, playwright, and theater critic, similarly writes in her otherwise critical preface to *The Winter's Tale*, for *The British Theater*, that the statue scene stands out for being "far more grand in exhibition than the reader will possibly behold in idea." See "Preface to *The Winter's Tale*," in *The British Theatre*, comp. Elizabeth Inchbald, 25 vols. (London: Longman, 1808), 3:6.

128. Hazlitt, *Characters*, 104.

129. See Felicity James, "Charles Lamb," in *Great Shakespeareans: Lamb, Hazlitt, Kean,* ed. Adrian Poole, vol. 4 (London Continuum, 2010), 19. See too James's larger comment that "Lamb constantly negotiates the boundaries between theatrical illusion and reality, page and stage. . . . to argue for Lamb's straightforward trajectory from 1790s Jacobin to post-1800 conservatism and a correspondent 'inward turn' towards reading, privacy and individualism is . . . to over-simplify the issue" (19).

130. Hazlitt, "On Play-going and on Some of our Old Actors," in *Hazlitt on Theatre,* 144–45.

131. Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting," 136.

132. Hazlitt, "On Actors and Acting," 137.

133. Hazlitt, "Persons," 54; emphasis mine.

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