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## Late 18th Century Adaptations of Ben Jonson's "Every Man in His Humour" and "Epicoene"

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LATE 18TH CENTURY ADAPTATIONS  
OF BEN JONSON'S EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR AND EPICOENE

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of the Department of English  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

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In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

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by  
Henry G. Morris  
1972

APPROVAL SHEET


This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

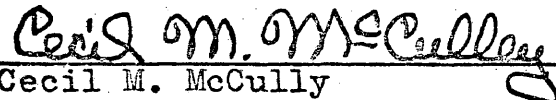
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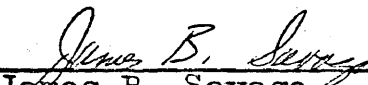
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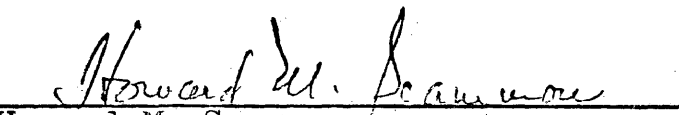
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the literary philosophies connected with David Garrick's 1751 adaptation of Every Man in his Humour and George Colman's 1776 adaptation of Epi-coene. The essential contention is that both adaptations were inferior literary works when compared with the original plays. Garrick and Colman made numerous selective changes in the nature of the original plays which inhibit the satirical impact of these plays. The adaptors' revisions also tended to circumscribe the range and vigor of Jonson's plays. The suggestion that 18th-century critical prejudices influenced both adaptors is also examined in this paper.

LATE 18TH CENTURY ADAPTATIONS  
OF BEN JONSON'S EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR AND EPICOENE

## INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with David Garrick's 1751 adaptation of Every Man in his Humour and George Colman the elder's 1776 adaptation of Epicoene. Every Man in his Humour was chosen because it was Jonson's first successful comedy; and because Garrick had notable success in adapting it for the 18th-century stage. Epicoene was chosen for this study because it is one of Jonson's major comedies; and because Colman's adaptation of this play was as meticulous an effort as Garrick's had been previously with Every Man in his Humour. There were several other Jonsonian pieces on the 18th-century English stage.<sup>1</sup> However, the two plays selected are, as explained above, most satisfactory for the purposes of this study. This essay contends that both adaptations lacked several of the finer qualities readily apparent in the originals. Each play was altered in an attempt to reckon with the 18th-century standards of comedy and comic decorum. Inevitably, critical differences between Jonson's time and the 18th century form a part of the study of these adaptations, although the main portion of the essay deals with the adaptations alone. Still, it remains necessary to set forth the likely critical influences upon the adaptors.

Jonson's own critical opinions were apparently not

known to Garrick or Colman. That circumstance was rather unfortunate as Jonson explained his literary standards in his criticism. Writing of his point of view Jonson claimed:

It sufficeth to know what kind of persons  
I displease: men bred in the declining  
and decay of virtue, betrothed to their  
own vices, that have abandoned or prostituted their good names, hungry and ambitious of infamy, invested in all deformity, enthralled to ignorance and malice, of hidden and concealed malignity, and that  
hold a concomitance with evil.<sup>2</sup>

Jonson was not being hyperbolic--his humour satire is often directed effectively towards those guilty of "deadly" sins. Greed is the dominant vice exposed in Volpone and The Alchemist. In both plays not only are the main characters wholly avaricious; but the secondary characters, who are the blind prey of the former, are also infected with perverse greed. In Epicoene the vice or folly of the main character, Morose, around which the plot is built, is a kind of malicious unnatural selfishness. In Shakespearean dramas there are no overriding vices which in effect become the focus for his dramas and groups of characters. Macbeth has several motives for Duncan's murder, none of which is the key to his criminal act. Shakespeare derives a moral effect without employing a set of personae who exhibit exaggerated and therefore obviously revealing character traits. It is Macbeth who falls in the end, not the traits which he may represent.

Hence, Jonson appears to be claiming he is more overtly moralistic than dramatists following Shakespeare's model.

One charge leveled against Jonson by some 18th-century critics concerned his supposed overabundant erudition which made his works unnatural. In the same vein Jonson's works and criticism were said to show an inhibiting dependence on the Greek and Roman classics. However, a close look at Jonson's criticism reveals that he was anything but subservient to the classics and ought by no means be termed a prescriptive critic. Jonson himself derided the prescriptive schools of criticism: "Nothing is more ridiculous than to make an author a dictator, as the schools have done Aristotle. The damage is infinite knowledge receives by it, for to many things a man owes but a temporary belief and a suspension of his own judgment, not an absolute resignation of himself or a perpetual captivity."<sup>3</sup> Apparently then, Jonson was disturbed that critical schools would presume to hinder an artist from free expression.

Jonson's critical position did differ from that of the 18th-century critics in his devotion to objectivity in literature and criticism. W. K. Wimsatt and Cleanth Brooks wrote of Jonson: "He did not make a distinction of literary value in favor of his own thoughts and against those which he found in Quintilian and Cicero."<sup>4</sup> Jonson believed the ancients should be read, and the knowledge their works contained used; but he thought all ages had a reasonable opportunity to improve upon their predecessors. Jonson did not like circumscribing precepts:



For to all the observations of the  
 ancients we have our own experience,  
 which, if we will use and apply, we  
 have better means to pronounce. It  
 is true, they opened the gates and made  
 the way that went before us, but as  
 guides, not commanders: Nom domini  
nostri, sed duces fuere. Truth lies  
 open to all: it is no man's several. 5

Of Jonson's works Every Man in his Humour reflects at once his respect for, and independence from, the classical dramatists. Captain Bobadill, who is Jonson's uniquely English braggart-soldier, comes directly from the miles gloriosus of Roman Comedy; but Bobadill's swearing, along with his role-playing as the gentleman-soldier, makes him characteristically English. Bobadill is as powerful a character as any of the great Jonsonian satiric characters. For instance, Bobadill's cowardly retreat before Downe-Right's attack and his scenes as fencing instructor for Master Matthew are as well done as any later Jonsonian comic scenes. Jonson was able to take a form found in ancient literature, and fill that form with a wholly original English creation. This is precisely what Jonson's form of Neo-classicism was based upon-- the ability to work something new within an old framework.

Ralph Walker contends those romantic critics who castigated Jonson were more interested in his unusual personality than his works. 6 One suspects their sort of critical witch hunting helped displace Jonson on many a reading list.

In the following chapter I shall concentrate upon the ways in which 18th-century critics formulated the critical context within which Garrick and Colman made their adaptations. It is necessary to devote some time to a consideration of these 18th-century critics for several reasons. First, they were often antagonistic towards Jonson, and there is evidence that their prejudice influenced Garrick and Colman. Also, there appears to be a relationship between the critical attitudes toward Jonson which these critics formed, and the generally derogatory attitudes toward Jonson that influential critics--especially William Hazlitt--assumed later. Thus it appears that the 18th-century critics had two adverse effects: they prejudiced the shape Jonson's plays took on the stage and led to the critical disregard in which Jonson was held for the remainder of the 18th, and for much of the 19th, century. Therefore, a brief account of Jonson's critical standards along with those of his most representative critics of the 18th century is warranted.

CHAPTER I  
THE CRITICAL CLIMATE

Two major differences in critical standards separated the comic theory of Jonson's time from that of Garrick's. These differences revolved around changes in the concept of dramatic decorum, and changes in the nature of what was considered obsolete. In Jonson's day bitter, acrimonious, humours satire was the reigning vogue, as was the character of exaggeration, and the humours character Jonson perfected. In Garrick's time, as I shall show in the course of this chapter, both Jonsonian styles were considered archaic. Changed ideas on decorum accounted in no insignificant measure for the lessened reputation Jonson had in the 18th century. This chapter will show that these changed standards in English drama prejudiced Jonson's adaptations as much, if not more than, charges that his humours style was obsolete.

Marvin Herrick in Comic Theory in the Sixteenth Century has explained dramatic decorum of character as Jonson would have known it. Herrick writes--

there were two kinds of decorum of character in the sixteenth century:  
(1) decorum in the philosophical or social sense, i.e., proper conventional

behavior according to established social custom--the "mirror of custom"; (2) artistic decorum, i.e., proper and natural behavior according to the dramatic art of the poet, according to what the particular dramatic situation calls for.

Under this system there are, of course, many possible paradoxes. If a poet created an absolutely honest footman his character would satisfy the rule of decorum on conventional social behavior--after all, servants are ideally wholly honest men. However, if it is common knowledge that of the servant class footmen are not the picture of honesty, but are in fact untrustworthy to a man, then the poet who created an honest footman has been indecorous--assuming his dramatic situation attempts to mimic reality.

Jonson portrayed his most memorable characters under the rule of artistic decorum of character. Volpone, Jeremy Face, and Ananias are artistic creations representing greed, duplicity, and religious hypocrisy. Jonson's characters intentionally contradict the rules of social decorum because, as satirical representatives, their vices are played off against the conventional standards of society for a gentleman, a butler, and a deacon. Jonson merely contented himself with assuming his Elizabethan audience would be familiar with the traditional rules of social decorum. His original audience would clearly see for themselves the satiric weight of the characters accordingly as the characters formed in artistic char-

acter decorum deviated or approached conformity with the rule of social decorum of character.

In the eighteenth century the philosophical concept of decorum of character had undergone major changes. Herrick again presents the problem of the differences clearly:

So far as I have found, decorum in the sense of niceness, of avoiding any word or deed that is scurrilous or vulgar, is not prominent among the commentators of the sixteenth century. The affectedly fastidious distaste for anything that is "low" seems to be a later development that flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries despite the protests of sensible men like Moliere, Dennis, Fielding and Goldsmith.<sup>2</sup>

Critics in the 18th century believed in their concepts of dramatic decorum with as much fervor as critics had in Jonson's own time, but their definition of the word has more in common with its 20th-century meaning than with its 16th-century meaning. There were many forms of dramatic decorum current in the 17th and 18th centuries--and decorum of character was but one form. As should be noted from Herrick's comment, the late 17th and early 18th centuries applied the word "decorum" when in reality they were using but half the former meaning of the rule of decorum of character. This neglect of artistic character decorum in favor of conventional or social decorum lent moral critics a great deal of ammuni-

tion--hence Samuel Jonson's well-known preference for the vindicated moral conventions of Richardson's novels and his equally well-known disapproval of Smollett's and Fielding's works which failed to uphold conventional standards of behavior.<sup>3</sup>

This neglect of artistic character decorum on the 18th-century stage in favor of conventional or social character decorum had serious implications for the revival of Jonson's plays. Jonson made extensive use of low, vulgar, and crude characters and expressions. Many Jonsonian expressions, such as Downe-Right's exclamation in Act II of Every Man in his Humour "if I put it up so, say, I am the rankest cow that ever pist,"<sup>4</sup> would be considered by many today as vulgar--and Garrick and Colman would have readily concurred. However few critics today would object to such expressions in the context of a novel or play--critics and readers alike expect an artistic reality in a serious modern work. But in Garrick's time critics thought an artist should present a work exhibiting "nature to advantage dress'd." They were most definitely not interested in a playwright's ability to accurately stage a character speaking in the argot of the London lower classes. Arthur Murphy, Garrick's biographer, illustrated the 18th-century attitude toward exhibition of characters whose coarseness of speech or unorthodox actions made them anathema, not only to himself, but to other critics of the age as well. Murphy wrote of the foolish Antonio and the strident Aquilina in Venice Preserved that "in the body of the work, we have a gross violation of all decorum, in the low buffoonery of

Antonio with Aquilina."<sup>5</sup>

Most English writers of the Restoration and the early 18th century would probably have concurred with Dryden, who thought Jonson perhaps the best of the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists after Shakespeare. Dryden admired the vivacity of the Jonsonian plays, their technical excellence in terms of plot development, and their contribution in refining the character of humours.<sup>6</sup> However, 18th-century critics also faulted Jonson for "a too servile imitation of classical models, a lack of interest in love, and an inadequate representation of women, all of which rendered his comedies cold and cynical."<sup>7</sup> As if that were not already degradation enough, numerous 18th-century critics set up a natural, but extremely unfortunate, comparison of Jonson with Shakespeare.

One of the critics' most serious jibes at Jonson concerned his erudition. All too often Jonson was faulted for making use of his learning in his works. Many critics satisfied themselves by considering Jonson pedantic rather than erudite. The anonymous author of "The Apotheosis of Milton. A Vision," which appeared in May, 1738, in The Gentleman's Magazine noted that

Upon perceving his [Jonson's]  
Pockets stuffed with Books, I  
asked my Conductor what the  
Meaning of that was. These  
Books answered he, are the Works  
of Cicero, Horace and Salust; his  
Genius being too mechanical to catch

the fine sentiments of these  
Authors, to render them natural  
 to himself by a long Familiarity  
with them he always carries their  
 8  
works about him...

It was often said that Jonson had nothing of nature in him, that all his works of "art" involved the process of crafting something original out of something hackneyed. As early as 1664 Richard Flecknoe wrote in A Short Discourse of the English Stage:

Shakespear excelled in a natural  
 Vein...and Johnson in Gravity and  
 Ponderousness of Style; whose onely  
 fault was, he was too elaborate;  
 and had he mixt less erudition with  
 his Playes, they had been more  
 plesant and delightful than they  
 are. Comparing him with Shake-  
 spear, you shall see the difference  
 9  
 betwixt Nature and Art.

The last phrase, "the difference betwixt nature and art," was the standard critical cliché of the 18th century when Shakespeare and Jonson were compared. R. G. Noyes exposes such unfair comparisons when he maintains that Jonson's characters were not condemned for being "unrepresentative," but for being "studied and wanting in passion."

Noyes notes that "The grounds of this criticism lay undoubtedly in the unphilosophical habit of comparing his com-



edies with the entirely different type of play written by Shakespeare or Beaumont and Fletcher and in judging Jonson's realistic and satirical characters in the light of the more romantic creatures of his contemporaries." <sup>10</sup> Noyes and T. S. Eliot were very much on the same track; for both saw the folly in comparing Shakespeare, the master of romantic comedies, with Jonson, unsurpassed in the comedies of humours. Noyes suggests that Jonson's reputation began its decline when the critics stopped extolling Jonson's adherence to the dramatic unities, and began criticizing his supposed lack of originality. <sup>11</sup>

Those disposed to criticize Jonson for a lack of originality were very much the precursors of William Hazlitt. Edward Capell in 1766 wrote in his Reflections on Originality in Authors: ...with a Word or Two on the Characters of Ben Johnson and Pope:

Johnson's writings are one continued series of Imitations and allusions: where he not only literally translates from the antients, many passages from whom are transfused into his performances, and chime in as regular and as if they were the product of his own invention; but he gleans as freely, and without reserve, from the modern when <sup>12</sup> they make for his purpose...

Capell believed that Jonson's borrowings were an insurmountable defect: "there is no original manner to distinguish

him, and the tedious sameness visible in his plots indicates a defect of Genius." But though Capell's argument might have had some validity had Jonson been writing in the late 18th century, when Jonson was writing no one considered "originality" that much of a virtue. Very few of Shakespeare's plots could be called original by any definition of that term. Indeed Capell's statement might be said to apply more to Shakespeare than Jonson since Shakespeare invented few of his plots, while those of Jonson's comedies are obviously fictional structures, meant to reveal character more than to tell stories. <sup>13</sup>

Noyes recalls the disenchantment of the early romantics when they fell into the trap of comparing Jonson and Shakespeare. Early romantic critics such as Hazlitt were disappointed because they felt obliged to grant that Jonson did conform to classical structure, yet they saw in Jonson none of "the newer school of sensibility, the return to nature, and freedom, all of which they found in Shakespeare." <sup>14</sup> It seems a bit much to deny "nature" to the man who wrought the beast fable to its zenith in Volpone; but Jonson was often slighted by 18th-century critics. Edward Young in Conjectures on Original Composition (1759) is perhaps a fair barometer of 18th-century critical opinion:

Shakespeare mingled no water with his wine,  
lower'd his genius by no vapid imitation.

Shakespeare gave us a Shakespeare, nor could  
the first in ancient fame have given us more.

Shakespeare is not their son, but brother;  
their equal; and that in spite of all his

faults. Think you this too bold?... Johnson,  
 in the serious drama, is as much an imitator,  
 as Shakespeare is an original.<sup>15</sup>

Young may be accused of a kind of foolishness, for to accuse any man on the basis of what appears in the worst of his works (in this case probably Jonson's tragedies) is not the act of a reasonable critic.

Late 18th-century critics did more damage to Jonson's reputation when they asserted that his characters were not natural characters at all, but caricatures. Francis Gentleman in The Dramatic Censor wrote of Jonson: ... "three of his comedies have justly received the stamp of general approbation; Volpone, Silent Woman, and Every Man in his Humor; yet even in these nature seems rather caricatur'd [sic], and there are many blamable intrusions upon delicacy of idea and expression; ..." <sup>16</sup> Gentleman's assertion as to Jonson's ability to represent multi-dimensional characters certainly was known to Hazlitt and Coleridge, since their objections to Jonson echo Gentleman's. Shortly after Gentleman wrote, a critic styled "Horatio" published a diatribe against Jonson's so-called caricatures in The Gentleman's Magazine for November 1772:

Ben was rather a good satyryst than a complete poet. He pleased himself with personifying vices and passions; while his great contemporary drew characters, such as Nature presented to him... One exalted, the other debased, the human species.<sup>17</sup>

The rather pointed prejudice evident in the last sentence is an indication of sorts that by this time (1772) Jonson was no longer receiving even a semblance of fair play. It is a glittering banality to charge that Shakespeare elevated people and Jonson destroyed them--since the given objective of satire is the public exposure of certain sorts of people.

Still another critical charge leveled against Jonson was that he had become obsolete by the late 18th century. Both Coleridge and Hazlitt would later pick up strains of this prejudice; however their prejudice was not unreasonable, for when they wrote Jonson had all but disappeared from the stage.<sup>18</sup> But when Goldsmith was writing The Vicar of Wakefield (1766) the situation was evidently quite different, and Goldsmith obviously resented the fact. In a passage in the Vicar Goldsmith's Parson questions an actor:

I demanded who were the present theatrical writers in vogue, who were the Drydens and Otways of the day.--"I fancy, Sir," cried the player, "few of our modern dramatists would think themselves much honored by being compared to the writers you mention. Dryden and Row's manner, Sir, are quite out of fashion; our taste has gone back a whole century, Fletcher, Ben Johnson, and all the plays of Shakespeare, are the only things that go down." ----"How," cried I, "is it possible the present age can be pleased with that antiquated dialect, that obsolete

humour, those over-charged characters, which  
 abound in the works you mention?"<sup>19</sup>

Goldsmith, clearly speaking through his parson, is objecting to the very fact of the Elizabethans' presence on the stage.

Goldsmith had previously attacked the practice of reviving old plays in An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe (1759). Seemingly Goldsmith criticized the style of acting as well as the old plays themselves:

What strange vamp'd comedies, farcial  
 tragedies, or what shall I call them,  
 speaking pantomimes, have we not of late  
 seen. No matter what the play may be, it  
 is the actor who draws an audience. He  
 throws life into all; all are in spirits  
 and merry, in at one door and out at another;  
 the spectator, in a fool's paradise, knows  
 not what all this means till the last act  
 concludes in matrimony. The piece pleases  
 our critics because it talks old English;  
 and it pleases the galleries, because it  
 has fun. True taste, or even common sense,  
 are out of the question.<sup>20</sup>

Goldsmith apparently found no aspect of the revivals praiseworthy, and evidently found the revivals too frivolous to be considered good drama.

All 18th-century critics were not anti-Jonson. Many wrote glowingly of the qualities they discovered in Jonson's works. Among these critics was Corbyn Morris, who praised

Jonson in An Essay Towards Fixing the True Standards of Wit, Humor, Raillery, Satire, and Ridicule (1744). Morris wrote of Jonson's characters:

Ben Jonson has humor in his characters, drawn with the most masterly skill and judgement. In accuracy, depth, propriety, and truth, he has no superior among the ancients or moderns; but the characters he exhibits are of a satirical and deceitful or of a peevish or dispicable species, as Volpone, Subtle, Morose and  
21  
Abel Drugger.

Other writers would comment on Jonson's ability to portray human nature. In A Dissertation on Comedy ... By a Student of Oxford (1750), attributed to John Hippisley, the author claimed:

Ben Johnson ... had a thorough Knowledge of human Nature, from its highest to its lowest Gradiations, was perfectly well acquainted with the various Combinations of Passions, and in the innumerable blendings of Vice and Virtue, which distinguish one Character  
22  
from another.

Another critic, Charles Churchill, composed a panegyric to Jonson called The Rosciad in 1761. A portion of the poem serves to illustrate the kind of praise Churchill lavished on Jonson:

Next Johnson sat, -- in antient learning train'd,

His rigid judgement Fancy's flight restrain'd,  
 Correctly prun'd each wild luxuriant thought,  
 Marked out her course, nor spar'd a glorious fault.  
 The Book of Man he read with nicest art,  
 And ransack'd all the secrets of the heart;... <sup>23</sup>

Unfortunately for Jonson there were too many 18th-century critics who were unwilling to look upon his works with the same sort of approbation.

Garrick's and Colman's efforts in adapting Jonson were directed wholly at making changes in the original which would make the Elizabethan and Jacobean plays acceptable. Many old curses and oaths which Jonson relied on in all his plays were no longer in current fashion. Nor did 18th-century gentlemen make such open and often crude references and allusions to things sexual as had Elizabethan gentlemen, if Jonson's characters may be taken for true examples. Such "excesses" were taboos for the stage in Garrick's time due to the 18th-century infatuation with social character decorum. And to remove charges of obsolescence when they presented an old play, Garrick and Colman were obliged to eliminate numerous Jonsonian allusions to events current in the London and England of his own time. Whether these historical references would have been understood by spectators in Garrick's time is questionable, but certainly no one without some familiarity with Elizabethan and Jacobean history and literature could have understood them.

Then, too, the very types of performances the late 18th-century audiences were demanding were radically different

from those popular in the Elizabethan and Jacobean era. Audiences wanted to see operas, pantomimes, interludes, afterpieces, sentimental comedies, and comedies of manners, in addition to revivals of classical English plays including Jonson's. In many cases the tones of these productions were entirely different from that Jonson demanded for his plays. Much that is good Jonsonian is cold, vicious, biting, and misanthropic in its satiric impact. After the Licensing Act of 1737 the English government wanted no trenchant satires staged. On the stage the forms of comedy that reigned were those of sentiment and manners, and they were the two forms most diametrically opposed, in viewpoint, to the Jonsonian. Jonson was obsolete in the sense that audiences in Garrick's time preferred comedies of sentiment and passion to comedies of humours.

Jonson's humours characters were particularly viable in his frenetic, neo-Aristophanic moral satires. His humours characters are at once inhuman and human, such as Volpone who tramples upon almost all standards of Western society in his lusty schemes. Volpone's actions serve to convince audiences his beast name, the Fox, is all too deserved. By contrast, Goldsmith's She Stoops to Conquer provides an archetype for the kinds of characters Garrick's audiences found "correct;" there are few low characters and no vulgar speeches in Goldsmith. Above all Goldsmith's characters are never inhuman. Goldsmith's characters of manners are not really comparable to Jonson's humours characters in Epicoene, because some of Epicoene's characters are low and some have



vulgar speeches. All of Jonson's characters spring from a different impulse than that which inspired Goldsmith. Jonson's characters are not drawn solely from life; they also stem from the history of comic drama since Greek old comedy. I do not suggest that there was no satire in 18th-century comedies, but rather that it was a far less harsh, less destructive form than Jonson employed.

CHAPTER II  
THE GARRICK ALTERATION

In 1751 Garrick revised and staged Every Man in his Humour at Drury Lane. In Act I of Every Man in his Humour Garrick apparently changed remarkably little. He even used Jonson's scene divisions. Yet the small changes that Garrick made throughout Act I are indicative of the radical changes made later in the play. For instance, in scene iv the talk between Master Matthew and Cob about Cob's "lineage" is cut altogether. This would appear at first glance to be a minor omission for the purpose of shortening the play. Actually Garrick was doing something both he and Colman evidently approved--cutting out the lines, whenever possible, of the "low" characters. "Low" in Garrick's time referred to those characters not molded under the rules of social decorum. Goldsmith protested the power of the critics in deciding what comic characterizations were low in An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe (1759):

However, by the power of one single monosyllable, our critics have almost got the victory over humor amongst us. Does the poet paint the absurdities of the vulgar; then he is low: does he exaggerate the features of folly, to

render it more thoroughly ridiculous, he is then very low. In short, they have proscribed the comic or satyrical muse from every walk but high life, which though abounding in fools as well as the humblest station, is by no means so fruitful in absurdity...

Under circumstances such as Goldsmith describes, writers seeking success upon the stage must have been forced to exercise due caution.

Garrick was quite consistent about following the rules of social decorum, and the expurgations he made as a result stand out for two reasons: first, Cob, Tib, and Formal have small parts in the original, so dismembering their roles is a rather noticeable difference from the original; and second, doing away with their roles heightens the role of Kitely, especially as Garrick made additions to Kitely's part. These crucial alterations mean that, while the play was still called Every Man in his Humour, in fact it was a play of but one man's manner.

In shortening the play Garrick generally did not omit complete speeches. Garrick might easily have done away with the parts of either Master Matthew or Master Stephen. By retaining only one of these gulls Garrick would have lost little because they are virtually identical characters. The fact that both gentlemen-fools are retained with few changes suggests that they were more acceptable characters than Cob and Tib. Garrick cut out a few lines from Bobadill's particularly

verbose speeches, but that sort of condensation is hardly noticeable compared to Cob's. In Act I scene iv Cob has a long soliloquy wherein he reveals Bobadill's habit of frequenting Kately's house and Bobadill's love for Bridget. It is this sort of speech that, when cut out by Garrick, circumscribed Cob's role beyond recognition. In the same vein Tib's second appearance in Act I scene v is completely done away with, and without saving any time, for Tib merely appears silently on the stage with Bobadill and Master Matthew. This may perhaps be the best proof that Garrick had objections to the "lowness" of such characters.

Many of Garrick's contemporaries would have concurred with his decision to reduce the roles of Cob and Tib. Colman's Advertisement to his alteration of King Lear notes:

Romeo, Cymbeline, and Every Man in his Humour, have long been refined  
of the dross that hindered them  
from being current with the Publick... 2

Apparently then Garrick was sure his audience believed that Cob and Tib were part of the "dross" that had to be removed for a successful staging of Every Man in his Humour. Indeed, the changes Garrick made in these roles resulted in their virtual exclusion from any meaningful participation in the revised play. The most likely reason for their displacement lies in the fact that they both contravene the standards of social character decorum. Their language would not have been indecorous to the 18th-century critics, but they failed to keep their proper distance from Kately and other characters

of the higher classes. Garrick probably felt his effort to eradicate indecorous characters and scenes from the play was not entirely successful because his prologue includes a plea for tolerance:

Yet let not Prejudice infect your Mind  
 Nor slight the Gold, because not quite refin'd;  
 With no false Niceness this Performance view,  
 Nor damn for Low, whate'er is just and true.<sup>3</sup>

Garrick's method of shortening the speeches of the other characters is equally interesting. He decided to retain the essence of the lengthy speeches and soliloquies of Braine-Worm, Kitley, Downe-Right, the Kno'wells and Well-Bred and eliminate only those lines he felt were superfluous to the gist of what the character meant to say. Garrick retained part of the elder Kno'well's railing speech in II. v. against the new vices of the young and the sins of greed, lechery, and gluttony that old Kno'well claimed his generation were now teaching the young, but left out many of the lines Jonson had characteristically put in as necessary embellishment. The typical Jonsonian passage reads:

To my sharp boy, at twelve: repeating still,  
 The rule, Get money, Boy;  
No matter, by what means; Money will doe  
More, Boy, then my Lords letter. Neither have I  
 Drest snailles, or mushromes, curiously before him,  
 Perfumed my sauces, and taught him to make 'hem,  
 Preceeding still, with my grey gluttonie,  
 At all the ordinaries: and only fear'd

His palate should degenerate, not his manners.

These are the trade of fathers, now!<sup>4</sup> (II. v).

In Garrick's version the same passage was amended to read:

To my sharp boy at twelve: repeating still

The rule Get money; still, Get Money, Boy;

No matter by what means.

These are the Trade of Fathers, now!<sup>5</sup>

Jonson's old Kno'well actually rants in the original. This is an artistically sound portrayal because, as everyone knows, any father is capable of vociferous and foolish anger. But given the elder Kno'well's position as an English gentleman, it remains questionable as to whether this speech conforms with the rules of social decorum. There is some reason to believe that old Kno'well would have been considered indecorous by Garrick's contemporaries. After all, Arthur Murphy declares positively that the foolishness of the old Senator, Antonio, in Otway's Venice Preserved was a gross violation of all decorum.<sup>6</sup> I tend to doubt that old Kno'well's foolishness would have been considered more decorous by influential critics. Even if it were Garrick's intention to cut lines to save time in presentation, he can be given only some credit--he did not preserve the robust character of the original.

That Garrick was a believer in social character decorum would be reasonably easy to prove on the basis of what happens in his adaptation. He trimmed away many of the curses, suggestive passages, and other "improprieties" that can be associated with Every Man in his Humour in general, and with Bobadill in particular. To have separated Bobadill from all

his verbal excesses would have meant changing fundamentally his nature as the cowardly soldier-braggart leading a circle of fools, but also would have left Garrick with the problem of what to do with what remained. Fortunately, Garrick was willing to chance leaving in some of those strange oaths, regarding which Cob remarks, "he dos sweare the legiblest, of any man cristned: By St. George, the foot of the Pharaoh, the body of me, as I am a gentleman and a souldier: such dantie oathes!" (I. iv).<sup>7</sup> Garrick would not let stand some of Jonson's most sanguine and earthy words, current in the Elizabethan and Jacobean lexicon but which must have sounded strange to 18th-century ears tempered to tolerate only their own standards of decorum. A good example occurs in Act II scene ii of the original in which Downe-Right swears, "if I put it up so, say, I am the rankest cow that ever pist."<sup>8</sup> Garrick changed the pith of that sentiment to read "if I put it up so, say, I am the rankest Coward ever liv'd."<sup>9</sup> And so it appears in making this enervating change from the original that Garrick believed, as he noted in his Advertisement: "the Distance of 150 Years, had rendered some of the Humour too obsolete to be hazarded in the Representation at present."<sup>10</sup> Garrick was not telling the whole truth because the metaphor cited above could not have been "obsolete." In this instance Garrick must have given in to prevailing 18th-century prejudices against Jonson's indelicate expressions.

Garrick can be accused of one serious structural deviation from the original--his reworking of the fourth act. Garrick had quite effectively, as Noyes noted, combined some

of Jonson's scenes, thus making longer scenes within the acts, saving set changes, allowing additional speeches, and keeping major characters on stage for longer periods. <sup>11</sup> Except for the last, these effects might have made for a better staging of the play; but Garrick had cast himself in the role of Kately, and part of the changes had the effect of keeping Kately on stage longer, having him say more, and making the action revolve around his particular humour--a combination of suspicion and jealousy. In making these changes Garrick was obviously changing the whole tenor of the original. In Acts II, III, and IV Garrick staged many of the scenes continuously and thereby not only stressed the role of Kately, but eliminated that of Cob. This does not mean that Garrick was trying to upstage anyone: Woodward was in the cast and was famous for his Bobadill. I am suggesting that in doing away with some characters, and in building up the role of Kately, Garrick may have pleased his critical audience; but he did so only by circumventing the tenor and vigorous purpose of the original play, i.e., the presentation of many exaggerated characters. Jonson intended his play to show several men in their humours, which is another way of saying in their distinctive, unique and repetitious forms of behaviour. Garrick, rather than showing several men in their humours, actually succeeds in showing only one man, Kately, in his exaggerated mannerisms. Garrick subverted the all-inclusiveness of the original in favor of a circumscribed, but more highly unified, adaptation.

In Act II Garrick played scenes i, ii, and iii contin-



uously as one. In scene iii of the original Cob makes an appearance and speaks briefly with Kitely. Garrick left Cob entirely out and began this part with Kitely's long soliloquy which in Jonson follows immediately. Garrick did much the same thing in Act III, but to greater effect. Again Garrick combined the second scene with the first to make his scene longer. It is in scene iv of the original that Garrick did his damage. This is one of Cob's great scenes--the scene where he lets Cash reveal the full extent of his ignorance regarding the theory of humours, and also where Cob once again claims kinship with a red herring in his tirade against fast days. Garrick did away with the scene entirely, thereby removing the sharpness and buoyancy inherent in Jonson. Herford and Simpson commented on the great extent to which Garrick cut Cob's part. They noted "Dryden had already commented on it [Cob's humour] as 'mechanic humour' depending upon the tankard."<sup>12</sup> Cob's humour may be mechanic and it may depend upon Cob's drinking, but these things in no way make it a less amusing humour. Again for the sake of fastidious adherence to 18th-century standards, Garrick cut out a valuable humour character. One wonders in light of the numerous deletions if the revision still deserved to retain the original title. In passing over Cash's definition of the humour theory, Garrick passed by an opportunity that Jonson dangled before his eyes--to present Jonson's evaluation of the characters in this play and in all his other humour comedies. Jonson had Cob say to Cash:

Humour? mack, I thinke it be so,

indeed: what is that humour? some  
rare thing, I warrant.

And Cash makes his playful (but truthful) reply:

Mary, Ile tell thee, Cob: It is a  
gentleman-like monster, bred in the  
special gallantrie of our time, by  
affectation; and fed by folly.<sup>13</sup>

Garrick also left out Cob's diatribe against tobacco in scene v of the original. That impertinence on Cob's part led to his beating by the tobacco-loving bully Bobadill, and to the amusing scene vii where Cob seeks justice from old Clement and gets only senile abuse, both of which scenes Garrick wholly left out.

Garrick's omission of III. vii. is important since dropping this entire scene means that not only Cob's humour is neglected, but Justice Clement's also. Clement might well have been considered indecorous by critics in Garrick's time. In the scene with Cob, Clement reveals in his senile abuse of Cob that his humour is crabbed old age. Clement's unpredictable actions make him appear rather ridiculous, and his threatening attitude toward Cob would be conventionally indecorous in any age. And perhaps Clement's indecorous nature explains why, according to Noyes, no actor became established in that role.<sup>14</sup> That fact is probably the strongest indication that Justice Clement did not meet with the critics' approbation. In dropping Clement in whole, or in part, the revision lost still another engaging humours character. The rigors imposed upon the adaptation by the critics were be-

coming telling blows to the spirit of the original.

Act IV marks Garrick's greatest deviation from the tone and structure of the original. Garrick makes the entire act revolve around Kitley's paroxysm of jealousy. He was obviously trying to lessen the caustic and vituperative satire Jonson directed against several of the play's foolish characters. By cutting out many of the speeches of the gulls, Master Matthew, Master Stephen, and Formal, Garrick subdued the display of their humours. These alterations satisfied Garrick's desire to streamline the production by highlighting one character rather than many. With the alterations Garrick was in effect not only changing the range of the satiric attack, but also changing the nature of the play from humours comedy to something closer to a comedy of manners; for in making Kitley's misguided love the essential lesson in false humours, Garrick was shunting aside Jonson's wide frontal assaults on other varieties of idiocy. In recasting Kitley's role Garrick gave his Kitley more excuse for jealousy than Jonson's ever had. Thus Garrick retained the moral satire against Kitley while at the same time removing much of the venom from the original satire on Kitley. Garrick created a non-Jonsonian character, one who has much less gullibility and more ordinary humanity than Jonson's, and consequently one who suffers far less ridicule than any of the master's figures bred "by affectation; and fed by folly."

Act IV in Garrick's adaptation proceeds just as does the original to scene iv. The only deviations to that point are the running together of the scenes--again only to save

set changes--and the omission of much of the poetical talk surrounding Master Matthew's attempt to give a poetry reading. Except for circumscribing Master Matthew's foolishness, nothing important to the tenor of the act has been left out until scene iv (Cob's and Tib's railing at each other for infidelity), which is cut altogether. This is rather unfortunate because Jonson's scene provides an amusing picture of the lower classes aping the follies of their "betters" and because the scene contains distinct parallels with the case of Kately and his wife. Garrick's purpose in dropping the scene was at least in part to keep Kately and his problems on the stage, as they continue to be the main focus of the action in the revised scene. This continued presentation of Kately's problems marks the beginning of the rearranging and additions that Garrick made in the remainder of the act.

Rather than discuss Garrick's departures from the original in terms of what he changed scene by scene, I shall describe the events in both versions and the ways in which they are alike or different. After Kately breaks up the brawl, in both versions he goes off with Cash looking for Young Kno'well who he believes is hidden somewhere in the house. Then Garrick's version contains abbreviated accounts of Braine-Worm's being disguised as Clement's man Formal, and of the cowardice revealed in the blustering Bobadill when Downe-Right beats him and he refuses to lift a finger in his own defense. As usual, Garrick retains the sense of what the characters are and trims away only the "superfluous" lines in Jonson's declamatory style. At this point Garrick introduced

his new material.

In the original scene viii Kately, Well-Bred, Dame Kately, and Bridget are talking; and Kately accuses Well-Bred of making trouble. Well-Bred denies this and claims that for all Kately knows his real trouble is that his wife has poisoned him. Kately immediately imagines that he has indeed been poisoned, and Well-Bred accuses him of jealousy. In Garrick, Kately and Cash, off to themselves in the house, hear laughter. Kately sends Cash to find out if the others are laughing at him. Cash returns and reports that they are laughing at the strange clothing of Formal (actually Braine-Worm disguised). Then in both versions Braine-Worm tells Kately that Clement wants to see him--a complete lie. In the original Kately takes Cash aside and tells him he trusts him to keep a close watch on Dame Kately and then leaves, calling for Cob to go along. In Garrick's version when Braine-Worm tells the lie Kately is reconciled with his wife and asks her only to stay closer to home or else go out with him. He claims that he has been driven by jealousy, then goes out calling for Cob. In both versions Dame Kately is puzzled; and Well-Bred, for the sake of a joke, tells her Cob's wife is a bawd. Then in both plays Dame Kately calls for Cash to accompany her to Cob's house. Now Well-Bred and Bridget are alone after Braine-Worm leaves, and Well-Bred tells her of Young Kno'well's love for her. In the original Bridget accuses Well-Bred of being a pander; but Garrick, mindful of his critics, uses the euphemism "go-between." Then in both versions Kately charges in, angry at being falsely sent to

Clement's house, and wanting to know where his wife is. In both cases Well-Bred tells him that she and Cash have gone to Cob's house, whereupon Kately rushes out believing he has been cuckolded. Thus ends Act IV in Garrick's adaptation.

The crux of Garrick's adaptation is built around Kately's jealousy scene at the end of Act IV. Kately's verbal confession of jealousy is positively un-Jonsonian. Jonson's characters do not confess their follies and vices--they act them out. Jonson's Kately never tells Cash that he is jealous, rather he acts strangely suspicious. This is the crux of the original character; his humour is not really jealousy but a combination of unnecessary suspicion and mistrust. Garrick was really changing the characterization from the complicated humours character based on Elizabethan psychology to the more simplified character of manners based on commonplace affectation. Kately may be more refined in Garrick's version but he is less subtle than Jonson's merchant.

Garrick uses two scenes from the end of the original Act IV for the first scenes in his Act V. In the first of these scenes Bobadill and Matthew apply to Braine-Worm (still disguised as Formal) for a warrant to arrest Downe-Right. In the second Old Kno'well enters Cob's house believing it is a brothel, but Dame Kately and Cash come in looking for Kately. Finally Kately himself enters; accusations and counter accusations pour forth until Kately decides he will take the whole group to Justice Clement's house to resolve their problems. In both plays a denouement of the curious delusions and follies of the characters involved follows.

But in Garrick's version there is no real sense of guilty characters' peculiar idiosyncrasies being purged, which happens quite naturally in the original. In fact the harsh, almost perverse natures of Jonson's characters calls for a meaningful reckoning with a representative of society (the Justice Clement) and their own mistakes. In Garrick's adaptation the forms are roughly the same but much is missing from the characters--such as Cob's belief that he has been cuckolded, Old Kno'well's self-rightousness, Downe-Right's unreasoning anger at the fools--and from the strange scenes with Clement, Kno'well and Cob, all of which go a long way toward unraveling the varying forms of humours Jonson chose to exhibit. The effect of stressing Kitley's jealousy means that the other characters, especially those involved in the elder Kno'well's scheme, lose much of their satiric force; their scenes and lines are sacrificed for the sake of changing Kitley, to make him the main character in a "new" play closer to a comedy of manners than it is to the original humours satire.

### CHAPTER III

#### COLMAN'S ALTERATION AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

Colman's method in adapting Epicoene for presentation under Garrick's direction at Drury Lane in 1776 clearly shows the influence of Garrick and the 18th-century critics upon him. He differed from Garrick, if at all, in the minor details of arranging the form the alteration would take. Even Colman's advertisement reads much like Garrick's:

To remove the objections to the performance of this excellent play on the modern stage, has been the chief labour, and sole ambition, of the present editor. It may be remembered, that the Spanish Curate, the Little Franch Lawyer, and Scornful Lady of our authors, Beaumont and Fletcher, as well as the Silent Woman of Jonson, all favorite entertainments of our predecessors, have, within these few years, encountered the severity of the pit, and received sentence of condemnation.

Possibly Colman doubted all objections to his performance of Epicoene had been removed. In part, his prologue asks the audience to accept the play in spite of its faults:

If once, with hearty stomachs to regale,



On old Ben Jonson's fare, Tho' somewhat stale,  
 A meal on Bobadil you deign'd to make,  
 Take Epicoene for his and Kitley's sake!<sup>2</sup>

These lines suggest Colman was well aware, as Garrick had been in the case of Every Man in his Humour, that the play was not entirely refined by 18th-century standards.

Colman was somewhat more concerned than Garrick had been about censoring Jonson's language. And he had a curious way of dividing the long Jonsonian speeches up into two or three sections rather than deleting a certain few lines as Garrick usually did. He, too, pursued a policy of omitting the parts of the "low" indecorous characters whenever practicable, just as Garrick had in Every Man in his Humour. His deletions are as noticeable in Epicoene as Garrick's are in Every Man in his Humour.

In Act I of the original when Clerimont and Truewit are conversing on how a man should spend his time, Clerimont accuses Truewit of having read Plutarch's Morals: "Foh, thou hast read Plutarch's Morals now, or some such tedious fellow, and it shows vilely with thee, 'fore God, 'twill spoil thy wit utterly."<sup>3</sup> Colman retained the exact wording of the lines--except for the "'fore God," oath which he omitted. This is the very same kind of oath that Jonson used often in conformity with the standards of artistic character decorum. Jonson knew that gentlemen often swore; and because he felt obliged to mimic reality, i.e., to observe artistic character decorum, his characters often swear.

Although it would have been impossible for Colman to

have purged the play of its sexual innuendoes and still have had an end product that at least partially resembled the original, the explicit sexual references appear to have offended Colman especially. For example, in Act I scene ii of the original, Truewit bluntly tells Dauphine that unless he does something to stop Morose's marriage either a servant of Morose will make the bride pregnant, or Morose may manage to beget his own heir, but that either way Dauphine will no longer be the natural heir. Jonson's Truewit chides:

Yes, and be poor and beg, do, innocent,  
 when some groom of his has got him an  
 heir, or his barber, if he himself  
 cannot. Innocent!--I pray thee, Ned,  
 where lies she? Let him be innocent  
 still.<sup>4</sup>

And Colman renders precisely the same speech--

Yes, and be poor, and beg; do, innocent;  
 I pr'ythee, Ned, where lives she? let  
 him be innocent still.<sup>5</sup>

The last substitution of "lives" for "lies" points up rather clearly Colman's desire to remove anything vaguely suggestive in sexual terms whenever possible. Still, though in this instance the sexual references are not vital to the development of the plot--they are important to the vigor and liveliness of Jonson's characters. And to omit this sort of line leaves the remainder with a staid, un-Jonsonian sound.

Colman, much as Garrick had been, was quite heavy-handed when it came to excluding characters for their supposed

indecorous "lowness." This critical prejudice can safely be ascribed to Colman, as on at least one occasion he gives the lines spoken by a boy servant to one of the gentlemen--thus cutting the servant out of the conversation altogether. In Act I scene i Colman gives the lines describing Morose's habits to Clerimont. Jonson had a boy servant speaking those same lines in the original. And in the beginning of the act most of the lines the boy had in the original are gone, so that in Colman there is no conversation as such between Clerimont and his boy. Colman was very insistent upon not having the boy speak if possible. He was able to cut out the lines in which the boy announced Dauphine's approach by having Clerimont exclaim alertly at the end of a speech: "See, who comes here!"<sup>6</sup> Colman may have been afraid the servant, who matter-of-factly enters the conversation of two gentlemen, would not be tolerated by the 18th-century critics conscious of the proper socially decorous standards of conduct between master and servant. However, Colman probably did save a small sum of money by trimming this part.

Colman did have a rather strange manner of condensing the long Jonsonian bombastic speeches. He and Garrick both favored dropping lines of the original whenever it was felt they were extraneous to the gist of the speech. In Act II scene ii of the original Truewit rails at Morose over the difficulties inherent in wives. Colman probably doubted that any actor could deliver Truewit's long speeches in this scene without having to pause awkwardly for breath somewhere in the middle. So, Colman solved the actor's problem by giving him

about a third of his lines, and then having Morose interrupt for a line with an objection that came at the end in the original. Then, about two-thirds of the way through the speech Colman has Morose interrupt as before.<sup>7</sup> This has the effect of lessening the power and sensationalism of Truewit's lines, in that, when they are broken down into segments, Truewit seems less overwhelming than he originally did in Jonson's play. Colman does this same thing further on in the play with other characters' speeches, and the effect is nearly always the same. Rather than engaging in Jonson's hyperbolic oratory, the characters appear as if they were having an ordinary drawing-room conversation.

Again, as Garrick had done before, Colman managed to mute Jonson's satire by leaving out much that was vital and by rearranging the position of a most important act. Colman's alteration was similarly contrived to change the play from a humours comedy to a comedy of manners. In Jonson's Act III Morose is stunned to learn in scene iv that not only does Epicoene have an unpleasant voice, but also a shrewish manner of getting her way with Morose, i.e., by screaming at him. Morose is gripped with a mad paroxysm of rage when he discovers the sad truth about Epicoene; in scene iv he rails at her and in scene v calls curses down upon the matchmaker Cutbeard's head. Colman deleted the entire scene iv and all references in scene v to Epicoene's "Amazonian impudence"<sup>8</sup> and to Cutbeard's treachery. Colman has rewritten Jonson's play so that Morose is happy and contented with Epicoene, who remains silent for all of Act III and most of Act IV;

and he is tortured only by the noise of Truewit and the noisy reception he brings to Morose's house in the form of La Foole, Daw, the Ladies Collegiates, and the Otters. And it is only these people whose noise tortures Morose until midway through Act IV.

By altering Act III as he did Colman achieved two things. First, by omitting Morose's cursing of Cutbeard, he cut the most socially indecorous scenes in the play. Actually, Morose's entire association with Cutbeard would have to be considered conventionally indecorous because Cutbeard is really no more or less than Morose's pandar. Second, the scenes cut reflect Colman's attempt to rework a humours character into a manners character. Morose's humour, a kind of malignant self-centered will to have his own way, is muted into something less bad by Colman. Jonson's Morose is largely his own worst enemy; Colman's Morose has more of the victim in him than the fool. When Epiccoene was revived in 1752 by Garrick, Thomas Davies played Cutbeard. Davies apparently felt the entire play was indecorous:

The managers aquired neither profit nor reputation by the exhibition of it. Some expressions met with severe marks of the spectator's displeasure. The character of Morose, upon whose peevish and perverse humour the plot of the comedy depends, is that of a whimsical recluse, whose disposition can bear no sound but that which he

utters himself. If this were the whole of his character he would still be a good object for comic satire, but the melancholy of Morose degenerates into malice and cruelty.<sup>9</sup>

In Act IV of the revision Colman inserted the scene from III. iv of the original that he omitted earlier. It is at this point, and not long before as in Jonson's version, that the long-suffering Morose is pushed to the very limits of his endurance.<sup>10</sup> Whereas, in the Jonsonian play Morose has to suffer the double tortures of noise from Epicoene and the revelers for nearly half the play, Colman had it arranged so that Morose underwent this trial but very briefly near the end of the play. Morose's character itself seems to have undergone a metamorphosis from an indignant enraged man to an indignant timid man. All of the pointed elaborate curses that Jonson's Morose rains down upon the head of Cutbeard-- "May he get the itch and his shop so lousy as no man dare come at him, nor he dare come at no man.... Let his warming pan be ever cold.... Let him never hope to see fire again"--<sup>11</sup> all of these representations of Morose's wrath are missing in Colman's play, and Morose is allowed nothing stronger than, "That I should be seduc'd by so foolish a devil as a barber will make."<sup>12</sup> That timidity in Morose's reaction is very far from the kind Jonson intended for Morose, and indeed, one would expect a more vituperative reaction than Colman allowed. However, the reaction is in line with Colman's intention to produce a less malicious Morose.

A similar degree of venom is taken out of the play's original ending by Colman's replacing and condensing the Jonsonian with an un-Jonsonian ending. In the original Morose is forced to undergo a long grilling by Truewit and Cutbeard and Otter (disguised as divorce lawyers) on all the possible grounds he might have for divorce. In the original it turns out that poor Morose has no grounds, according to the bogus panel, but to admit that he is impotent publicly. This is a horrible solution to Morose; but he has been driven nearly mad and so finally, in front of the Ladies Collegiate, he announces: "I am no man, ladies."<sup>13</sup> This admission completely deflates Morose, and he plainly no longer cares when Dauphine reveals that Epicoene is really a boy. In Colman, Morose is saved the horrible shame of admitting he is impotent because Colman rewrote the scene so that, in exchange for his rightful inheritance, Dauphine reveals to Morose's great surprise and perhaps even joy that Epicoene is a boy and that therefore they are not married.<sup>14</sup> Thus all blows are muted by Colman; Morose is not forced into a shameful admission, and there is every sign he will recover speedily. Jonson was, in this case at least, interested in completely destroying a character's humour rather than saving him from any shame. There is no common ground shared by the two dramatists who were so obviously trying to do things so different with the same material.

One technical difference between Colman and Garrick becomes obvious in the matter of arranging Jonson's scenes. Garrick ran them together often; but he did mark scenes,

using in Act I at least the same scene divisions that Jonson used. Colman marked no scenes at all in his adaptation, although in places, as in his Act I, he followed Jonson closely. The decision to omit scene divisions may have been the printers rather than Colman's. Colman (or the printers) preferred to let the managers, actors, or readers decide where the acts divided into differing scenes. But apart from that difference, and Garrick's attempt to enlarge one of the roles (Kitely's), Colman and Garrick, for obvious reasons, approached the business of adaptation in very similar styles.

The question of styles of adaptation brings me back to the larger questions I held out in the beginning; why did Garrick and Colman try to change the nature of the comedies from harsh satires to something weaker; why were they dissatisfied with the long, railing, but completely Jonsonian speeches; and why did they feel it necessary to eliminate almost totally certain characters? The answers, I am certain, lie in the 18th-century concepts of decorum and of comedy itself. Social character decorum had displaced artistic character decorum, and the comedy of manners had long replaced humours comedy as the favorite stage entertainment. Some critics, perhaps even Noyes, might defend certain of these alterations; but as I have tried to show, I believe they succeeded only in cutting the essence of what is great and natural to the Jonsonian plays.

Though the Garrick revision of Every Man in his Humour was popular while Garrick acted, there is evidence to suggest



that when he retired his adaptation was seldom acted. After Garrick's retirement in 1776 Every Man in his Humour was acted only 15 times through the 1783-84 season. After 1784 the play went into oblivion until revived for two performances in 1798. Garrick's alteration was performed at least 20 times in the five years (1770-75) prior to his retirement. Also, two other Jonson plays, Volpone and The Alchemist had several performances each between 1770 and 1776.<sup>15</sup>

It would appear the Jonsonian plays pleased audiences not for their merit alone, but for the competence of the actors. As the passage from Goldsmith on page 17 indicates, audiences responded especially to the acting in revivals of old plays; however Goldsmith also suggests that audiences found virtues in the language and comic nature of the plays alone.

Clearly, the Jonson revivals with Garrick in a leading role were much more popular than the Covent Garden performances of the same plays. For example, on November 8, 1771 Garrick appeared as Kiteley in Every Man in his Humour; and receipts that night totaled 243 pounds, 9 shillings, and 6 pence. The preceding night the same work had been played at Covent Garden; but that performance garnered only 167 pounds and 10 shillings.<sup>16</sup> Covent Garden performances of Every Man in his Humour were not often monetarily rewarding while Garrick was active. Four of six Covent Garden performances in the 1771-72 season fell well below 200 pounds in receipts.<sup>17</sup> It must have discouraged the Covent Garden producers when, in the course of a season, their worst night monetarily with Every Man in his Humour (Dec. 18, 1771) fell over 100 pounds shy of

Garrick's best night (Nov. 8, 1771) of the same season. One fact remains certain--once Garrick and Colman stopped reclaiming Jonson he virtually passed from the English stage until the 20th century. Even in this century Jonson has had only scattered revivals. This is, in my opinion, the most unfortunate circumstance of all. Garrick and Colman should get some credit for prolonging Jonson in any form before the public--he deserves to be more than a relic in any time.

The question remains this, finally: did the Garrick and Colman alterations genuinely prolong the life of Jonson's plays on the English stage? Judging from the number of times Jonson's best plays appeared, one must conclude that the alterations did prolong the life of the Jonsonian plays. The Alchemist, Volpone, Every Man in his Humour, and Epi-  
coene had a total of nearly 50 performances between 1770 and 1784.<sup>18</sup> However, Garrick's influence and acting ability had a great deal to do with the relative success of a great many of the Jonson revivals. This might suggest that it was Garrick's presence on the stage which alone kept the Jonsonian drama "alive." Garrick's old company had less success with Every Man in his Humour after his retirement. For two performances of the play in 1784 the company received a combined total of 347 pounds, 4 shillings and 6 pence.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, one reviewer was far from convinced as to the value of Colman's version of Epicoene, in which Garrick did not appear: "Upon the whole we cannot esteem this a striking comedy, even with the assistance it has now received--the fine manner in which it is got up, and the great expence

which the managers have been at in habiting the whole dramatic personae in splendid and characteristic Old English dresses." <sup>20</sup> Reading reviews such as these must have disheartened Colman and Garrick. As has been shown they went to much trouble to make the Jonsonian plays over into something closer to the 18th-century comedy of manners. Quite possibly that was simply too great a transmutation to please anyone a great deal, especially after the 18th-century comedies of manners passed from the stage.

APPENDIX A  
PERSPECTIVES ON JONSONIAN CRITICISM

The validity of examining Jonson's critical thought and his actual practice in one or two of his plays, stems from the resultant pictures of Jonson such tests present, as opposed to the notions of him the late 18th-century critics tried to present.

In his essay on comedy and tragedy Jonson wrote:

The parts of a comedy are the same with a tragedy, and the end is partly the same, for they both delight and teach: the comics are called didaskaloi [teachers] of the Greeks, no less than the tragics. Nor is the moving of laughter always the end of comedy, that is rather a fowling for the people's delight, or their fooling.<sup>1</sup>

It is certain that Jonson's intention in his best comedies was to present a social satire, and thus he could rightly claim to be didactic after the mode of the Greeks. The Alchemist is a representative example--a city comedy whose humours characters reveal the several kinds of folly which develop in the headlong pursuit of "easy" gain. Jonson's claim that laughter is "a fowling for the people's delight, or their fooling" illustrates the fondness with which Jon-

son brought laughter to bear to highlight his satire. For Jonson made laughter the means to an end within his satiric comedies--the more the audience laughed the more scorn was in effect being heaped upon a gull.

In Volpone Jonson lets Mosca take advantage of the deafness of the senile Corbaccio:

Corbaccio: I may have my youth restored  
to me, why not?

Mosca (aside): Your worship is a precious  
ass--

Corbaccio: What sayest thou?

Mosca: I do desire your worship to  
make haste, sir.<sup>2</sup>

Jonson obviously intended his audience to laugh not only at Corbaccio's deafness but at his incredible credulity; and Mosca's wit only highlights Corbaccio's greed. Jonson's comment upon laughter in comedy is directed at this particular kind of laughter which he often injected into his comedies. This laughter satirization was exactly the kind of humor any class of Elizabethan could appreciate, as opposed to the innumerable witticisms in Jonson which only a gentleman would see--such as the scene in Act II of Epiccene where Daw reveals his ignorance by heaping undeserved abuse upon the ancients.<sup>3</sup> Such scenes expose more fully than most others the kinds of folly Jonson was satirizing.

In discussing the Aristotelean idea of unity of action Jonson wrote: "The fable is called the imitation of one entire and perfect action, whose parts are so joined and

knit together as nothing in the structure can be changed or taken away without impairing or troubling the whole, of which there is a proportionable magnitude in the members."<sup>4</sup> Jonson goes on to explain his definition of a dramatic plot by stating that it should include only those coherent actions which lead to an ultimate end. He gives the example of Sophocles' Ajax wherein all the actions stem from the denial of Achilles' armour to Ajax, which results in Ajax's going mad and out of shame committing suicide. Jonson writes, "These things agree and hang together, not as they were done, but as seeming to be done, which made the action whole, entire, and absolute."<sup>5</sup>

What, then, do Jonson's definitions of complete dramatic action reflect upon a play such as Volpone which contains a subplot that, superficially at least, has nothing whatever to do with the main plot of Volpone's confidence game? Considered apart from possible symbolic significance, Sir Politic and Lady Would-be appear to function in the usual Elizabethan manner of providing a comic relief element in a play otherwise remarkable for its seriousness of moral tone. But Sir Politic and his Lady cannot really be divorced from the beast fable symbolism. According to Jonas Barish, "he is Sir Pol, the chattering poll parrot, and his wife is a deadlier specimen of the same species."<sup>6</sup> Sir Politic and Lady Would-be thus function as mirrors reflecting a form of perversity analogous to, though less malevolent than, that which Volpone, Mosca, and their prey exhibit. Barish summed up the role of the subplot characters most

effectively: "Sir Pol figures as a comic distortion of Volpone. As his name implies, he is the would-be politician, the speculator manque, the unsuccessful enterpriser...

Lady Would-be, for her part, joins the dizzy game of legacy hunting. Her antics caricature the more sinister gestures of Corvino, Voltore, and Corbaccio." <sup>7</sup> Apparently then, Jonson's subplot can be considered an important part of the main action. When making their alterations Colman and Garrick lessened the importance of subplot characters, or did away with them altogether.

Two other Jonson humours comedies, Epicoene and The Alchemist, exhibit more nearly what Jonson meant by "one entire and perfect action." Neither Epicoene nor The Alchemist has any sort of subplot which might be construed as a deviation from the main plot. In Epicoene all the scenes revolve in some manner about the initial problem, the revision in Morose's will which Dauphine and his cohorts would have blocked. All of the characters introduced, even the Ladies Collegiate, contribute in some way to the discomfiture of Morose; and, in helping to drive Morose from his unreasonable position, each character contributes something to the completeness of the whole action. Similarly, in The Alchemist there are no extraneous characters who range beyond the scope of the confidence game operated by Subtle and Face. As in Volpone, there are three would-be parasites--but there is no set of characters who stand alongside them reflecting the parasite's peculiar vices. Epicoene and The Alchemist are perhaps more tightly constructed plays



than Volpone, but in terms of Jonsonian critical evaluations, they are no better.

Concepts of poetic taste were of great concern to Jonson. He wrote: "Nothing in our age, I have observed, is more preposterous than the running judgements upon poetry and poets, when we shall hear those things commended and cried up for the best writings which a man would scarce vouchsafe to wrap any wholesome drug in: he would never light his tobacco with them--and those men almost named for miracles who yet are so vile that if a man should go about to examine and correct them he must make all they have done but one blot."<sup>8</sup> And Jonson lets it be known who the poets are whose writings he would style "but one blot." Jonson claimed that the taste of "the multitude" made certain writers loved for betraying their ignorance. He bemoaned the fact that "a man cannot imagine that thing so foolish or rude but will find and enjoy an admirer, at least a reader or spectator. The puppets are seen now in despite of the players: Heath's epigrams and the Sculler's poems have their applause."<sup>9</sup> Ralph Walker explains that the "Sculler" was John Taylor a Thames waterman and a popular versifier. John Heath was a writer of popular epigrams. Clearly Jonson abhorred whatever in literature was designed to please the uneducated masses. His criticism of writers who bent to the will of the common people was not limited to popular poets. Jonson judged writers on their abilities in mimicking reality and in using artistic character decorum, for which 18th-century critics would berate him later.



Jonson stretched his invective to include dramatists who he felt had stooped to please low tastes and in so doing had departed from all reality. In this regard he wrote: "The true artificer will not run away from nature, as he were afraid of her, or depart from life and the likeness of truth, but speak to the capacity of his hearers. And though his language differs from the vulgar somewhat, it shall not fly from all humanity, with the Tamburlaines and the Tamburchams of the late age, which had nothing in them but scenical strutting and furious vociferation to warrant them to the ignorant gapers." <sup>10</sup> Obviously, the work in question is Marlowe's Tamburlaine the Great. Jonson's objections to the lack of decorum in such plays were not based on any failure to follow the "rules" of time, place, or action. Instead, Jonson aimed his vituperative attack upon those dramatists who lacked fine control in either dialogue or shaping scenes. Ralph Walker insists that Jonson's preoccupation with decorum, "in the narrower sense of the suitability of dialogue in fiction to the characters who speak it, might as well be used for the broader consideration of which that is a part-- attention to fact, to probability, to the truths of nature, where their violation may disorganize or disrupt an imaginative conception." <sup>11</sup>

In Jonson's works a "low" character rarely affects a higher-class manner successfully. In such cases Jonson conformed to both artistic and social character decorum. But Jonson often has a fool, such as Cutbeard in Epicoene, attempt to speak in the manner of his "betters." Always in

such cases the offending character is an obvious fool--Sir Politic in Volpone and Dapper in The Alchemist. Nor does Jonson dabble in fantastic scenes such as Shakespeare's shipwreck scene in The Winter's Tale, or the improbability of the last scene in Measure for Measure. He preferred to work out his scenes and characters so that all allegations of using deus ex machina and other unlikelihoods were avoided. The most improbable of Jonson's ending scenes occurs in Epicoeene, and the "surprise" here is hardly astounding--as Jonson has been preparing his audience for some time for a highly unusual finish.

In spite of being adversely influenced by 18th-century critics, Samuel Coleridge found much he thought excellent in Jonson. Coleridge, like Eliot later, considered Jonson to be the master of the comedy of humour. He stated that "there is not one whim or affectation in common life noted in any memoir of that age which may not be found drawn and framed in some corner or other of Ben Jonson's dramas; and they have this merit, in common with Hogarth's prints that not a single circumstance is introduced in them which does not play upon, and help to bring out, the dominant humour or humours of the piece."<sup>12</sup> At least it is possible to say that Coleridge had some idea of Jonson's range and power as a dramatist in his special province, comedies of humours.

In Coleridge, Jonson once more had a critic who was equipped with a sense of time. From the mid-18th century to Hazlitt most critics had judged Jonson's "coarse" language, according to standards in vogue during their time. This

"coarseness" in Jonson was their own fabrication; for in his own time the oaths, curses, sexual allusions, and references to bodily functions were not "coarse"--they were rather more accepted as common place in English speech. Coleridge thought:

One striking symptom of general Coarseness (i.e., of manners, which may co-exist with great refinement of morals, as, alas! vice versa), is to be seen in the very frequent allusions to the olfactories and their most disgusting Stimulants, and these too, in the Conversation of virtuous Ladies. This would not appear so strange to one who had been on terms of familiarity with Sicilian and Italian Women of Rank, and bad as they may, too many of them, actually be, yet I doubt not, that the extreme grossness of their Language has imprest many an Englishman of the present era with far darker notions, than this same language would have produced in one of Eliz. or  
 13  
 James Ist's Courtiers.

It is clear then, that Coleridge was giving Jonson the benefit of the doubt regarding the supposed "indecencies" abounding in Jonson's English. And that is a good deal more fair an attitude than many 18th-century critics held.

Coleridge could, unfortunately, lapse into the worst of the old critical shibboleths, for example, the charge that

Jonson created caricatures and not characters. Speaking of Epicoene he wrote, "Caricatures are not less so because they are found existing in real life. But Comedy demands Characters, and leaves Caricatures to Farce. The safest & truest defence of old Ben were to call Epicoene the best of the farces."<sup>14</sup> That sort of hedging does Jonson no service at all. True enough, the characters in Epicoene are not as three dimensional as those one might expect in a modern novel, but they are hardly superficial. Dickens' characters are related to Jonson's; they have an engaging vivacity, and are figures with several planes, depending on repetition of exaggerated traits, as Matthew Hodgart has noted.<sup>15</sup> This comparison is a good one; for Dickens' characters, if not psychological studies in themselves, possess certain manias which not only make them lively, but particularly effective as well.

Coleridge was aware of the vogue which held it a necessity to compare Shakespeare and Jonson. Speaking of Jonson's drama he said: "Let its inferiority to the Shakespearian be at once fairly owned; but at the same time as the inferiority of an altogether different Genus of the Drama."<sup>16</sup> Though Eliot might have disputed Coleridge's judgment that the comedy of humours was automatically inferior to the dramatic style of Shakespeare, most critics would probably allow that statement to stand as a fair and judicious setting-to-rights of the respective styles. When critics generally favorable to an author begin to echo the objections of that author's harshest critics, then one must expect the author's works

will be treated in a summary fashion. This unfortunate prejudice adversely affected both Garrick's and Colman's adaptations of Jonson.

## Notes for the Introduction

<sup>1</sup>

Other 18th-century adaptations of Jonson's plays include Volpone, The Alchemist, The Tobacconist (a farce by Francis Gentleman taken from The Alchemist), The Coxcombs (an afterpiece by Gentleman from Epicoene), and Bartholomew Fair.

<sup>2</sup>

Ben Jonson, Timber or Discoveries, ed. Ralph Walker (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1953), p. 49. Walker's edition has been used throughout rather than Herford and Simpson's because of its modernized punctuation and spelling.

<sup>3</sup>

Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>4</sup>

W. K. Wimsatt and Cleanth Brooks eds., Literary Criticism (New York: Vintage Books, 1957), p. 179.

<sup>5</sup>

Ben Jonson, Timber, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup>

Ibid., p. 134.

## Notes for Chapter I

- <sup>1</sup> Marvin T. Herrick, Comic Theory in the Sixteenth Century (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1964), p. 140.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 143.
- <sup>3</sup> Samuel Johnson, Works, ed. W. J. Bate (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1969), III, p. 19.
- <sup>4</sup> Richard Harrier, ed., Jacobean Drama (Garden City, N. J.: Doubleday & Co., 1963), p. 33. All references to the original Every Man in his Humour will be from Harrier's edition because of its modernized punctuation and spelling. However, Herford and Simpson's Act, scene, and line references will be given as well, in this case Act II, scene ii, lines 19-20.
- <sup>5</sup> Arthur Murphy, The Life of David Garrick, (1801; rpt. New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1969), I, 137-38.
- <sup>6</sup> John Dryden, Of Dramatic Poesy, (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1967), I, 69-73.
- <sup>7</sup> Robert G. Noyes, Ben Jonson on the English Stage (1935; rpt. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1966), p. 5. This chapter owes much to Noyes for his comprehensive critical chapter.

8 "The Apotheosis of Milton. A Vision," The Gentleman's Magazine, VIII (May, 1738), 234. Also quoted in Noyes, p. 7.

9 Quoted in Noyes, p. 10.

10 Noyes, p. 16.

11 Noyes, p. 16

12 Quoted in Noyes, p. 18.

13 Matthew Hodgart, Satire (New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 191.

14 Noyes, p. 22.

15 Quoted in Noyes, p. 23.

16 Quoted in Noyes, p. 24.

17 Quoted in Noyes, p. 25.

18 Charles B. Hogan, The London Stage, 1776-1800 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1968), III, lxx. In the eight years from 1792 to 1800 only Every Man in his Humour was played, and that just two times in all eight years.

19 Oliver Goldsmith, Collected Works, ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), IV, 96. Also quoted in Noyes, pp. 27-28.

20 Ibid., I, 327.

21 Quoted from Literary Criticism in England 1660-1800,



ed. Gerald W. Chapman (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966)  
p. 201.

<sup>22</sup>  
Quoted in Noyes, p. 14.

<sup>23</sup>  
Quoted in Noyes, p. 13.

## Notes for Chapter II

1

Oliver Goldsmith, Collected Works, ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), I, pp. 320-321.

2

William Shakespeare, The History of King Lear: As it is performed at The Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, altered by Geo. Colman (London: R. Baldwin and T. Becket, 1768), p. iv.

3

Ben Jonson, Every Man in his Humour: With Alterations and Additions by David Garrick. Marked with the Variations in the Manager's Book, At The Theatre Royal in Drury Lane (London: T. Lowndes and partners, 1776), prologue.

4

Again, for the sake of a modernized text, all references to the original are from Jacobean Drama, ed. Richard Harrier (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1963). The reference in Herford and Simpson is Act II, scene v, lines 48-57.

5

Ben Jonson, Every Man in his Humour: With Alterations and Additions. As it is performed at The Theatre Royal in Drury Lane adapted by David Garrick (London: J. and R. Tonson, 1765). All subsequent references to Garrick's alteration will be from this edition.

6

Arthur Murphy, The Life of David Garrick, (1801; rpt. New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1969), I, 137-38.

- 7  
Jacobean Drama, p. 23. Herford and Simpson--Act I,  
scene iv, lines 82-85.
- 8  
Ibid., p. 33. Herford and Simpson--Act II, scene ii,  
lines 19-20.
- 9  
Jonson, (Garrick's edition), p. 24.
- 10  
Ibid., Advertisement.
- 11  
Noyes, p. 260.
- 12  
Ben Jonson, Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford, et al  
(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), IV, 173.
- 13  
Jacobean Drama, p. 59. Herford and Simpson--Act III,  
scene iv, lines 20-22.
- 14  
Noyes, p. 265.

### Notes for Chapter III

1

All references to Colman's adaptation are from: George Colman, The Dramatick Works of George Colman (London: T. Becket, 1777), III.

2

Ibid., prologue.

3

All references to the original are from: Ben Jonson, Epicoene or The Silent Woman, ed. L. A. Beaurline (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1966). Beaurline's edition has also been used for its modernizations. The Herford and Simpson reference is to Act I, scene i, lines 62-64.

4

Jonson, p. 16. Herford and Simpson Act I, scene ii, lines 54-57.

5

Jonson, (Colman's edition), p. 225.

6

Ibid., p. 222.

7

Ibid., p. 237.

8

Ibid., p. 268.

9

From Thomas Davies' Dramatic Miscellanies, quoted in Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford, et al, IX, 216.

10

Jonson, (Colman's edition), p. 285.

- 11  
Jonson, p. 68. Herford and Simpson Act III, scene v,  
lines 74-81.
- 12  
Jonson, (Colman's edition), p. 286.
- 13  
Jonson, p. 141. Herford and Simpson Act V, scene iv,  
line 45.
- 14  
Jonson, (Colman's edition), p. 322.
- 15  
Charles B. Hogan, The London Stage, 1776-1800  
(Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1966), I and  
George W. Stone, Jr., The London Stage, 1747-1776 (Carbondale:  
Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1964) III.
- 16  
Stone, III, 1583.
- 17  
Stone, III, 1583, 1594, 1608, 1617.
- 18  
Hogan, I and Stone, III.
- 19  
Hogan, I, 673, 698.
- 20  
From the January, 1776 issue of Westminster Review,  
quoted in Stone, III, 1944.

## Notes for Appendix A

<sup>1</sup>

Ben Jonson, Timber or Discoveries, ed. Ralph Walker (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1953), p. 91.

<sup>2</sup>

Ben Jonson, Three Comedies, ed. Michael Jamieson (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 67. Again Jamieson's edition has been used for its modernized punctuation and spelling. The Herford and Simpson reference is to Act I, scene iv, lines 129-131.

<sup>3</sup>

Ben Jonson, Three Plays, ed. Brinsley Nicholson and C. H. Herford (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), p. 135. This reference is also cited for its modern usage; the corresponding Herford and Simpson reference is to Act II, scene iii, lines 45-92.

<sup>4</sup>

Ben Jonson, Timber, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup>

Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>6</sup>

Jonas A. Barish, "The Double Plot in Volpone," Modern Philology, LI (1953), rpt. in Jonas A. Barish, ed., Ben Jonson: A Collection of Critical Essays, Twentieth Century Views (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1963), p. 93.

<sup>7</sup>

Barish. p. 94.

8 Ben Jonson, Timber, p. 50.

9 Ibid., p. 51.

10 Ibid., p. 24.

11 Ibid., p. 129.

12 Samuel Coleridge, "Ben Jonson," in Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century, ed. Roberta Brinkley (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1955), p. 639.

13 Ibid., p. 640.

14 Ibid., p. 645.

15 Hodgart, p. 121.

16 Coleridge, p. 645.

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