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The

Life and Works of George Colman the Elder.

A Thesis submitted to the University of London
for the Degree of Master of Arts

by

S. M. Lund.

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Abstract of Thesis.

An attempt has been made in this thesis to present a fully documented Life of Colman, based on examination of all the available material in the form of contemporary accounts, pamphlets and letters. This biography is accompanied by a short account of Colman's literary work other than play-writing, namely his essays in The Connoisseur and later periodicals, and his translations from Terence and Horace; and by a detailed critical study of his plays, a special effort being made to estimate his indebtedness to earlier English and Continental writers. An attempt is made to ascertain the respective shares of Colman and Garrick in their joint work, The Clandestine Marriage, from the evidence afforded by their letters and by notes found among Colman's papers. A further examination is made of Colman's re-working of earlier plays for representation in his theatres; his versions are compared with the originals and with other adaptations for the eighteenth century stage. Some account, necessarily incomplete, is given of the theatrical history of his plays, and of contemporary and later criticism, drawn from newspapers, magazines and stage histories. His influence as theatrical manager and playwright, particularly the latter, is considered, especially with regard to his opposition to sentimentalism and his support of true comedy, and an attempt is made to indicate his position and the value of his contribution to British drama. An appendix contains a full bibliography of his works, of which no bibliographical account appears hitherto to

have been given; a second appendix reproduces the text of the unprinted pantomime, The Genius of Nonsense, from the unique manuscript in the possession of the Henry E. Huntington Library.

Appendix.

(271 words).

The text of the unprinted pantomime, The Genius of Nonsense, is reproduced from a unique manuscript in the Henry E. Huntington Library. It is presented here by kind permission of the Director. While the copyright is strictly reserved by the Library, permission has been granted to the writer of this thesis to print the text either separately or as part of the thesis.

Sincere thanks are also due for the use of the records of Professor Nicoll's editions on English Drama, from which the details of performances of Keats's plays are for the most part drawn.

The Life and Works of George Colman the Elder.

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The Life and Works of George Colman the Elder.

I. Introduction.

Comedy in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century.

In 1760 at Drury Lane there was performed for the first time an after-piece, the "dramatick novel", Polly Honeycombe. This was the first indication to the town that a new star had risen on the dramatic horizon, a star which was not to set for nearly thirty years and which, though its brilliance is now forgotten, was for most of that time a guide for every wandering bark among the shoals of a theatrical career. The author of this farce was George Colman, a law student whose tastes were directed towards the stage, and who soon discarded all pretence of following the legal profession in favour of a theatrical one. Before describing his fortunes in the dramatic world it will be as well to consider the conditions in which the dramatist, and particularly the comic dramatist, found himself working during these years.

The two patent houses, the Theatres-Royal in Drury Lane and Covent Garden, were the only homes of legitimate drama in London until Foote obtained a summer licence for the Little Theatre in the Haymarket in 1766. This permitted him to give performances there from May to September, so that the winter theatres need

fear no rivalry except from each other (1). They were growing steadily larger: every alteration during the century was planned to increase their accomodation. Thus Drury Lane was altered in 1762 to hold, in the phraseology of the day, 337 guineas instead of 220 (2). Covent Garden followed suit in 1782; Drury Lane was increased again in 1792-3 (3), and in 1795 Colman the Younger wrote of them,

When people appear

Quite unable to hear

'Tis undoubtedly needless to talk,

and

'Twere better they began

On the new-invented plan

And with telegraphs transmitted us the plot. (4).

The Haymarket alone preserved the intimacy of the older small theatres. The vastness of the winter theatres affected the type of entertainment staged there. By 1800 it was of no use

(1) This rivalry was so keen that they frequently tried to forestall each other in producing any novelty (e.g. the Sturford Jubilee processions in 1769, The Fairy Prince and The Institution of the Garter in 1771) as well as by producing new plays in opposition to each other (e.g. Kelly's False Delicacy, which Garrick brought out a week before Colman was ready with The Good-Natured Man, and which was said to have injured the reception of Goldsmith's play by its popularity.

(2) Peake, Memoirs of the Colman Family, I.p.191.

(3) Nicoll, History of Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750-1800, p.23.

(4) G. Colman the Younger, New Hay at the Old Market (1795).

write a comedy or tragedy which depended on subtle acting (1). At Drury Lane or Covent Garden the point was lost; the minor theatres were licensed for burlettas only; and the Haymarket, which might have been the last stronghold for fine writing and acting, had had to yield to a vitiated public taste and provided similar fare to the two main theatres. In short, in spite of slow improvements in stage mechanism, such as the lighting Garrick brought back from the Continent (2), the improved scenery, the abolition of "building" on the stage, (finally stopped by Garrick in 1763), the gradual change in dressing the plays, and the constant asset of the services of a large number of brilliant actors (3), the theatre was on the down-grade.

The audience also was at a low ebb. While it was still almost as disorderly (4) as in Queen Anne's reign, it was less intellectual and more sentimental. Riots were frequent and

(1) "Garrick, always tremblingly alive to his great celebrity and judicious in nursing his fame, would not probably have risked his power in theatres of the present magnitude, particularly in the sublimer walk of tragedy. His talents must have suffered a paralysis, a loss of half their vitality, when the rapid and astonishing transitions of his eye and his features could not instantly, by their close fidelity to nature, electrify all who witnessed them". Colman the Younger (see Peake, op. cit. II.p.326, an interesting criticism of the growth of the theatres.)

(2) In 1765 - see Nicoll, op. cit. p.38.

(3) The fame of Garrick and Mrs. Siddons is apt to obscure the fact that the whole century was marked by fine acting. The possibility of any prolonged competition with Garrick and Mrs. Bellamy shows how high was the standard of Barry's and Mrs. Cibber's acting.

(4) For an account of the disorderliness of audiences see Colman the Younger, Random Records, II.p.251-258, which is an illuminating commentary on all classes of the spectators.

violent. The famous Chinese Festival riot of 1755 (1) was followed by others in 1759 and 1763 (2), and equally unruly scenes were witnessed during the troubles with Macklin at Covent Garden in 1773. Party feeling (3) or national grievances (4) were also apt to cause disorders, while the general level of behaviour among the frequenters of the gallery was very poor (5). At the same time there was a sensibility unknown before. The manners of the times encouraged public weeping and the softness of heart of which it is a sign, while the introduction of a stronger city element among the ranks of the more influential patrons of the drama (a phenomenon caused by the intermarriage of an impoverished nobility with a prosperous commercial class) brought with it an insistence on the moral note ~~unknown before~~ and a decorum which was interpreted rather arbitrarily. The detestation of anything which was "low" can probably be traced to an upstart politeness - the fear of betraying oneself on "inferior Dosset", in fact.

The comedies which were performed in these theatres and to

-
- (1) Fitzgerald, New History of the English Stage, II, p. 193-195. He mentions earlier riots (p. 192) in 1722 and 1743.
- (2) The Half-Price riots. Fitzgerald gives a full account of these (op. cit. II, p. 187-192).
- (3) Cf. Kelly's A Word to the Wise, (1770), damned on account of the author's political activities.
- (4) Cf. the opposition which met The Oxonian in Town from a body of Irish. (1768)
- (5) Cf. Reynolds's story of the apple which hit Lee when he was playing in The Rivals (Life and Times of Fredk. Reynolds, II, p. 227-228)

this audience (for, as Biographia Dramatica puts, it, Mr. Colman paid his court almost solely to the Comic Muse, and the tragedies therefore need not concern us here) were of a varied kind. The older English Dramatists hold a regular place on the bills but their plays were seldom produced in their original form. The hand of the reviser had generally been at work. Thus Shakespeare, for whom both actors and audiences evidently felt a real admiration, was pruned of his irregularities. The tragedies were altered to meet the improved tastes of a politer age. Tate's was the only version of King Lear until 1756, when Garrick's was produced, to be followed in 1768 by Colman's. ^{Their} ~~Its~~ success was not sufficient to banish Tate's or to encourage managers to return to Shakespeare's.. ^{They were} ~~It was~~ followed by Garrick's Hamlet (1772) The comedies did not escape. They were frequently altered, cut down to farces, made into operas, or otherwise maltreated (1). Ben Jonson appears to have been the most popular of the Elizabethans after Shakespeare, but others were also revived and imitated, notably Beaumont and Fletcher. The Restoration dramatists suffered the same fate as Shakespeare, but on moral instead

(1) Cf. the operas, The Fairies, taken from a Midsummer Night's Dream, with songs from Shakespeare, Milton, Waller, Dryden etc (1755), The Tempest (1756) and the "after-pieces", Catharine and Petruchio (1756), Florizel and Perdita (1756)- all Garrick's work- The Sheep-Shearing (a three-act comedy taken from The Winter's Tale by Macnamara Morgan, 1754), The Sheep-Shearing by Colman (1777), The Fairy Tale, also by Colman (1777).



of aesthetic grounds. Their plays were re-written, frequently in a form which omitted most of their wit (1). The "moral-immoral" comedies of Cibber and his contemporaries were not forgotten: a hasty conversion in the last act satisfied the moralists in the pit, and there were still many unregenerate enough to have a taste for a risky situation.

True comedy, in fact, was much beset during this period. Its own powers were weakened by the false taste which demanded successful comedies of an earlier date in a debilitated form and it had three main enemies to contend with - the opera, pantomime and sentimentalism. The opera, in spite of the mockery which it had received from The Beggar's Opera and the various burlesques, was still felt to be a hated rival. From the time of The Double Gallant, (2), when the author sneers,

His groveling (sic) sense Italian Air shall crown,
And then, he's sure, ev'n Nonsense will go down,
to The Adventurers (3), which satirises

—Fashion's circle, where My Lady doats
On the soft warbling of Italian Throats,

(1) For a full account of comedies which were performed in an altered form or were used to furnish the plots for new plays, see Nicoll, op. cit. pp. 111-117. The author also points out the influence of foreign, particularly French, plays on the dramatists from 1750 onwards.

(2) 1707.
(3) 1790.

the comic dramatists were tilting against the taste for the opera. The full effect of its popularity, if they had but realised it, was even more dangerous; the success of The Beggar's Opera diverted some of comedy's forces to the side of music, and writers grew increasingly apt to discard pure comedy for comic opera or comedy with songs inserted - generally of the most insipid type. When the author knows that the dialogue may be "refreshed with an air every instant" (1), the danger is that that dialogue may become increasingly in need of such refreshment, and this is indeed what happens. Comic opera, musical entertainment, musical farce - whatever it called itself, it was well established by the 1790's and from the literary point of view it was as trivial as well can be imagined (2).

Joining forces with opera as an entertainment which was alienating taste from the drama proper was pantomime. The love of dancing, which seems to mark the British public from the Elizabethan Age (if not earlier) to today with the repeated triumphs of the Russian Ballet and the revival of folk-dancing (3), was strengthened by the childish love of such display as the theatres could give. The medley of effects, dancing, music,

-
- (1) Colman. New Brooms (1776).
 (2) Cf. the popularity of O'Keeffe in the late 80's and 90's.
 (3) To say nothing of the popularity of the displays of modern dancing in musical comedy and revue.

AND explains in the only one with a classical sub-title, and most of the titles do not indicate any definite plot.

staging and buffoonery delighted the audiences. The trend of public taste is shown by the change in the type of pantomime, from the earlier slight opera, whose theme is generally indicated by the sub-title, with the figures of the commedia dell' arte burlesquing the serious figures (1), to what appears to have been a harlequinade on any subject, political, topical or literary. By the end of the century the classical legend had been abandoned and any sort of show was acceptable. A glance at the names of the later pantomimes is sufficient to show the increased importance of the harlequinade and the widely different settings in which it was placed (2). Its influence on the theatre is indisputable. Thus the Prologue to Whitehead's School for Lovers says:

He shifts no scenes → But here I stop'd him short,
 Not change your scenes? said I - I'm sorry for't:
 My constant friends, above, around, below,
 Have English tastes and love both change and show.

-
- (1) Cf. Theobald's pantomimes in the 20's and 30's, and the titles of some of the early pantomimes - Harlequin Anna Bullen (1727), Harlequin Incendiary or Colombine Cameron ('46), Harlequin Scapin of the Old One caught in a Trick ('40).
- (2) Cf. A Dramatic Entertainment called Harlequin a Sorcerer, With the Loves of Pluto and Proserpine (Jan. 1724-5), Harlequin's Shipwreck'd, concluding with the Loves of Paris and OEnone ('36), with Harlequin's Chaplet ('89), Harlequin's Frolicks ('76), Harlequin's Gambols ('90), Harlequin's Jacket ('75), Harlequin's Skeleton ('88). It is noticeable that in the list of nearly forty anonymous pantomimes given in the Hand-List of Plays 1650-1800 (Nicodl, op. cit.) Harlequin in Ireland or Apollo and Daphne is the only one with a classical sub-title, and most of the titles do not indicate any definite plot.

Without such aids ev'n Shakespeare would be flat -

Our crouded pantomimes are proof of that.

What eager transport stares from every eye

When pullies rattle and our genii fly!

When tin cascades like falling waters gleam,

Or through the canvas bursts the real stream,

While thirsty Islington laments in vain

Half her New River roll'd to Drury Lane.

--- Lord, Sir, said I, for gallery, boxes, pit,

I'll back my Harlequin against your wit - (1).

While pantomime attacked the strength of comedy by the powerful counter-attraction of its own delights and by encouraging the demand for an after-piece, standards of taste were being further vitiated by a development within comedy itself, that is, the growth of sentimental comedy. The power of sentimentalism over contemporary thought was overwhelming. While it is impossible to wish for a return to the hardness and lack of sympathy which lie below the brilliance of the Restoration comedies, it must be acknowledged that in the drama at least sensibility took very undesirable forms. For wit it substituted sententious moralizings, for truth to nature false psychology, and for logical plot-development the "astounding interposition of heaven" (2). "The woman that wants

(1) 1762.

(2) Cecilia, in The Chapter of Accidents. (1780)

candour when she is addressed by a man of merit, wants a very essential virtue, and she who can delight in the anxiety of a worthy mind is little to be pitied when she feels the stings sharpest stings of anxiety in her own " (1). How true! And how dull! The lady who makes such a declaration will never "decline" into matrimony; she will rather ponder whether she can make a valuable wife (2). While socially and morally this may be a desirable attitude, as comedy - shades of Rosalind and Millamant! "We are growing serious, and then we are in great danger of being dull." The lack of character-drawing is even more damaging than sententiousness, since its result in the long run is to divorce comedy from life, to portray certain stock puppets over and over again (3), and to focus interest on unusual situations rather than the interplay of motives and the clash of characters.. The stress on situation ultimately helps the

(1) False Delicacy, II.2.

(2) Cf. False Delicacy, IV.2.

(3) e.g. the "distressed Fair" ("Can there be a more interesting object to a susceptible mind than beauty in distress and unprotected?" - Villars, A Match for a Widow, 1788), the benevolent old man, the dashing hero (frequently an amiable rake like Ranger), and the complementary villain. In sentimental comedy he generally reformed ("Her persecutor and her convert. Her virtues which no humility could conceal and every trial made more resplendent, discovered, disgraced and reclaimed a libertine" - Lord Gayville, with rapture; The Heir ess, 1786), but in melodrama this was not necessary - all that the audience wanted was Virtue Triumphant and Vice Overthrown.

And you, gay madam, go to give delight,
Must not, burlesque prude, encroach upon her right

(Her-1.3, Tragedy's)

and which contains amusing quarrels between Comedy Tragedy and Harlequin. Cf. also various glib in different comedies and farces which are not otherwise antipodal.

coalescence of sentimental comedy with melodrama (1). So too does the lack of psychological insight, which necessitates forced coincidences to cause the denouement, since there is no development in the characters themselves to bring it about (2). The popularity of sentimental comedy is vouched for by the number of attacks on it.(3). One of the best is Murphy's News from Parnassus (1776). Boccacini is discussing the drama with Rebus, a poet, who is describing his new comedy -

Rebus No wit, no humour in it!

Boccacini No?

Reb. Wit and humour are good for nothing but to make people laugh.

Boc. A new notion this - what's your subject?

Reb. My notion is that there should be sound doctrine throughout, - in every scene good and generous sentiments rising in a climax to some useful moral in every act.

When he acknowledges that it is a pathetic comedy that he has

(1) The later developments of Gothicism of the Radcliffian school in comedy help the union. From sentimentalism to "horrid" Romanticism and so to melodrama proper are easy steps.

(2) Improbability was no drawback to these coincidences -cf. Vellum, "The incredible goes down best in this country." Murphy, op.cit.

(3) Cf The Theatrical Candidates (1775) in which Mercurius instructs Comedy,

And you, gay madam, gay to give delight,
Must not, turned prude, encroach upon her right
(her-i.e.Tragedy's)
and which contains amusing quarrels between Comedy Tragedy and Harlequin, Cf. also various gibes in different comedies and farces which are not otherwise satirical.

written, Boccacini protests,

True comedy helps to develop the discrimination of character and to laugh folly out of countenance. Pathetic comedy is a mere substitute for wit, humour and the powers of ridicule.

This does not shake Rebus's complacency over the story of Sophy Goodchild, who steals a twopenny loaf and is tried for her life, but is acquitted through the good offices of Young Indigo's father, "whose whole delight in his counting house is to do good."

Though hard pressed by foes both within and without, true comedy was not entirely overcome. Few writers were entirely free from sentimental colouring, yet there were a number of them who were attempting to arouse comic enjoyment either by regular comedies or by farces. Arthur Murphy's excellent farces cover the years 1756 - 1776 (1), and his regular plays, The Way to Keep Him (1760), All in the Wrong (1761), The School for Guardians (1767) appeared while Colman was writing his best comedies. Foote's curious plays, most of which were satirical in effect (2), came

(1) The Apprentice (1756), The Upholsterer (1758), The Citizen (1761) No One's Enemy but his Own (1764 - a farce in the humorous style), Three Weeks after Marriage (1776).

(2) Owing to his habit of imitating people in his acting even those which were not satirically written generally had a satirical effect. Hettner (Geschichte der engl. Literatur, p.500) is of opinion that Foote never gets away from burlesque.

came out from 1748 to 1776. Most of the sentimental writers deviated for a few scenes or in the delineation of one or two characters into a comic vein; preludes, burlettas, prologues and epilogues contained satire of the false tastes of the audiences and signs of real comic power. There were, in fact, plenty of indications that authors at least recognised that all was not well with comedy, and that some, if not very many, were trying to keep its flag flying. This was the position of affairs when George Colman began to write. How far he succeeded in giving a lead to the supporters of laughing comedy, and how far his own work carried on the traditions of the older comic dramatists, it will be the object of this memoir to show.

... partially responsible for the settlement of the claims of ... to the territories of ... in ... a plan of ... which ... Pakeney's congratulations (5). At the same time he was deeply interested in the theatre and in music, and numbered among his friends Gay (6) Handel, and Owen MacSwiney.

(1) *ibid.*, 1738, *Biog. Dram.*, about 1713, Colman the Younger, *Biographical Letters*, 26. P. Colman was ... is a note to a letter to P. Colman, 1.8.1713, ... that his father was born ... in the year 1728, ... in the year ...

(2) *ibid.*, *Memoirs of the Colman Family*, p. 24.

(3) *ibid.*, *Peake*, *loc. cit.*

(4) *ibid.*, *Peake*. They had already a daughter, Caroline.

(5) Colman the Younger, *op. cit.*, p. 28, Aug. 1731.

(6) Colman the Younger, *op. cit.*, quotes a letter from Gay, 1731.

II. The Life of George Colman the Elder.

A. Early Years.

George Colman, generally known as the Elder, to distinguish him from his dramatist son of the same name, was born in Florence. The actual date of his birth is conjectural (1), but he was baptised in the "great church" of Florence on April 18th, 1732. (2). His mother, whose maiden name was Gumley (3), was sister to Anne, wife of William Pulteney, afterwards Earl of Bath; his father, Francis Colman, was British Envoy to the Court of Tuscany (4). He seems to have been a capable man of affairs; he was British representative at various courts in turn, and he was partially responsible for the settlement of the claims of Don Carlos to the territories of Leghorn in Tuscany, a piece of diplomacy which drew Pulteney's congratulations (5). At the same time he was deeply interested in the theatre and in music, and numbered among his friends Gay (6) Handel, and Owen MacSwiney;

-
- (1) D.N.B. 1732. Biog. Dram. about 1733. Colman the Younger, Posthumous Letters to F. Colman and G. Colman, in a note to a letter to F. Colman, 1.6.1732, conjectures that his father was born "early in the year 1732, if not in the year preceding."
- (2) R.B.Peake, Memoirs of the Colman Family, I p.28.
- (3) D.N.B., Peake, loc. cit.
- (4) D.N.B., Peake. They had already a daughter, Caroline.
- (5) Colman the Younger, op.cit, p.35. Aug. 1721.
- (6) Colman the Younger, op. cit., quotes a letter from Gay, 1721

with Handel and MacSwiney he engaged in a lengthy correspondence regarding the engagement of Italian singers for the Opera in London.

It was undoubtedly from his father that Colman derived his taste for theatrical matters. Francis Colman was devoted to the opera. He kept a record (1) of performances he witnessed while he was in London, with comments on the new singers and their abilities; in 1715 he broke off after the Rebellion, determined no longer to keep so detailed an account (2), but the temptation was too strong, and very soon the record was as full as before. His interest was maintained after he had left London, as the Handel correspondence shows. This inability to keep away from the theatre was a trait which was repeated in his son, as his managerial enterprises will show. A further resemblance between the two lies in the fact that Francis Colman also wrote for the stage, his opera, Ariadne in Crete, (3), being produced in January, 1734, by Senesino at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

(1) B.M. Add. MS 11258, recently printed in The Mask.

(2) Op. cit. "I shall keep no further account of opera in that Exactnesse as before, perhaps a remark on a new Opera now and then, as ye Humour takes. Vanity of Vanity, all is Vanity."

(3) Peake, I p. 14, calls it Ariadne in Naxos, but gives the right date.

George Colman, however, could have been influenced by his father in no way except by inherited tastes, for the father's health began to fail soon after the son's birth (1), and in April, 1733, he died at Pisa, whither he had gone in the hopes of benefitting from the change of air (2). Shortly after his death Mrs. Colman returned to England with her children, Caroline and George (3), and took up her residence in a house near Rosamund's Pond, in St. James's Park, this house being granted her by the King for the rest of her life (4). Caroline, who died young, she apparently kept with her (5), but George was practically adopted by his aunt's husband, William Pulteney, afterwards Earl of Bath, the opponent of Sir Robert Walpole. This gentleman, it may be remembered, had married one of Mary Colman's sisters, and although it appears that the two sisters did not get on very well together (6), and that Anne's

-
- (1) Peake, I. p.31.
 (2) Colman the Younger, op. cit., quotes a letter from Mrs Colman to Mrs Tyndall (evidently the children's nurse) from Pisa, April 30th, 1733, announcing her husband's death.
 (3) Both had the honour of royal god-parents, as was customary with the children of a British plenipotentiary.
 (4) D.N.B. Peake.
 (5) Peake
 (6) Peake, I. p.59, quotes a letter from A. Bath, July 15th, 1750, "I have never seen your mother since I returned last to England!"

generosity(1) would not have prompted her to do so much for her nephew, Pulteney assumed the charge of young Colman, and in due time sent him to Westminster School (2).

Here he came into the hands of Dr. Nicholls, at that time Head Master, and Dr. Johnson, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, Vincent Bourne and Pierson Lloyd (father of the poet, Robert Lloyd), Warren Hastings, Robert Lloyd, Cowper, Churchill, Bonnell Thornton and Robert Bensley, the actor, were among his school-fellows, and with Lloyd, Churchill and Thornton he formed intimate and lasting friendships, while he and Bensley in after life were closely associated for many years.(4). By 1750 he had risen to the position of second boy, and the question arose of his being put in nomination in the election of King's scholars from

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- (1) Colman the Younger (op. cit. p.59) quotes Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, who says that Bath was by nature generous, "but his unfortunate connection with a wife of a very contrary disposition to whom he was too good-naturedly compliant, had checked the tendency of his own heart and induced a fatal habit which he must find it difficult to alter at so advanced an age." References to his parsimony are general (cf. Walpole, but he, like Mrs. Carter, is not unbiassed, though in the opposite direction) and they are borne out by the tone of his own letters (cf. Sept. 21st, 1727), but it is only fair to admit that his wife's are quite as niggardly.
- (2) D.N.B., 1746; Notes and Queries, 12.S.X.p.230, states he was admitted Oct. 1741 and left June 1751; Forshall, Westminster School Past and Present, p.243, states he "stayed five years in College - in Westminster language, stayed over" 1746 must be the right date from this evidence. Cf. like page to The Adelphe of Terence, Westminster 1890.
- (3) Cf. Memoirs of R. Cumberland I.p.65 et seq. for his schoolmates
- (4) Southey, Life of Cowper p.90, "Thornton and Colman made common cause with them (i.e. Churchill and Lloyd) as men of letters, but though not remarkable for prudence themselves, they were discreet enough not to join in their orgies, and were by no means inclined to form any intimate connection with Wilkes after he had declared war on the Government." See also p.104 on the end of the friendship between Colman and Lloyd. Bensley acted under his management at C.G. and the Hay.

Westminster to the University. Pulteney wished him to stay a year longer at Westminster, and wrote from Paris pressing that course upon him (1). The next year he was head of the boys elected from Westminster to Oxford. He was admitted a member of Christ Church in June 1751 (2).

While he was at the University his literary tastes declared themselves clearly. A letter in verse written from school to Pulteney's son⁽³⁾ showed a certain aptitude and a sense of humour, but it would hardly bear serious criticism. Now, leaving poetry for a time, he tried his skill at essay-writing. His first attempt appeared in 1753 in The Adventurer, a periodical edited by Dr. Hawkesworth. Shortly after this he and Bonnell Thornton began The Connoisseur, a paper which ran for some time (4), and to which various other men of talent contributed (5). Colman the Younger records (6) the troubles of the steadier of the two editors in getting Thornton to produce work which he had promised for a certain time and for which Jackson, the printer, was waiting. Despite the dilatoriness of Master Bonnell, and the many

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- (1) Colman the Younger, Posthumous Letters, Paris, Feb 23rd, and May 29th, 1750.
 (2) D.N.B., Forshall, p.242, Colman the Younger, op. cit. p.50, quotes Matriculation Certificate, June, 1751.
 (3) In 1747.
 (4) 1754 - 1756. It appeared once a week.
 (5) Cowper contributed five papers (see Southey, op.cit. I. p.325)
 (6) Colman the Younger, Random Records, I.p.140.

other trials besetting a young editor, the paper was successful, and considering the inexperience of its contributors it is a work not only of promise but of some performance (1). At the same time his theatrical tastes, ~~were~~ to which his successful performance in classical plays at Westminster (2) must have given zest, were being strengthened. His Vacations in London provided opportunities for visiting the theatres, and evidently when he was staying with his mother he spent more time there than met with the Earl of Bath's approval (3). It is to be doubted, however, whether the methods he took to prevent frequent visits to the playhouses were likely to be successful with a young man of Colman's temper.

In 1754 he graduated, and, presumably urged by Bath, decided on the law as his profession. His aunt seems to have pressed him to take orders (4), but fortunately he was sensible enough to refuse a course for which he was totally unfitted. Before he left Oxford Bath had entered his name on the Roll of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and he now established himself in rooms scantily furnished but containing a few books on law (which, says Colman the Younger, were passed on to him in his turn (5).

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- (1) Dr Johnson, however, said it wanted matter.
 (2) Peake, I. p. 135.
 (3) See letters quoted by Peake, Dec. 1752, Jan 20th, Mar. 27th, Oct 11th, 1755.
 (4) See The Law Student, (Prose on Several Occasions, II. p. 287.)
 (5) Random Records, II. p. 239.

his father having presumably not used them very hard) and he settled down to become one of the many who have studied the law only to find literature a more congenial occupation.

During this time at Lincoln's Inn, although he evidently worked to some purpose, he kept up his early friendship with Lloyd, Churchill and other Westminster men, including Cowper, who was then articled to a solicitor at the Temple (1). His high spirits and love of fun found an outlet in The Nonsense Club, a society of seven, again all Westminster men, who met to dine on Thursdays and among whom he was a leading light (2). It appears to have been a very harmless club and to have lived up to its name. In 1755 he was called to the Bar (3), and in 1758 we find him on the Oxford Circuit ~~XXX~~ (4), witty as ever but seemingly spending money as fast as he earned it (5). He did not abandon the Bar until ~~after~~ the death of the Earl of Bath who by that time had become proud of his achievements in literature. In 1758, the year in which he first went on circuit, he took the degree of M.A., in spite of Bath's doubts as to the

(1) Southey, Life of Cowper, I.p.18.

(2) Southey, op.cit. I.p.37.

(3) D.N.B.

(4) D.N.B. 1759; Peake, however, quotes a letter from Bath, July 29th, 1758, in which he makes reference to Colman's being then on circuit. He evidently practised until 1760, in the summer of which year he writes to Dr. Douglas from Shrewsbury (ms. Eg. 2334, Brit. Mus.)

(5) Peake, I.p.68. "Do you design to return to us again, just as wise and witty as you went, with only a little less money in your pocket?"

wisdom of spending so much money as was necessary to purchase it(1). He was still writing: The Connoisseur was continued until 1756, in 1757 appeared The Law Student (probably composed two years earlier), followed in 1759 by the Odes to Oblivion and Obscurity (2), a satire on Mason and Gray, praised by Dr. Johnson; and in the same year his Critical Reflections on the Old English Dramatic Writers secured his introduction to Garrick (3).

B. Friendship with Garrick. First Theatrical Connection.

Colman's connection with the theatres really dates from this time, although he had already a reputation as a critic of the drama (4). On Dec.5th, 1760 (5) at Drury Lane, there appeared after Hill's

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- (1) Peake I.p.47. "Should you have a mind to keep your name upon the College-books till you have taken your Master's degree in the University, let me know what it will cost, though I do not see it can be of any great use to you." (Mar. 1755) In July 1758 he writes, "The first thing an honest man has to do is to pay his just debts, and consequently I shall have my twenty guineas refunded, with what interest you think fit."
 - (2) Gray's Letters, II.pp.140,.41,.47. (June, 1760) Gray took the attack with great coolness and good humour.
 - (3) D.N.B. Colman the Younger (see Peake I.p.53) gave this opinion, but Fitzgerald (Life of Garrick, I.p.448) suggests that the "particular and genteel compliment" to which Garrick referred in his first letter to Colman was the anonymous Letter of Abuse to D.Garrick Esq. (1757-8), which praises Garrick under the semblance of abuse, and which he attributes to Colman's authorship.
 - (4) As early as 1758 Murphy advanced Colman's favourable opinion of his farce, The Upholsterer, as an inducement to Garrick to bring it forward at Drury Lane. Cf. also The Rosciad.
 - (5) Genest. Polly Honeycombe was attributed to Garrick, who disclaimed it in some lines added to the Prologue.

Merope a "dramatick novel", Polly Honeycombe. The secret of the authorship of this satirical farce was kept until the following February, when the reception given to The Jealous Wife, also produced by Garrick at Drury Lane (1), encouraged Colman to acknowledge himself as a playwright. Polly Honeycombe had been well received, but The Jealous Wife was an instantaneous success.

"It is notorious," says Kenrick (2) in his Epistle to G. Colman, "that Mr. Colman's first and best play, The Jealous Wife, was ... a mere rudis indigestaque moles when it was first presented to Mr. Garrick, who with his usual alacrity exerted his great abilities to reduce it into its present form." This assertion is based on the admitted fact that the MS was submitted to Garrick (3) and that he cut out the episode which Colman afterwards worked up into the farce, The Musical Lady (produced at Drury Lane in 1762) (4). Possibly too he suggested alterations of phrase or gave some of the many hints which an actor who knows his stage can give to an inexperienced playwright; we have no reason to believe that his help went further than that (5).

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- (1) Genest, 12. 2. 1761. much agitated at present to make a proper
 (2) Epistle to G. Colman, London, 1768.
 (3) As early as the first night of Polly Honeycombe Garrick wrote "P.S. I cannot cut ye Jealous Wife without yr. Participation" (Posthumous Letters) in 1761. I hoped that today's post would
 (4) Genest, ~~Sept. 25th, 1762.~~ Mar. 6th, 1762.
 (5) Nor is there any reason to regard the insinuation that Colman represented Bath and his wife as Mr. and Mrs Oakly. This appears to be only another instance of Kenrick's malignity.

fortunate. I am conscious to myself that I should have been a

The play was dedicated to the Earl of Bath, and its popularity reconciled him to Colman's association with the theatre. In spite of his kindly intentions towards Colman, Bath appears to have made his position very difficult. Relations between the two had been much strained in the summer of 1760 (though on what account is now unknown) and Colman's letters to Dr. Douglas at this time throw an illuminating sidelight on his private life. A letter in MS at the British Museum (1), dated Aug. 30th 1760, shows that he was much agitated by Bath's attitude towards him; "Time, I flatter myself, will abate his (i.e. Bath's) anger and make him view this unlucky affair in a more favourable light. In the meantime I cannot but be uneasy." A further letter (dated Tuesday only, but endorsed Sept. 1760) to Dr. Douglas is written in the same strain. "I long to go down," he says, "but would by no means expose myself in a publick place by shewing all the world that I am under his Lordship's displeasure," and he begs for a line or two of news and advice. This is followed by a long letter which seems to indicate that the trouble which had arisen was connected with his mother. He writes: "I am too much agitated at present to make a proper answer to My Lord's letter. Tomorrow I hope to compose myself sufficiently to do it. I hoped that today's post would have been a little more favourable. On the whole I cannot accuse myself of baseness or ingratitude, though the event has been unfortunate. I am conscious to myself that I should have been a

(1) Eg. 3334 ABC.

juster object of his Lordship's anger and contempt if I had not delayed my journey. I consider myself as a sort of Rent-charge upon his Lordship's generosity and am above the dirty artifices of extorting more favours. I therefore make it my business industriously to conceal little family distresses. My delicacy prevents my relating to his Lordship the circumstances which occasioned my delay, though if known I am very sure that they would carry their apology and excuse along with them. A good Heart is the properest object of esteem and he who deserts his parents, will have but little attachment to anybody else. I beg pardon for this Rh-apsody - I did not intend it, and my emotion drew it from me." These letters show clearly how humiliating Colman felt his dependence on Lord Bath. Peace was evidently made, possibly by the intervention of Miss Pulteney and Dr. Douglas, whom he thanks for their friendship, and the reconciliation was evidently complete by the next summer. Bath's letters at this time are still full of admonitions to make money or marry a fine woman with a handsome fortune (a plan which evidently recommended itself to his economical mind) (1), but they also contain kind messages to the Garricks, an invitation to him to bring Garrick to dine, and a request that he will present a portrait of himself (Bath) to Mrs. Garrick; and they are invariably friendly in tone.

(1) Peake, I.p.55 (July 29th, 1758) p.68, (Dec. 18th, 1761), etc.

The hints as to marriage with a fortune may have had an ulterior motive. Colman's intimacy with the theatre had brought him into contact with a Miss Sarah Ford (1), formerly the mistress of Mossop, the actor (2), by whom she had a daughter; and Colman's connection with her must have begun about this time. Their son, George Colman the Younger, was born in October, 1762.(3) It is said that the final rupture between Colman and General Pulteney, the Earl's heir, was caused, not by his decision to continue his theatrical work, but by his refusal to end the relationship with her. Be this as it may, Colman and the Earl remained on sufficiently cordial terms in spite of the obvious conflict in Colman between his desire to avoid Bath's displeasure and his determination to go his own way.(4).

At this time (1763) Colman was busy settling the debts of Viscount Pulteney, the Earl's only son, who had just died at Madrid, leaving his affairs very much involved. (5). As a result of this loss, Bath re-made his will, and it was found at his

- (1) D.N.B. Peake, I.p.69.
 (2) Peake, loc.cit. Cf. also Gentleman, Summary View of the Stage "There was a particular reason why he (Mossop) could not properly be where Mr. Colman was manager (the reason I don't choose to relate)."
 (3) Random Records I.p.17, Oct 21st, 1762.
 (4) Peake, I.p.72. Spa, July 13, 1762, "Dear, Coley, Why are you so suspicious of my being angry with you?"
 (5) Peake, loc.cit. The Earl had now no immediate relative left, the Countess having died in Sept. 1758, (Peake), and his only daughter many years before (Walpole's Letters, Mar. 10th 1742).

death in 1764 (1) that he had left an annuity of nine hundred guineas per annum to Colman (2), but that he had bequeathed his estate to his brother, General Pulteney. This caused a great deal of gossip, as it had been expected that Colman, whom he had spoken of and treated as a second son, would be the heir, and various rumours were put about that it was his literary pursuits which had alienated the Earl. In the Particulars of his Life, written at the beginning of his last illness for posthumous publication, Colman contradicted this, but the reasons given are not convincing. He also contradicted the report that he was the Earl's natural son, this being the interpretation that the scandalmongers of the day had put upon his long-continued kindness to his nephew.

To return to 1761: in this year the St. James's Chronicle was begun by Garrick, Bonnell Thornton and Colman, and soon became one of the more influential periodicals of the day (3). Colman wrote constantly for it, the papers signed The Genius being a considerable advance on The Connoisseur. In 1762, as has already been mentioned, The Musical Lady was produced at Drury Lane, and met with a favourable reception. In the

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- (1) Peake, Saturday, July 7th, 1764; D.N.B., July 8th.
 (2) St. James's Chronicle, July 10th.
 (3) D.N.B. 1761-2. Cf. also Peake, I.p.101.

summer of 1763 the essays entitled Terrae Filius ⁽¹⁾ were published during the Encenia at Oxford: they are on the whole of inferior workmanship. He was probably at work on his alteration of Philaster (2), in which Powell, who had already made a name for himself at Bath, first appeared on the London stage, and on The Deuce is in Him (3), an original comedy which borrowed incidents from Marmontel's Moral Tales and from a story in The British Magazine: both these plays, together with the alteration of A Midsummer Night's Dream (4), were performed during the season 1763-4. The autumn of 1763 was made memorable for him by Garrick's going for a tour of the Continent. Owing to Garrick's friendship with him (5) as well as to his known interest in the theatre (6), he was left as unofficial helper to George Garrick

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- (1) D.N.B. "Under the name of Folio Mr. and Mrs. Newberry, the publishers, appear to be ridiculed." Garrick, writing from Chatsworth, July 18th, 1763, refers to this (Peake, I.P.82)
- (2) Genest, Oct. 8th, 1763.
- (3) Genest, Nov. 4th, 1763.
- (4) Genest, Nov. 23rd, 1763. "This alteration was attributed originally to Colman but it seems that it was made by Garrick and that Colman only superintended the rehearsals". It was in fact Garrick's work, but on its unsuccessful first appearance Colman cut it down and it was acted several times (Genest, May, 1764).
- (5) See Garrick's letters from abroad, which are extremely friendly. He calls him "thou best of friends" on one occasion (cf. Peake, I. pp 83, 89, 100.
- (6) Fitzgerald says simply he "appointed Colman to look after his interests in the theatre" (Life of Garrick, II. p. 113) but it has been suggested that there was further policy in the move: he wanted someone connected with the newspapers to see to his interests and to keep his name before the public. He certainly used Colman as a kind of press-agent. (cf. his letters, Jan. 27th, Feb. 16th, and Mar 18th, 1765 - Peake pp. 136, 138 144) His opinion of Colman's theatrical discrimination is shown by the letter to Powell, Dec. 12th, 1764 (see the Garrick Correspondence).

and Lacy, the other patentee, who were in charge of Drury Lane, an experience of great value to him and of no small importance in deciding the direction of his later life.

His preoccupation with theatrical matters, and ill-health, which sent him abroad to recuperate in May 1764, probably account for the fact that he produced nothing further until 1765, when the translation of the comedies of Terence (1), which had been in progress for some time past (2), was completed and was published by Becket: "Whoever would wish to see the spirit of an ancient bard transfused into the English language, must look for it in Mr. Colman's version". (3). It met with great approbation, as indeed it deserved to do for the grace and ease of its language alone. His private life had been troubled during the previous year by the death of the Earl of Bath and the speedy realisation that in spite of General Pulteney's friendly protestations (4) it would be wise not to rely on him for help. As he had given up the Bar at the General's invitation⁽⁵⁾, it was necessary that he should find some way of supporting his family (6). The Terence

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- (1) Genest, D.N.B.
 (2) Garrick mentions it in a letter of Dec. 1763 (see Peake, I, p. 93)
 (3) Biog. Dram.
 (4) Some Particulars of his Life, p. 12, 15. When the General died he left Colman only £400 a year (Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, Oct 29th, 1767)
 (5) Some Particulars of his Life
 (6) He was in difficulties with Sir H.W. Dashwood (Peake, I, p. 135) about a sum of £2000 which he could not recover from him. Cf. also Fitzgerald op.cit.

increased his reputation as a scholar and a man of letters, but it was becoming obvious that to supplement the income left him by the Earl he must look seriously to the theatres.

The close of the year was embittered by quarrels with Garrick. Their joint work, The Clandestine Marriage, had been in progress for some considerable time past (1); Garrick mentioned it in his letters from abroad (2); and it appears that during the summer of 1765 the collaborators made a real effort to finish it. As the autumn advanced, however, Garrick, for whom the part of Lord Ogleby had been intended, refused to act it, and Colman, who had set his heart on Garrick's performing it, was extremely angry, the more so since mischief was made between the two (3). Both were hot-tempered and touchy, and proud of their literary reputation, and like everybody else they quarrelled the more bitterly because of the warmth of their previous friendship. Efforts were made by Clutterbuck⁽⁴⁾ and other mutual friends to

- (1) Hoadly to Garrick, Sept. 1765, "I am pleased to hear that Mr Colman's comedy (two acts of which you shewed me at Hampton some years ago) is in such forwardness; as I found by his talk at his house last ~~XXXX~~ winter he had not worked any farther upon it (Garrick Correspondence)"
- (2) Peake, I. p. 92, Dec. 1763, p. 103, Apr. 1764, p. 126, Nov. 1764, p. 139, Feb. 1765.
- (3) Peake I. p. 157. Garrick's reason for refusing was that the part was too like Lord Chalkstone in his own farce Lethe.
- (4) Garrick Corr. Nov. 1765 "Colman and you are men of most quick sensations and are apt sometimes to catch at words instead of things... I know you love one another and a third person might call up such explanations as would satisfy ye both ... I cannot help thinking there is but one person in the world capable of playing L. Ogleby, et hinc illae lachrymae, but who can help it?" The angry letters which passed between Colman and Garrick (see Garrick Corr. Dec. 4th, 5th, 6th, 1765) bear out the statement that mischief was made between them and that literary jealousy was roused in each.

bring them together, but it was not until Christmas, when the play had been lying by for a couple of months, (1), that a reconciliation was effected (2). Garrick's letters immediately after the quarrel were again very amiable (3), and during Colman's absence in Paris in the summer of 1766 he seems to have kept a friendly eye on young George, who was left in charge of Mrs. Terrill and "the maiden Pierce". He gives a delightful picture of "Georgy-go-ging" playing ninepins in the garden with him until the elder was tired out, and insisting on singing *The Chimney Sweep* and telling all his stories to Mrs. Garrick (4). He had the child to stay with him at Hampton for part of the time that Colman was away. The "young rogue" was already a great mimic and full of spirits, and evidently both Garrick and Colman were devoted to him. By this time The Clandestine Marriage had been in performance for four months (5) and had met with great success in spite of Garrick's having passed on the part of Ogleby to King. During his stay in Paris Colman was received by Monnet, Favart, Diderot and other prominent figures in the literary world (6), but the visit was spoilt for him by illness and anxiety as to the future (7), and he appears to have been glad to return to England.

(1) Dec. 5th. "For near two months I have been totally incapable of that task (i.e. retrenching the last act) as I could never without pain turn my eyes or thoughts on the Clandestine Marriage. (Colman to Garrick, loc.cit.)

(2) Peake, I.p. 174

(3) Cf. his letter from Bath, April 1766. (Peake, I.p. 180)

(4) Peake, I.p. 182, 186.

(5) Genest, Feb. 20th, 1766. It was played 19 times that season.

(6) Garrick Corr. Paris, July 27th, 1766.

(7) Garrick Corr. Paris, July 21st, 1766

C. Covent Garden Theatre.

The renewed friendship between Colman and Garrick was not to be of long duration. Already in July 1766 Garrick was writing to Paris about the intended sale of the patent of Covent Garden Theatre, and from a guess of his it appears that Colman had been approached on the subject of buying a share (1). The chance of becoming a theatrical manager was too tempting to be put aside altogether. Evidently from the Particulars of his Life he was engaged in negotiations for some time before, in March 1767, about a month after the production of The English Merchant at Drury Lane (2), he signed an agreement with Powell under a penalty of £3,000 in case of non-performance. In the same memoir he tried to exculpate himself from the charges which were brought against him of having pursued his theatrical designs at the cost of everything else. He declared that he had acted with General Pulteney's consent, and printed letters from himself expressive of great anxiety lest he should forfeit the General's esteem and from that the first intimation Garrick received was from a third party the General assuring him, not too cordially, of his continued friendship (3). He made no mention of the story which Isaac Reed heard from Bishop Douglas, that Pulteney offered him a seat in Parliament, ample provision during his (Pulteney's) lifetime and the bequest of the Newport estate at his death, if he would give

- (1). Peake I.p. 186., a letter of July 31st, 1766.
 (2) Genest, Feb. 21st, 1767
 (3) Particulars of his Life. Colman offered to forego the patent rather than lose his favour (cf. his letters of June 7th and 29th, July 2nd, 1767, quoted there.)

up his theatrical connections, particularly Miss Ford.(1). The tone of his letters sounds as though he knew that the General had reasons for thinking that Colman was in the wrong in wishing to continue in his dramatic undertaking, but that he was unwilling to give it up ~~for~~ on any considerations. It could be wished that these letters were less subservient; after all he was under no such obligations to the General as to his brother, and he had every right to settle his own career. What is more difficult to forgive is his treatment of Garrick during these months. Admittedly Garrick had been more in the wrong than Colman over The Clandestine Marriage, but the breach between them on that score was supposed to be healed (2). He may have felt that Garrick's fame was so well established that no rivalry could hurt him, but to set up in opposition to an intimate friend who had been of the greatest service to him professionally and at whose expense his knowledge of theatrical management had been bought, moreover, to preserve such secrecy throughout all the negotiations that the first intimation Garrick received was from a third party—this is conduct which it is hard to excuse. That he had acted as

(1) Isaac Reed, *Notitia Dramatica*. Walpole has a slightly different version (Letters, Oct 29th, 1767).

(2) H. Saxe Wyndham, (*Annals of C.G. Theatre*, p.164) attributes Colman's purchase to spite on account of the quarrel over The Clandestine Marriage, but gives no grounds for this accusation.

(1) Garrick Corr. pp. 282 et seq. The letters to George Garrick about the sale of C.G. are dated 1767 only and do not give the day of the month.

(2) Forster Collection, Letters of Garrick, Vol 13.

assistant manager at Drury Lane during Garrick's absence was no reason why he should have refrained from accepting managerial duties elsewhere, but surely he owed it to Garrick to acquaint him with his plans.

The strain on their friendship was less severe than might have been expected owing to Garrick's unusual calmness. He had been in a great flutter when the first rumours reached his ears, there had been a marked coolness between the two at Bath, whither they had both gone in April, and he had declared that any reconciliation would "be but a darn", but friends insisted, he and Colman made it up, and he found a convenient scape-goat in Powell. The following unpublished letter to Garrick must belong to this time; its friendly tone shows how apparently sincere the reconciliation was:

Dear Garrick,

Your Cook takes this, so I write, though I have nothing to say. Today's news a coup de foudre! Messrs Colman and Powell &c &c. Damn their intelligence! I avow nothing; I deny nothing; I am going for my cousin. - I have made the folks here laugh, tho' you are gone; for I have told them the story of Dr. Merryweather. My love to Mrs. Garrick, and believe me, quisquis erit vitae color, ever yrs. G.C.

Monday Evening. (2).

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- (1) Garrick Corr. pp. 252 et seq. The letters to George Garrick about the sale of C.G. are dated 1767 only and do not give the day of the month
- (2) Forster Collection, Letters of Garrick, Vol 12.

The death of Colman's mother at the beginning of May, 1767(1) had put him in possession of £6,000; armed with this and with £1,000 borrowed from Becket(2) he managed to raise the necessary ready money for the purchase of a fourth share of the Covent Garden patent. His partners in this enterprise were Powell, the actor, and two young men about town, Harris and Rutherford. The purchase was completed on June ²35th, 1767 (3), and became public knowledge a few days later. Immediately it was settled Harris and Rutherford ~~was~~ went off for a holiday, Powell departed to Bath to fulfill his summer engagement there, and Colman remained in London to make all the necessary arrangements for opening the house at the beginning of the winter season.(4).

Concerted management is not at the best of times an easy matter, even when it is undertaken by people who are well acquainted with one another. In this case Harris and Rutherford were friends, and Colman and Powell had known each other for some time and had also worked together; Powell also knew Harris and Rutherford, but Colman had hardly met them before negotiations were undertaken, and neither he nor Powell had any idea what they

(1) D.N.B.

(2) Garrick Corr. II.p.248. Becket to Colman, Aug. 1777.

(3) True State of the Differences Harris assured Colman that they would approve of his measures, and he accepted The Good-Natured Man and engaged Macklin. They did not disapprove, but were annoyed that he had not informed them of these steps. His defence was that he could not do so as they had left no address at which he could communicate with them.

would be like to work with. While it was not likely that they would settle down to joint management without some friction the articles by which they were bound were so cumbersome that disputes were almost inevitable. (1). The season had hardly begun before disagreements arose. Colman had from the first intended to be stage manager (2); Powell was to act and to give advice when it was wanted; Harris and Rutherford were to be in charge of the financial side of the business. To gratify their sense of dignity, however, Colman had assented to the insertion of a clause giving them a negative power over his arrangements, imagining that their sense of their inexperience contrasted with his theatrical knowledge would be enough to persuade them

(1) Stated shortly these were:-

I. Colman to have the power of engaging and dismissing performers of all kinds, receiving and rejecting new pieces, casting plays, appointing plays, and conducting all such things as are generally understood to be comprehended in the dramatic province.

II. Harris and Rutherford to look after the comptrollment of the accounts and treasury relative to the theatre.

III. Powell to be engaged as an actor, "Colman from time to time and at all times hereafter to communicate and submit his conduct and the measures he shall intend to pursue unto the said T.Harris and J.Rutherford, and in case they shall at any time signify their disapprobation thereof in writing to the said G.Colman... the measures so disapproved of shall not be carried into execution." Powell to give advice and assistance whenever asked for it by the other parties.

(Narrative of the Rise and Progress, p.5.)

A separate agreement as to terms of acting was made with Powell (May 28th, 1767) . This stipulated that he was always to have a greater salary than any actor engaged at C.G. Colman was to have no salary for his services as stage-manager, a fact which excited Garrick's derision (Genest).

(2) True State, p.11.

that their own interests alone made it desirable that he should be left practically a free hand in the management. (1). In spite of their declaration that all they wanted was a good return for their money, they soon began to meddle in matters outside their sphere. Colman may have taken too much on himself during the summer of 1767 and perhaps he was less conciliatory in manner than he might have been when the season began (2). Certainly they complained constantly that he did not inform them of the measures he proposed to take, as according to the Articles he ought to have done.(3). But the immediate cause of the troubles was the behaviour of one of the actresses, a Mrs. Lessingham. This lady, though an indifferent performer(4), had captivated Harris, and doubtless she expected a triumphant career when she was engaged at the theatre of which he was part-owner. She

(1) True State, p.11 (Mar 31st, 1767)

(2) Narrative of the Rise and Progress, p.8. Colman declared that this charge was trumped up later. (True State)

(3) Narrative of the Rise and Progress, loc.cit.

(4) GARRICK CORR. Aug.17th, 1767. Garrick says she was engaged for less than £4 weekly and they refused her that sum when she asked for it. Cf. also The Theatres (Sir Nicholas Nicols, 1772):-

What shall we say of Lessingham the fair?

She has of managers been long the care.

O that regard would make her all their own

And snatch a tasteless milksop from the town,

One who for parts eternally would fight

Without the sense or talents to be right.

So too The Gentleman's Magazine, Jan 1772 (p.39) :-

L was a Lessingham of talents but slender.

began by making trouble over her dressing-room: it was not good enough for her.(1). Then she egged on Harris to demand the part of Imogen for her, Colman having cast Miss Ward as more suitable for it and declaring that as her friend he would advise her never to appear in tragedy (2). Two days later she returned the part of Nerissa to the Prompter with an insolent note which he at once passed on to Colman (3). Colman thereupon had a stormy interview with Harris about the matter. Harris, abetted by Rutherford, sent for the Cast Book, erased names and substituted Mrs. Lessingham's where he thought fit, and subjoined a list of parts which she was in future to play. The Cast Book was then returned to the Prompter. Colman wrote to Harris in remonstrance, pointing out that his action was a breach of articles, but after a meeting in which tempers were rather short he agreed against his better judgment to leave her name against the parts they had allotted to her, and, according to his True State, he helped out her very mediocre performances by putting on plays which were likely to draw good ~~houses~~ houses either by their intrinsic worth or by their novelty. The performance of Cymbeline was

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- (1) True State. About Sept. 16th. The dressing rooms were allotted by Powell and his wife. Rutherford also promised Mrs. Bellamy an extra dressing room, though they were already very short of accomodation.
- (2) Harris admitted this but thought she might manage Imogen. He refused Powell's opinion, though Powell was to play Posthumous
- (3) Sept. 18th (True State).

necessarily postponed because a new scene was to be painted for Imogen's bed-chamber.

This was at the end of September. In October Colman engaged Mr. and Mrs. Yates (1), as he felt that the forces of the theatre wanted strengthening against Garrick, who had just engaged Barry and Mrs. Dancer at the other house. At the end of the month he appointed Cymbeline again(2), Imogen being one of Mrs. Yates's great parts. He said, probably with truth, that he never imagined Mrs. Lessingham would for a moment consider that she had any claim on the part now that a capital performer like Mrs. Yates was acting at Covent Garden; but the lady's vanity knew no bounds, and there was another quarrel, Harris and Rutherford insisting that she should play it while Colman refused, to the satisfaction of Mrs. Yates, who had no intention of giving it up. (3).

At this point the narratives of the dispute become more involved. A frenzy of letter-writing seized all the principals, who bombarded one another with notes; all proceeded to put themselves

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- (1) True State, Oct. 12th (p.44), Narrative of the Rise and Progress soon after Nov. 1st. The engagement had already been discussed but rejected as at that time the company was strong enough (apparently before Barry and Mrs. Dancer had joined D.L.). Powell agreed to the engagement because Colman offered Mrs. Yates £500, and he stood to gain £100 by the terms of his agreement (Narrative) Colman denied this charge (True State). The exact date of the engagement makes a difference to the validity of Harris's and Rutherford's arguments. The reasons Colman gives for the engagement are sufficiently convincing.
- (2) Oct. 29th (True State); soon after Nov. 1st (Narrative).
- (3) True State, Oct 29th Mrs. Yates refused to give up the part when Harris and Rutherford approached her privately on the subject (p.24).

in the wrong in one way or another; all appealed at different times in an extremely undignified way to the players (1); finally, at the end of October (2) Harris and Rutherford sent a signed notice to be put up in the green-room to the effect that any order from one manager only was null and void (3). When Younger, the prompter, begged to be excused from putting up this notice as he had no wish to be embroiled in managerial quarrels, they sent to Colman ordering his dismissal and to Garton, the treasurer, commanding him to stop payments to Younger. At Powell's instigation mutual friends tried to make peace, but Harris and Rutherford refused to listen unless new articles were to be signed, and then Powell, who until then had kept out of the trouble as far as possible, managed to smooth things over. Younger was dismissed for five minutes and then reinstated, and Cymbeline was set aside at Harris's request (4). It was at this point that Powell declared on Colman's side. In December (5) Cymbeline was ordered by royal command. The new scenery was ready and Colman put the play into rehearsal, in spite of Harris's writing that he could quite well send a polite refusal to the King. Colman met him at

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- (1) Narrative, p.11; True State, p.28.
 (2) True State, Oct 31st.
 (3) True State, p.27.
 (4) True State, p.28.
 (5) True State, Dec, 5th.

the theatre the next ~~day~~ day (Dec 10th) and taxed him with a deliberate obstructionist policy. As a result of this meeting an agreement was reached, and Harris withdrew his objections (1).

Cymbeline was therefore performed before Their Majesties on Dec. 28th, with Mrs. Yates as Imogen, and its success emboldened Colman to announce it again for the 31st (2). He defended his action on the grounds that the play had been expensive to dress and produce, and as it had been successful, to repeat it was good policy financially, a reasonable enough argument. Harris and Rutherford, however, sent him on Dec. 30th a formal note forbidding the performance. Colman, at the end of his patience, retorted that he would print their note as a reason for performing no play on the 31st. (3). Harris and Rutherford then set about other ways of making themselves troublesome. They demanded the wardrobe from Mrs. Powell and were extremely angry because in accordance with theatrical custom she had kept the unappropriated clothes apart from the rest and they were not included in the wardrobe (4).

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- (1) True State, Dec. 10th, Narrative, p.15, admits that Cymbeline was performed one night as "it was our duty to display it"
 - (2) True State and Narrative.
 - (3) True State and Narrative, Powell gave out Cymbeline for the 31st, and it was acted. (Narrative) Cf. Genest.
 - (4) They had established her and her husband in Rich's house adjoining the theatre and had let her have it at a low rent on the condition that certain rooms were kept for managerial meetings and for the unappropriated clothes (True State). Powell wrote that if they wanted to see the clothes they were at liberty to do so in her house, where Colman had told her to keep them (Narrative).

They sent to Garton, the treasurer, telling him he was to pay weekly salaries, charges for music, supernumeraries etc., but no other money whatsoever (Harris's quarter share of the cash balance excepted) unless certified for payment under their hands. (1). Then also they began to make themselves unpleasant about Colman's financial dealings with them. He had made a few alterations in The Rehearsal (2), with which they had opened their season, and had produced his new play, The Oxonian in Town, (3), and had promised some alterations of King Lear, for all of which he had taken £64 out of the treasury (4). King Lear he had not produced, but The Oxonian in Town had been played a fair number of times and he had not had a benefit for it. Harris and Rutherford now demanded the "intended" version of King Lear or a return of the money, in taking which Colman had certainly been very injudicious if nothing worse. Furthermore, they accused him and Powell of collusion over the engagement of Mrs. Yates (5).

(1) True State.

(2) With a new prologue by Whitehead. Dr. Johnson had been asked to write one but had refused, presumably because of his friendship with Garrick. Cf. St James's Chronicle Sept. 14th "Several new Strokes of Humour were occasionally introduced, alluding to Place and Time, which had the greater effect on the Audience as they were unexpected."

(3) Genest, Nov. 7th, 1767.

(4) True State, Jan. 2nd, 1768. On Nov. 26th he had taken the money which lay in the office for his benefit night ~~far~~ from The Oxonian in Town, and for payment for the alterations in The Rehearsal and King Lear, for which he said he would go without a benefit night. This had been done with their consent. He speaks as if the alteration of King Lear was finished (pp. 40, 41), whereas they insinuate that he had taken the money and had never completed the work for which it was the payment. (Narrative, p. 13).

(5) For Colman's answer to this charge see True State p. 47.

Colman then called a meeting of various gentlemen who had financial interests in Covent Garden, to defend himself against the charges of Harris and Rutherford, whom he informed of his action and invited to be present if they liked (1). They refused, as did some of the other persons invited, who no doubt wanted to keep clear of the whole trouble. The next step was naturally the threat of appeals to the public, and a definite appeal to Counsel. Suggestions of arbitration were made, only to be refused because neither side would accept the other's nominees (2). So far letters of recrimination had been passing continually between the parties, but about January 20th, 1768⁽³⁾, they came to an end, and at some date which is not given legal representatives of both sides met. At this time, however, an "accidental publication of a loose and desultory state of our case injudiciously and imperfectly drawn up" (in other words, an unsigned manuscript defence of Harris and ~~XXXXXX~~ Rutherford left in a public room at Slaughter's Coffee House and endorsed "For the use of the Gentlemen of Slaughter's Coffee House") (4), induced Colman to publish on Feb. 10th, 1768, his True State of the Differences subsisting between the Proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre, (5)

(1) True State, p.48, Narrative, p.24.

(2) Narrative, p.31 - 33, gives no dates; True State, Jan. 6th-15th.

(3) True State, Friday, Jan 19th - a mistake in either the day or the date.

(4) Narrative, p.35. No date given.

to which Harris and Rutherford replied by A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Disputes ~~at~~ subsisting between the Patentees of Covent Garden Theatre (1) In these pamphlets each side deals fully with the grounds of complaint against the other. On the whole Colman comes out better than his opponents. It is clear that they deliberately made his position as uncomfortable as possible, that they used their negative power arbitrarily, and tried to usurp as much power as they could from him, while they were ridiculously jealous of their own dignity (2). Harris more than Rutherford seems to have been actuated by ill-will against Colman. That the latter was guiltless no one will pretend; but that he had ample provocation is more than clear (3).

The disputes were still only in the preliminary stages. On February 14th, 1768, Harris and Rutherford sent private orders

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- (1) For attacks on both these pamphlets see The Theatrical Monitor for 1767 and 1768. The author is particularly severe towards Colman.
- (2) They protested because the prompter put ~~a~~ up a notice using the word fixed or settled instead of Proposed with reference to changed business for the week (True State, p.32 - this was in November). On Jan. 2nd they wrote to Garton: "Sir, it would have been proper in you to have advertised the different tradesmen of the just form of address to their respective bills - which should have been thus: Harris, Rutherford Colman and Powell, that being the form in which the patent etc. is conveyed to us" (True State, p.39) Cf. also the five minutes' dismissal of Younger - surely a ridiculous matter of form.
- (3) The summing up in The Conduct of the Four Managers... impartially examined ... by a frequenter of that theatre (1768) is a remarkably fair-minded statement of each side's short-comings

to their bankers to pay no money and deliver no property of the proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre to anyone until further notice from them (1). This important step was taken without any previous intimation to Colman and Powell or even to Garton, who as treasurer had every right to know, and who discovered only when he gave orders for buying some India Bonds, whereupon the whole transaction came to light. This was followed by a direct breach of articles in an attempt to assume some of the acting manager's powers. (2). At the end of March Colman submitted suggestions for a settlement (3) but at a meeting called by their solicitor to put an amicable end to the disputes Harris and Rutherford refused to accept any terms which did not give them a positive power in the theatre and particularly insisted on the insertion of two new clauses in the agreements with the actors, (a proof of their desire to usurp Colman's functions in the management); when he refused to accept these terms they threatened to negative all his engagements until he consented to their form of articles (4).

(1) T.Harris Dissected, p.10.

(2) Letter from T. Harris to G. Colman, p.18, and T.Harris Dissected p.11. Garton was ordered to send the following notice to the players: "I am directed by Messrs. Harris and Rutherford to give you notice that you cannot be considered as belonging to C.G. theatre after the expiration of this season, unless the engagements you may enter into for the next be confirmed by in writing by one or both of them".

(3) T.Harris Dissected, p.12

(4) T.Harris Dissected, p.14. About this time according to both accounts they tried to buy him out.

Three fruitless meetings followed, the last on April 16th. Two days later Colman was served with a formal prohibition, containing a recital of the articles of May 14th, 1767, and declaring that Harris and Rutherford did not intend to use any unreasonable negative but threatening legal redress in case of any breach of articles. The next day they sent a private letter revoking their consent to any arrangement which had lately been adjusted between them and prohibiting him from entering into any fresh agreements without the new clauses (1). After this Harris and Rutherford seem to have canvassed the players both by writing and in person, and to have tried to enter into agreements with them without Colman's or Powell's knowledge (2). Only Macklin, who was a personal enemy of Colman, declared publicly that he was retained by Harris; (3); several in bewilderment applied to counsel, who informed them that only Colman had the power to engage them. Mrs. Bellamy alone stood out for all the managers' consent (4). In what ~~an~~ state theatrical discipline must have been by now one can hardly imagine. In an attempt made by Rutherford, who

(1) T.H.Dissected, p.14

(2) Loc. cit.

(3) Loc.cit. Congreve, Memoirs of Macklin, p.42: "Mr. Macklin was supposed to be the chief adviser of the parties in opposition to Mr. Colman". So also Cooke. Kirkman, quoted by Genest, says there had been trouble about Miss Macklin; Macklin accused Colman of treating her badly, and he refused to let her play Lucy in The Oxonian in Town. (Vol. II.p.17)

(4) T.H.Dissected, p.17.

negative, 1769, p.38. The account given here praises Colman for the way in which he kept the theatre going and made a success of the season in spite of the opposition he had to face.

apparently was getting heartily tired of the whole affair, to conciliate Colman privately he gave as his reason the need to keep the actors in order, including Powell. Colman, needless to say, refused any meeting at which Powell was not present; and on ~~xxx~~ May 3rd all four met, but again fruitlessly (1). The season dragged on in this way, marked, according to Colman, by efforts to sow dissention between him and Powell (2), and by a downright avowal, again according to Colman, from Harris to Powell that he meant to plague Colman's life out (3). It closed on June 4th with Cymbeline, played to a good house for the time of year (4). One cannot help thinking with Harris that it was a mere act of defiance to choose this particular play (5)

The climax came during the summer with the affair of the wardrobe. Immediately after the season Powell went to Bristol to fulfill a summer engagement there, and he took with him certain clothes from the wardrobe (6). This seems to have been fairly usual,⁽⁷⁾ and an inventory of all that he had taken had actually

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- (1) T.H.Dissected, p.18 et seq.
 - (2) T.H.Dissected, p.21.
 - (3) T.H.Dissected. Powell said Harris had said to him that he was determined to keep his share simply to "plague and perplex" Colman and added, "G- d- his blood, I'll tease him till he is weary of his life, and then like Job he'll curse his God and die". Cf. Gentleman's Magazine Sept. 1768 p.434.
 - (4) T.H.Dissected, p.22.
 - (5) A Letter from T.H.to G.C. p.38.
 - (6) A Letter from T.H. to G.C., June 10th
 - (7) Cf. Town and Country Magazine, 1769, p.39. The account given here praises Colman for the way in which he kept the theatre going and made a success of the season in spite of the opposition he had to face.

been left with the wardrobe-keeper^(*); but it gave Harris and Rutherford an opening. They led up to their next campaign by dismissing Garton (1) on June 6th but they ordered him to meet them at the theatre on June 10th to examine the accounts. They then deprived him by violence of the Journal and Ledger of the theatre (2). Colman hastened to the spot, to be refused a reason for this action by Harris; he therefore retaliated by dismissing the wardrobe-keepers who had assaulted Garton. (3). Harris then burst open the wardrobe door, but having no inventory with him could do nothing but have it padlocked and take away the key (4). On the same day they examined the house of Sarjant, the door-keeper, and threatened to send "proper persons" to lodge there. Alarmed by this threat Colman sent people to assist Sarjant, who was old and infirm (5), and, losing his head, he ordered the stage door to be locked, leaving no ingress except through Powell's house in the Piazza (6), and, according to Harris, made the stage carpenter "fortify" the house against them (7). Between

(x) T.Harris Dissected, p.29.

- (1) Letter from T.H. to G.C. ~~px33~~ June 10th T.H. Dissected p.23.
 (2) Colman took this as an indication that they intended to dismiss all persons acting under his direction.
 (3) Letter from T.H. to G.C. June 10th. Garton lodged an indictment against them for this - see Gentleman's Magazine Aug. 1768.
 (4) T.H. Dissected, p.23.
 (5) A letter from T.H. to G.C. June 10th.
 (6) T.H. Dissected p.26.
 (7) T.H. Dissected p.27. He gives further reasons for this step.
 (7) A Letter from T.H. to G.C. June 17th. Ct. Colman's account T.H. Dissected, p.31.

Between the 13th and the 17th, according to Colman, Harris and Rutherford bargained with two bands of ruffians (1), accompanied by whom they demanded admission into the house at 6 a.m. on June 17th (2). When the night-watchman told them they might only be admitted through Powell's house, their escort broke a window into a dressing-room, smashed the door, ejected the guard, forcibly (3), broke into every private cabinet of Colman's, read various confidential documents which they found (4), and finally carried off as much of the wardrobe, music, etc., as would make the remainder useless. Harris and Rutherford left a guard of these desperadoes in charge.

A meeting at Westminster Hall was fruitless: each side suggested terms to which the other would not agree. Colman here seems to have had a genuine grievance against Harris, for two of the articles to which the latter objected were, first that bills

(1) T.H. Dissected, p.27. Rutherford bargained with Sawney Mac-
~~XXXXXXXX~~ Gregor, Sergeant in the 3rd. Guards, to get a
 detachment of stout fellows, and Harris got Hyde, the car-
 penter, to provide a number of ruffians armed with axes,
 crowbars, etc. Both pamphlets give this date.

(2) Both pamphlets give this date.

(3) Harris claimed that breaking a window was not a forcible
 entry, and that when one of the servants tried to prevent
 their entrance there could be nothing illegal in turning him
 out of doors or even "Gently putting him out of the window"

(4) Both admit the forcible entry: the details of the destruction
 are Colman's. Harris also admitted that he had taken
 dresses, music and other things with the idea of making
 the rest of no use. (A Letter from T.H. to G.C.)

(1) True State, p.25.

(2) T.H. Dissected, p.22. The note is dated June 21st, 1768.
 Colman refused to attend Fielding's meeting because he had no
 control over these men and they were not there by his orders.

(4) T.H. Dissected, p.22

and salaries then due should be paid, monies overdrawn paid in, the yearly accounts immediately settled and a dividend duly made by the treasurer, and secondly, that no power should be given to any proprietor to control the usual and ordinary payments of salaries and incidental weekly charges (1). He had already protested against their running into debt with the tradesmen (2). A further grievance lay in the conduct of the scoundrels whom they had left in charge at the theatre; they were smoking on the stage (a thing never allowed), with candles and baskets of shavings in dangerous proximity, and behaving so badly that Sir John Fielding had to write suggesting that steps should be taken "to relieve the fears of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden Theatre relative to the mischiefs that may happen by Fire or otherwise from the persons now in the house" (3).

On July 9th a magistrate issued his precept to the sheriff to re-instate Sarjant. When they re-entered the theatre they found a pile of bludgeons left behind, doors and drawers broken open, and the contents of the wardrobe strewn in all directions like so much dirty linen (4).

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- (1) Moreover they demanded that all engagements made by him should be void, and that any servants who had offended them should be dismissed. They must have known that he could not pass the second out of common justice, if his sense of dignity had let him pass the first. He had engaged actors for the following season at his own risk, as they had to have a company ready.
- (2) True State, p.56.
- (3) T.H.Dissected, p.31. The note is dated June 21st, 1768. Colman refused to attend Fielding's meeting because he had no control over these men and they were not there by his orders.
- (4) T.H.Dissected, p.33

Here the narratives by the principals end.^(*) According to Genest (1) it was at this point that Rutherford began negotiations for the disposal of his share, which was finally bought by Dagge and Leake, and that legal proceedings were instituted. On July 23, 1770, the Commissioners of the Great Seal gave their judgment at Lincoln's Inn that "Colman do continue in the conduct of the theatre as acting manager, subject however to the advice and inspection of the three other managers, but not to the Controul, as that would be an absurdity." The final reconciliation appears not to have come about until more than a year later; ironically enough, it was occasioned by Harris's quarrelling with Mrs. Lessingham (2).

Apart from managerial quarrels, other disputes had made Colman's tenure of office unquiet. The engagement of Macklin in 1767 brought with it the trouble which anyone dealing with that fiery Irishman experienced (3). As has already been mentioned, he sided with Harris against Colman, and stirred up trouble about the

(1) See C.G., end of season 1767-68.

(2) Culton, History of the theatres of London p.5 (he gives the date of the quarrel's beginning incorrectly). Barton ~~BAKER~~ Baker's History of the Stage, p.119 has also the story of a quarrel between Harris and Mrs. Lessingham. So also Genest, and the Town and County Magazine, 1771, p.577.

(3) D.N.B. Macklin instituted Chancery proceedings against Colman which dragged on for nine years, when Macklin won his suit. Cf. Cooke, p.270. 272.

(*) The two later pamphlets, A Letter to G. Colman from T. Harris, and T. Harris Dissedged, must have appeared about July 1768. Their exact dates are not given.

parts the "mere mass of amiable snow," (1), his daughter, was to play; and in dudgeon after these "misunderstandings" (to use Kirkman's word) he withdrew from Covent Garden Theatre and did not return until 1773. In December, 1772, (2), he made overtures for re-engagement, and when Smith (3), the player, handed in his resignation for the following season, Colman engaged Macklin in his place. (4). Later Smith repented of this step, and Colman, with Macklin's knowledge, agreed to engage him again, but warned him that he must take such parts as had not already been allotted to other actors. Macklin and Smith made arrangements between themselves that, if Colman agreed, they would act Richard III and Macbeth alternately. Colman raised no objections to the plan, and the season began with this understanding between them. The later friction, it is suggested by Kirkman, was due to Macklin's success, which his enemies feared might injure "several favourite performers" (5), (probably, to come from the general to the particular, Smith). In any case Macklin was hissed after he had performed Macbeth; and he declared the hissing was led by Sparks and Reddish,

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- (1) Kelly, *Theopsis*. Part II.
 (2) Kirkman. II.p.25. See pp.17-25 for the accusations Macklin brought against Colman.
 (3) William Smith, nicknamed Gentleman Smith, an unquiet member of the theatrical corps. Cf. Peake, I.p.254 et seq. for some of his correspondence with Colman.
 (4) Kirkman, *Life of Macklin*, II.p.57.
 (5) Kirkman, loc.cit. Genest, however, says it was his vanity which made him want to appear in parts for which he was unsuited. See end of season 1773-74, C.G.

the latter being an actor at Drury Lane. Newspaper affidavits of their innocence he refused to believe, and on his second appearance as Macbeth he read to the public an account of the incident before he would begin to act. There was an uproar, but he was allowed to go through with his part. Five days later when he appeared in The Merchant of Venice a riot began as soon as the curtain was raised. There were shouts for Colman, who refused to appear; the noise increased until the actors had to carry on in dumb-show, since they could not possibly make themselves heard; and when Macklin came on every vestige of control was lost. The whole pit joined in shouts of "Off, off, off," but with more courage than discretion Macklin "peremptorily refused, and in the most insolent manner advanced to the orchestra and stamped with his feet and continued on the stage," (1). He also refused to apologise, whereupon benches were torn up, and the din redoubled. A paper was thrown on to the stage demanding his dismissal, and one Clarke took it upon himself to go behind the scenes and tell Colman that it was his business to go on to the stage and promise that Macklin should not appear again while he lay under the public's displeasure, this being in Clarke's opinion the only way to end the riot (2). Colman refused, determined to hold out as long as he could. He had to submit at last, for the riot became more and more violent, and it was evident that the mob would do serious damage

(1) Kirkman, II.p.117. William Augustus Miles affidavit.

(2) ~~LE~~ Op.cit. Joseph Clarke's affidavit.

to property if no worse. He therefore sent Bensley(1) on to the stage to enquire what was the audience's desire, then an actor appeared with a blackboard on which was printed in large white letters, "At the command of the public Mr. Macklin is discharged". Still they were dissatisfied, so he had to appear in person (2). After placating the rabble by a humorous appeal to their tolerance for his first appearance on any stage, (3), and a reference to all his work for their satisfaction, he asked whether it was their pleasure that Macklin should be dismissed. Many ayes and a few noes were heard. He then announced that Macklin was discharged, and after much applause he offered She Stoops to Conquer as the only play he could substitute at a moment's notice. This was refused (4), so the money was returned and the audience dispersed without further entertainment.(5).

The trouble was not yet ended. Macklin, deprived of his means of earning a living, badgered Colman with requests to let him act again, at any rate for his daughter's benefit (6), and when these

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- (1) Kirkman, II.p.212.
 - (2) Genest states that he could have pleaded the managerial privilege and refused, as Fleetwood did on a similar occasion.
 - (3) Oulton, History of the Theatres of London, p.28.
 - (4) Kirkman - Aston's summing up.
 - (5) Gentleman's Magazine, 1773, Thurs. Nov. 18th.
 - (6) Peake, I.p.321, and Kirkman II. (a letter from Macklin to his daughter Mar. 14th, 1774) and p.298.

proved fruitless he applied to the law and long drawn out suits were begun, at which of course Colman had to be present. How weary he grew of the whole affair may be judged from his refusal to Lord Mansfield to have any thing to do with settling it (1). As is well known, Macklin concluded the suit with the noble gesture which called forth Lord Mansfield's remark, "You have never acted better in your life," (2), but after that he filed a bill in Chancery against Colman and the other managers of Covent Garden to recover his salary for the two years he had been unable to act and the value of the benefits due to him during that time. The whole business of bringing in bills in equity, filing others in chancery praying injunctions to restrain Macklin from bringing an action at law, filing amended bills and all the rest of the legal proceedings lasted until 1781, when Macklin dropped the equity charge and tried his fortune at law (3). The cause was referred to arbitration, and Macklin received an award of £500 which he immediately presented to Harris, to prove love of justice and not pecuniary compensation was his only object, and he requested that all their past differences might be buried in eternal oblivion!

(4)

(1) Kirkman, I. pp. 243, 244.

(2) Peake, May 11th, 1775.

(3) Kirkman II. p. 302. Gentleman's Magazine, 1784 (p. 147) "Feb. 20th Was determined in the court of King's Bench the long-contested cause between Mr. Macklin... plaintiff and G. Colman defendant.. Lord Mansfield advised a compromise; and it being left to his Lordship, he gave the plaintiff £500 and each to pay his own costs. The suit had been nine years in chancery.

(4) Kirkman loc. cit.

This account of the troubles of his managerial career has omitted some few other matters of importance previous to 1784. From the time of his first engaging in the direction of Covent Garden Colman had been very busy producing new plays, altering old ones, and composing himself. Lionel and Clarissa, The Good-Natured Man, Zenobia, She Stoops to Conquer, his own alterations of King Lear, Hull's adaptation of The Beggar's Bush as The Royal Merchant, the enormously popular Mother Shipton (1), The Oxonian in Town, The English Merchant, Man and Wife, or the Shakespeare Jubilee, The Portrait, The Fairy Prince, Comus, Achilles in Petticoats, The Man of Business, and many other pieces were produced between 1767 and 1773. In 1769 Powell died at Bristol (2). The number of applicants⁽³⁾ for his share of Covent Garden shows how flourishing a concern Colman had made it in spite of all the handicaps he was working under. Mrs. Powell implored Colman to see that the share was not sold (4). His friendship for Powell was shown by the zeal with which he acted as her "counselor and protector" ^{and} ~~but~~ by his writing an epitaph for the tombstone in

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- (1) A pantomime. Walpole, (Letters, VIII.p.8) calls it a farce "that has a million of pretty landscapes of ruby and emerald". Colman won much fame by it - cf. the picture of him on Mother Shipton's knee, prefaced to The Theatres, a Poetical Dissection (Sir Nicholas Nicclose, 1772)
- (2) Peake, I.p.235, July 3rd, 1769.
- (3) Peake, I.p.235 mentions Smith and Joseph Reed among them.
- (4) Peake loc.cit.
- (E)

Bristol Cathedral (1) and also a prologue which Holland, Powell's friend, spoke at a benefit given at Bristol for Powell's family (2). In March, 1771, Mrs. Colman died (3); and in the November of that year, shortly after the reconciliation between the proprietors of the theatre, he had a fit there but recovered fairly quickly (4). In February, 1773, an assault on him by a "Reverent Gentleman" occasioned a suit at law (5). During the summer of 1773 occurred the curious Vauxhall Affray which remains obscure (6). It occasioned an attack on him in the Morning Chronicle, seemingly on no real grounds. At the end of the season 1773-4 he sold his share of the theatre (7) and retired for a brief period into private life (8).

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- (1) Peake I.p.257. Colman got into trouble with the Prebendary, Dr. Elmer, over the wording of the epitaph.
- (2) Peake, I.p.238.
- (3) Random Records, I.p.45, Peake I.p.254, Faulkner, History of Kensington, p.272, Mar. 29th, 1771. The date of Colman's marriage with Miss Ford seems to be unknown.
- (4) Peake, I.p.262, Nov.30th, 1771.
- (5) Gentleman's Magazine Feb. 5th, 1773. Walpole (Letters,, Feb. 11th 1773) "Colman has been half murdered by a divine out of jealousy who keeps Miss Miller" a foot-note says it was the Rev. Richard Penneck, Keeper of the Reading Room at the B.M.
- (6) The Vauxhall Affray, or Macaronies Defeated (Lond. 1773) gives the date Friday, July 23rd. A note in the General Intelligence of the Morning Chronicle of Aug. 4th runs: "A wag in this paper of Sat. last has attempted to raise a laugh at the expense of a certain literary character. He has taken up the conduct of the gentleman in question during the fray at Vauxhall last Friday as the grounds of his satire, but has rather shewn his ill-nature than his wit, as the whole of his letter is founded on a falsehood. The person who is made the subject of ridicule was not present at the commencement of the fray, nor was he directly or indirectly connected with it."
- (7) His share, which he bought for £15,000, fetched £20,000.
- (8) May 26th, 1774 (Gentleman's Magazine, Genest).

D. First Retirement and Return to the Theatrical World.

After the storms of his theatrical career Colman now settled down for a time to the life of a country gentleman. Immediately after his retirement he withdrew to Bath, a resort of which he was always very fond (1); and after a holiday there he returned to the villa at Richmond which he had built in 1766, and between which and his town house in Soho-square he had divided his leisure. The Richmond house stood well, commanding fine views over the ferry, and surrounded by ^{extensive} fine, well-tended grounds; it was within easy reach of London by coach, and the neighbourhood provided congenial society.(2). In spite of these advantages and the desire for quiet which he might have been expected to feel, Colman's spirit was too restless to be satisfied for long with a life of idleness. He was at this time again on very friendly terms with Garrick and soon began to busy himself with work for Drury Lane. After a year of which we have no record, his alteration of Epiccene was finished (3) and it was produced by Garrick in 1776 (4).

(1) Cf. the double entendre in The Theatres(1772):-

"Oh may he follow still parental path
And, mother-like, give all his love to Bath!"

(2) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~.

(2) Random Records, I.p.59

(3) Evidently before Dec. 1774. See Garrick's letter (Peake I.p.326 Genest says the alteration was begun before 1767 (See D.L. Jan.13th, 1775-6)

(4) ~~XX~~ Genest, 13th Jan.1775-6.

While working on this he was also writing the series of essays signed The Gentleman for the periodical, The London Packet (May - Christmas, 1775).

During the summer of 1775 he undertook that tour of the North with his son of which full accounts are given in Random Records (1). It is illuminating to note with what different types of people Colman was intimate and how varied his interests were (2). The next year was not marked by any great success. The alteration of Epiccene, already mentioned, was produced in January; it ran for a few nights only. It was followed in March by The Spleen or Islington Spa (3), which was not greeted with great approbation (4). The pecuniary settlements for this and Epiccene caused some misunderstanding between him and Garrick (5), and their friendship "in some degree cooled" though Colman remained "his well-wisher to the last" (6). In September he provided the occasional prelude New Brooms for the new management of Drury Lane but wrote nothing more for some time. (7)

(1) I.p.134-216.

(2) Cf. his companions on this tour. He contemplated accompanying Phipps on an expedition to the North Pole Peake I.p.339.

(3) Genest, Mar.7th, 1776.

(4) Tate Wilkinson, Wandering Patentee, I.p.206

(5) Peake, I.p.401 - 404; Garrick Corr. II.p.151.

(6) Random Records, I.p.225

(7) New Brooms was produced on Sept. 21st, 1776 (Genest).

By now retirement was growing irksome to him, and it may be conjectured from the transactions with Garrick about the payment for Epicoene that he felt it was time that he began to earn regularly again, for it is on record that though large sums of money passed through his hands he never saved much (1). When therefore in September, 1776, Foote mentioned that he was thinking of selling the patent of the Haymarket, he entered into negotiations through his man of business for its purchase (2). He had been approached before this on the subject of buying a share in Drury Lane but, not surprisingly, had refused to have anything more to ^{do with} ~~say to~~ co-partnership (3). The identity of the purchaser of the Haymarket was not revealed until proceedings were nearly completed. Foote parted with the patent for a life-annuity of £1600, to be paid in half-yearly instalments of £800; he demanded £500 for his unpublished dramatic pieces, and payment for his appearances as an actor (4). He included in the purchase-money the theatrical wardrobe - a collection of apparel so disgraceful that Foote used to make comic business of the ragged appearance of his actors (5).

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- (1) Garrick Corr. II. p. 248 (note), Peake, II. p. 216. When General Pulteney died in 1767 he left Colman only £400 a year (Walpole to Sir H. Mann, Oct. 29th 1767).
 (2) Peake, I. p. 412, 413.
 (3) Garrick Corr. II. p. 118 (letters of Dec. 29th and 30th, 1775).
 (4) Random Records, I. p. 230 He acted only three times.
 (5) Random Recors, loc. cit.

The terms were not light, especially for a theatre with a summer licence only, but the unexpected death of Foote six months later was to Colman's advantage financially (1). Having collected a very fair company of actors he opened the theatre in May 1777 (2) with The English Merchant; during the season he strengthened his troop by the engagement of Miss Farren (3), Henderson (4), and Edwin (5), all of whom became extremely popular, so that the

(1) Random Records, I.p.234. Oct. 21st, 1777.

(2) Genest, May 15th, 1777. Cf. the advertisement in the Morning Chronicle, W. 14. 5. 77. " Haymarket, English Merchant with Lilliput, with the original prologue and a New Scene; In which will be introduced an Air. With a grand Jubilee Procession in honour of Gulliver" etc. Cf. also the morning Chronicle F. 3K 16.5.77. "The prologue over, the comedy of The English Merchant was acted, and to do the representation justice, with a degree of regularity and propriety which spoke the care and attention of the manager... The parts were in general as well filled as they are at the winter theatres... (Lilliput) is rendered additionally pointed and laughable from the happy idea on which Mr. Colman has planned his pageant. It now serves as a double shaft of ridicule - as a laugh at pageants and processions in general and at the vices of the times in particular. The robes of the Nardacs or Nobles of Lilliput, resemble a pack of cards ...the procession does not close till something in ridicule of every modern species of gaming has been exhibited... The theatre itself is also entirely new painted; the colours blue and white. The whole has a very neat and pleasing appearance."

(3) Random Records, I.p.238.

(4) Random Records, loc.cit. and Genest.

(5) Random Records, loc.cit.

little theatre enjoyed a prosperous first season (1). The production in August of The Spanish Barber (2), adapted from Beaumarchais, added to Colman's reputation. The season ended in September.

During the latter part of the summer he engaged in negotiations with Becket for the publication of his collected plays, and trouble arose between them about terms. Colman complained that he had been "very plentifully abused and belied, but I have been used to it and (I am sorry to add) from that quarter" (3). The Dramatic Works were, however, published that year. At Christmas, accompanied by his son, he went to visit Sir Watkin Williams Wynn at Wynnstay in Denbighshire (4), and took a leading part in the fashionable amusement of amateur theatricals with which the whole house-party entertained itself. His acquaintance with ~~JAMES EDWARDS~~ John O'Keeffe also dated from this year (5). Evidently his winter was fully occupied, for the following season saw the production of The Female Chevalier (6), altered from Taverner, The Suicide (7),

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- (1) T. Davies, Anecdotes of Mr. Henderson, p.33. "Henderson's name was a powerful charm that in the heat of the summer and during the dog-days brought to the theatre all that was great and beautiful, lovely and commanding, in both sexes."
 (2) Genest, Aug. 30th, 1777.
 (3) Garrick Corr. II.p.266 Cf. p.246 for Becket's letters on the subject
 (4) Random Records, I.p.258.
 (5) Recollections of John O'Keeffe, I.p.363.
 (6) Genest, May 18th, 1778
 (7) Genest, July 11th, 1778

and the alteration of Bonduca (1). The Suicide was a comedy in four acts with an epilogue by Garrick, the last he was ever to write for Colman (2); for obscure reasons it offended a section of public taste (3) but was nevertheless acted nineteen times (4). The Female Chevalier, which took advantage of the ~~public~~ popular curiosity regarding the Chevalier D'Eon, appears to have been acted only seven times. Bonduca was more successful. In this year also Colman edited the works of Beaumont and Fletcher (5), and published Foote's comedies, The Cozeners, The Devil upon Two Sticks, The Nabob, and A Trip to Calais (6). Perhaps his industry during 1778 accounts for the small production of 1779, for The Separate Maintenance (7) was the only new play from him, although his Critical Reflections on the Old English Dramatic Writers reappeared as a preface to Monck Mason's edition of Massinger's works (8)

In the winter of 1779 Colman visited Dublin, invited there by various persons of rank to establish a theatre with Mr. Heaphy,

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- (1) Genest, July 30th.
 - (2) Garrick died Jan. 20th, 1779
 - (3) Garrick Corr. Hannah More to Garrick, Sept. 22nd, 1778; Oulton however states that it 2 "Received that applause it so justly deserved"
 - (4) Genest.
 - (5) See Bibliography I.
 - (6) See Bibliography I.
 - (7) Genest, Aug. 31st, 1779. Oulton says it was much applauded though censured by some critics. of Mrs. Crouch, p.78. She says
 - (8) See Bibliography I.
- (8) Genest.

which they proposed to build by subscription. "From Mr. Colman's own survey of the little likelihood of success on such a speculation he got frightened and gave up the affair, and so it dropped" (1). Christmas was again spent at Wynnstay, and on the way back to London Colman dropped young George at Oxford, saw him matriculate at Christ Church, and left him there (2).

The summer of 1780 (3) was not a particularly profitable one, owing to the heat, which always emptied the little theatre (4), and to the Gordon Riots. Colman kept the theatre open notwithstanding the disturbances, but takings were of course much diminished (5). The season opened with a new prelude, The Manager in Distress (6), which was a novelty and sufficiently amusing; and in September Colman followed it up with a pantomime, The Genius of Nonsense (7), "a dramatic extravaganza...said to have contained so much wit and humour and contemporary satire as to give it a superiority over everything of the kind" (8). At

(1) O'Keeffe, *Recollections*, I.p.339.

(2) *Random Records*, I.p.263 et seq.

(3) This summer was disturbed by a dispute with the City regarding an embankment at Richmond which they made for a towing-path for barges and which encroached on Colman's garden. According to Walpole (*Letters*, July 15th and July 18th, 1780) there was a suit at law, and a riot, caused by Colman's arbitrary handling of the situation. Peake makes no mention of this affair.

(4) O'Keeffe, *op.cit.* I.p.401

(5) *Random Records*, I.p.314

(6) *Genest*, May 30th, 1780

(7) *Genest*, Sept. 2nd, 1780 *Memoirs of Mrs.Crouch*, p.78. She says pantomimes were a rarity at the little theatre and compliments Colman on the way he presented them (pp.149,150).

(8) *Genest*.

Christmas the two Colmans went again to Wynnstay, the son more than a little in disgrace for his wildness at Oxford, which was increasingly a cause of anxiety to his father (1). The acting at Wynnstay, combined with the run of the green-room which he now had at the Haymarket, was turning George the Younger's thoughts more and more towards the theatre as his future career, and when in 1781 his father, worn out by his pranks at the University, banished him to King's College, Aberdeen, (2), with the (mistaken) idea that discipline was stricter there and that he would have less opportunity for getting into mischief, it was too late: his tastes were fixed and he was determined on a theatrical career. A further annoyance during the year ~~xxx~~1781 was caused by the wife of the Lord Chamberlain (3), who asked for six nights of O'Keeffe's comedy The Son-in-Law at Covent Garden. Colman dare not refuse, but he protested with reason that the heat and the emptiness of the town together made it impossible for him ~~xxx~~ to fill his theatre unless he had the attraction of novelty to help him. However, Lady Hertford refused to take "no" as an answer, and after The Son-in-Law had filled Covent Garden for six nights she demanded eight more of The Agreeable Surprise. Both were Colman's property, and he was deeply annoyed that Covent Garden should have played them to full houses for fourteen nights, but in the midst of his own

(1) Random Records, II.p.41

(2) op.cit.II.p.61

(3) O'Keeffe, Recollections, II.p.13

indignation he "regretted to Dr. Arnold...that he had not stipulated with Covent Garden for a night for me" (i.e. O'Keeffe) (1). He brought out this year a travesty of The Beggar's Opera, in which all the men's parts were taken by women and vice versa. This was introduced by a Preludio by Colman, and in spite of its absurdity the thing was very successful (2). At the end of the summer Colman went away with his friend, Dr. Arnold, visiting Southampton, Brighton, Tunbridge Wells and Margate (3). He seems still to have been hankering after the management of one of the Irish theatres, for at some time in 1781 he crossed to Dublin with an idea of adding to his income by managing Crow Street Theatre during the winter but "found matters so deranged as obliged him to quit the design" (4).

The success of The Genius of Nonsense encouraged Colman to produce other pantomimes, and in 1782 appeared Harlequin Teague (5) which, according to Mrs Crouch (6), was nearly as popular as

- (1) O'Keeffe, Recollections, II.p.13
 (2) Genest, Aug. 8th. See also Mrs. Crouch, Memoirs, p.114
 (3) O'Keeffe, op.cit.II.p.13
 (4) Eccentricities of Edwin, I.p.26. The anecdote which Edwin adds about the performance of The Jealous Wife there does not point to a state of affairs encouraging to a prospective manager
 (5) Genest Aug. 17th 1782 O'Keeffe (II.p.46) states that he partly constructed this pantomime with Colman.
 (6) Memoirs, p.149,150.

(1) O'Keeffe, Recollections, II.p.13
 (2) Genest, Aug. 8th, 1782. See also Mrs. Crouch, Memoirs, p.114
 (3) O'Keeffe, op.cit.II.p.13
 (4) Eccentricities of Edwin, I.p.26. The anecdote which Edwin adds about the performance of The Jealous Wife there does not point to a state of affairs encouraging to a prospective manager
 (5) Genest Aug. 17th 1782 O'Keeffe (II.p.46) states that he partly constructed this pantomime with Colman.
 (6) Memoirs, p.149,150.

The Genius of Nonsense. He also made some "slight but judicious" alterations in Fatal Curiosity (1), which was performed at the Haymarket and published by Colman with a post-script containing an account of the incident on which the tragedy was founded. Otherwise the season seems to have been marked by nothing in particular, though Colman was as industrious as usual in providing new prologues and epilogues for the plays given in his theatre (2). Colman the Younger was still in exile in Aberdeen, but he was recalled in November, 1783 (3), following the publication of Colman's translation of Horace's Art of Poetry. In the commentary on this poem he advanced a new hypothesis in opposition to Dr. Hurd who thanked him for "the handsome manner" in which he treated him (4). Copies of the translation were sent to various celebrated men (5), all of whom acknowledged it with sincere admiration for its poetical grace, and generally with acquiescence in the explanation ~~WHY~~ of its origin which he suggested.

During the winter of 1783 he had the interior of the Haymarket altered and redecorated to the admiration of the public. "It was," says Peake, "lightly elegant and not too extravagantly gay," and

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- (1) Genest, June 29th, 1782.
 (2) Mrs. Crouch Memoirs, p.176.
 (3) Random Records, II.p.208
 (4) Peake II.p.149
 (5) Walpole, the Wartons, Malone, the Bishops of St. Asaph's and Peterborough, and others the London Stage, p.232
 (6) Genest, June 2nd, 1784.
 (7) Random Records, II.p.216.
 (8) Op. cit. II.p.218, also Genest, who says it was told about 15 times.
 (9) P.D.
 (10) P.D.
 (11) P.D.

its comfort, combined with Colman's judgment (1) in the choice of plays and his care in their production, which are constantly the source of compliments in the newspapers, made his management its most successful era (2). The season of 1784 began with a new prologue, written by Colman and spoken by Palmer, celebrating the changes in the theatre's appearance. On June 2nd he produced a topical prelude of his own composition, The Election of the Managers (3), burlesquing the general election of the previous April and May.(4). On June 19th an interesting event took place—the production of Two to One(5), Colman the Younger's first play, written a year before and intended for representation then, but deferred until 1784 and then introduced by a prologue written by his father. "Its success," says the author, "and its run were enough to satisfy my vanity, of which I had at that time a very superfluous share;" probably the "managerial papa" was also satisfied. Another new playwright introduced to the public at this time was Mrs. Inchbald, whose Mogul Tale (6) appeared at the Haymarket, as did O'Keefe's Peeping Tom (7), in the title-part of which Edwin excelled (8). The production of this piece does more credit to Colman's appraisal of popular taste than to his literary judgment. Mrs. Crouch again mentions the

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- (1) Sharp, Short History of the English Stage
 (2) Barton Baker, History of the London Stage, p.222
 (3) Genest, June 2nd, 1784.
 (4) Random Records, II.p.215.
 (5) Op. cit. II.p.218, also Genest, who says it was acted about 15 times.
 (6) B.D.
 (7) B.D.
 (8) O'Keefe, op.cit.II.p.77; Random Records, II.p.223.

numerous prologues and epilogues from Colman, one of which was spoken by Mrs. Siddons (1).

Towards the end of August he sent George the Younger to Paris in charge of an old lieutenant of the Navy: he had been doing nothing since his return from Scotland the previous November, and had, not surprisingly, taken up some London pursuits which, he says mildly, it was not advisable for him to continue (2). A six weeks' tour abroad, it was hoped, would serve to divert his attention, and on his return he found that his father was still determined to make a barrister of him, had entered his name at Lincoln's Inn, and taken rooms for him in the Temple. Here he established him, telling him what allowance he proposed to make him, and warning him that he must make his own way. He spent his time in writing for the theatre when he should have been reading for the Bar, and very soon gave up all pretence of studying, knowing that Colman could not well say much at this instance of history's repeating itself. This is his own account: Peake (3) states that the real reason for the trip abroad was to break off, if possible, his intimacy with a young actress at the Haymarket, a Miss Catherine Morris; and that immediately Colman's back was

(1) Mrs. Crouch Memoirs, p.236.

(2) Random Records, II.p.225. His father thought of sending him to Switzerland for a couple of years, but decided on the less drastic course.

(3) Op. cit. II.p.179.

turned after his return from France, he eloped with Miss Morris to Gretna Green, where they were married (1). Terrified at the idea of facing his anger, they kept the affair secret until 1788, when with his sanction they were publicly married at Chelsea Church.

Between the seasons of 1784 and '85 Colman made an effort to change the terms on which he held the Haymarket. He wrote to the Duke of Leeds, "praying the Grant of a Term for my Licence at the Haymarket, which is now issued annually from the Lord Chamberlain's office." He added that he was afraid to die, "because my death would ruin my representatives by leaving them liable to certain long leases and incumbered with much expensive, but otherwise useless property, without which I could not carry on the ~~XXXXXX~~ theatre." (2). The application was evidently unsuccessful, since Colman the Younger tells us that "My father, and I after him, held this property under the gracious protection of the Crown, and open'd the House by annual Licence of the Lord Chamberlain." (3).

(1) Peake, II.p.180.

(2) Letters to the Duke of Leeds 1784-1798, B.M. MS. Add.27,915.

(3) Random Records, I.p.235.

(1) Random Records, II,p.283.
 (2) op. cit. II,p.280.
 (3) op. cit. II,p.280.

The season of 1785 passed without any startling novelties. When it was over Colman went with Dr. Arnold, the musical director of the Haymarket, to Margate for about a month. He bathed daily and apparently was in excellent health and much better for the sea-water, when suddenly he was seized with a paralytic stroke, which deprived one side of his frame of all power of motion and for the moment rendered him speechless (1). A local doctor was at once summoned and blistered him profusely: "the application of these stimulants was followed by great excitement and my father was, for two or three days, in a state of something more than delirium: in his paroxysms he tore off the blisters and expressed his abhorrence of the Doctor in terms of fury" (2). It was hoped at first that a speedy recovery would be made, but his condition rapidly became so serious that his son had to be fetched. He found him slightly improved but deeply dissatisfied with his medical attendant. A London doctor was therefore brought, under whose care the patient slowly recovered, but Colman the Younger records that for a week or two after his arrival "the same frightful symptoms of a disturbed judgment now and then recurred," and he, like various doctors whom he consulted on this subject, regarded this illness as "the prologue to the tragedy which followed" (3).

(1) Random Records, II.p.283.

(2) Op. cit. II.p.285.

(3) Op. cit. II.p.286.

When he was sufficiently recovered he was brought back to London by easy stages, spending two nights upon the road at Sittingbourne and Dartford. He now pursued the ordinary course of his life as far as was possible. It was plain that he was beginning to fail: he was not as able as formerly to conduct his affairs either at home or in the theatre, though he was extremely jealous of any interference in his authority; and for the last three years of his active life he was subject to epileptic fits. That he knew from the first that he was doomed is shown by the pathetic entry which his son found later in his diary against the date of his seizure at Margate, "Haeret lateri lethalis arundo". Nevertheless he put up a good fight against his disabilities. He began preparations for the season of 1786 as soon as he returned to town, and opened it with "an excellent serious prologue referring to his illness" (1); he altered and produced Atkinson's The Mutual Deception as Tit for Tat (2); and in answer to an appeal from his old school-fellow, Cowper, with whom he had lost touch for many years past, he entered into a correspondence about the prospects of publishing his Homer and promised to see it through the press for him; he engaged vigorously in the controversy

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- (1) Mrs. Crouch, *Memoirs*, II.p.2.
 (2) Genest, *Hay*, Aug. 1786.
 (3) Cf. Cowper's letter to Lady Hesketh, May, 1786. Colman actually amended a specimen of the Homer which Cowper sent to him.

(4) He was suspected of having written some newspaper articles as well as a *Very Plain State of the Case of*, *Review of the Present Condition*, Mrs. Crouch (*memoirs*, II.p.23) says that Colman had deprived Colman of some of his best actors.
 (4) Peake, II.p.305; cf. April 1786.
 (5) Cumberland *Memoirs*, II.p.278.

with Palmer about the Wellclose-Square Theatre (1). It is possible that Palmer's deception of him on this subject would not have been successful had his mind been as keen as formerly, but as both Harris and Sheridan were hoodwinked the point cannot be pressed. He had at first supported the project (2) on Palmer's assurance that he had the necessary authority for building and that he intended to perform during the winter only, so that he would not compete with the Haymarket. Colman's suspicions were aroused in the early spring of 1787 when Palmer hesitated to accept an engagement for the coming summer, but they were quietened by his consenting and signing an agreement under a penalty for non-performance. When, however, Palmer opened his theatre in June, 1787, Colman took immediate steps against him with the patentees of the winter theatres, and engaged in a pamphlet war (3). At the same time he was engaged in the usual disputes with troublesome actors and actresses (4), bringing out Cumberland's new play, The Country Attorney (5) and providing an epilogue for it, and preparing a collected edition of some of his own miscellaneous

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- (1) Cf. the pamphlets, *A Review of the Present Contest between the Managers of the Winter Theatres;..and the Royalty Theatre in Wellclose-Square, and, A Very Plain State of the Case, or the Royalty Theatre v. the Theatres- Royal* (London, 1787).
- (2) He wrote a prologue for Palmer's benefit containing the lines,
 "To please wherever plac'd be still my care,
 At Drury, Haymarket, or Wellclose-Square,"
- (3) He was suspected of having written some newspaper articles as well as *A Very Plain State of the Case* (cf. *Review of the Present Contest*). Mrs Crouch (memoirs, II.p.23) says that Palmer had deprived Colman of some of his best actors.
- (4) Peake, II.p.205; cf. April 1786.
- (5) *Cumberland Memoirs*, II.p.278.

writings (1). Also during this period he wrote a brief account of some of the earlier portions of his life, for posthumous publication, and as late as 1789 wrote a short musical entertainment, Ut Pictura Poesis, or the Enrag'd Musician (2), which though slight is certainly not the work of an idiot. We have it on Steevens's authority that he was contemplating an edition of Shakespeare (3), but there are no proofs that he ever began this work, nor does anyone except Steevens mention the legend,

In June, 1789, the symptoms of mental derangement became so strongly marked that it was found necessary to place him under restraint. The Court of Chancery put his person and estate under the care of his son (4), and he was entrusted to a person at Paddington, in whose charge he remained for the rest of his life. Most of his biographers say that he sunk into a "state of idiotism" (5); Colman the Younger, however, declares that in spite of comparatively lucid intervals of days or even weeks, when his brain worked nearly as clearly as ever, he was generally subject to the wildest delusions and his mind was "always active - always on the stretch". In this melancholy state he remained until

(1) Prose on Several Occasions, together with some Pieces in Verse

(2) Genest, May 18th, 1789.

(3) Nichols, Illustrations of the ~~LITERARY~~ Literary History of the 18th Century. Steevens to Bishop Percy, Jan. 11th, 1788.

(4) Random Records, II. p. 288.

(5) B.D.

(E)

his death on August 14th, 1794. He was buried in the family vault under Kensington Church (1), "with no absurd parade of funeral pomp," says the Gentleman's Magazine; "only a few of his old friends attending to pay the last tribute of respect to his memory."

References to "the little manager" are common in eighteenth century theatrical literature, and, amplified by the full accounts to be found in his son's Random Records and The Recollections of John O'Keeffe, give a very clear picture of him. In person he was very small (2) but compactly made (3) and always very particular about his appearance; his eyes were "always quite asleep or quite awake"; and there was a small scar on the end of his nose (4). The portrait by Gainsborough shows waving hair, a high forehead, the eyes expressive, brows well-marked, the nose and mouth rather large, the chin firm. In character he was good-humoured and fond

(1) D.N.B. Faulkner, History of Kensington, p.375, gives the

date of his burial as Aug. 24th. The obituary notice in The Gentleman's Magazine is inaccurate in the details of his life.

(2) Hardly more than five feet without his shoes (Genius, no.II). He says Garrick, who was also small, liked to be seen with him on account of his smaller size.

(3) O'Keeffe, II.p.32. He calls his face very handsome and mentions that the portrait by Gainsborough was an excellent likeness. This is the portrait now in the National Portrait Gallery. The Reynolds which is there is docketed "painted in 1790" If this date is right (as presumably it is) it must have been painted during his confinement at Paddington.

(4) Peake, I.p.102 (Letter from Garrick).

(X) X

of a hearty laugh, though quick-tempered, impetuous and a little apt to take offence. At the same time he was neither spiteful nor vindictive (1). He was an indulgent father (2), proud of his little son, who was introduced to all his literary acquaintances (3) - and who disgraced himself ~~by~~ at the age of five by smacking Dr. Goldsmith's face and then screaming in the room in which he was forthwith locked up until the kind-hearted Doctor let him out and won him back to good-humour by conjuring with hats and shillings (4). Colman was evidently fond of children all his life, for years later O'Keeffe records his kindness to Tottenham and Adelaide, his two children (5). Perhaps it was this very fondness which made him over-indulgent to young George, or perhaps memories of the way in which Bath, in spite of all his kindness, had always impressed him with his dependence and his need to make his own way in the world - in any case the boy was obviously spoilt and petulant. He seldom writes of his father without sneering, and he is hardly more generous to Garrick (6). It was clearly injudicious of Colman to take him to the masquerade at Bath at the age of

(1) Murphy (Life of Garrick, I.p.357) "saw evident symptoms of a bad heart in him," but there are no proofs of this; they probably existed in his imagination only.

(2) Dr. Johnson, Goldsmith, Gibbon, Foote, and others.

(3) Cf. the letters to Garrick from Paris (Garrick Corr. July, 1766)

(4) Random Records I.p.110

(5) O'Keeffe, Recollections, II.p.7.

(6) Random Records, I.p.118. On the other hand it must be admitted that his conduct in his father's last illness seems to have been exemplary.

fourteen and to allow him the run of the theatres in his holidays from Marylebone and Westminster(1) but Colman did not know how to manage him then or later. Random Records give further details about him: he was delicate in his feeding (2), a temperate drinker (3), particular about the appointments of his house (4), conservative by nature, tenacious of old friends, evidently a good companion and a man of wide interests (5). At the same time he had his little oddities, such as the use of certain unvarying phrases or quotations in given circumstances (6). Events have shown him to be impatient and autocratic on occasion, and, once his mind was made up, exceedingly obstinate. He was a good business man, but generous by nature (7). His untiring industry did not cut him off from sociability: he was a prominent member of The Club (8), very hospitable, and fond of good company, whether

(1) Random Records, I.p.131,235.

(2) Op. cit. I.p.136.

(3) Op. cit. I.p.204.

(4) Op. cit. I.p.136.

(5) Cf. the botanising on the Yorkshire tour and the other hobbies with which they amused themselves.

(6) Random Records I.p.58.

(7) Cf. O'Keefe II.p.300. He was only cautious when he felt it to be a question of vital importance - the episode of printing O'Keefe's copyright plays (Recollections II.p.365) would have deprived the Hay. of one of its chief assets, namely novelty. This, it will be remembered, was one of the arguments he brought forward against Lady Hestfort's demand for Hay. p. plays at C.G.

(8) Elected 1768, some years before Garrick.

it was the President of the Royal Academy or some recruit from the Haymarket (1). Young actors and authors were sure of encouragement from him. He was a lover of the arts (2), a critic of discernment and taste (3), a wit and a scholar, and finally "a man of strict probity" (4).

- (1) Random Records (2) Op. cit II.p.215. He had a good library and good paintings
 (3) cf. O'Keeffe, I.p.109, II.p.20 306.
 (3) Cf. Genest. Hay. 1777.
 (4) O'Keeffe II.p.29.
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- (1) Random records, passim
 (2) Press on Several Occasions. Pref. p.vii.
 (3) Short History of English Literature, p.821.

III. The Works of George Colman the Elder.

A. Non- theatrical.

Introduction.

The crowded life which Colman led did not prevent him from producing a large quantity of work of various sorts. That *cacoethes scribendi* of which his son is so fond of speaking (1) was an hereditary disease; and considering the length of his theatrical connections, their incessant calls on his most careful attention, the fulness of his social life and his own not robust constitution, it is surprising how much he managed to write and on the whole how good his work was. He tried his hand at many forms of literature. The essay was his earliest serious attempt and, as he confessed, it remained a favourite with him (2). Professor Saintsbury points out (3) that the periodical essay was nearing the end of its career, but Colman's papers show no signs of dragging inspiration, and are marked by great freshness and vigour, if they are not particularly original; and they are not altogether unworthy of the great Spectator tradition. As well as several ventures in

(1) Random records, *passim*

(2) *Prose on Several Occasions*, Pref. p.vii.

(3) *Short History of English Literature*, p.621.

essay-writing stretching from 1754 to 1775 (1) and the contribution all his life long of paragraphs to the newspapers, he provided a version of The Comedies of Terence in blank verse (1765) and of The Art of Poetry in heroic couplets (1783), and contributed a translation of The Merchant to Bonnell Thornton's Plautus (1769). Literary criticism also received his attention: the notes to the Terence and the Horace as well as showing his classical scholarship contain a good deal of general criticism, and the introductions to Massinger and to Beaumont and Fletcher prove his interest in and knowledge of the older English dramatists. Here also may be mentioned his edition of Foote's works. All this is exclusive of his definitely theatrical work, that is, the production of original comedies and farces, adaptations, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ alterations of old plays, translations, and the continual furnishing of prologues and epilogues for plays new and old.

It will be convenient to divide this mass of material into two groups, the theatrical and the non-theatrical, and to consider the latter first.

(1) Cf. his own account of his activities in the Preface to ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Prose on Several Occasions.

It is also interesting to notice how the hit at free-thinkers led in the attempt to sacrifice the Bible. Colman was not, as far as can be judged, a markedly religious man, but simply from a desire to avoid alienating the respectable or, more probably, from a genuine distrust of free-thinking and irreverence. His frequently expressed dislike of any attack on Christianity, the same characteristics will be seen in the Commentary, and it is noteworthy that although he was in London in 1741, he kept with men of doubtful piety who dissociated himself from them when their lives became publicly objectionable. (cf. Southey, Life of Colman, pp. 83, and 90).

1. The Essays.

Colman's attempts at essay-writing began in his Oxford days with the publication of a Vision in Dr. Hawkesworth's periodical, The Adventurer (1). The debt of this essay to ~~XXX~~ the many visions which preceded it is too obvious to need comment. Its main interest lies in the indication which it gives of his literary opinions the acceptance of the great critics of antiquity as the priests of the temple, the rejection of their French imitators, and the dictum which he attributes to Aristotle that "although Shakespeare was quite ignorant of that exact oeconomy of the stage which is so remarkable in the Greek writers, yet the meer strength of his genius had in parts carried ~~them~~ him infinitely beyond them" (2)

The Connoisseur by Mr. Town, Critic and Censor General, made its first appearance on Thursday, January 31st, 1754, and continued to appear once a week until September 30th, 1756. It was the joint work of Colman and his college friend, Bonnell Thornton, although odd numbers were contributed by other friends of the

(1) The Adventurer, no. 90, Sat. Sept. 15th, 1753.

(2) It is also interesting to notice here the hit at free-thinking in the attempt to sacrifice the Bible. Colman was not, as far as can be judged, a markedly religious man, but either from a desire to avoid alienating the respectable or, more probably, from a genuine distrust of free-thinking and irreligion he frequently expressed his dislike of any attack on Christianity. The same characteristic will be seen in The Connoisseur, and it is noteworthy that although he was intimate in his young days with men of doubtful opinions he dissociated himself from them when their lives became publicly objectionable. (cf. Southey, Life of Cowper, I. pp. 60, and 90).

pair, notably Cowper and Robert Lloyd (1). Although Colman the Younger attributes the heavier part of the work to his father (2), the authors themselves say, "We have all the while gone on, as it were, hand in hand together... and, as we have laboured equally in erecting the fabric, we cannot pretend that any one particular part is the sole workmanship of either," (3), and there seems to be no reason to doubt them. The anecdote told by Colman the Younger may have been true of one or more occasions - it probably was - but Colman's good nature would hardly have run to continuing for nearly three years in collaboration with someone who was "most incorrigibly lazy and threw a very much more than a proportionate share of the drudgery upon his literary colleague" (4), or to conclude^{ing} that collaboration with unnecessarily definite references to the indistinguishable shares of each and "the cheerfulness and good humour on both sides" (5).

The essays are modelled on the "inimitable Spectator" and are as short and varied as its papers. They include a number of visions or dreams (6), letters (7), character sketches (8), a few

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- (1) Cf. no. 140. Ferguson, the editor of *The British Essayists* (1823), gives the contributors as the Earl of Cork ("G.K."), the Rev. John Duncombe ("A.B."), Lloyd and Cowper. The others he does not identify. He attributes no. 138 to Cowper, though Colman and Thornton, referring to him as "a friend, a gentleman of the Temple", attribute only 115, 119, and 111 to him.
- (2) *Random Records*, I.p.140. Cf. Ferguson p.viii, "What share Thornton had in the *Connoisseur* cannot be ascertained, but it is believed to be less than that of his partner". Cf. Southey, op. c. cit. I.p.47.
- (3) Ferguson, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ attributes 101 to Colman alone. This is probably right.
- (4) *Random Records*, loc.cit.
- (5) *Connoisseur*, no. 140.
- (6) Nos. 64, 69, 95, 117, 123.
- (7) Nos. 2, 5, 7, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, etc.
- (8) Nos. 15, 22, 65, 81.

verses (1), and one indifferent tale (2). While the subjects are all of contemporary interest there is no political matter, except one or two general satires on the expense and corruption of elections (3), and very little religious (4). The Critic and Censor General exercises his functions chiefly with regard to questions of taste and behaviour. What the authors intended is described at the beginning of no. 136: "We whose business it is to write loose essays and who never talk above a quarter of an hour together on any one subject are not ~~XXXXXXX~~ expected to enter into philosophical disquisitions or engage in abstract speculations, but it is supposed to be our principal aim to amuse and instruct the reader by a lively representation of what passes around him" (5). Accordingly they comment on fashions in clothes, the use of cosmetics, on gambling, routs and masquerades, the theatres, good and bad manners, everything, in fact, that seems to them "vicious or ridiculous." Almost every aspect of society life is dealt with (6); and though the bulk of the work refers

(1) Nos. 125 and 125 (both Lloyd's).

(2) No. 21.

(3) Nos. 13 and 20. Colman was not interested in politics (Random ~~X~~ Records, II.p.215)

(4) There are frequent hits at the Methodists and Free-thinkers, and reflections on the fox-hunting clergyman (no.105) and on style in preaching (no.126). One of the most serious in tone is no. 101 on the New Year (a tour de force on Colman's part, as he is said to have written it at a moment's notice).

(5) Cf. also no. ~~IX~~ 71.

(6) They concern themselves mostly with the higher classes, that is, the "polite world" and the wealthier citizens; the conditions of the masses do not interest them.

(7) It must not be forgotten, however, that Thornton was six or eight years older than Colman (see B.D.).

to town life, the country too is included in the letters from "my cousin Village." In short, all's fish that comes to their nets.

The influence of Addison and Steele on these essays is clear in both matter and manner. The treatment of subject is predominately satirical, but the satire is general, not personal, and so good-humoured that it could not give offence (1). The urbanity, the lack of bitterness and the recognition that it is better to laugh people out of their follies rather than to scourge them are in the Spectator manner. The simple and familiar prose style, although lacking the distinction of Addison's, is evidently influenced by him.

Dr. Johnson's objection that The Connoisseur "wanted matter" may be justified by the rather superficial treatment of the subjects. Considering the youth and inexperience of the writers (3), it is not to be wondered at that they were perhaps content with rather a surface view. What is more surprising on the whole

(1) Cf. no. 71. "Upon all occasions I have endeavoured to laugh people into a better behaviour: as I am convinced that the sting of reproof is not less sharp for being concealed; and advice never comes with a better face than when it comes with a laughing one." This essay confesses the debt of all later writers of periodical papers to Addison and Steele.

(2) This remained characteristic of his satire throughout his life - cf. the Prologue to The Election of the Managers (1784) where, speaking of himself he says,

Folly and Vice are fair and general game;
 No Tale he echoes, on no scandal dwells
 Nor plants on one Fool's head the Cap and Bells:
 He paints the living manners of the time
 But lays at no man's door Reproach or Crime.

(3) It must not be forgotten, however, that Thornton was six or eight years older than Colman (see B.D.).

is the sharpness of their vision in seizing the aspects of contemporary life which were to be condemned, and their good sense and moderation - qualities not common in youthful critics. They are neither priggish nor intolerant, and they are remarkably unbiassed. Other contemporary critics less particular than Dr. Johnson recognised the merits of The Connoisseur. The Gentleman's Magazine refers to "the witty and agreeable Connoisseur" (1), and Biographia Dramatica praises the "wit and humour, the spirit, good sense and shrewd observations on life and manners with which it abounds," while the fact that it appeared for nearly three years speaks for its popularity with the public. Its chief value today lies in the lively picture of society in the 1750's. (2).

After winding up this joint concern in 1756 Colman seems to have written no more essays until 1761, when he began the papers which he contributed to The St. James's Chronicle under the name of The Genius. The St James's Chronicle was apparently

(1) Gentleman's Magazine, 1785, vol.I.p.894.

(2) Cf. The Genius, no.vii: "Such pieces become a kind of supplement to history."

Ferguson (op. cit. p.vii) states that while at Oxford Thornton engaged with Colman and others in a periodical work entitled The Student...afterwards collected and published in two volumes which are scarce". Boswell also refers to this periodical "the Student or Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany, in which Mr. Bonnell Thornton and Mr Colman were the principal writers" (Life of Johnson, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I.p.209)

(1) Essays, I.p.80.

(2) Life of Cowper, I.p.48.

(3) Forster Collection. The letter is omitted but from the reference to Forster's Learning of Shakespeare, the first edition of which appeared in 1767, it can be placed fairly closely.

established by a co-partnership, Thornton, Colman and Garrick holding shares.(1). Southey (2) mentions only Thornton and Colman as the owners, but that Garrick had a proprietary interest in it seems to be shown by the following unpublished letter (3):-

My dear Coley,

Since your Coming is doubtful this Even^{g.} I won't keep y^e Enclos'd from you a moment longer, because I know you will be diverted with it. I intended to give the story of Mr. B- in English for ye St. J-. We must not make use of Voltaire's verses - they don't strike me much - Favart's verses to me are well-written, but too much in ye French way - have you read Farmer's Learning of Shakes^r ?- some good things in it but he's a conceited University man, pert, and fantastical, with a dash of the Nonsensical. My Love to You and Yours - Dr. Barry had some success with me, my Cough began to alarm me - a Nervous one and took away my Senses - I am like ye Weather, breaking a little. It must come, so no matter.- In Every State of body and Mind, I am Yours Ever and most affect^y

D.Garrick.

Kiss the Mother and Child for me. God bless you all.

P.S. pray send me y^r letter some time this Evening.

To G.Colman Esq.

- (1) Peake, I.p.66. to Colman (Peake, I.p.82).
 (2) Life of Cowper, I.p.49.
 (3) Forster Collection. The letter is undated but from the reference to Farmer's Learning of Shakespeare, the first edition of which appeared in 1767, it can be placed fairly closely.

The Genius ran to fifteen numbers and like The Gentleman, his last series of essays, was written with the double idea of "promoting the interest of the publication in which they appeared and with some thoughts of longer duration; but other avocations intervening they were discontinued as abruptly as they were begun" (1). The papers are longer than The Connoisseur but are written in much the same style of satirical observation. They are, however, a little more biting in tone (2), a fact of which he was perhaps conscious, since in no. XII he reminds himself as well as the reader of the desirability of good humour, and declares that "Even the Muse of Satire should ^{possess} have her graces," while the remaining three papers ~~KNOW~~ though satirical are less irate.

Terrae-Filius, a set of four essays written during the Encoenia at Oxford in 1763, is exceedingly poor, although Garrick declared that the first number had set him longing for the second (3). For the first and only time Colman descended to personal satire in the description of the Folios (4): one wishes that he had refrained from this display of personal animosity and bad taste. Garrick's strictures on it are too mild (5). The papers bear all the marks of occasional work in their lack of inspiration, matter and

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- (1) Prose on Several Occasions, Pref.p.viii
 (2) Cf. the attacks in no.I. on the young Genius in high life, and no.VI on slander in the account of the Anemolians and Achorians
 (3) Peake, I.p.71.
 (4) The essays themselves make it sufficiently clear that the printer Newberre was intended by Folio. That it was so appears from Garrick's letter to Colman (Peake,I.p.82).

inclination. That their style is pleasant and easy goes without saying.

The last series of essays which Colman attempted was the one which was signed The Gentleman and which appeared in The London Packet in 1775(1). Of these six essays the first is merely introductory, three are concerned with manners,(2), and two with literary criticism (3). Except for the increased proportion of literary criticism they are not noticeably different from the earlier papers: the typical sentence, "The powers of satire and ridicule, while pointed at general vices and enormities, are not only innocent but salutary" (4), might just as well have been taken from The Connoisseur or The Genius. While they are the work of a much older man they bear no signs of either age or development. Herein lie at once Colman's strength and his weakness - he remained young and vigorous in outlook without becoming a deeper or more illuminating commentator on character.(5).

The remaining contents of Prose on Several Occasions are miscellaneous essays, contributed chiefly to the St. James's Chronicle between 1760 and 1775, and a certain body of critical work, the

- (1) Peake does not say whether he had sold his share in the ~~St. James's Chronicle~~ St. James's Chronicle by this time or not. The paper continued to flourish for many years.
- (2) Nos. 2,4, and 5.
- (3) Nos. 3 and 6.
- (4) Gentleman, no. I. (Prose on Several Occasions, p I.p.165)
- (5) Peake, however, finds in The Genius signs of ripened experience, greater solidity and a more chaste and classical humour (I.p.67) He does not speak of The Gentleman.

Critical Reflections on the Old English Dramatic Writers, the Preface to Beaumont and Fletcher, the Appendix to the second edition of the translation of Terence, and three pieces not before printed, one on the question of Shakespeare's learning, one on the reply of Shylock to the Senate of Venice, and Orthopaedia or Thoughts on Public Education, an answer to Locke's Some Thoughts concerning Education, defending a public education for boys, and the translation of The Art of Poetry with his critical notes. The remainder of the third volume of the collected works is filled with verse, of which the largest as well as the most interesting portion is the prologues and epilogues.

Note: The two pamphlets, The True State of the Differences subsisting between ~~EMMA~~ the Proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre (1768) and T. Harris Dissected (1768), written by Colman during the Covent Garden managerial disputes, are of no particular interest apart from the light they throw on that phase of theatrical history, although the True State ran into two editions. They have already been considered in the Life of Colman.

2. Translations.

Colman has to his credit two considerable translations from the Latin, the Comedies of Terence and Horace's Epistle to the Pisces on the Art of Poetry, both testimonies to his learning. Divided by nearly twenty years, the Terence having appeared in 1765 and the Horace in 1783, the two afford proof of his industry in classical scholarship throughout his career.

For the Terence he chooses familiar blank verse as the best medium for reproducing the irregular metre of the original (1). He had pointed out in the Critical Reflections on the Old English Dramatic Writers that, to his mind, no translation other than a metrical one could do justice to the original and that the prose renderings already in existence missed an essential beauty of the Latin. To this contention he returns in the Preface to his translation: he is aware that blank verse is regarded as the metre for the sublime and tragic while prose is supposed to be particularly adapted for comedy, but the ancients considered measure equally essential to comedy and tragedy; metrical translations already exist in different languages and are successful; in England blank verse has been used in comedy by such acknowledged masters as the Elizabethans. What reasonable objection then can be raised against

(1) It is interesting to note that in a recent translation of the plays of Terence an attempt has been made to reproduce the irregular metre of the original by parallel English metres (W. Ritchie, *Plays of Terence, translated into Parallel English Metres*, London 1927), thus carrying Colman's experiment a step further. This would seem to support the validity of Colman's contention that a metrical unrhymed translation comes nearest to the original.

its use here? Moreover, there is a difference between the blank verse of tragedy and that of comedy: while the one is sublime (except where it has degenerated into "the empty swell of phraseology so frequent in our late tragedies"), the second has "a familiar dignity which, though it rises somewhat above ordinary conversation, is rather an improvement than perversion of it."

This choice was not universally approved (1); some critics ~~condemned~~ condemned the language as being neither verse nor prose; but for the most part the verdict was highly favourable (2). Colman's reputation as a scholar and man of letters was much advanced by the publication, and its success emboldened Thornton to attempt a translation of Plautus in the same style.

Whether blank verse is a suitable medium for familiar comedy

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- (1) Cf. Ferguson, Preface to *The Connoisseur*, and A Member of the University of Oxford, *A New Translation of the Heautontimorumenos and Adelphi of Terence in Prose*, together with a ~~new~~ Preface containing a free Inquiry into Mr. Colman's Arguments for translating the Comedies of that Author into Blank Verse (1777) After examining Colman's arguments the author points out that Shakespeare's use of blank verse in comedy is always for highly imaginative passages, such as do not occur in Terence, while he keeps prose for the more robust scenes. He concludes by saying that the greatest geniuses have the greatest lapses - Dryden wrote tragedies in rhyme, and Colman has translated familiar comedy into blank verse! W.R. Goodluck Jun. translating *The Andrian* (1820) comments: "Though the comedies of Terence certainly are not prose yet are they a species of verse so nearly approaching to prose that many eminent critics have denied that they were written with any regard to measure. But we have in English no measure at all similar to that used by Terence, nor have we, in my opinion, any measure of verse whatever in which the most humorous passages in comedy can be so forcibly expressed as they may be in prose."
- (2) Cf. Peake, I.p.151,153. Hazlitt, *Lectures on the English Comic Writers of the Last Century* (*World's Classics*, p.233) says the translation "Has always been considered by good judges as an equal proof of the author's knowledge of the Latin language and taste in his own."

is doubtful. It must be admitted, as Colman himself points out, that since Milton's time it has been taken for granted that its sublimity makes it eminently suited for the lofty subjects of tragedy and epic, but by the confining of ~~it~~ its use to such subjects the possibilities of familiar blank verse have been overlooked. He claims for it the virtues of natural speech combined with the heightened tone of measure which gives dignity to the artistic presentation. Even the Member of Oxford University admits that the final argument is effect: if familiar blank verse runs as easily as prose it is preferable for the translation, but if in aping the irregular iambs of Terence it merely restricts the freedom of the English (as he maintains it does) it should be condemned. A comparison of his version of The Self-Tormentor with Colman's does not go far towards bearing out his strictures. Colman's verse is every whit as easy as his prose, and in many cases more concise, pungent and vivid than it (1); his meaning is as clear and as close to the original in spite of the shackles of

(1) Cf. Colman:- Dig, plough, or fetch and carry: in a word
 You ne'er remit your toil nor spare yourself.
 and the Member of Oxford University:- Plowing, digging or
 fainting under burthens: in a word you seem reg-
 gardless of yourself and are never at rest.
 and again Colman:- I am a man and feel for all mankind,
 and the Member of O.U.:-I am a man and think myself interested
 in everything that concerns mankind.(Self-Tor-
 mentor, I.i.)
 For Colman's natural style cf. The Brothers (I.2.) "Oh Jupiter
 the man will drive me mad!" Riley (The Comedies of Terence lit-
 erally translated into English Prose, London 1853) renders
 this, "Oh Jupiter! You, sir, are driving me to distraction"

verse. Taking this criterion of ~~XXXXX~~ effect, Colman is amply justified in his choice; and whether the experiment is one which should be imitated or not, his version is so successful that no further defence is necessary. This familiar blank verse in his hands becomes flexible and musical (1); yet it is never so far removed from the speech of ordinary life as to be incongruous in comedy. In this respect its advantage over rhymed verse is obvious. The translation is extraordinarily good in the reproduction of the spirit of the original, the closeness of the rendering (2), and the ease and grace of the English. There is hardly a place where the exigencies of the metre have caused a clumsy phrase or a departure from the exact meaning. The work has the merit of reading almost like an original composition. It is an enormous advance on the earlier English translations of Terence.

As an editor Colman is careful and thorough while at the same time he has a sense of proportion and brings his strong good sense to bear on the problems before him (3). He elucidates the action of the plays for the reader by inserting simple stage directions. The notes are to the point, and in their references to other commentators are just and free from any spirit of

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- (1) Cf. Parmeno's farewell to Thais (Eunuch, I.ii.) and Micio's speech (IV,xiv) "There are in nature sundry marks, good Demea".
- (2) Cf. Thornton's commendation (Peake, I.p.153).
- (3) As an example of his common sense cf. the notes on the unities of place and time (Eunuch, n.49 and 62, Self-Termenter, n.65).

acrimony (1). He quotes chiefly from Mme. Dacier and Donatus, but he is familiar with all the earlier editors of importance, and brings their opinions forward whenever a note is inevitable. For the most part he avoids controversy, "feeling that it is dry and unpleasant both to the writer and reader. I very frequently avoid them (i.e. verbal criticisms): but in a controverted passage where the sense is materially concerned, it would seem indolence or arrogance not to submit them" (2). In the same way, although he avoids long notes wherever possible, he finds it essential to write at some length on the difficult question of the duration of the action in The Self-Tormentor and to examine in detail the comments of Hedelin and Menage. He is at pains to show the influence of Terence on later drama as regards both the general outlines of plot (3) and particular passages (4). The chief point with which the modern reader is in disagreement with him is the question of Shakespeare's classical learning, to which Dr. Farmer made a sufficiently explicit reply (5), but without convincing him (6). His enthusiasm for Terence does not blind

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- (1) Cf. The Self-Tormentor, n.9.
 (2) The Brothers, n.34.
 (3) Cf. The Andrian and The Conscious Lovers, The Brothers and L'Ecole des Maris (final note on the play) etc.
 (4) Andrian, n.38.
 (5) An Essay on the Learning Of Shakespeare (1767).
 (6) Cf. the Appendix to the Second Edition of the Comedies of Terence, 1768, and the Postscript to the Answer (Prese on Several Occasions II.p.179) These, particularly the second show Colman at his least amiable as a controversialist, but it must be remembered that he wrote the latter in the intervals of illness, and even so, his tone is less irritable than many other controversialists'.

him to the many occasions on which Shakespeare has similar passages of greater beauty than Terence or lead him to an attempt to heighten the reputation of his author by suppressing what he considers finer examples.

As a whole the translation certainly deserves the applause with which it was received. Practically no later editor has been able to ignore Colman's comments, and the intrinsic value of his version is undoubtedly great. Praise is due particularly to the way in which, while avoiding any unreasonable deviation from the text of the original, he has reproduced its spirit in absolutely natural, idiomatic English.

The chief interest of the Horace lies in the new suggestion which Colman put forward as to the intention with which the piece was written. Early critics considered it "a loose, vague and desultory composition....totally void of art"; later, a ~~suggesti~~ suggestion was made that its purpose was "simply to criticise the Roman Drama." Colman points out the weakness of this theory, viz. that less than half the composition is concerned with the Roman stage, and then he advances his own. Put shortly, this is that one of the Pisos, undoubtedly the elder son, had followed the fashionable craze for writing (probably for the theatre) and had shown his attempt to Horace, whose delicacy forbade him to say directly what he thought of the young man's attempt but prompted him instead to write an epistle addressed to the whole family, laying down certain principles of literary

criticism as a less pointed method of conveying his disapproval of the young man's effort (1). The suggestion seems reasonable, and is well supported by the text. It is evidently generally accepted today, since the translation in the Loeb Classical Library gives it as the probable explanation, without however acknowledging whence it is taken (2). It was accepted as a probable ~~explication~~ interpretation by all the scholars and literary men of the day to whom Colman sent copies of his translation, and even Bishop Hurd, the authority on Horace, was willing to acquiesce in it (3).

The metre chosen, in accordance with the example set by in English Satire and Epistle by Dryden, Pope and Johnson, is the heroic couplet (4). The translation is good. As in the Terence, he has adopted the method recommended by Horace:

Nor word for word too faithfully translate;
 Nor leap at once into a narrow strait
 A copyist so close that rule and line
 Curb your free march and all your steps confine;

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- (1) He considers that the title "The Art of Poetry" is misleading, since it suggests a formal treatise on criticism, and presses for the restoration of what seems to have been the original title, An Epistle to the Pisos on the Art of Poetry, because the fact of its being called an epistle accounts for the familiar and irregular way in which it is put together, (cf. the Preface to his translation)
- (2) Horace, Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica. Transl. by H.R. Fairclough (1926).
- (3) Cf. Posthumous Letters to F. and G. Colman, p.127 et seq.
- (4) Prose on Several Occasions, III.p.41. He mentions here a suggestion that he should have used familiar blank verse as for the Terence but gives his reasons for abandoning it in favour of rhyme.

and the result is that it reads fluently and well, and brings out not only the meaning but the emphasis of the original (1). As Joseph Warton said, it "is not only ~~simple~~ exact but surely most elegant and clear" (2). His hand had not lost its cunning in the art of translation.

The notes to the Epistle are on the whole more detailed than those to the Terence, and slightly different in scope. In the Terence his chief concern was to give a translation which would give the reader pleasure and to explain any difficulties in the text which might prove a stumbling-block or to justify his own interpretation; here the criticisms are directed more particularly to the notice of scholars and have the double end in view of discrediting earlier commentators, who by misunderstanding Horace's aim have misrepresented him falsely, and of supporting his own theory by all the evidence which he can bring forward, although, as he claims in the dedicatory epistle to the Wartons, he has not "knowingly adopted a single expression tending to warp the judgment of the learned or unlearned reader, in favour of my own hypothesis." In other respects the notes are marked by the same general characteristics as those to the Terence: there is the same clarity and lack of acerbity, and the same anxiety to do justice to his subject by showing his influence on later writers. It is noticeable in this connection how widely read Colman is.

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- (1) With the exception of one weak line (1.291) "Gentle in all its office and humane" for "officiumque virile".
 (2) Peake, II.p.153. For opinions on the translation, see pp.149 to 157.

The question of the value of Colman's commentary to classical scholarship comes outside the province of this consideration of his work. As an addition to the English renderings of the famous works of antiquity, however, the translation was a welcome one even at a time when classical ~~scholarship~~ scholarship was more widely diffused and more highly respected among both the learned and the polite worlds than it is today, and after its publication Colman had no need to fear that anyone would apply to him the lines,

Mediocribus esse poetis

Non homines, non Di, non concessare columnae. (1).

3. Literary Criticism.

Considering how ~~many~~ prolific a writer Colman was, the body of literary criticism which he has left us is small. His interest in the subject was life-long: it stretches from the publication of *The Connoisseur* to his last prologues and epilogues at the Haymarket; and the two definitely critical productions, the Critical Reflections on the Old English Dramatic Writers (2) and

- (1) The collected Prose on Several Occasions contains another short example of Colman's work as a translator, namely a scene from Klopstock's *Death of Adam* (II.2, the visit of Cain to Adam) which appeared in the *St. James's Chronicle* in 1763; and which Lloyd included in the complete translation, though without acknowledgement. Its only interest lies in the fact that it shows Colman attempting a tragic scene in blank verse and coming for a moment under the influence of the German theatre. It has no literary merit.
- (2) 1759.

the Preface to Beaumont and Fletcher (1) are separated by almost twenty years. Yet apart from these two works and the introduction and notes to the translations, his literary opinions are ^{only} to be found scattered here and there among his writings. They are not startlingly original, but they have a certain value as indicating the lines which he himself followed as a playwright and manager, - for the subject of paramount interest to him is of course the drama.

Other subjects come under his notice, particularly diction and contemporary taste. His sentiments on pure English are emphatic. "The dread of falling into (what they are pleased to call) colloquial barbarisms, has induced some unskilful writers to swell their bloated diction with uncouth phrases and the affected jargon of pedants. For my own part, I never go out of the common way of expression, merely for the sake of introducing a more sounding word with a Latin termination. The English language is sufficiently copious and expressive without any further adoption of new terms; and the native words seem to me to have far more force than any foreign auxiliary however pompously ushered in" (2). This interest in the English language is illustrated also in the paper on the English Club (3), which laments that "the English tongue is become as little the general care as English

(1) 1778.

(2) *Connoisseur*, no. 71. June 5th, 1755.

(3) *Connoisseur*, no. 42. Nov. 14th, 1754. He suggests that a Professorship of the English Language would be no disgrace to our learned Universities.

Beef or English Honesty", although "our language is preferable to most, if not all others now in being", and has been brought to remarkable purity by some late authors. He then ridicules the affectation in the polite world of using French phrases and in the learned world of hardly being able to write a note in the vulgar tongue. The same love of simple English is shown in A Sketch of Dr. Johnson (1), which instructs the young reader to "admire and study his strength of Argument, Richness of Imagery and Variety of Sentiment without being dazzled by the splendour of his diction" (2), and the delightful parody of his style in the preceding essay (3) points the same moral. The Gentleman no.3 (4) is devoted to the consideration of style and composition. He deplures in this "that happy mediocrity...reserved for our own period. Few writers are barbarous and ungrammatical, or even unmusical, in their language; but very few are truly simple, nervous or elegant." Speaking of purity of style he points out that "of all ornaments a foreign structure of period, as it is the most prejudicial to the genius of our language, appears the most studied and unnatural" (5). Again, "Perspicuity without

(1) Prose on Several Occasions, II.p.99² (Feb. 8th, 1775).

(2) Cf. in this essay : "His characters... have a most accurate and minute resemblance to nature but they all talk one language and that language is Dr. Johnson's. Words are the vehicles of our thoughts as coaches are of our persons; the state equipage should not be drawn forth but upon solemn occasions."

(3) Op. cit. II.p.92 (Dec. 4th, 1770)

(4) July 26th 1775.

(5) The Gentleman no.3 (July 26th, 1775)

meanness is pronounced by Aristotle to be the perfection of language... to attain which he recommends as a principal instrument, the use of the most common words and phrases in a figurative signification."

This love of the English language is accompanied by a love of English literature. Familiarity with and admiration for the classics have not blinded him to the worth of English authors. "Those who are really charmed with Homer and Sophocles," he declares, "will hardly read Shakespeare and Milton without emotion; and if I was inclined to carry on the parallel I could perhaps mention as many great names as Athens ever produced" (1). He speaks with generous appreciation of our older dramatists in the Critical Reflections on the Old English Dramatic Writers and the Preface to his Beaumont and Fletcher, praising them for the dramatic truth of their representation of character (2), the "Poetical stile of their dialogue" (3), the "easy vigour and purity of their diction" (4); he defends ~~thax~~ their mixture of comedy and tragedy

(1) Connoisseur, no. 42.

(2) Critical Reflections, "Let the writer but once be allowed, as a necessary Datum, the Possibility of any Character's being placed in such a situation, or possess of so peculiar a turn of mind, the behaviour of the character is perfectly natural" (Prose on Several Occasions, II.p.119) Again, "In point of character (perhaps the most essential part of the Drama) our Old ~~W~~ Writers far transcend the Moderns" (op. cit.II.p.132) See too p.154, Preface to Beaumont and Fletcher, "Their characters are boldly drawn and warmly coloured."

(3) Op. cit. p.134.

(4) Op. cit. p.136-7.

in the same piece (1) and their offences "to that Dramatick Correctness prescribed by late Critics," because "the mind is soon familiarized to Irregularities which do not sin against the Truth of Nature, but are merely Violations of that strict Decorum of late so earnestly insisted on." (2). Moreover, he not only admits the propriety of including creatures of the imagination, witches, ghosts and fairies, in the drama, but defends them as a high form of poetic creativeness (3). The point he is making in these passages is that once the author has secured the "willing suspension of disbelief" all that matters is such a truthful development of character and situation that the original hypothesis passes without later challenge (4). The importance of naturalness is stressed again with respect to character-drawing in the comments on Bonduca, in which he compares Hengo with Arthur and declares his preference ^{For} of the scenes between Hengo and Caratach to those between Arthur and Hubert: "Between Caratach and Hengo we do not remember a line occurs affected or unnatural." His admiration for Shakespeare, on this side idolatry, shows itself continually and

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- (1) Op. Cit. p. 115. "Many an interesting story which...cannot be regularly reduced either to Tragedy or to Comedy, yet abounds with Character and contains several affecting situations"
- (2) Op. cit. p. 113.
- (3) Op. cit. pp. 116, 117. Cf. The Gentleman, no. 6. "Caliban is as natural as Hamlet"
- (4) Op. cit. pp. 129-131.

(8) Critical Reflections (Prose on Several Occasions), II, p. 131

(9) Loc. cit. p. 136. Cf. the Introduction to Parsons, p. 1, 2, 3

(10) Epilogue to the Tragedy of Julius, April, 1787

"Bards who from history or Fiction glean
Rarely in England piece the Tragick scene;
Led by the Muse, they still o'er distant seas
Scale Alps on Alps, or pierce the Pyreness;
Abroad in search of Qualities they rove -

took practical, if ill-judged, form in the adaptation for the stage of various Shakespearean plays as well as the two of Beaumont and Fletcher's and one of Ben Jonson's. (1). This taste for the older writers does not make him blind to the merits of later days: The Gentleman no. 6 (2) refutes that charge sufficiently and exhibits once again his balanced judgment.

He has some hard things to say of contemporary taste (3), the low state of learning among writers (4), the opera (5) ("It is a fact founded on experience that nothing is so harmonious as nonsense"), the use in criticism of the catch phrase of the moment, "low" or "sentimental" or whatever it may be (6), alliteration (7), the absurdities of heroic plays (8), and the bombast of the more recent sentimental tragedies (9), while at the end of his life we find him poking fun at the "tramontane" tragedies which were then the fashion (10).

(1) His admiration of older literature includes Old English songs, the "affecting simplicity" of which he praises in The Connoisseur no. 72 (June 12th 1755).

(2) Prose on Several Occasions, II.p.206, 207.

(3) Connoisseur, no. 24: "A treatise of Whist has more admirers than a System of Logic." The attack on the circulating library fereshalls "Polly Honeycombe."

(4) Connoisseur, no. 42.

(5) Prose on Several Occasions, II.p.55, a paper contributed to the St. James's Chronicle on Lloyd's opera, The Capricious Lovers. Cf. the Connoisseur, no.72.

(6) Prose on Several Occasions, II.p.209, The Gentleman no 6.

(7) Connoisseur, no.83.

(8) Critical Reflections (Prose on Several Occasions, II.p.131)

(9) Loc. cit.p.135. Cf. the Introduction to Terence, pp.1,7,8.

(10) Epilogue to the Tragedy of Julia, April, 1787:

"Bards who from history or fiction glean
Rarely in England place the Tragick scene:
Led by the Muse, they sail o'er distant seas
Scale Alps on Alps, or pierce the Pyrenees:
Abroad in search of Cruelties they roam -
Follies and Frailties may be found at home."

His own tastes are catholic but are regulated by a lively sense of the ridiculous (1) and by the free exercise of a vigorous critical faculty. The rather unusual combination of classical scholar and successful theatrical manager in one person accounts for much. Thus, while he admires Terence's "artful conduct of the intrigue" (2) and the comedy of cross-purposes (3), he condemns the use of the protactic personage (4) and of asides (5), passages of narrative, (6), and soliloquies (7), because he knows from practical experience that these devices are unsatisfactory to the audience. In the same way, he objects to the Chorus of classical tragedy when it is introduced on the modern stage (8). Yet his chief enthusiasm is for the older English drama. He is moving rapidly with the stream which is setting towards the Romanticism of the next century in his appreciation not only of the Elizabethans but of the greater freedom and the genuine passion which he finds in such a tragedy as Fatal Curiosity (9) and in his

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- (1) Cf. the opening of the Epilogue to *Timanthes* (1770).
- (2) Terence p.470.
- (3) Terence, p.424.
- (4) Terence, pp.417 and 485.
- (5) Terence, p. 421.
- (6) Terence, p.473-4.
- (7) Terence, p.476.
- (8) Cf. Notes to *The Art of Poetry*, (Prose on Several Occasions, ii.p.75) with reference to the effect of improbability given by the Chorus in *Elfrida* and *Caractacus*.
- (9) Cf. the Prologue to the revival of this play, Hay, 1782:-
 There Scholars, simple Nature cast aside,
 Have trick'd their Heroes out in Classick Pride;
 No Scenes, where genuine Passion runs to waste,
 But all hedg'd in by Shrubs of Modern Taste.
 Each Tragedy laid out like Garden Grounds,
 One circling gravel marks its narrow bounds.
 Lille's Plantations were of Forest growth -
 Shakespeare's the same - Great Nature's hand in both!
 Give me a tale the passions to controul,
 "Whose slightest word may harrow up the Soul!"

insistence on Nature as the true criterion (1). He has very little to say about the Restoration drama (2) of which he presumably disapproved, as, in spite of his gibe at "these our moral and religious days" (3), he generally stresses the moral tendency of the plays he produces (4). At the same time he dislikes sentimental comedy exceedingly. It is to be regretted that he never finished that dissertation on Comedy which he mentions as having proposed to himself in the Preface to his Terence (5): it would have been an interesting addition to the critical literature of the mid-century.

While his own taste was in favour of more solid entertainment, as manager of the Haymarket he provided the town with very light fare. He is conscious that his conduct needs justifying (6). The prologues from 1777 onwards have frequent references to the "choice assortment of slight goods" which he offers there (7). He has

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- (1) Cf. The Gentleman no.6, and the Prologue to The Chapter of Accidents (1780) "Nature, eternal Nature, will prevail". The whole prologue is interesting.
- (2) With the exceptions already made of the strictures on the nonsense in heroic plays (Prose on Several Occasions, II.p.131) and a statement that Congreve's comedies are as inaccurately constructed as Shakespeare's. (loc.cit.p.114).
- (3) Prologue to Kelly's Clementina, 1771.
- (4) Cf. Prologue to The Young Quaker (1783) "If wit and Humour on the surface flow, While Solid Sense and Moral lurk below".
- (5) He speaks here as if he had every intention of finishing this article on comedy, which he had originally proposed to incorporate in the Terence, but which as he considered it grew to such proportions that he was obliged to abandon ~~it there~~ the idea of including it there. Evidently the ~~idea~~ project of issuing it separately was given up and he went no further with the composition, since neither Peake nor Colman the Younger makes any mention of it.
- (6) More so because he was an acknowledged man of taste.
- (7) Prologue ~~xxx~~ on opening the Theatre- Royal Haymarket, 1777.

apologised already for Farce - which he calls "but a younger brother of the theatre" (1) - in the Prologue to Tony Lumpkin in Town (2):-

Her elder sister, Comedy, has Wit,

But Farce has Fun and oft a lucky Hit,

If she yields laugh, a laugh let none despise

Be merry, if you can, and not too wise.

That he would have provided better plays if he had thought that they would be acceptable to the summer audiences who patronised the Haymarket is clear from his previous management at Covent Garden(3): indeed, he did ~~provide~~ produce a certain number of more serious dramas there, as may be seen from Genest: but the business of money-making was his chief concern and dictated to him both what he should compose and what he should produce.

(1) Art of Poetry (Prose on Several Occasions, III.p.96).

(2) 1776

(3) While he was at Covent Garden he brought forward on the whole the best of the new plays as well as keeping a comparatively high standard in the older material which he had acted.

that he had more good sense and a better taste than the generality of managers - and that when he brought forward novelties at the theatre it was not from choice but from the necessity of complying with the depressed taste of the town.



III.B Colman's Theatrical Work.

Introduction.

Colman's activity in non-dramatic work is reflected in his career as a theatrical manager and playwright. As manager he will not be dealt with at any length here: it is sufficient to say that under his rule Covent Garden was more prosperous than ever before (1), and that the Haymarket, in spite of the competition from the winter theatres and the difficulties of keeping the little theatre going in summer and the unfashionable season (2) did very well as long as (3)

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- (1) The C.G. Ledgers show good returns even during the time when he was most hampered by the trouble which Harris and Rutherford were creating and when he might well not have had time to find his feet in this new enterprise. Cf. also *Theatrical Monopoly* (1779) p.21: "From the period of Mr. Colman's quitting the management we find theatric excellence in every point depressed."
- (2) Cf. Garrick Corr. H. Bate to Garrick, June 11th, 1777: "We are as stupid in this deserted metropolis as dulness and the dog-days can possibly make us. Little Colman went on swimmingly, according to Joe Vernon's witticism, so long as "the rains descended and the floods came" ... No sooner did the god of day return to his charge with a clean-washed face, than theatrical matters took a different turn in the Haymarket, and the Great Mr. Henderson played to almost empty benches."
- (3) Cf. Ferguson, Intro. to *The Connoisseur* p.v: "acting thus uncontrolled he conducted his business with great spirit and judgment, supplying the theatre with various pieces, either original, altered or translated, and bringing forward several performers who became favourites with the public, especially in comedy." So also Genest (Hay. 1777) "It (the theatre) could not have fallen into better hands as Colman had given several proofs that he had more good sense and a better taste than the generality of managers - and that when he brought forward nonsense at the theatre it was not from choice but from the necessity of complying with the depraved taste of the town."

Colman was in full possession of his faculties: (1); that he produced the best of the new plays that were submitted to him (2) and revived good old ones; that he was uniformly encouraging to merit in actors and authors alike, particularly when it was a case of a beginner who wanted help to set him on his feet.(3) As a writer for the stage he tried his hand at everything which could possibly be successful - provided that it was not sentimental. No doubt he could have turned out sentimental comedies with the ease of a Charles Garvice writing sentimental novelettes if he had wished - he has the knack of devising telling situations and can produce the affected jargon of the sentimental school when he likes - but his hatred of this whining stuff is one of his most strongly marked characteristics. Two attempts in the sentimental vein were enough for him. That it was fashionable was ~~no~~ recommendation. His other abomination is heroic tragedy with its degenerate descendant, modern tragedy:

- (1) Thespian Dictionary (1805) "To promote the interests of the former (theatre) he (Colman the younger) was obliged to prove the insanity of his father which enabled him to set aside such engagements as were an encumbrance to the house.
- (2) See Ante p.55.
- (3) Cf. O'Keeffe *passim*, Genest (end of season 1777 at the Haymarket) 'Colman's behaviour to him (Henderson) was polite and generous; he gave him a free benefit and upon a day that made it very advantageous to him - Henderson in return took off the manager's peculiarities to his face, at his own table and in the presence of a large company - so gross as affront of course produced a coolness in Colman.'
- Cf. Also Anecdote of Mr. Henderson (^{Davies} ~~Daire~~) p.33 and Colman the younger's preface to *The Heir at Law* (1808) and his remarks to Mrs. Inchbald on her treatment of his father's memory after the kindness he had shown her.

Fashion drove in a refining age
 Virtue from court and Nature from the stage,
 Then nonsense in heroicks seemed sublime;
 Kings raved in couplets and maids sigh'd in rhyme.
 Next prim and trim, and delicate and chaste,
 A hash from Greece and France, came Modern Taste,
 Cold are her sons, and so afraid of dealing
 In rant and fustian, they ne'er rise to feeling. (1)

All are detestable because all are unnatural, and he is a great stickler for natural character and natural behaviour. They drove nature from the stage - here lies the core of his resentment because, as he realizes, truth to nature is the only quality which will endure the test of time. (2)

His motives in writing are two-fold. First as a manager who has his living to make out of the theatre, he must produce plays which will meet the popular taste and bring good houses; then as a man of letters he wants to satisfy his own chief artistic desire - the restoration of true laughter to the stage. Sentimental comedy, at the height of its popularity in the mid-century, is anathema to him. Nature is his watchword and laughter his chief weapon. This adoption of laughter to prick the bubble of high-flown language and unnatural sensibility is a sound instinct: once people can be brought to laugh at their own affectations and false tastes they have taken the first steps towards discarding them.

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- (1) Prologue to Philaster.
 (2) Cf. Epilogue to 'The Man of Business'.

Modes oft may change and old give way to new
 Or vary betwixt London and Peru;
 Yet here, and everywhere, the general frame
 Of nature and of man is still the same:
 Huge ruffs and farthingales are out of fashion;
 But still thro' human hearts the seat of passion
 And he may boast his genius stands the test
 Who paints our passions and our humours best.

He sets about his task in two ways, by the use of good-humoured satire in farces like Polly Honeycombe and The Musical Lady and in innumerable prologues and epilogues, and by the provision of comedies which raise true laughter by depicting comic situations and characters and which do not pander to the taste for 'The rich - soul'd luxury of tears.' (1)

All his original work is done in comedy or in the many minor forms into which comedy is broken up. This does not mean that he has no interest in tragedy (2), but the bent of his genius leads him constantly to comedy. He tries his hand at almost every species: the comedy of manners is his greatest achievement, but he attempts intrigue and even sentimental comedy, ~~farce~~ (though he wears his rue with a difference), ^{farce} and many of the miscellaneous forms with which the theatre swarmed at this time, burletta, masque, prelude and interlude. Even pantomime is not beneath his notice and of such apparently hopeless material he makes quite witty use. Various as these kinds are in scope and intention, they are united in their effort to provide genuine laughter.

(1) Kelly, Thespis.

(2) On the contrary, his critical remarks in the various prologues (eg. Fatal Curiosity and Philaster) show keen appreciation of values in tragedy.

(1) Cf. Paska 1, p.64 etc.

(1) The Comedy of Manners.

The two comedies on which Colman's reputation rests are both in the manners style - The Jealous Wife and The Clandestine Marriage. As the latter is a collaboration it will be dealt with separately; the former only will be considered here.

The Jealous Wife (1) was Colman's first serious attempt at comedy, his only previous dramatic effort being the farce Polly Honeycombe. Its success was immediate and lasting. Garrick, to

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- (1) Genest, D.L. 12/2/1761 (he gives the cast as Colman printed it in the Dramatic Works 1777). Acted 20 times, March 25th being Mrs. Pritchard's benefit, March 31st Palmer's, April 8th Miss Pritchard's. Garrick acted Oakly 20 times this season, Lovemore 10 times being his next most popular character. In the following season he acted Oakly 9 times, (22/3/62 being Mrs. Clive's and 19/4/62 Mr. and Mrs. Davies's benefit). It was produced at C.G. for the first time 20/3/62 for the benefit of Ross. (Oakly - Ross, Major Oakly - Shuter, Charles - Clarke, Lord Trinket - Dyer, Mrs. Oakly - Mrs. Ward, Lady Freelove - Mrs. Vincent, Harriot - Mrs. Lessingham - Genest). After this it became a stock piece at D.L. - it had 9 performances in 1763-4 (12/10/63 being Holland's first appearance as Oakly) 6 in 1764-65, and it appears on the bills steadily every year. The frequency with which it was chosen for benefit nights shows what a certain attraction it was (W. 22/4/66 D.L. Benefit Mrs. Champness - On 12/2/67 by command, with Neck or Nothing, T. 17/2/67 Oakly - Garrick by particular desire, F. 1/5/67 for the Widow Vincent, 5/4/68 Mrs. Palmer's benefit, T. 4/4/69 C.G. Mrs. Bulkley's benefit, 29/3/69 D.L. Miss Pope's benefit, Mrs. Oakly Miss Pope for the first time, Harriot - Mrs. Baddeley for the first time, 26/4/70 C.G. Hull's benefit, Mr. and Mrs. Oakly - Hull and Mrs. Hull, 30/3/73 D.L. Miss Pope's benefit). The Jealous Wife was translated into French by Madame Riccoboni as The Jealous Wife or La Femme Jalouse (Oeuvres complètes 1818 vol VI) and German as Die Eifersuchtige Ehefrau (1764) by J.J. C. Bode. Recent revivals include one at East London College February 1926, the Oxford Playhouse summer 1926, Leslie's Theatre Rusholme Manchester in modern dress June 14-19, 1926. (I have not been able to get the exact date from Oxford)
- (2) Cf. Peake l. p.64 etc.

whose expert eye it had already been submitted (1) and who had advised the omission of those episodes which Colman afterwards worked up as The Musical Lady, found in Oakly a congenial part(2) and no doubt his wonderful acting, added to the general excellence of the cast, helped the play's popularity. The chief reason for its success lay, however, in its own sterling qualities.

The foreword to the play acknowledges Colman's source with his usual frankness and thoroughness. Ideas have been borrowed from Tom Jones; Harriot is Sophia, Russet Squire Western, Lady Freelove Lady Bellaston (3), and Charles Tom Jones. Here the debt to Fielding ends. The rather highly-coloured figure of Blifil has been transformed into Sir Harry Beagle, a cousin once or twice removed of Humphrey Gubbin, Squire Booby and all the other country bumpkins who are stock figures of fun in eighteenth century comedy. (3a) The change, for dramatic purposes, is an

- (1) Grateful acknowledgement of his help is made in the foreword to the play.
- (2) In spite of his earlier doubts of mastering the part in time. (Cf. Peake vol.1. p.65).
- (3) Colman has omitted any connection between Lady Freelove and Charles. Mme. Riccoboni deploras this (Cf. Garrick Correspondence vol.11. p.557) because it leaves no motive for her behaviour to Harriot.
- (3a) Sir Harry Beagle is particularly reminiscent of Sir Jowler Kennel in C. Shadwell's Irish Hospitality (1720). Whether Colman knew the play when he wrote The Jealous Wife is doubtful. It was revived for one night only at D.L. in 1766 (B.D.) The resemblances between Sir H.B. and Sir J.K. are very close, but Colman is so scrupulous in acknowledging his debts that they may be only accidental.

improvement. Blifil is outside the realm of pure comedy: his moral turpitude arouses in the spectator a corresponding moral indignation, the expression of which is not laughter. The place for a picture of such unmitigated malevolence is either tragedy, or, a more congenial setting in this particular case, melodrama. Beagle, on the other hand, although a caricature, is definitely comic. Moreover it is difficult to-day to judge exactly how far this portrait of the fox-hunting country squire is an exaggeration (1). To us it is ridiculously over-coloured: in 1760 it was pretty certainly within the bounds of recognizable portraiture. Whether the picture is exaggerated or not, Colman's instinct in the substitution was right. Beagle's eccentricities produce the type of laughter which he wanted: Blifil's wickedness would not have done.

The figures of Mr. and Mrs. Oakly come from Mr. and Mrs. Freeman in The Spectator Nos. 212 and 216. (2). A sketch of a jealous wife had also appeared in The Connoisseur No. 127. The Spectator also seems to have suggested, though less directly, the figure of Major Oakly in Tom Meggot. The debt to these figures is more marked than that to Fielding's. There are verbal remini-

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- (1) The same is true to some extent of Squire Russet, who is highly praised by The Monthly Review.
 (2) A further hint may have been taken from Nathaniel Henroost in No. 176, but Colman does not mention this.

scences (1) as well as borrowed incidents. (2). These with an incident from Terence complete the acknowledged borrowings. Resemblances exist between Mrs. Oakly and Shadwell's Mrs. Termagent in The Squire of Alsatia, and it has been suggested

- (1) Spec. No. 212. "I now live the life of a prisoner of State. My letters are opened and I have not the use of pen, ink and paper but in her presence!

Jealous Wife

(Dramatic Works vol.1. p.12.)

Oak. You stop my letters before they come to my hand. Oak. Her love for me hath confined me to my house like a State prisoner, without the liberty of seeing my friends or the use of pen ink and paper. (p.20)

Spec. No. 216. 'I said ... that indeed Mr. Freeman was become the common talk of the town and that nothing was so much a jest as when it was said in company Mr. Freeman had promised to come to such a place.'

Jealous Wife Maj. O. 'My brother is become a publick jest; and by and by, if this foolish affair gets wind, the whole family will become the subject of town talk. (p.94).

Spec. No. 216. 'Others kept family dissatisfactions for hours of privacy and retirement.

Jealous Wife Mrs. O. 'The little disquiets and uneasinesses of other families are kept secret!'

Spec. No. 216. You ought to consider you are now past a chicken; this humour which was well enough in a girl, is insufferable in one of your motherly character.'

Jealous Wife Oak. 'S'death, madam, at these years you ought to know better.'

- (2) Spec. 212. 'I shall without more ado call for the coach.'

Jealous Wife Oak. 'Order the coach directly. I shall ~~drive~~ dine out to-day.' (p.24).

Spec. 216. 'After many revolutions in her temper of raging, swooning, railing, fainting, pitying herself and reviling her husband.'

Cf. Jealous Wife. Act V, p.138, 139.

that one or two points may have been taken from Love for Love (1). Further than this Colman's debts to other writers do not apparently go. Lloyd's prologue states his case well:

If in his scenes an honest skill is shown,
And borrowing little, much appears his own,
If what a master's happy pencil drew
He brings more forward in dramattick view,
To your decision he submits his cause.

This represents the facts with more fairness than is usual
in

The gentle Prologue custom sends,
Like a drum serjeant, to beat up for friends.

These borrowings are not of great importance. Contemporary critics pointed out that the resemblances to Tom Jones are in fact so slight that they would hardly have been recognised if Colman himself had not drawn attention to them - an exaggerated but not entirely baseless statement. Certainly the interest of the comedy lies in the changes which are introduced and the excellent situations which are devised rather than in the borrowed characters. The situations are good all the way through the play. The plot-construction is sound, the development logical and the dramatic moment is seized upon with a keen eye for effect. The central situation, that of the unhappy husband, is a change in comedy and seems to be original. Suspicious husbands, unfaithful

(2) Presumably O'Cutter's sea dialogue is taken from Ben; other resemblances I cannot see, and even this one appears to me far-fetched.

husbands, Sir John Brutes, are commonplaces, and wives wronged by their unjust treatment their natural complement, but here is a change. To have the wife the aggressor and the virtuous husband the sufferer is something new, and Colman deserves credit accordingly. The finest situation in the piece is that at the end of Act III, when Mrs. Oakly overhears her husband's plan to protect Harriot: (1); her misinterpretation of all he says is admirably conceived and the continued misunderstanding when Russet appears (2) keeps up the jest with unflagging enjoyment. Moreover the position of the badgered Oakly when both his wife and Russet turn upon him and he is never allowed even to finish a sentence in his own defence is very good comedy and leads up without any weakening of zest to the borrowed episode of Charles drunk (3) - a borrowing most effectively used, which closes the act on the top note of the comedy.

- (1) Dramatic Works vol.1. p.83. This passage is commended by the Monthly Review for 1761 (p.180 et seq.)
- (2) Loc. cit. p. 88.
- (3) This episode is altered in the French translation. Charles enters 'agité' and embraces Harriot on seeing her, not realizing that her father is present. He quarrels with 'Clifford' (i.e. Russet) on account of Russet's dictatorial manner and in anger draws his sword and stands between Harriot and him with it. Harriot, infuriated by this insult to her father, departs with him and 'Belton' (i.e. Oakly) who is present stops Charles from doing the old man any injury.

Dramatic Works vol.1. p.88, 83.

p. 112.

p. 106.

The dialogue of the play is brisk and easy. It is full of good things. The tipsy solemnity of Charles's 'Gone! She's gone; and egad, in very ill humour, and in very bad company!' and his 'I believe I am drunk, very drunk,'⁽¹⁾ is delightful, the absurdities of O'Cutter's bloodthirsty tastes and Beagle's stable phraseology are excellent fun. (2), though both are verging on the farcical, and Colman makes good use of the comedy of talking at cross-purposes in Russet and Beagle (3) as well as of the contradictory humours of Russet. (a). For the most part the dialogue is humorous rather than witty, but Colman has flashes of genuine wit. Harriot's and Lord Trinket's discussion on Nature and the bon ton and her unrecognised sarcasm on his artificiality (4), the quickness and neatness with which she pricks Charles' complacency at having been of service to her, (5), the Major's bon mot, "'sdeath, what a pity it is that nobody knows how to manage a wife but a batchelor' (6) and half a dozen more passages substantiate his claim to have inherited something of the Restoration sparkle of dialogue.

(1) Loc. cit. p. 92.

(2) The wooing of Beagle is one of the points condemned by the Monthly Review.

(3) Loc. cit. p. 36.

(a) Cf. Dramatic Works vol.1 p.109. 'Look ye Harriot, don't speak. You'll put me in a passion. Will you have him? Answer me that. Why don't the girl speak? Will you have him?'

(4) Dramatic Works vol.1. p.52,53.

(5) " " " p. 112.

(6) " " " p. 105.

Colman's methods in character drawing are a little superficial. He has no deep insight into motive or impulse but he has a quick and accurate eye for life-like appearances. His art is photographic rather than interpretative. Nevertheless his figures are natural and never degenerate into puppets. The best are Mr. and Mrs. Oakly, who are skilfully and convincingly depicted. It is perhaps a little difficult to believe in Oakly's complete subjugation to his wife and his blindness to her artifices, but though improbable they are not incredible, and granted that hypothesis Colman makes good comic use of the foibles of the pair. Charles is not equally vital. At best he is something of a weakling, and that Colman was ~~(1)~~ himself evidently conscious of the fact is shown by the remark which he lets slip from Major Oakly: 'I don't half approve this; and yet I can hardly suspect his Lordship of any very deep designs neither. Charles may easily outwit him' (2) - a valuation of Charles' ^{mental} neutral powers with which we are apt to agree. Harriot deserves someone better than this amiable fool. It is noteworthy that like Fielding Colman has chosen for his hero a sentimental figure, the good-hearted rake. The affinity between Tom Jones, Charles and Ranger is unmistakable. Major Oakly is in the nature of a superfluity. All that

(1) ~~Dramatic Works vol.1. p.112.~~

(2) " " " p.103.

he does is to point out to Oakly that he is being made a fool of and to Charles and Mrs. Oakly that they are making fools of themselves, and at the last to act as a peace-maker and a kind of minor Deus ex machina. He performs no essential function in the play. Oakly's first serious stand against his wife's tyranny is not made at his instigation but in defence of Harriot (1) and the final proof of her artifices to keep him in subjection is not the Major's word but the evidence of his own ears when, against the Major's advice, he lies 'perdue' in his study and observes her proceedings. (2). On the other hand it may be argued that he represents the norm by his presence and gives proportion to the deviations of the other characters from it. We owe to him the happy retort to Charles' arrogant setting aside of Lord Trinket's proposals, 'The old gentleman, it seems, hates a lord and told her so in plain terms' - 'Such an aversion to the nobility may not run in the blood.' (3). The Major might be dispensed with, but we should be a little sorry if he were not there. Lord Trinket and Lady Freelove are interesting rather from their literary associations than from their intrinsic worth. Both might have been taken from a Restoration comedy: the fop and the fine lady of doubtful morals have innumerable counterparts there. The tone of their

(1) Dramatic Works vol. 1. p.87.
 (2) " " " p. 128.
 (3) " " " p. 28.

conversation too is reminiscent of the 'smart set' comedies of an earlier day. The chief difference lies in the middle class people with whom the two associate: Lady Freelove may refer to the Oaklys as 'trumpery folk'(1) but she receives Mrs. Oakly notwithstanding, and Lord Trinket has allowed her to make proposals for an alliance between himself and the daughter of a mere country squire. Another change lies in this proposal of marriage: sixty years before 'milor's' grandfather would probably have dispensed with the ceremony unless he had been tricked into it by the lady or unless he was in need of her fortune. (2). Sir Harry Beagle and Squire Russet are both less natural than the figures already mentioned. The frank exaggeration of these portraits provides laughter of a different, though still legitimate sort. The absurdities of both are based on character and never descend into the farcical. Russet is the better of the two. The struggle between parental fondness and a passionate determination not to be thwarted is ~~not~~ badly drawn. (x) Violent, unreasonable, unable to comprehend another point of view than his

(1) Dramatic Works vol. 1. p.121.

(2) A further difference from earlier models lies in the silence about Harriot's fortune. Presumably she had one - there seems no reason for believing that Lord Trinket would have made proposals to Russet for her otherwise - .but no mention is made of the blushing charms of £10,000.

(x) Cf. p.110, 111.

own, he is yet capable of inspiring Harriot with genuine fondness for him, and his indignation when Sir Harry informs him that he has 'swopped' her for Nabob is more on account of the insult to Harriot than the ruin of his plans. (1) Not much can be said for the 'sweet rural swain' except in praise of his consideration for Snip and Lady, the pointing bitch, and of the single-mindedness of his devotion to the turf. O'Cutter (2) is even more of a caricature than Beagle. The stage Irishman and his dialect were stock jokes of the time and he falls in line with various other representatives of his nation on the boards. The incongruity of his violent desire for a fight and the gentle persuasion he uses to coax the Major to become his opponent is the most laughable thing about him. (3) Harriot, the cause of much trouble, is a young woman of sense and spirit. Though a damsel in distress, she has none of the tricks of the heroines

- (1) Cf. also p.38 'I swear she is too good for you: you don't deserve such a wife. A fine, dear, sweet, lovely, charming girl.' and p.109 'Insolent! zounds I'll blow his brains out! Insolent to my dear Harriot.'
- (2) The name seems to be a reminiscence of The Nonsense Club. Thornton held a mock exhibition of sign-paintings, one of which was The Irishman's Arms - a pair of thick legs in white stockings and black garters, by Patrick O'Blaney, for which Capt. Terence Cutter stood.
(Southey's Life of Cowper vol. 1. p.53.)
- (3) Dramatic Works vol. 1. p.100,101. 'Arrah my dear, won't you come too?'

of the Mrs. Radcliffe school: (1): she swoons only once and then pulls herself together remarkably quickly (2). She keeps her head, and the fact that she is in love with Charles and is hard pressed does not either blind her to his faults or precipitate her into ill-considered action (3). The way she flares up when Sir Harry laughs at her pleas to release her from her engagement suggests that she has inherited something of her father's temper(4). Whether Charles keeps to his resolution to avoid the bottle and whether Mrs. Oakly also discards her suspicions permanently or not, there is little doubt that in one at least of the Oakly households the grey mare will be the better horse. Mrs. Oakly herself fails only in the point of character development. She is represented as unreasonably jealous at the opening of the play, and she remains unaltered, though her suspicions are confirmed by Lady Freelove's malice and the misinterpreted interview between

(1) Cf. Emily in The Mysteries of Udolpho, who weeps, swoons, and 'drops into poetry' with an ease that Mr. Wegg would have recognized as offering serious rivalry if she had been introduced at the Bower. Yet even Emily had a certain toughness of fibre which brought her through the horrors of Udolpho successfully. Harriot is of more illustrious descent. These spirited women of the drama trace their genealogy through the witty heroines of Restoration comedy to Rosalind and Beatrice.

(2) Loc. cit. p. 88.

(3) " " p. 105.

(4) " " p. 107.

Oakly and Harriot, until she is unwillingly convinced by the testimony of Russet himself. Her conversion when it at last comes is too sudden to be convincing. Selfish and pettily tyrannical, she is as unreasonableness as only the stupid who are convinced of their own perspicacity can be. The Major might have known that she was the type of woman whom argument makes only more fixed in her own opinion. If Colman had hinted at more attractive qualities in her, Oakly's infatuation would have been more credible and he would have received a greater share of the audience's sympathy. As it is he is sometimes very nearly contemptible (1).

(1) Cf. Garrick Correspondence p. 183 Dr. Hoadly St. Cross nr. Winchester May 23rd 1765. 'How I wished that our little poet had thrown into Mrs. Oakly's character, or made visible by a few circumstances, a tenderness and sensibility towards Mr. Oakly by which the audience should have been soon convinced that she really loved him, and had more of the jealous wife than the mere termagant. That alone would have given a dignity to his character which it now wants, and through that want, is more of the sneaking henpeck than of the tender enamoured husband. Mrs. Oakly's character (without this) has not foundation enough to support that sudden reconciliation at the end; with it, it would make the comedy very complete: besides it would ease the character of Mr. Oakly of a load which even your own great acting cannot support. Could not he be prevailed upon to try this only in the acting? For all sensible hearers perceive the want of it.' (Editor's note: I am not clear that Garrick even showed this letter to his friend Colman.) The same point is made in A New Theatrical Dictionary (London 1792.)

The character of Mrs. Oakly composes one of the chief blemishes of the play, for The Jealous Wife, good though it is, is not without flaws. As Mme. Riccoboni points out (1), 'la jalouse est plus impérieuse que sensible;' The Monthly Review for 1761 condemns the title - not without justice: The Hen-pecked Husband would have given a more accurate description of the comedy (2) and the lack of character drawing - a less justifiable objection, for there is plenty of differentiation between the various characters and we do not expect any great depth in a comedy of this sort. There are, however, other objections to it. It includes too many soliloquies (3) and asides (4), both signs of 'inartificial' construction and inexperienced workmanship, and on two occasions it leaves comedy for melodrama. These are, of course, Lord Trinket's attempt upon Harriot and his rout by Charles disguised in a smock frock and armed with two pistols. They are the most serious blemishes in the play. They put it into another key and jar the spectator, whose ear is not attuned to the transposition. Perhaps the Zeitgeist has been too strong for

(1) Cf. Op.Cit. vol. 11 p.557, Mar. 17 1769.

(2) It would also get rid of the objection that there is a lack of development. The chief action is the shaking off of his shackles by the oppressed Oakly, and in that theme there is the necessary growth.

(3) Cf. Dramatic Works vol.1. p.16, 25, 35, 40, 47, 48, 78, 79 etc.

(4) " " " " " p.48, 56, 74, 80, 81, 99, 100, 107. ^(ol.)

(5) Sirkbeck Hill's edn. vol 1. p.264. 'Though not written by the genius was yet so well adapted to the stage and so well acted by the actors, that it was accounted for near 20 years.'
 (6) Mar. 7, 1761. 'A very indifferent play - so well acted as to have succeeded greatly.'

Colman: perhaps Garrick suggested that such incidents as these two were sure of the audience's applause (1); perhaps his own youthful exuberance is to blame for their appearance: in any case there they are in all their crudeness and unsuitability. It is a pity. They just spoil the comedy's distinction of being purely laughable in a sentimental age.

Contemporary criticism of The Jealous Wife was for the most part highly favourable. The Gentlewoman's Magazine (2) finds 'character and humour in every part of the dramatic dialogue' and calls it 'upon the whole a very high and very rational entertainment, having as a Comedy few equals and no superiors;' the Monthly Review, while more critical than the Gentlewoman's Magazine is predominately favourable. The Theatrical Campaign (3) referring to its great merit puts it 'next in rank to The Suspicious Husband since the time of Congreve, or at least Cibber.' The Rosciad (4) praises it. Even Murphy, who was no friend to Colman, refers to it in terms of commendation (5). Less favourable are Boswell's (6) and Horace Walpole's (7) comments, while Mme. Riccoboni tempers her sweets with

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- (1) This may be doing Garrick an injustice but, whether he proposed them or not, it is not to his credit that in revising the Jealous Wife he allowed them to stand.
- (2) Feb. 1761.
- (3) The Theatrical Campaign for MDCCLXVI and MDCCLXVII (Lond. 1767) p.2.
- (4) How much of the praise was a tribute to friendship?
- (5) Life of Garrick 1 p.357. But Cf. The Examiner where he condemns it.
- (6) Birkbeck Hill's edn. vol 1.p.364. 'Though not written with much genius was yet so well adapted to the stage and so well exhibited by the actors, that it was crowded for near 20 nights.'
- (7) Mar. 7, 1761 'A very indifferent play - so well acted as to have succeeded greatly.'

so much bitter that it is surprising that she translated it (1), and a wholly uncomplimentary account is given in the pamphlet George Colman Esq. Analysed (2), a satirical 'Vindication of his Jealous Wife.' Later criticism is almost all flattering. Bio-graphia Dramatica, while pointing out the defects in the treatment of Mr. and Mrs. Oakly, praises its general excellence. Hazlitt (3) describing a performance of The Jealous Wife at Drury Lane in 1816 speaks of 'the well-drawn heroine of Colman's amusing and very instructive comedy.' Hettner, (4) speaking in praise of The Jealous Wife and The Clandestine Marriage classes Colman with Goldsmith, and goes on 'Unsere Lustspieldichter werden gut thun, von Zeit ^{zu} ^{Zeit} einmal zu diesen mit Unrecht vergessenen Stücken zurückzueh-
 kehren.' Wrongfully forgotten the play certainly has been, but it is to be hoped that, now that the eighteenth century is coming into its own, The Jealous Wife will take its place among the minor classics of the stage.

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- (1) Cf. Garrick Correspondence loc. cit. She mentions incidentally that she did not translate it herself.
 (2) George Colman Esq. (Analysed; (being(a Vindication (of his Jealous Wife), against his Malicious Aspersions) ... Lond. 1761 The Dedication to the Second Edition is signed Witticism Criticism. It is of no intrinsic value whatsoever.
 (3) A View of the English Stage (1818) p.314.
 (4) Geschichte der engl. Literatur p.500 et seq.

1. (11) Sentimental Comedy.

As might be expected, Colman's sentimental comedies are not among his happiest productions. No man shows to advantage in an uncongenial medium, and sentimentalism was his aversion. His life-long hostility to the Sentimental Muse is based on something fundamental in himself. While he is of necessity affected by the growing humanitarianism of the age - an age which saw the older cynical distrust of human nature giving way to a belief in the general kindness of the average man and woman and which was increasingly convinced of the perfectibility of mankind - and in that sense is touched by sentimentalism, in the narrower interpretation of the word, he is unmistakably an antagonist to the movement. He is too clear-sighted to accept the foolish representation of character beloved by the sentimental dramatists; his idea of comedy is too strict to welcome the type of plot which they introduced into its realm; his sense of the ridiculous is too lively to let him pass the absurdities or inanities which the sentimental dramatists produced from their combination of plot and character. His gift, par excellence, lies in showing peculiarities of temper in such a light as brings home to the spectator their essential comicality, and for this sentimental drama gives no scope. Its aim is to rouse sympathy and moral satisfaction, both of which are elevated at the expense of laughter. If the writers of sentimental comedy do not

opened his season at the Haymarket. I find his performance in the title role of The Beneficent Merchant (Newport Advertiser, Dist. of the Drama p. 262.)

go as far as declaring a laugh 'monstrous vulgar' with Mrs. Heidelberg, they certainly consider it an inferior emotion. They choose

...With Pity to chastise Delight,
 For Laughter's a distorted Passion, born,
 Of sudden Self-Esteem and sudden Scorn
 Which, when 'tis o'er, the Men in Pleasure Wise,
 Both him that mov'd it and themselves despise:
 While generous Pity of a painted Woe
 Makes us ourselves both more approve and know. (1)

As Goldsmith points out (2), they have left the sphere of true comedy for that of bastard tragedy. To arouse 'Generous Pity of a painted Woe' is a legitimate aim of the dramatist, but not of the comic dramatist. Nevertheless the taste for this class of play was so strong (3) that Colman found himself forced to comply with it, and in consequence he produced the two comedies, The English Merchant and The Man of Business.

A comparison of The English Merchant (4) with its original,

- (1) Epilogue to The Lying Lover (1704)
- (2) A Comparison between Laughing and Sentimental Comedy (Westminster Magazine, 1773)
- (3) Particularly between 1762 and 1767 (Bernbaum, The Drama of Sensibility, p.222)
- (4) D.L. 21.2.1767. Acted 15 times at D.L. in Feb. and Mar. '67 and 3 times at Richmond in the June of that year. It was revived occasionally at C.G. (F. 21.4.69. being for the benefit of Miles) during Colman's management and again in '77 when he opened his season at the Haymarket. I find odd performances as late as F. 28.7.86. at the Haymarket for the benefit of Miss Wells and again M. 14.7.88, M. 4.8.88, M. 18.5.89 (with Ut. Pictura Poesis, 1st performance). After this it seems to disappear from the bills. It was revived at New York in June 1795 with the title The Benevolent Merchant. (Davenport Adams, Dict. of the Drama p.462.)

L'Ecossaise, shows at once the strength and the weakness of Colman's work in this province. All the differences which exist have been caused by a desire either to increase the comic elements at the expense of the sentimental, or to ensure the popularity of the piece with an English audience. With the first end in view he has altered the values of the play in such a way that much of the emotional appeal is lost. His Amelia is certainly a distressed Fair, but she is in a less highly wrought condition than Lindane. The latter, it will be remembered, has fallen in love with Lord Murray, the hereditary enemy of her family, and she has had neither visit nor message from him for three days, a fact which seems to outweigh all her other distresses. She is no sooner restored to her long-lost father by a happy coincidence (1) than she discovers that his one aim is to revenge his wrongs by killing her lover. Her sufferings are increased when she finds that Murray still loves her and that she must leave him. She then has an agitating interview with him, in which with the utmost difficulty she persuades him to keep out of her father's way, and when she has at last got rid of him for a moment, instead of seizing the opportunity to escape with her father she says, Mrs. Micawber-like, 'Malheureux père d'une infortunée! je ne vous abandonnerai jamais: cependant daignez souffrir que je reste encore.' The delay is sufficient to let Murray come back, Lindane is further harassed by expecting to see one of the

(1) Voltaire deserves credit for the skill with which he has contrived that the coincidence shall be a probable one. Colman might well have followed him in this respect.

two killed before her eyes, but at the crucial moment Lord Murray drops his sword and offers Monroe a parchment containing his pardon with the solemn words: 'Percez mon coeur d'une main, mais de l'autre prenez cet écrit?' The wrongs of a life-time are forgotten, and Monroe celebrates his pardon by allowing the betrothal of his daughter and the son of his hereditary enemy. By discarding the Montague-Capulet theme Colman has lost the opportunity for a highly emotional and popular scene. But is there no element of the ridiculous in Voltaire's climax? A realization of the burlesque possibilities in the situation lies probably at the bottom of Colman's objections to it. Unfortunately, though his instinct in rejecting this scene is sound, the substitutes with which he contents himself are weak. Instead of Lord Murray he creates Lord Falbridge (1), who has become acquainted with Amelia in some way which is not explained, and, believing her to be of low birth, has made dishonourable proposals to her. Colman becomes as nearly sententious as he ever is in connection with the attempt on Amelia's virtue.(2). Falbridge shows the

(1) The name occurs in *L'Ecossaise*, but is transferred from the original of Lord Brumpton to Murray,

(2) Dr. Wks. ll. p.77. Amelia: 'Your excuse is but an aggravation of the crime. You imagined me, perhaps, to be of as low and mean an origin, as you thought me poor and unhappy. You supposed that I had no title to any dowry but my honour, no dependance but on my virtue; and yet you attempted to rob me of that virtue, which was the only jewel that could raise the meanness of my birth or support me under my misfortunes; which instead of relieving you chose to make the pandar to your vile inclinations.'
In Goldsmith's words 'There is no doubt but all the ladies will cry and all the gentlemen applaud.'

sincerity of his repentance by trying to procure a pardon for Sir William Douglas (1) but he does not succeed even in this, and the play closes tamely by his winning Amelia only through the good offices of the English Merchant, Mr. Freeport.

The diminution in the distresses of the heroine makes the greatest difference in the emotional appeal of the play. Further changes which have the same effect are the additional comic characters and comic scenes. Lady Alton, though still melodramatic, has become to some degree laughable by being represented as a blue-stocking and being thus set up as a butt for satire. In the original she is a woman scorned but here she thinks herself a tenth Muse (2). André has been transmuted into La France, a rascally comic servant, also a traditional laughing-stock; more action is provided by the comic scene of the enforced confession of La France and Spatter to Falbridge (3). Fabrice, the soft-hearted landlord of the café, has become Mrs. Goodman, in whose mouth the devout praises of Amelia's virtues in tribulation sound less exaggerated than if they were

- (1) L. Fal. 'And now, good heaven! that art the protection of innocence, second my endeavours! enable me to repair the affront I have offered to injured virtue and let me relieve the unhappy from their distresses!' (Dr. Wks. 11. p.83.)
- (2) Cf. 11.1. (Dr. Wks. 11. p.27.)
- (3) VI.V. (" " p.86 et seq.)

uttered by a man (1). Finally the importance given to Freeport at the expense of Falbridge is intended to diminish the sentimental motive. Colman is making an effort to steer the play into the paths of the comedy of humours. Freeport's humour is crusty benevolence.

This very humour shows the uncertainty with which he is writing. He is quite plainly trying to keep the play comic and to weaken its sentimentalism wherever he can, yet the humour he chooses is one which lends itself with peculiar ease to sentimental treatment and the figure from which the comedy takes its name is a sentimentalist. Benevolence is one of the favourite themes of the drama of sensibility (2); it gives both the hero and the audience ample room and verge enough for 'relishing the luxury of compassion.' Freeport is a thorough benevolist. His sympathies are enlisted by Mrs. Goodman's report of Amelia's virtue and distresses, a short conversation

- (1) When Mrs. Goodman says her heart bleeds for Amelia (ll. 2.) the expression does not jar; but that Fabrice should say, 'Le coeur me saigne: son état et son vertu me pénètrent l'âme,' and still more, 'Elle m'arrache quelquefois des larmes d'admiration et de tendresse (Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire, vol. IV Paris 1877, pp. 446 and 440), seems to an English audience either a confession of unmanly sentimentality or hypocrisy. Even an eighteenth century audience, prone as it was to weeping, must have boggled at these instances, and at Fabrice's description of Monrose's and Lindane's preparations for departure: 'Mademoiselle pleurait et ce monsieur pleurait aussi, et ils partent ensemble. Je pleuve aussi en vous parlant!' Comédie larmoyante in truth!
- (2) Cf. Sir Patrick Worthy in Irish Hospitality, an extreme example, Mr. Drummond in The Runaway, and many others.

with her serves to convince him of her worthiness, and he presents her with £200. Her arrest as a suspected person gives him an opportunity to go bail for her, although he has recognized her father as the proscribed Sir William Douglas. He offers him money to help in his escape; the offer and its refusal are all in the best sentimental style, with a dash of the Terentian:

Sir W. No, thoux truest friend I have no need of it.
With what wonderful goodness have you acted toward
me and my unhappy family.!

Free. Wonderful! why wonderful? Would not you have done
the same, if you had been in my place?

Sir.W. I hope I should.

Free. Well, then, where is the wonder of it? Come, come,
let us see you make ready for your departure.

Sir W. Thou best of men!

Free. Best of men? Heaven forbid! I have done no more
than my duty to you. I am a man myself, and am
bound to be a friend to all mankind, you know.(1).

Finally, having procured Douglas's pardon, he manages to unite Amelia to the man of her choice, although he confesses that he has had hopes of winning her for himself. Although Colman begins by representing him in a comical light (x) he insensibly drifts into

(1) III. 2. (Dr. Wks. II. p.63)

(x) Cf. the whole of his first scene with Mrs. Goodman. (Dr.Wks.II. p.35-37.)

making him the kind of figure beloved by the sentimentalists.

Another concession to sentimentalism is the presence of the faithful retainer, Owen, a figure who does not appear in the original. He is generally referred to as Old Trusty or Old Honesty, appellations which are sufficient to indicate his character. He has a numerous progeny in early 19th century drama; their patron saint is Faithful John of Grimm's Fairy Tales, who bound his heart with bands of iron to prevent it from breaking at his master's misfortunes and finally burst them with joy when success at last comes to him.

Even with such an addition as Owen the English comedy is less sentimental than the French. This is due partly, as has been shown, to Colman's own predilection for laughing comedy, and partly to a desire to make the play popular with English spectators. Because Audiences are already beginning to grow weary of crying at comedies(1) although they still enjoy distressful predicaments, Amelia is made less lachrymose than Lindane, who is a second Niobe (2); the action is increased by an extra scene between Lady Alton and Spatter, another between La France, Spatter and Falbridge, and by the second

(1) Cf. School for Wives. (1773)

(2) It is noticeable that Colman has nothing in place of the sacrificed ll. 7 with its lament, 'Milord ne m'aime plus; il m'abandonne depuis trois jours,' and Lindane's pathetic fainting fit.

arrest, because, as Voltaire himself says, 'en Angleterre ... on veut beaucoup d'action, beaucoup d'intérêt, beaucoup d'allées et de venues;' (1) and the character of Freeport is made more prominent. That Voltaire's representation of Freeport would appeal strongly to the English goes without saying. The cult of eccentricity is coming into fashion: my Uncle Toby, ugly and odd and soft-hearted, is in his hey-day; to have 'a cursed grim Phiz' is a recommendation rather than otherwise. (Colman has unaccountably omitted this comic attribute). To think that others have seen us as we like to see ourselves is the subtlest and most disarming flattery. No wonder that 'Lessing nous apprend que les Anglais furent très flattés de cette figure,' (2) and that Colman selected this comedy to translate.

Opinions of the play vary. Voltaire's remark 'Vous avez fureusement embelli l'Ecossaise' (x) is equivocal. Genest and Biographia Dramatica both praise it: Genest calls it a very good comedy and adds that Colman has improved the play in many points. Biographia Dramatica also comments favourably on it and expresses the opinion that though it was well received its success would have been greater if a more suitable actor could have been found for

(1) Cf. footnote to 1.6 (Op. cit. p. 434)

(2) A further element of popularity lies in the fact that the play compliments the city. The feeling of The Dignity of the Commercial Character (the title of an essay in The British Magazine for 1772) was becoming very strong.

(x) Peake 1. p.221.

Freeport (1). Davies also calls it a very successful comedy, and adds an interesting note on the opinions of the actors, who expected it to be condemned: "Two principal players were greatly disappointed in meeting with the applauses when they expected the hisses of the audience;" (2a).

The Theatrical Campaign for 1766 and 1767 on the other hand censures the title (3) and the inconsistency of Freeport's character, and attributes its success to the weakness of all the other new plays of the season. Peake (4) says, 'The play was more praised than followed;' Colman the Younger calls it 'a milk-and-water, though pretty, Comedy (5). Modern criticism is for the most part favourable. Prof. Bernbaum (6) although he laments that Colman was too set in his English ways to adopt the superior French methods and calls his modifications 'deplorable', admits that 'Enough of the original work remained to make The English Merchant equal in

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- (1) Yates, who was a comedian, played the part. B.D. suggests that it would have been better in the hands of someone like Quin, who would have given it weight.
- (2a) ~~Davies~~ ^{Davies} Life of Garrick 11. p.104.
- (3) The author proposes The Villain as a more appropriate title on the grounds that Spatter is a more important character than Freeport - a weak criticism.
- (4) Memoirs of the Colman Family 1. p.192
- (5) Random Records 1. p.240 He attributes the lack of success at the Hay, for the first few weeks of Colman's management there to the choice of this play and Lilliput, both old pieces, for opening the season.
- (6) Drama of Sensibility p.221.

(1) Hist. of late 18th C. Drama, p. 140, 141.

(2) Sir William plainly does not remember Freeport at all.

(3) Voltaire's Op.cit. p.486.

merit to most of the sentimental comedies of the period.' Prof. Nicoll (1) considers it 'one of the most representative sentimental dramas of the age.'

While The English Merchant lacks the comprehension of delicate emotions which is the chief contribution of the French dramatists to sentimental comedy, and which makes sporadic appearances in English in such plays as The School for Lovers and False Delicacy and is particularly well reproduced in The Married Philosopher, it can certainly claim to be representative of the best features in English sentimental comedy. Its plot, in spite of the weakness which results from the depiction of Falbridge, is good: Colman is always at his best in handling a theme which is ready made for him. The story moves easily and logically to its dénouement, although it must be admitted that here, as in most sentimental comedies, we are living in the realms of happy coincidence. There is no other reason why Sir William Douglas should arrive at the very lodging house which shelters his long-lost daughter, or why Freeport should happen to recognise Sir William (2) or to know 'honest Jack Brumpton of Liverpoole' who is fortunately the successor to Sir William's patron. 'C'est un rien;' says Voltaire in explaining why Lindane and Monroe have both come to Fabrice's café, 'mais ce rien est beaucoup.' (3). In the same way these trifles are all worth

(1) Hist. of Late 18th C. Drama. p. 140, 141.

(2) Sir William plainly does not remember Freeport at all.

(3) Voltaire's Op.cit. p.426.

considering. Such happy coincidences are commonplaces of the sentimentalists from the time that Sealand recognizes Indiana's bracelet to the meeting of Mrs. Haller and the stranger or later still. The characterization is on the whole stronger than is generally found in sentimental comedies. Amelia has a flash of spirit which recalls Harriot Russet in similar circumstances (1). Molly is credible, though slightly drawn; Mrs. Goodman, though rather too good for human nature's daily food (2), carries conviction in her attempts to get rid of her unwelcome lodger Spatter (3), and also in the half-proud, half-apologetic way she shows off Freeport as if she had a proprietary interest in his oddities (4). Spatter is very well drawn: his effrontery and the transition from cringing submission to shamelessness (5) stand out in the memory more prominently than any characteristic of Frélon. He does not fade out from the play as unsatisfactorily as Frélon. Voltaire acknowledges that this is an improvement: 'Vous avez fait ce que je n'ai osé faire; vous punissez votre Frélon à la fin de la comédie. J'avais quelque répugnance à faire paraître plus longtemps ce polisson sur

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- (1) Dr. Wks. ll. p.75. Cf. The Jealous Wife. Dr. Wks l. pl12.
 (2) Colman has nothing so acute in her portrait as the struggle in Fabrice's mind between the evidence against his lodger and his belief in her integrity. (L'Ecossaise ll. 4)
 (3) Dr. Wks. ll. p.69. cf.p.12.
 (4) Dr. Wks. ll. p.45, 61.
 (5) Dr. Wks. ll. pp. 86-90.

le theatre; mais vous êtes un meilleur sherif que moi; vous voulez que justice soit rendue; et vous avez raison! Perhaps the fact that Colman had (or seems to have had) no individual in view when he created Spatter (1) freed him from the constraints which voltaire felt in drawing from a known figure (2); perhaps his satirical vision, freed for the moment from the rose-coloured glasses of sentimentalism, was naturally keener than Voltaire's; in any case here he has improved on his original. The Grub-Street scandal-monger was a real public nuisance and a legitimate object of satire. Innumerable pamphlets and paragraphs in contemporary newspapers testify to the activities of the breed, and as Voltaire says (3), 'Il est bon de nettoier quelquefois le temple des muses de ses araignées.'

(The same paragraph)

It is tempting to attribute the superiority of Spatter's portrait over Lady Alton's to the fact both Colman and Voltaire were painting from real life. Lady Alton remains a puppet throughout the play. She has many counterparts (4) in sentimental comedy, a soil in which pure villainy flourishes. Douglas and Owan are also growths of that soil. Freeport however is not of pure breed;

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- (1) Peake says that Kenrick took the character as an attack on him. (Cf. Poetical Epistle to George Colman Esquire.) There is no proof that this was so. Murphy (Life of ^{Garrick} 11.p43) says 'Whether he intended a personal satire was never known.'
- (2) Cf. Peake l. p.221. Voltaire knew about Fréron if he was not personally acquainted with him.
- (3) Loc. cit.
- (4) Cf. Lady Rusport.

as we have already suggested, he derives to some extent from the comedy of humours. Owing to this strain in his pedigree he is at once sturdier than Voltaire's Freeport and more typically English. 'There is more of humour in our English comic writers than in any other,' says Congreve (1). 'I do not at all wonder at it, for I look upon humour to be almost of English growth; at least, it does not seem to have found such increase on any other soil.... A man that has a humour is under no restraint or fear of giving it vent; they have a proverb among them which, may be, will show the bent and genius of the people as well as a longer discourse, 'He that will have a Maypole shall have a Maypole.' This is a maxim with them, and their practice is agreeable to it.' Voltaire has shown Freeport without fear or restraint of giving his humour vent; Colman, transplanting him to the soil on which humour finds its greatest increase, makes him the chief figure in the play and by so doing makes the tone more strongly comic and less sentimental. The most significant change in The English Merchant, significant in the light it throws on the artistic aims of the two authors and the indulgence shown to oddity (He that will have a Maypole shall have a Maypole) comes in the crisis of the play, the rescue of Sir William Douglas. Here is Voltaire's version:

Lord Murray (toujours au fond du théâtre, à Monrose)

Vous êtes le père de cette respectable personne, n'est-il pas vrai?

(1) A Letter to Mr. Dennis concerning Humour in Comedy, p.513 (Works of Congreve Vol.111. Birmingham 1761.)

- Lindane: Je me meurs.
- Monrose: Oui, puis que tu le sais, je ne le désavoue pas.
Viens, fils cruel d'un père cruel, achève de te baigner dans mon sang.
- Fabrice: Monsieur, encore une fois
- Murray: Ne l'arrêtez pas, j'ai de quoi le désarmer
(il tire son épée)
- Lindane (entre les bras de Polly): Cruel! Vous oseriez!
- Murray: Oui, j'ose ... Père de la vertueuse Lindane, je suis
le fils de votre ennemi (Il jette son épée)
C'est ainsi que je me bats contre vous.
- Freeport: ^{En} Sa voici bien d'une autre!
- Murray: Percez mon coeur d'une main; mais de l'autre prenez
cet écrit, lisez, et connaissez-moi. (Il lui donne le rouleau.)
- Monrose: Que vois-je? Ma grâce! le rétablissement de ma maison!
O ciel! et c'est à vous, c'est à vous, Murray, que je
dois tout? Ah, mon bienfaiteur! (il veut se jeter
à ses pieds) Vous triomphez de moi plus que j'étais
tombé sous vos coups!
- Lindane: Ah, que je suis heureuse! Mon amant est digne de moi(1).

(1) L'Ecossaise V. 6.

Now Colman's:

Freeport: Heyday! what now! The officers here again! I thought we had satisfied you this morning. What is the meaning of all this?

Officer: This will inform you, Sir. (giving the warrant.)

Freeport: How's this? Let me see! (reading) This is to require you - um, um, - the bodies of William Ford and Amelia Walton - um, um, - suspected persons - um, um, - Well, well! I see what this is: but you will accept of bail, Sir!

Officer: No, Sir; this case is not bailable, and we have already been reprimanded for taking your recognisance this morning.

Sir Will: Thou good man! I shall ever retain the most lively sense of your behaviour; but your kind endeavours to preserve the poor remainder of my proscribed life are in vain. We ^{must} submit to our destiny. (All going).

Freeport: Hold! hold! one word, I beseech you, Sir! (to the officer) a minute or two will make no difference. Bail then, it seems, will not do, Sir?

Officer: No, Sir.

Freeport: Well, well; then I have something here that will, perhaps. (Feeling in his pocket).

Falbridge: How!

L. Alton: What does he mean?

Freeport: No, it is not there - It is in t'other pocket, I believe. Here, Sir William (producing a parchment) Ask the gentleman 'if that will not do. - But first of all, read it yourself and let us hear how you like the contents.

Sir. Will: What do I see! (Opening and perusing it.) My pardon! the full and free pardon of my offences! Oh heaven! and it is to you then, to you, Sir, that I owe all this? - Thus, thus let me shew my gratitude to my benefactor! (Falling at his feet).

Freeport: Get up, get up, Sir William! Thank heaven and the most gracious of monarchs. You have very little obligation to me, I promise you.

Amelia: My father restored! Then I am the happiest of women. (1).

Even if Freeport and not Murray had procured Monrose's pardon Voltaire would never have shown him hunting through his pockets for the parchment, or making light of Monrose's obligations to him. We must do as Colman asks, pronounce Freeport and the play "English stuff and let it pass!" (2).

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(1) Dr. Wks. 11. p.94-95.

(2) Prologue to The English Merchant. For contemporary criticisms see The London Chronicle, 1. 24.2.67. Lloyds Eng. Post, 25.2.67. and The Gazetteer, 24.2.67. All are fair estimates of the play's qualities.

If 'the pattern' and 'the raw materials too' of The English Merchant (1) are imported, the same thing is true of The Man of Business.

'His play to-night, like all he ever wrote
Is pie-ball'd, piec'd and patch'd, like Joseph's coat;
Made up of shreds from Plantus and Corneille,
Terence, Molière, Voltaire and Marmontel; (2)

The borrowings are in fact less extensive than the prologue suggests. The Dedication acknowledges his true debts, to Plantus, from whose Trinummus the excellent comic scene between Tropick and Golding is copied, to Terence for the idea of Golding's concealed marriage, and to L'Ecole des Pères of Marmontel for the idea of reforming a young spendthrift by the pretence of ruin. (3) The Deux Amis of Beaumarchais and The Man of Business also have certain features in common but as Colman says, 'The traces of them in this comedy are so little apparent, that if I did not thus acknowledge the sources from which I have drawn, I question if the ingenious author himself would be able to claim his own property.' (4).

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- (1) C.G. 29 Jan. 1774. Performed 9 times this season and not revived.
 - (2) Prologue.
 - (3) Further details borrowed from Marmontel include the influence of the heroine in reforming the prodigal, his desertion by his false friends and his mistress and the selling up of his house and horses.
 - (4) Dedication. The only apparent resemblances lie in the use of trust-moneys to save a friend and in the concealed birth of the heroine. Although Les Deux Amis is much more emotional than The Man of Business, Pauline, the heroine, is less sentimental than Lydia.

A hint for the character of Beverley may have come From Mrs. Griffith's The Double Mistake (1766). When the Elder Freeman says 'These flights would be ridiculous even in a man of fortune, brother, but from you they appear contemptible. You were bred to business, Harry, and a man who acts properly in the station of life he was born to, is a much more estimable character than a coxcomb, assuming the airs of a man of quality without breeding or fortune to support them,' we seem to hear Fable upon Beverley. (^(a) Double Mistake II. 4.)

These shreds and patches are put together with great skill. The situation from the Phormio is certainly weakened; an earlier marriage which is concealed for no better reason than a fear of offending the second wife suggests much ado about nothing; but the sudden turn of events which reveals that the seemingly respectable banker is a man who leads a double life (though a very harmless one) is in the true comic spirit.

Notwithstanding several comic features (1) the play is unmistakably a sentimental comedy (2). Prof. Bernbaum (3) considers

(a) The Double Mistake II. 4.

(1) (x) Including the wholly satirical picture of Mrs. Golding.

(2) Prof. Bernbaum himself points out (p.201) that nearly all sentimental comedies contain at least a few comic scenes.

(3) Drama of Sensibility p.250.

(4) In spite of Fable's saying... in part (II.11)

it a true comedy, 'a satirical portrayal of a young banker who neglects his affairs and an old one who is a hypocrite.' If by the old one who is a hypocrite he means Golding, that portrait is admittedly satirical; if it is Fable there has surely been a misreading, as in the case of Beverley. The play's first title was The White Lyar (1), which, in view of Fable's description of his white lie (f. 12. p. 163) ^(1a) sounds like an extenuation of the offence, and Fable's last speech shows plainly enough that Colman is dealing with him in the sentimental manner. (2): 'The least deviation from the straight path is attended with difficulties; and though I have always meant honestly and thought I acted uprightly, I have had ample reason to experience the convenience and necessity, as well as the beauty, of Truth.' True comedy does not let off the hypocrite so lightly or permit him to read the moral of his misdoings in this way. The predicaments into which he brings himself are shown in a sympathetic, not a satirical, light. As for Beverley, he is a stock sentimental hero. His heart is excellent but his understanding weak; (3) his errors, we are asked to believe, arise

(1) Cf. St. James's Mag. Feb. 1774 pp. 16 et seq.

(1a) Dr. Wks. II. p. 163.

(2) Cf. also his earlier speech (Dr. Wks 11. p. 185) 'The most pious frauds are at least ambiguous; and I feel it as the most cruel necessity to be driven to indirect means, even for the most generous purposes. - But I have entangled myself by one crooked action, and I must endeavour to redeem all by another.'

(3) In spite of Fable's saying it is good (p. 124).

from the amiable excesses of a gay nature, not from any innate vice,(1) and he reforms and is thereby reconciled to the heroine whom he has long loved and whom misfortune has taught him to value at her true worth. This is a sentimental, not a comic, presentation. Further sentimental features are the moral heroine,(2) the large store of sententious remarks, and the deep-dyed villain who hides his machinations under a mask of friendship. The proportion of sentimental themes to comic leaves no doubt as to the category in which this play must be included.

Of all Colman's regular comedies The Man of Business is the weakest. Its failure may be attributed to three main causes: Colman never works at his best when he has to keep his comic proclivities in check; the plot is too involved for the spectator to be able to follow it easily at one hearing; ^{and} the characterization is weak. Of his love for true comedy nothing more need be said here. The lack of success in plot construction arises from the number of complications which he introduces. The actual development of the theme is not at fault. Fable pretends that the bank

(1) Bev. ... 'I had youth to plead in excuse for my vanities; and I flatter myself that time and reflection - and another motive that distracts me when I think of it - might have rendered me an object less unworthy your compassion.'

(2) Cf. her remark to Denier, 'Grave as I may seem, Sir, I would not wish to appear a prude; and I scorn all coquetry' (p.174), and the solemnity with which she improves upon Beverley's confession. Gone are the days of lovers who came like the devil, all flames and darts, and ladies who received declarations of love with the exclamation 'As I live the Man's really in love! He talks Nonsense.'

is ruined to check Beverley in his course of gambling and extravagance; his device proving successful, he sets round a report that its credit is re-established by the arrival of considerable remittances from Golding, the partner abroad. No sooner has he done this than he finds that it is truly on the verge of ruin owing to Beverley's gambling in stocks. To save the situation he uses Lydia's trust money. Golding's unexpected arrival and his own arrest at the instance of Denier bring about the final explanation. Here is nothing illogical. But the story is involved by the additions which Colman makes to the main theme. Denier makes love to Lydia but she refuses him; he makes arrangements for the arrest of Golding in order to get 'an exclusive lien upon his effects;' Fable is arrested by mistake and when Denier is threatened with an action for false imprisonment he betrays Golding's secret to Mrs. Golding and thus the mystery of Lydia's birth is revealed. Further complications are the interviews between Beverley, who still thinks he is ruined, and various acquaintances, his gambling friends and the broker, who have heard that the rumour is false (1). These are supposed to amuse the audience by showing 'how awkwardly he receives the civilities which are paid to him in consequence of this report while, unconscious of the cause, he expects (according to the way of the world) nothing but

(1) Dr. Wks. 11. p.167-172.

slights and reproofs,' (1) but they serve only to confuse the plot. The spectator's bewilderment is increased by the number of business terms and transactions which are alluded to and which in Stalky's phrase, are too 'filthy technical' for the uninitiated to follow easily. Even when they are understood they are of no general interest. Furthermore the characters are not sufficiently life-like to stir that attention which the plot has not been able to hold. Denier has not one good quality to awaken our interest. A Pecksniff in hypocrisy and a Machiavelli in villainy, he is neither amusing nor convincing. The fact that Beverley alone does not see through him is an extra proof, if any be needed, of the hero's weakness of intellect. Fable too is an exaggeration. As with Beverley, his heart rules his head. There is no other explanation in real life (in sentimental comedy we know motives are different) why a business man should take such a ^{risky} course as to imperil the credit of a bank as well as his own reputation as an honest man for the purpose of reclaiming a spendthrift. (2). Nor can we believe that Beverley's declaration of repentance would satisfy him so thoroughly that he would immediately contradict the rumour without seeing whether Beverley would be as good as his word. It does not seem to strike him that a fine resolution costs

(1) Dr. Wks. ll. p.164.

(2) In Marmontel the absurdity is slightly less glaring: it is only a private business which is reported to be ruined, not a public concern like a bank.

nothing to make but a good deal to keep. However, to examine the motives and actions of the characters in a sentimental comedy by the cold light of common sense is to put them to a test which they were never meant to stand. 'Tis the beauty of all polite diversions not to put people upon the drudgery of thinking,' and in this respect sentimental comedy is eminently polite. As long as plenty of action and "a feast for the heart" were provided the audience was satisfied. The first at least The Man of Business supplies.

The dialogue, which the St. James's Magazine condemns as 'everywhere commonplace,' is better than the average in this genre. It is true that as Mrs. Inchbald says of The Clandestine Marriage it contains neither wit nor humour (x), and that in places it suffers from the stilted phraseology which is the curse of the sentimentalists and which seems inevitably to follow unnatural action. When Beverley says, 'Modest, amiable Lydia! When you avow esteem let me presume to construe it affection! Oh, Lydia, you have made me fond of my misfortunes. Ease and affluence corrupted me, and had so weakened and enervated my mind, that the rough stroke of adversity would have stunned me beyond the power of recovery, had not your gentle hand raised me to the hope of happiness. Take your pupil, Lydia, and render him - for you only

(x) ^{revert to Fable's contention that Beverley has a good heart and a good understanding,} With the exception of Check's 'I wish he would make less use of his heart and more of his understanding.' (p.124).

can effect it - oh, render him worthy of so dear, so exquisite a mistress!" (1). and Fable, 'Pitiable! And what part of your conduct, Sir, has entitled you to compassion? - To that compassion, which the characteristic humanity of this nation has ever shewn to the unfortunate? - sometimes indeed to the imprudent? - Have you, Sir, any claim to this? You who have so grossly abused the mutual confidence between man and man, and betrayed the important trust reposed in you.' (2) - in these and like sayings we recognize the tones of the Sentimental Muse. Denier's soliloquy (3) and Fable's long explanatory speech to Mrs. Golding (4) are both inartistic touches. In spite of these blemishes the dialogue is on the whole easy and natural and maintains a better level than that of The English Merchant.

The best scenes in the play are those in which Tropick appears. The opening of the first meeting between him and Fable is really amusing in its depiction of Fable's friendly interest in all his concerns and Tropick's efforts to stop them and to give utterance to his indignation with Fable for his business dealings (5). Even better is the sustained comedy of the interview between Tropick and Golding. (6). The idea is not original, but the use that is

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- (1) Dr. Wks. 11. p.157-8.
 (2) " " " p.180,181.
 (3) " " " p.175.
 (4) " " " p.119 (~~retort to Fable's contention that Beverley has a good heart and a good understanding.~~)
 (5) Dr. Wks. 11. p.159.
 (6) " " " p.189-192.

made of it is so admirable and it is fitted so neatly into **its** setting that Colman must be given great credit for it. It affords the heartiest and most spontaneous laugh in the whole play. Tropick's later confusion on meeting Golding again is also a humorous touch, more so than his uncertainty what to believe of old Fable as fresh complications in that gentleman's behaviour come to light (1). Another scene which is entirely unsentimental, and in which Colman accordingly shows to advantage, is the conversation between Handy and Mrs. Flounce after they have heard that the Goldings are ruined (2). Their attitude towards 'these trumpery merchant people,' 'old worn-out bits of beggar's tape that binds the hem of quality' reminds us faintly of Brush's towards the Sterlings.

The play was never particularly successful. Foote, with his usual lack of good manners, told Colman it would make anyone yawn for a month. The reviews were divided: some were quite laudatory(3),

(1) Dr. Wks. 11. p. 208-9.

(2) " " " " 186 Contrast Mrs. Flounce with Amelia's Molly, who is an entirely sentimental figure.

(3) Cf. Gazetteer M.31.1.74. and London Chronicle T. 1.2.74. There was evidently an attempt to form a party against the play. Why the Morning Post took the Prologue as a personal attack is not clear.

or definitely unfavourable like the Morning Post Feb. 29. 1. 74. and the St. James's Magazine (1). Genest calls it 'a tolerable Comedy,' Biogr. Dram. accredits it with moderate success but shows its own opinion by the quotation from Gibbon: 'It is a very confused miscellany of several plays and tales; sets out brilliantly enough; but as we advance the plot grows thicker and the wit thinner, till the lucky fall of the curtain preserves us from total chaos.' Walpole read it before going to see it and found it 'so full of modern lore, of rencounters and I know not what, that I scarce comprehended a syllable.' (x). Nevertheless, as English sentimental comedies go it is not altogether bad. Like The English Merchant it avoids extreme emotionalism; it does not pander to the taste for stealing the pitying tear from beauty's eye. Neither of them reaches Rebus's standard of being 'very generous and improbable; and so the audience go away crammed with sentiment and

(1) This suggests that events of the day were responsible for the choice of theme and that definite individuals were satirized. While it is impossible to say with certainty that this was not so, it seems exceedingly unlikely to be true. Colman never descends to personalities in any of his other comedies and there is no reputable tradition that he did so here. Mention would have been sure to be made of such a piquant fact in some of the many theatrical memoirs. The review goes on to revive the ancient cry that the comedy is objectionable because it is low.

(x) Letters (Toynbee) VIII p.426. Feb. 19, 1774.

and highly delighted with so pathetic a piece.' (1).

(The same
paragraph)

Compared with The Road to Ruin, The Man of Business is a model of probability; by the side of The Deserted Daughter, The English Merchant is sweetly reasonable and wonderfully restrained. Our disappointment with them rises not from their failure as sentimental comedies but from our knowledge of how much better Colman can write when he keeps to true comedy.

1. (111) Farce.

Colman's attacks on the drama of sensibility and the general sentimental tendencies of the day were continued in his farces. As Professor Nicoll has pointed out (1), the true comic laughter which was largely banned on the stage in comedy found a natural and vigorous outlet in farce, and while this younger brother of the theatre achieved no great artistic distinction it served a very useful purpose in keeping alive the audience's delight in something other than 'weeping at comedy'. Its popularity and its value must not be overlooked.

Colman's first theatrical attempt was a farce, the 'dramatick

(1) History of Late 18th Century Drama p.189.

novel,' (1) Polly Honeycombe (2). This is a direct attack on sentimentalism and the false view of life which a young girl may derive from too much reading of novels. The presentation of the subject is not without skill, ~~and~~ Polly is shown as a romantic girl

(1) Farces appear under a variety of name, two-act comedies, dramatic novels, etc.

(2) Genest. D.L. 5/12/60, Merope with (never acted) Polly Honeycombe (he gives the cast as Colman printed it in the Dram. Wks. 1777) 31/12/60. for the Author of the Farce, Every Man in his Humour, with Polly Honeycombe, 8th time. 23/1/61 by command, 25/3/61 Mrs. Pritchard's bft, Jealous Wife and Polly Honeycombe, 28/4/61, Don Carlos and Polly Honeycombe bft. Noverre and Miss Pope, 23/12/61, 15/11/62 with alterations, 14/10/62 C.G. never acted there (Honeycombe - Shuter, Scribble - Dyer, Ledger - Dunstall, Polly - Miss Elliot, Mrs. Honeycombe - Mrs. Pitt.) The farce seems to have been acted 9 times in 1763-4 (T.24/5/63 at C.G. the rest at D.L., T.10/4/64 being Miss Pope's bft) 11 times in '64-5, all at D.L., and it continues to appear once or twice a season for some years to come, the revivals becoming more frequent, as might be expected, when Colman took over the Haymarket (he produced it 6 times in '77.) The name Honeycombe was taken from the editor of 'The Royal Female Magazine, or Ladies General Repository of Pleasure and Improvement, conducted by Charles Honeycombe Esquire!' Probably one of Lloyd's ventures (Peake l. p.62) Peake also gives an account of the first run of the farce.

under no sensible control. Her father and mother are a doting old couple (1) whose excessive fondness for each other fills Polly's mind with billing and cooing even while she makes fun of them; her nurse, a degenerate descendant of Juliet's, enjoys the flutter of a love affair and has her own ends in view in forwarding the intrigue and flattering ^{Polly's} her sense of her own cleverness, while the 'evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge,' the circulating library, has done its work in exciting her ideas of the joys of intrigue (2). If anything more could be wanted, it is supplied by the presence of Scribble whom she has 'conquered' in one evening by her charms and the unsuitable and unwelcome wooer in the middle-aged business man, Ledger, who gives her in her own eyes the glory of martyrdom (3).

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- (1) Colman had already commented on the ill manners of married couples in showing over-fondness, and particularly the absurdity of such demonstrations of affection between old married couples, in The Connoisseur No.7 (Thurs. 14/3/54)
- (2) The Connoisseur again anticipates this point in No.124 (Th. 10/6/56) a paper which deals among other things with the danger of novel-reading in eroticising the mind of the adolescent.
- (3) Dram. Wks. vol.IV.p.36. 'Locked up! I thought so. Whenever a poor girl refuses to marry any horrid creature, her parents provide for her, then she's to be locked up immediately. Poor Clarissa! poor Sophy Western! I am now going to be treated just as you have been before me!'

In Italian and Colman's,

(4) The full title is too long to quote.

The 'extract from the catalogue of one of our most popular circulating libraries' which is prefixed to the printed play shows the kind of stuff on which Polly and the girls of 1760 were nourished: Agenor and Ismeea, or the War of the Tender Passions; Bubbled Knights or Successful Contrivances, plainly evincing, in 'two Familiar Instances lately transacted in this Metropolis, The Folly and Unreasonableness of Parents laying a Restraint upon their Children's Inclinations in the Affairs of Love and Marriage (1), the Accomplished Rake, or the Modern Fine Gentleman; History of a Fair Greek who was taken out of a Seraglio at Constantinople; Impetuous Lover, ~~or~~ the Guiltless Parricide, showing to what lengths Love may run and the Extreme Folly of Forming Schemes for Futurity; Juvenile Adventures of Miss Kitty Fisher (no doubt an admirable document to fall into a young person's hands;) The Lady's Advocate, or Wit and Beauty a match for Treachery and Inconstancy, containing a series of Gallantries Intrigues and Amours Fortunate and Sinister etc. etc. (a) - these ~~are~~ typical titles from a list of a hundred and fifty. Love and intrigue, it will be noticed, are the only subjects of them all. If the titles alone are not enough to indicate the sort of mental pabulum which they afford, consider

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- (1) The italics are Colman's. and Miss Charlotte Evelyn. (3rd ed. Lond. 1788) Chap. XI. The italics are mine.
- (a) The full title is too long to quote.

for a moment this passage from one of the less rampant novels included in the list, The History of Henry Dumont Esq. and Miss Charlotte Evelyn. It should be explained that Miss Evelyn, 'whose delicacy of disposition had made her a virtuous sacrifice to the nicest rules of modesty and honour' is pressed to marry a man for whom she does not care, and rather than indicate that he is distasteful to her as her affections are already engaged, she determines to submit to the union, though she has always been treated with such kindness that she has no reason to dread her guardian or to believe that he would even contemplate any sacrifice of her inclinations if he knew her to have any. That she may be wronging either him or the unfortunate gentleman she marries does not enter her head. 'The Count's unlimited bounty to my dearest father, conjoin'd with his commands, are notwithstanding my distress, too powerful motives for me to dare to disobey them, and though my soul abhors even the very mention of this alliance, I am resolved to sacrifice my peace to gratitude and duty; I both believe and wish my compliance may end a life I once thought happy; but from the hour I espouse Sir John I shall date its misery to the last moment of my existence.' (1) This false delicacy pushes her into the marriage with Sir John, who fortunately dies

(1) History of Henry Dumont Esq. and Miss Charlotte Evelyn. (3rd ed. Lond. 1756) Chap.XI. The italics are mine.

shortly afterwards and leaves the coast clear for Mr. Dumont and a happy though protracted ending. It may be objected that there is very little in common between this and Sir George Trueman's declaration of love to the fair Emilia or between Polly's behaviour and Miss Evelyn's (1). But they are united by the same mental perversion which puts sound common sense at a discount and substitutes for it this unreal romantic attitude which is the arch-enemy of clear thinking. That there was a great deal of unnatural sensibility abroad at this time is incontrovertible; its presence made the discountenancing of romance all the more important. Polly would be the natural victim of this erotic rubbish: if proof is wanted it is supplied by the type of mentality which to-day revels in the rosy misrepresentations of desert love given by Miss Hull and Miss Kathlyn Rhodes. The half-educated 'flapper' or her equivalent in every age is the person to whom most harm is done by false romance. The burning passion of a handsome sheik is neither better nor worse than Miss Evelyn's sensibility ('When Miss E. received the news she

(1) Possibly Polly feared that Ledger was of sturdier breed than Sir John, or possibly even she could not accept the birth, in the second year of their marriage, of a child 'the very image of Mr. Dumont, which might in the opinion of the censorious, have drawn an imputation on the lady's character had they been together at that time, but they had not seen each other two years before the birth of this infant.' It is passages like this which Colman has in mind when he speaks of 'Common sense in magick chain bound fast.'

fainted away and continued doing so for near the space of an hour') or the love-making of Sir George, who, 'touched at her confusion, gently seized her hand, and softly pressing it to his bosom, where the pulses of his heart beat quick, throbbing with tumultuous passion, in a plaintive tone of voice breathed out, will you not answer me, Emilia?' (1). 'Tender creature!' says Polly. The satirical rogue has chosen his subject well. Polly and her kind were deserving objects of ridicule then as now.

For all the nonsense which she has imbibed and 'a head full of intrigues and contrivances' (2) Polly has plenty of spirit. Like her namesake she is a sad slut. She is not over-awed by her father. She owns her affection for Mr. Scribble and when he threatens to lock her up and give her mother the key she is undismayed.

Polly: Indeed, papa, you need not give my mama so much trouble. I have -

Hon. Get along, I say!

Polly. I have read of such things as ladders of ropes -

Hon. Out of my sight!

Polly. Or of escaping out of the window, by tying the sheets together -

Hon. Hark ye, hussy -

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- (1) Polly Honeycombe l. l. but the idea of the match between a
 (2) 'Here I've got an excellent ink-horn in my pin-cushion; and a case of pens, and some paper, in my fan'. (Dram. Wks. lV. p.39).

Polly: Or of throwing one's self in to the sheet upon a feather bed -

Hon. I'll turn you out of doors -

Polly: Or of being catch'd in a gentleman's arms -

Hon: Zounds, I'll -

Polly: Or of -

Hon: Will you be gone? (Exeunt both talking (1))

Her interview with Ledger shows wit as well as impudence (x). She has the pleasure of her sarcasm, 'A dozen clerks! Prodigious!' to herself, for Ledger misses it entirely, nor does he realize that he is being made fun of when she enquires, 'Is it possible that I can have any charms for Mr. Ledger?' When she does make herself clear to him she enjoys herself prodigiously. She echoes his phrasing:

Polly. Not so fast Sir, not so fast. Right reckoning makes long friends you know, Mr. Ledger!

L: Miss!

P: After so explicit and polite a declaration on your part, you will expect, no doubt, some suitable returns on mine.

L: To be sure, Miss, to be sure: ay, ay, let's examine the per contra.

P: What you have said, Mr. Ledger, has, I take it for granted, been very sincere.

(1) Loc. cit. p.36,37.

(x) It is possible that Colman borrowed an idea for this situation from Steele (Spec. No.220, 12.11.1711). The treatment of course is entirely different, but the idea of the match between a young girl and an elderly man who is 'a man of business and mightily conversant in arithmetic and making calculations' is common to both.

- L: Very sincere, upon my credit, Miss!
- P: For my part then, I must declare, however unwillingly -
- L: Out with it, Miss!
- P: That the passion I entertain for you is equally strong.-
- L: Oh brave!
- P: And that I do with equal or more sincerity
- L: Thank you, Miss, thank you!
- P: Hate and detest -
- L: How! how!
- P: Loath and abhor you!
- L: What! what!
- P: Your sight is shocking to me, your conversation odious and your passion contemptible.
- L: Mighty well, Miss; mighty well!
- P: You are a vile book of arithmetick, a table of pounds shillings and pence; you are uglier than a figure of eight and more tiresome than the multiplication table: There's the sum total.(1).

After he has gone she congratulates herself on her romantic situation, 'This would make an excellent chapter in a new Novel,' and on the vigour of her refusal, 'I have out-topped them all; Miss Howe, Narcissa, Clarinda, Polly Barnes, Sophy Willis and all of them. None of them ever treated an odious fellow with such spirit(2)

(1) Loc. cit. p.32,33.

(2) " " p.34. The italics are mine.

Moreover there is about her a certain shrewdness (she knows all about her mama's cordials and Dr. Julep's draughts) and she is more ingenious than might have been expected from her grand talk(1). Though the conclusion of the play is left ambiguous we feel that there would be hope for Polly if there were anyone to take her in hand and give her a more wholesome mental diet than a series of novels.

The remaining figures are not particularly interesting. Ledger with his 'Change-alley' phraseology is in the humours style; Mrs. Honeycombe, whose propensity for drinking strong waters under the name of cordials had already been satirized in The Connoisseur (2), and her husband are natural though rather exaggerated portraits of manners. Except in Polly's case character is of secondary importance to incident.

The farce is of course slight, and it is marred by the sudden shifting of the attack from Polly's sentimentality to Mrs. Honey-

(1) Cf. her screams on finding Scribble in her room.

(2) No.53, Th. 30. l. 55, which closes with a letter from Timothy Noggan on his wife's 'medicinal' draughts.

combe's dram-drinking as well as by the indeterminate end (1). Nevertheless it has the vigour, the sound common sense and the true comic feeling, that mark the best of Colman's comedies. The energy and enjoyment with which he wrote it convey themselves to the reader, and no doubt even more clearly to the spectator. For a first attempt it deserves high praise (2), and its attribution on its anonymous appearance to Garrick is a compliment to a

(1) Cf. Biog. Dram. IV p.171. Colman defends himself in the Preface to the printed play by saying that he left it indefinite on purpose, and he makes fun of the usual ending, à la mode du Théâtre. 'Polly, having manifested her affection for him, should, to be sure, have been married to Scribble; the the parents should have been thoroughly, though suddenly, appeased by the declared reformation of both. Ledger might, with much propriety, and great probability, have been disposed of to the Nurse; and the whole piece should have been tagged with a couplet or two.' While admitting that the present conclusion is more natural we cannot accept it as artististically successful. Here too Garrick's epilogue is to blame: a hint that Polly is not a born fool would not have come amiss.

(2) Genest speaks of it as a 'very good farce;' Biog. Dram. praises the portrait of the old couple and adds that it 'met with the most amazing success! Some of the credit for this must go to Miss Pope, whose Polly seems to have been universally admired.

An amusing criticism of the 1st performance is given in the London Chron. Dec.6-9, 1760.

beginner's stage-craft (1).

- Alterations*
- (1). Note: Alternatives in the 3rd Edition:-
- Preface. The 1st Edition after the anecdote of the Nobleman of Madrid goes on to give an account of the family of the Lutestrings, to whom his mother goes to buy her mourning on account of the 'late melancholy event which put the whole nation in deep Mourning,' and of the novels which she found the daughters reading. This is omitted in the later editions.
- 1st Edition. p.15 Polly: Lord this is so strange! Besides is it possible Ledger?
- 3rd and 4th Edns. Polly: Is it possible Ledger? (the rest omitted.)
- 1st Edn. p. 18. Ledger: Very fine, Miss know this(Exit.
- 3rd and 4th Add- Ledger: " " " " " " He'll bring you below Par again, I warrant you.
- 1st Edn. p.26. Honeycombe make love to the table.(Exit locking the door). Polly and Scribble then talk: she confesses that she has told her father of their love and he says it was too soon: he meant to escape with her in a chair while he acted as a footman in front. Nurse enters and lets them out. Scene changes to Mrs. Honeycombe's apartment.p.31.
- 3rd and 4th Edns. Honeycombe discovers Scribble disguised: he says he was to take the love-letter to the real Scribble. Honeycombe drives him out and locks Polly up again. Nurse comes and tells Polly that Scribble is waiting with a chair at the street corner and lets her out. Scene changes as before. There is also a slight re-arrangement of speeches in the éclaircissement but of no importance.

Polly Honeycombe was followed by The Musical Lady (1) which was in the first case a part of The Jealous Wife (2). To judge from The Spectator nos. 212 and 216 Colman must have originally intended Mrs. Oakly to have Sophy's musical tastes and Major Oakly to have used this foible to bring his brother to a sense of his ignominious subjection to the lady as Tomm Meggot did Mr. Freeman; But ~~this~~ is only surmise and no certain reconstruction can be made. That the episode was fairly closely worked into The Jealous Wife may be concluded from Garrick's note to Colman 'I cannot ^{cut} ~~set~~ Ye Jealous Wife without yr. Participation' (3). Being a mere 'surplusage', as Murphy calls it, the farce has no great pretensions to merit: it lacks unity and does not contain much action.

As in Polly Honeycombe Colman has found an object of both contemporary and permanent satire. The rivalry between the Italian Opera and the stage had been in progress all the century and the

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- (1) D.L. 6/3/62. According to A Colln. of Material for a Hist. of D.L. it was acted 9 times this season (19/4/62 being bft. of Mr. and Mrs. Davies; 27/4/62 bft. Miss Pope). Genest gives it again 25/9/62 D.L. Winston records 3 perfs. in 62-3 and the seminar papers find 6 performances in '63-'64, all at D.L. (T.3/4/64 being King's bft, M. 9/4/64 Mrs. Palmer's bft), 8 in '64-'65 (W. 24/4/65 at C.G. for the first time). By '66-'67 it has come down to a couple of performances a season. It was revived again at C.G. in '68-'69, being performed there 4 times between June '68 and Jan. 1770 (W.20/12/69 with Rule a Wife for the bft. of The City of London Lying-in-Hospital) and once at D.L. (T.25/10/68 'not presented 2 years'). After this it seems to disappear from the bills.
- (2) Cf. Murphy Life of Garrick 1. p.368.
- (3) Posthumous Letters to F. and G. Colman p.235 (Garrick, on the first night of Polly Honeycombe).

vogue of the singers was a sore point with the actors. Lady Scrape's indignation about the terms offered them and their insolence would no doubt be delivered by the actress with real feeling: 'Mean conditions! Surely, surely, Miss Sophy, a salary of a thousand pounds, with an agreement to provide her a house ready furnished, to keep her a coach, and a French cook and a Romish chaplain into the bargain, are no such despicable offers for one season's performance,' (1) and 'Has not the Caprice more than once affronted the whole town? Has not she disappointed them in the grossest manner and refused to sing even on the opera nights?' (2) — and the point of these references would be instantly felt by the audience. At the same time the folly of pretending to taste, whether in music or in any of the arts, is of universal application and gives a lasting element to the satire (3).

There is even less character-drawing here than in Polly Honeycombe. The penniless law-student interested in anything rather than the law (3a) the hearty old father (4), the colourless friend who helps in the intrigue, might all have come from half-a-dozen other

(1) Dram. Wks. vol 1V. p.77.

(2) Loc. cit. p.79.

(3) Again The Connoisseur has foreshadowed the subject of the farce — cf. nos. 128 and 130 (8/7/56 and 22/8/56).

(3a) Cf. The Temple Beau. Harry Fielding still holds Colman's chin (cf. The Cobbler of Cripplegate.)

(4) Vaguely suggestive of Russet in his violence and the ease with which he passes from threats to admiration of his son's arch roguery.

comedies or farces (1). It contains a few good sayings: for example, the laundress's lament, 'Lack-a-day now, how unluckily matters fall out! I have known the time I could have contrived to have lent you ever so many cloaths and curious linen of some of my other masters ... As for Mr. Barefield, poor gentleman, ... he has but one shirt in the world of his own, and that's marked W.M.', and her regrets for the changed times, 'I have known the day I could have carried things enow from chambers to keep my whole family. But now, if I was to take so much as an end of candle, poor gentleman! he must go to bed in the dark;' (2) and Mask's sarcasm in Sophy 'You hardly ever knew a lady so devoted to her harpsichord but she suffered it to go out of tune after matrimony.' (3). The ^{cheat} feat by which Mask wins the lady's hand and fortune is hardly admirable from the moral point of view, and Sophy's sudden reform is unconvincing, (4)

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- (1) At the same time a typical Colman touch occurs in Mask's speech 'The oddity of it (ie. the courtship) charms me. I hate your Strephons and Chloes, your sentimental lovers, sighing and languishing for two years together.' (loc. cit. p.75-6.)
- (2) Loc. cit. p.77. The whole soliloquy is amusing.
- (3) Cf. Mrs. Elton - also the phrase 'caro sposo'.
- (4) Sophy. 'I must fairly own that this last circumstance mortifies me, and makes me more ashamed of my musical attachment than all the rest. To be duped by Mr. Rosin is too palpable a weakness not to be repented!'

but both are stock theatrical tricks (1) and are not expected to endure any searching scrutiny. The piece is saved by Colman's lively sense of the ridiculous, which shows itself continually but particularly in the trio from Dr. Busby's Westminster Grammar, (Very pretty words and extremely musical') and better still in the absurd proposal -

Mask. 'Fly, oh let us fly, from this Gothick country and take refuge in Italy! and permit your Masquali to attend you as your faithful Cicisbeco.

Sophy. Let me beg, Sir -

M. Take him for your humble Cicerone, to show you the beauties of the place -

S. Pray now -

M. Your Nomenclatore, to introduce you to the virtuosi

S. How can you be so -

M. Take him - I won't shock your ear with the English sound of husband; but what is more soft and tender - take him for your sposo! your caro sposo! (2).

The piece ends on a kindly yet didactic note.

S. Best of husbands indeed! and deny me the enjoyment of music and vertù

(1) In those comedies and farces which are not touched by the sentimental spirit, that is to say. Contrast with Mask's successful effrontery the behaviour of Melissa's lover in The Lying Valet, the only sentimental touch in an otherwise comic production.

(2) p.87-8. James's Chronicle Mar. 6-9 1723, Blonde Evening Post Mar. 5-8 and the London Chronicle Mar. 6-9 1723 are all loud in praise.

The London Spectator also took care, and considers the piece rather thin.

- M. That my dearest Sophy, shall be almost the only thing I will deny you. And you will thank me hereafter for opposing a foible, which eclipsed your good sense, and served only to make you ridiculous (1).

This liveliness added to the piquancy of the contemporary satire gave the farce a greater popularity than it deserved. It was a stock piece for several years and received very favourable criticisms from most quarters. The London Register (2) praises the 'many touches of humour' in the first scene, especially in the character of the laundress (3); and commends the dialogue, which is 'neat, often elegant and always characteristic,' and the characters, which it finds 'naturally imagined and well supported old Mask might certainly have been shown with success through five acts' (x). Biographia Dramatica (4) considers it an improvement on Dolly Honeycombe: 'The characters are all finely drawn; nor are those of Old Mask and even the Laundress less delicately finished than the more important ones of Young Mask and Sophy. The language is lively and sensible, the plot, though simple, sufficiently dramatic (5). Genest calls it a 'very good Comedy in two acts'.

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- (1) Loc. cit. p.103. Mask's final speech 'Give me leave to congratulate you that instead of Signor Masquali you have got honest George Mask' shows that the patriotic note, Old England for ever, which becomes so marked towards the end of the century, is in the drama already.
- (2) London Register for March 1762.
- (3) "Though, by the bye, it lies extremely open to the reprehensions of those critics who condemn everything that is LOW;"
- (x) The St. James's Chronicle Mar. 6-9 1762, Lloyds Evening Post Mar. 5-8 and the London Chronicle Mar. 6-9 1762 are all loud in its praise.
- (4) IV.p.63.
- (5) The London Register disagrees here, and considers the 'fable' rather thin.

A New Theatrical Dictionary (1) also comments on the improvement on Polly Honeycombe and adds, 'Notwithstanding the success of The Jealous Wife the Musical Lady still stands foremost in the point of merit among all Mr. Colman's writings.' On the other hand The Court and City Magazine declares 'An ill-judged approbation arising from the caricatura of the portraits spun it out for a few nights and procured the author a benefit, who was more properly entitled to the contempt of the public,' and condemns the farce on almost every score (2). All the reviews combine in praise of the acting, particularly the Sophy of Miss Pope, who was then still new to the London stage.

The Deuce is in Him (3) is a more ambitious attempt and of greater literary value than any of Colman's farces. The acknowledged sources are the popular Contes Moraux of Marmontel and a letter in the British Magazine. From Le Scrupule on l'Amour mécontent de lui-meme he takes the idea of the lover testing his lady by the pretence of disfigurement by wounds. Lindon, the young fop, goes to war and

(1) p. 196.

(2) It is pretty obvious that an enemy hath done this thing, for the condemnation is unreasonable. For instance, the reviewer finds 'A total barrenness of wit is supplied by indecency; and a conversation of no very delicate nature in some scraps of broken Italian is all the humour it possesses.'

(3) D.L. 4.11.63. acted 23 times in '63-'64 (Th. 10/11/63 with The Stratagem by Command of His Majesty, M. 21.11.63 with Philaster for the Author of the Farce) 13 times in '64-'65 (S. 17/11/64 Tamper - Palmer, 1st time): after this it appears regularly every season for many years to come.

acting on the advice of a jealous friend he writes to Belise that he has lost an eye. She is distracted by the thought of him with a black patch (1), attempts two letters to him but finds herself incapable of writing as she did before, whereupon she tears up both letters and writes a third renouncing him. He writes avowing the fraud; Belise is overcome: 'Allons végéter, disoit-elle, je ne suis bonne qu'à cela.' The rest of the story has nothing to do with The Deuce is in Him. Colman's imitations here are fairly close - the loss of an eye, the black patch, the lady's horror and indecision are all reproduced. Alcibiade ou le Moi contains the conceit of being loved for oneself alone, but there is no further resemblance between Col. Tamper's affairs and the adventures of Alcibiade in the search for a purely disinterested love (2). The British Magazine (3) furnished the outlines of the story of Mlle Florival: the fortunate ending is Colman's own idea, as are her reception by the English ladies and the use made of her by Emily to torment her suspicious lover.

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- (1) Cf. Tamper.
 (2) Slight verbal reminiscences occur in Belford's speeches (Dram. Wks. 1V p.131) when he tells Tamper that Emily loves him for her own sake (Alcibiade, it will be remembered, found each of the women loved him for the satisfaction loving gave him) and again when like Socrates in the story he questions what one's self is.
 (3) Nov. 1762 'Copy of a Letter from a Sea-Officer at Portsmouth to his friend in London, Oct.23, 1762.' A full working out of the changes made by Colman will be found in Willy Thom's thesis 'George Colman the Elder's Komodie, "The Man of Business" and die Farce. "The Deuce is in him" (Kiel 1908)

Colman makes good use of his borrowings (^a), but the best things in the farce are his own. The lively character of Bell is his invention, and also Prattle, one of the first of the so-called 'patter-parts' (1). Colonel Tamper's betrayal is neatly brought about, and the spirited revenge which the three girls take on him is at once a piece of justice and an excellent method of displaying the weaknesses of his temper. Bell is quite right when she says his only motives are either to gratify his inordinate vanity or to reprove Emily with her weakness and infidelity (x). Colman's admiration for vivacious women shows again here. Bell is the wildest and gayest of the three; there is just a suggestion in her of Sally in Man and Wife grown a few years older. She is shrewd and sharp-tongued (2) yet kind-hearted (3), though she is the instigator of the plot against Tamper, and her quick wit devises the idea of using Florival as the instrument of his punishment. She persuades Emily

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- (^a) As Thom points out (loc.cit) he successfully welds the two sets of borrowings into an organic whole.
- (1) This was one of King's most popular roles. Genest has put on record that he poured forth Prattle's gossip exceedingly quickly but with such perfect articulation that not a word of his volubility was lost. The part as written is not particularly brilliant but it gives scope for excellent acting and for the introduction of topical references with propriety.
- (x) At the same time Colman is satirizing in Col. Tamper the sensibility of temperament beloved by the sentimental school (cf. Bernbaum. Drama of Sensibility p.218.)
- (2) Cf. p.120 op.cit.
- (3) Cf.p.117 'A fine soldier indeed! - I can't bear to see a red coat cover anything but a man, sister! ... If I was to have this thing for a husband I would set him at the top of my India cabinet, with the China figures, and bid the maid take care she did not break him!'
- (4) Cf. p.125, 128.

to take part in the counter-plot, she urges her to be 'most intolerable provoking,' she persuades Florival (who confesses that she too has been a mad girl in her time,) to join in the conspiracy, and she sets the ball rolling when Tamper appears by informing him that 'Captain Johnson' is a particular friend of Emily's and is admitted at any time - a hint which she well knows will inflame his jealousy. Emily and Florival support her admirably. Once Emily has plucked up courage to play the trick she throws herself wholeheartedly into it. She knows how to make the punishment fit the crime: the production of the miniature and the unkind comparison of his present appearance with his former good looks hurt his vanity badly. Moreover, the references to his black patch and twisted gait repay him for his insensibility in insisting on his physical mutilations when she has already shown how much upset she felt (a). Even the remark 'Vanity is your blind side' is excusable in view of the selfishness of his reply when she inquires 'Is the sight quite lost?' 'Quite - blind as a mill-horse - blind as a beetle, Emily' (b).

(a) p.128. Emily 'I don't know what I say - I am not well - let me retire.

Tamper When shall we name the happy day? I shall make shift to dance on that occasion - though as Witherington fought, on my stumps, Emily!

(b) p. 127.

Florival's taunt, 'Do you think I would set my strength and skill against a poor blind man and a cripple?' goads him past endurance, and he reveals the truth only to be jeered out of court. The audience has the additional pleasure of seeing through Emily's reproach: "And a mighty proof you have given of your own affection, truly! Instead of returning, after an anxious absence, with joy into my presence, to come home with a low and mean suspicion, with a narrow jealousy of my mind, when the frankness and generosity of my behaviour ought to have engaged you to repose the most unlimited confidence in me." (1). Oh sister, sister! This delightful twist is in the true Restoration spirit. There is more artistry here than in any other of Colman's petites pièces or indeed in the best farces of the time.

The undoubted worth of the piece was universally recognized. The Court & City Magazine (2) writes 'It is but justice to the author to declare our opinion of the merits of his performance, which exceeds that of any other little piece which has made its appearance for many years.' (3). Lord Orville told Evelina that it

(1) Cf. p.142 op.cit. 'This supposed accident began to make strange work with me'

(2) Nov. 1763, p. 545.

(3) The reviewer goes on to say 'The Actors in this little Farce particularly Mr. King and Miss Pope, are above all praise.' Kelly also praises King 'Again in Prattle physically prim (She - the Comic Muse) She steals each look and attitude from him'

was 'the most finished and elegant petite pièce that was ever written in English' (1). Biographia Dramatica (2) speaks favourably, though more on moral than artistic grounds, and even Murphy (3), while hinting that Garrick had had something to do with its success, admits, 'In this piece it may be said that Mr. Colman rose above himself.' The farce was greatly applauded as in truth it deserved, and was for several nights a favourite entertainment.' Mme. Riccoboni pays Garrick the compliment of thinking it is his: 'Un léger soupçon que la dernière (ie. The Deuce is in him) est de vous' nous a rendues plus exactes à suivre l'originale; la pièce est jolie et conduite avec autant de simplicité que de raison.' (4).

With the production of The Deuce is in him in 1763 Colman's powers in farce reached their highest point. He wrote nothing more in this style until 1767 when The Oxonian in Town (5) a Comedy in two Acts, appeared at Covent Garden. 'The Oxonian in Town is an unequal farce. The subject, the adventures of a university student in London, which had already been used by Steele in The Lying Lover (6)

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- (1) *Evelina*, Letter 20. (Everyman's Edn. p.95) This evidently represents the views of Miss Burney's set: the pattern Lord Orville would not be allowed to be guilty of what they would consider an error in judgment.
 - (2) B.D. vol III. p.159 - a most amusing criticism.
 - (3) *Life of Garrick* vol II. p.5.
 - (4) *Garrick Corr.* II. p.557. She remembered Goldsmith's comments and always peppered highly for Garrick.
 - (5) C.G. 7.11.1767. According to the C.G. Newspaper Cuttings in the B.M. it was acted frequently in '68 and '69, after then it practically disappears.
 - (6) Beyond the suggestion of a subject I find no connection between *Careless* and *Young Bookwit*.

and had afforded material for a couple of papers in *The Connoisseur*(1), is handled without great art. The plot fails to carry conviction: the cheats by which *Careless* is taken in are so gross that it is difficult to believe they could ever have been passed upon him, Knowell's acceptance by the confederates has no air of probability, and the catastrophe is brought about by the surrender and repentance of Lucy, who, after offering some resistance when she finds how Knowell has deceived her, suddenly gives in and finally reads *Careless* as moral a lecture as could be desired. The farce begins with a sermon and ends with a sermon. The long soliloquy (2) in which Knowell explains his motives and informs the audience of what has already occurred (3) is a piece of bad technique, and the reward of virtue in *Careless*'s promise that Knowell shall marry his sister Polly, who is never introduced into the play, is another inartistic touch. On the other hand, the Tavern scenes (4) before the dénouement are excellent. The dialogue is managed with boldness and ease

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- (1) *The Connoisseur* Nos. 11 and 41 (the latter dealing particularly with Newmarket and racing) A further reminiscence of *The Connoisseur* occurs in the dialogue (p.176 and *Connoisseur* No. 104)
- (2) *Dram. Wks.* vol 1V p.170.
- (3) The only defence is Puff's 'Fore Gad now that is one of the most ungrateful observations I ever heard! - for the less inducement he has to ell all this the more, I think, you ought to be obliged to him; for I am sure you'd know nothing of the matter without it.'
- (4) *Dram. Wks.* vol 1V pp. 175-179, 180-183, 190-192.

and is strikingly natural. For the time being the characters take on flesh and blood and move before us as living creatures, only too soon to lose the semblance of reality and to become again mere puppets. For a few minutes Colman is at his most powerful and gives us scenes which for nature and vigour are equal to the best in Restoration and post-Restoration comedy.

Apart from the robust energy shewn in these passages the play is not remarkable. Both character-drawing (x) and dialogue are undistinguished. There is some not ill-placed satire on the university (1); Mr. Shuffle's Irishisms are mildly amusing (2); the topical allusions to the new Farce would be appreciated at the time of its production. Colman uses dramatic irony, but without artistry (4), and he also uses a device of which he is rather fond, that of echoing phraseology (5). While this is amusing when used sparingly (6) it becomes irritating if it is repeated. There is too much turning of the tables in The Oxonian in Town. Colman has

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- (x) The character of Lucy breaks particularly badly. She begins well: her impudence and calculation are strikingly depicted; but her repentance, the production of the bond which proves Shark's duplicity, and the final moralizing are in the manner of the worst 19th century melodrama, of the stage stagey.
- (1) Dram. Wks. 1V p.173, 176-7 and the Prologue.
- (2) " " " p.171, 175.
- (3) " " " p. 177 Careless 'Oh, we'll all go to the new Farce. That's the thing. We'll all help to damn it.'
- (4) " " " p.181, 187.
- (5) " " " p. 163 and 191, 186 and 188, 171 and 193.
- (6) Cf. Polly Honeycombe's parody of Ledger's proposal.

made both plot and language so symmetrical that they have become a conventional design.

The play's fortune was curious. "After having been very favourably received the two first nights, a violent (tho' fruitless) attempt was made to prevent its exhibition on the third. The pretence for this intended condemnation of the piece was, that it contained not only personal, but even national, reflections ... The gentlemen of Ireland appeared the foremost in his (ie. the author's) defence" (1). Criticism is for the most part half-hearted. Biographia Dramatica contents itself with chronicling the attempts to drive the play off the boards (2). Genest calls it 'a moderate comedy'. The Town and Country Magazine (a) damns with faint praise: 'Whatever may be said of the execution of this production it must be allowed that the intent of it is truly commendable.' A contemporary pamphlet, 'Animadversions on Mr. Colman's True State etc. with some remarks on his little serious Piece called The Oxonian in Town' (3) attacks it ostensibly on the

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- (1) Dr. Wks. IV. p.157, Colman's advertisement to The Oxonian in Town. The same account is given in Victor, Biog. Dram. and other theatrical records.
- (2) Harris's accusation that Colman filled the house with orders, on the occasion of the performance of one of his own pieces, to 'upwards of £100' (A letter from T. Harris to G. Colman, p.18) and Colman's reply (T. Harris dissected, p.10) that it was in defence of the house itself as a riot was feared, must, I think, refer to The Oxonian.
- (a) 1769, p.591.
- (3) London 1768.

score of immorality (1) but in reality because the author is violently antagonistic to Colman in the managerial disputes (2). This animus makes the criticism worthless. At the time of the production of the farce theatre-goers' minds were already beginning to be so much occupied with the quarrels between the four Kings of Brentford that unbiassed criticism was almost unobtainable from them.

Man and Wife, or the Shakespeare Jubilee (3) was written with a definite commercial purpose. Garrick, who had instigated the Jubilee at Stratford-on-Avon and while paying homage to the immortal memory of Shakespeare had not done his own reputation any

- (1) The author contrasts The Oxonian with the speedy punishment of wickedness in George Barnwell and The Inconstant, and declares that the farce exhibits vice for the pleasure of doing so, is a serious injury to the young, a bad influence on boys in particular, and a grave libel on Oxford. Cf. also The Theatrical Monitor nos. 4, 6 and 7, which censure the farce's morals and conclude 'I am only sorry that the public have reasons to make this remark, that The English Merchant was wrote by a gentleman and The Oxonian by an immoral polluted manager.
- (2) Macklin's objection to Miss Macklin's playing Lucy ('I only requested it as a favour that she might not act the part of a Woman of the Town. I mean the heroine of The Oxonian in Town .. this request I say ... proceeded entirely from my delicacy in not wishing her to appear in a character of that cast' Kirkman vol. 11. p.21.) also rose probably from enmity to Colman. There is nothing objectionable in the part of Lucy, and Genest points out that Miss Macklin had appeared in much more doubtful rôles.
- (3) C.G. 7. 10. 69. Acted 12 times before Xmas '69, T. 10. 10. 69 being the author's night, Th. 19. 10. 69 by command of Their Majesties. T. 21. 11. 69 by Particular Request. I find a stray revival C.G. S.20. 12. 77.

harm, was bringing the Jubilee celebrations to Drury Lane. The popularity of topical shows of this nature (x) was such that the Covent Garden management could not contemplate their own box-office returns with calmness in the face of this attraction at the other house: Colman therefore set his wits to work to provide some counter-attraction (1). He achieved his end rather cleverly. There is a compliment to Garrick which could not fail to win his favour and to disarm criticism to some extent (2); there is a spectacle to satisfy the galleries and to meet Drury Lane on its own ground (3) and the comedy in which the spectacle is inset

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- (x) Cf. at a slightly later date a letter in The London Evening Post (Feb. 13. 1772) relating to the introduction of pageantry and show in The Institution + Installation of the Garter, which attacks both Colman and the critics for supporting this taste but concludes 'Nor do I think the managers wholly to blame, for the Town, like the Frogs in the Fable, have chose their own King.'
- (1) And to provide it before D.L. could produce The Jubilee, according to Genest. (q.v.) He adds that at the end of 1770 there was a representation of the Amphitheatre at Stratford, with a Masquerade, and that at first the play was acted as a historical piece but afterwards as a farce, the prelude and pageant being omitted.
- (2) Prelude: 'As to the Jubilee itself or the design and conduct of it, I cannot consider them as objects of satire,' and the discussion on Garrick's Jubilee Ode - 'The ode can no where be heard to so much advantage as from the mouth of the author' etc.
- (3) The Shakespeare Procession at the end of Act II. - according to Genest, # inferior to the D.L. pageant.

(*) I know of a strong party against it. I can tell you,

I fear no party would be so dull as to raise one against it. The public will suffer no party, no matter, to interrupt its commerce. If I succeed, I shall see my success to their indignance - if I fail,

affords cover for some well deserved satire of the Jubilee celebrations (1).

The play as it is printed consists of a prelude, a conversation between Jenkins, Townly and Dapperwit (i.e. Colman himself), a comedy in three acts, and a pageant. The prelude is full of topical allusions (2), including a reference to the death of Powell (3) and a compliment to the audience (4). This dialogue form of prologue and epilogue appears to have become very popular. Garrick had already used it in the epilogue to The Clandestine Marriage, and had varied it a little in the epilogue to The English Merchant.

He is careful to point out (5) that he has borrowed Sally from Babet in La Fausse Agnès of Destouches. The general scheme of the play owes nothing else to this popular source, but the character of Sally is a close copy of Babet's with M. des Mazures (6) and the scene between her and Marcourt is strongly reminiscent of Babet's

- (1) The opening scene particularly (cf. Dram. Wks. vol 11. p.239, 240). It seems to have been rather a silly affair altogether, and Garrick lost heavily on it. (B.D.) He recouped his losses by the show at D.L.
- (2) One in very bad taste: Jenkins, 'What, in mourning? Another annuity, I suppose, - ha, George?'
- (3) Dap. 'I am in mourning, Sir, for a dear and worthy friend, and a most valuable partner: A man, whose goodness of heart was even superior to his admirable talents in his profession.' Town. Your friend's death was a publick loss, Sir. He was deservedly a favourite of the publick, and is very generally regretted.
- (4) Town. I know of a strong party against it, I can tell you, Sir.
Dapp. I fear no party unless my own dullness raises one against me. The publick will suffer no party, no malice, to interrupt its amusements. If I succeed, I shall owe my success to their indulgence - if I fail, I shall owe it to myself.
- (5) See the Advertisement.
- (6) La Fausse Agnès, lll. 4. pp. 132 et seq.

on two occasions she echoes Babet's very words (1). The other acknowledged source is a paper in The Connoisseur (2) from which some traits of the character of Kitchen are taken. As usual the connection with the essay is striking. Not only ^{is} the character clearly outlined there, but actual phrases are used which Colman incorporated in the play. Thus The Connoisseur speaks of "a person whose whole conversation is, literally speaking, table-talk. His brain seems to be stuffed with an hodge-podge of ideas, consisting of several dishes, which he is perpetually serving up for the entertainment of the company.... I consider this gentleman as a walking larder." Marcourt, describing Kitchen, says, "His conversation is all table-talk, made up of eating and drinking. He is a mere walking larder. His mind is a great pantry, from which he is always serving up some choice dishes for the ~~entertainment~~ entertainment of his friends and acquaintance

(1) Babet. (p.41) Vous allés être mariée. En vérité les ~~am~~ aînées ont un beau privilege de passer comme cela devant leurs cadettes.

Sally (Dram. Wks. II.p.268) Are not you going to be married? Well, you eldest daughters have a fine time of it, to take place of your younger sisters in everything.

Babet (p.131) Oui, oui, je me tirerai bien d'affaire. Quand il s'agit de mentir je ne suis jamais embarrassée

Lettice..... You must tell a little fib or two.

Sally Oh, let me alone! I shall not be at a loss for that, I warrant you.

(2) The Connoisseur, no. 87, 25.9.1755.

acquaintance (1). The hint in The Connoisseur, 'My friend's whole conversation savours of the kitchen', is remembered in most of Kitchen's conversation, and particularly in the criticism of Shakespeare: 'This is a mere hash of foreign criticism ... Shakespeare, Mr. Marcourt - Shakespeare is the turtle of literature. The lean of him may perhaps be worse than the lean of any other meat, but there is a great deal of green fat, which is the most delicious stuff in the world (2).' The discussion on Shakespeare is very typical of the 1760's. Marcourt in his foppery, his good opinion of himself, and his taste for foreign things bears a distant resemblance to Lord Ogleby, and The Clandestine Marriage seems to be faintly recalled again at the end of the play when the bubbled suitors forgive the deception which has been played upon them (3).

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- (1) Dram. Wks. 11. p.247. Cf. also Mrs. Cross, p.256, 'He never mixes with a person of fashion except by chance at Bath, where, he goes to recover his digestion after having over-eat himself,' and The Conn.:(vol. 11. p.80, Ferguson's edn. 1822); and Kitchen p. 248 'I have met with nothing good upon the road since the rolls and trout at Uxbridge. Everywhere else, plague take them, they gave me nothing but cow beef, ram mutton, red veal, stale eggs and white bacon,' and The Conn. p.p. 80, 81.
- (2) Dr. Wks. 11. p. 25.
- (3) Is it straining the point to see in Luke who 'huddles his words one upon another - and drives'em out of his mouth like the liquor out of a narrow-necked bottle' a reminiscence of Prattle? It is quite possible that Colman had in mind King's acting of that part in writing in Luke's, ^{or} that Lewes, who acted it, copied him. It is on record that he took King's part in The Clandestine Marriage in the provinces and that all other Lord Ogleby's copied King (cf. Mrs. Inchbald), and this would seem to add probability to the supposition, especially as imitations were exceedingly popular.

The farce is not badly written, though it is an entertainment of an heterogeneous nature. The bustle of the opening scenes, the quarrels of Cross and his wife (1), and the well-handled intrigue theme are all passable if they do not reach any great height. The strongest point in it is the character of Sally (2), for which, of course, the credit is not Colman's. He deserves praise, however, for the ease and completeness with which he has adapted it to his play. As ever, he makes exceedingly good use of his borrowings and weaves them so neatly into the fabric of his own work that there is no mark to show where the foreign material is inserted - which is after all the final justification of any borrowing. The farce, though it comes below the level of Colman's previous work, is much better than the majority of occasional entertainments. Genest gives it moderate praise. Biographia Dramatica merely says 'Acted with good success.' The St. James's Chronicle (T. Oct. 10, 1769) praises Covent Garden for bringing on a representation of

(1) Admirably acted, according to Genest, by Shuter and Mrs. Green. He praises all the actors in the farce.

(2) This part was played by a mere child. See C.G. Newspaper cuttings, Oct. 6th 1769 'We hear that the young lady who is to appear for the first time on Saturday Next at the Theatre Royal C.G. in the new Comedy of 3 Acts called Man and Wife, or The Shakespeare Jubilee, is no more than eleven years of age.' Cf. also Colman's advertisement to the farce, and St. James's Chron. Oct. 10, 1769.

Malade Imaginaire, however, as he points out, is the Jubilee so soon. The manager 'has acquitted himself very happily, though very hastily. The prelude is extremely new and entertaining; and we were particularly pleased with the delicate Manner in which the Author has contrived to mention Mr. Garrick, Mr. Foote and Mr. Powell. The Bustle and Business of the 1st act is very spirited; the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Cross, though obvious, are well sustained; those of Kitchen and Marcourt are an exact Copy of the Coxcomb and Bon Vivant of the Day The Pageant and Masquerade are with much Address annexed to this Comedy, and have a happy Effect, though they are each capable of, and perhaps will severally receive, many Improvements We cannot dismiss this Article without congratulating the Public on the great Attention which seems to be shown to their Entertainment by the present Managers of Both our Theatres."

Colman's last farce, The Spleen, or Islington Spa (1) is also his poorest. Once again he turns to a French source for inspiration, this time Molière's Malade Imaginaire, and to the ever-useful

(1) D.L. 7.3. 1776, 13. 4. '76, 16. 4. '76, 13. 5. '76. (D.L. Ledgers B.M.) The receipts were good on four of these five nights - £265. 17. 6., £153. 9. 6, £269. 6. 6, £308. 1. 0. On April 4. '76 Colman was paid the Benefit Balance for The Spleen £169. 17. 0. These figures sound encouraging, but see Tate Wilkinson's explanation (n. p.25.)

(2) A favourite theme of Colman's - cf. Mrs. Cross's masquerades (Dr. Wks II p.258) and her remarks to Lettice 'You know I don't if I have not everything in the highest style - if I give you a plate of bread and butter I give it like a person of condition' (Loc. cit. p.282)

The Connaisseur also ridicules this failure frequently.

(3) Op. cit. p. 293.

Connoisseur. The Malade Imaginaire, however, as he points out, is not followed closely. The only ideas he has taken from it are the character of an imaginary invalid and of a woman who disguises herself as a doctor in order to play on his folly (1). The Connoisseur Nos. 41 and 135 (2) and 33 (3) have supplied him with hints for Jack Rubrick and for the shop-keeper in his country retreat, a theme which he had used, though differently, in The Clandestine Marriage. There is also another point of contact between The Spleen and The Clandestine Marriage in the secret unions of their heroines, but here the resemblance ceases.

The tone of the farce is mildly satirical throughout. Besides the open ridicule of D'Oyley and his fancied symptoms and of the Rubricks, the cits aping the follies of their social superiors (4) and neglecting business in their efforts to be in the fashion, there is only half-concealed mockery of Mrs. Tabitha, the extreme from which Mrs. Rubrick has swung, Merton, the fond lover, Jack Rubrick (surely the least convincing of Cantabs) and Mac Hoof. It is noteworthy that the love-affair, in spite of Merton's longing to acknowledge Eliza in the face of the world (5) is treated in a purely comic

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- (1) There are also two verbal reminiscences, D'Oyley's question how many grains of salt he may eat with an egg and the doctor's recommendation to him to live richly.
- (2) By Lloyd's
- (3) By the Earl of Cork.
- (4) A favourite theme of Colman's - cf. Mrs. Cross's masquerades (Dr. Wks. 11 p.255) and her remarks to Lettice 'You know I die if I have not everything in the highest style - if I give but a plate of bread and butter I give it like a person of condition' (Loc. cit. p.282)
- The Connoisseur also ridicules this failure^{ing} frequently.
- (5) Op. cit. p. 293.

spirit. Eliza has none of Fanny's scruples, nor is there even that slight tincture of seriousness about her which shows itself for one moment in Charlotte Cross (1). There Colman was not entirely free from the sentimental attitude; here there is no hint of it.

The play fails partly through lack of natural character-drawing and dialogue (3) and partly through structural weakness. The disappearance of Merton's pert valet, who promised further entertainment (4), the introduction of Laetitia purely to bring about the catastrophe, D'Oyley's acceptance of Aspin's sudden attack on "Dr. Anodyne" (of whom he declares just before that he has never heard)(5), the speed with which Aspin finds out and accepts the whole scandal(6), Mrs. Tabitha's unexplained appearance at the moment of the discovery together with her unaccountable knowledge of all that has taken place - all these, and especially the last, are clumsily contrived. Nor does Mrs. Rubrick's immediate acceptance of Eliza's guilt carry conviction. Rubrick certainly hesitates to believe in it, not as

(2) Richard Cumberland, p.319.

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- (1) Man and Wife, Dram. Wks. 11. p.267,8 'How disagreeable it is to live in a state of perpetual dissimulation with both my parents.' and her next two remarks.
- (2) Eliza, Letitia and Aspin are the only wholly unsatirical characters.
- (3) Mrs. Tabitha's stock of homely proverbs is nearly as irritating as Jack Rubrick's mathematical jargon.
- (4) He is strongly reminiscent of the mischievous slaves of classical comedy.
- (5) Op. cit. p. 298.
- (6) All this happens between p.p. 299-309.

any normal father would do, because he has not yet heard what his daughter has to say, but because he is professionally averse from believing rumours (1). He also tried to patch matters up by insisting on the marriage (though rather from a monetary point of view than with any idea of saving Eliza's good name); Mrs. Rubrick does not even consider this. As S. T. Williams remarks (2), psychological truth was neither expected nor given in sentimental comedy, but in true comedy we have a right to look for some regard for the probabilities. In Gilbert's phrase, this is a bald and unconvincing narrative (3).

Its reception seems to have been moderate. Biographia Dramatica, which calls it 'a farce which will not lessen the established fame of its ingenious author, though it did not meet with equal

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- (1) Dr. Wks 1V p.310. It must be admitted however, that relationships such as exist between Lord Medway and his son and Lady Medway and Louisa are quite exceptional and find no place in the true comedy of the time.
- (2) Richard Cumberland, p.319.
- (3) Mention should perhaps be made of one or two points of interest to the student - Garrick's prologue, in which he gave what is said to be the first hint of his approaching retirement, and topical references to fashions (cf. Marcourt, p. 245) and to the poor christians in Boston.

(1) Loc. cit.

(2) Life of Garrick vol. II. p. 122. He cannot refer to Colman without malice.

(3) History of the Theatres of London p.40. The 1st act was well received, the 2nd being tedious met with disapproval. On being afterwards properly curtailed the whole was well received.

success with other of his performances,' states that it was performed 14 or 15 nights (1). Genest calls it 'a tolerable farce' and praises D'Oyley while condemning Jack Rubrick; Garrick's Looking Glass (2) refers to it in a moderately complimentary tone^{as does Oulton, who mentions that Colman allowed} (3) Tate Wilkinson on the other hand damns it outright as a 'bad farce'. (4) Murphy states that it was written to make Colman's late partners 'feel the loss of his assistance'. The success was by no means equal to his expectation. It was well received and for 14 or 15 nights was thought a good and pleasant entertainment. It was, however, never rated above mediocrity.⁽⁵⁾

- (1) I find only 5 mentions of it in the D.L. ledgers (V.S.) Wilkinson (The Wandering Patentee, voll. p.206) explains its run. His account is interesting: 'That piece was pushed by the Manager, against the will of the audience, yet by perseverance in repeating it the audience that attended, allured thither by some strong play, either partly retired, or yawned over the first part, and the remaining few were all up and solemnly departing, while Mrs. King was speaking a bad epilogue to the backs, not the faces, of the remaining audience.'
- (2) Garrick's Looking Glass, or the Art of Rising on the Stage, by the author of "London 1776." Coley George is interviewing the Muses: He told the fate of Epicoene
Yet did not give the nymphs the Spleen
A Connoisseur the bard they found
So many a civil thing went round
And after much dramattick chat
They stuck a laurel in his hat.
- (3) Loc. cit.
- (4) Life of Garrick vol. 11. p. 122. He cannot refer to Colman without malice.
- (a) History of the Theatres of London p.40 'The 1st act was well received, the 2nd being tedious met with disapproval. On being afterwards properly curtailed the whole was well received.'

1. (1V) Miscellaneous Theatrical Work.

'I did it against my Conscience; and had not Virtue enough to starve by opposing a Multitude that would have been too hard for me.'

These words of old Gibber might well stand as a motto for the considerable body of miscellaneous work which occupied much of Colman's later life. The necessity to earn a living out of the theatre drove him on constantly to the production of novelties which would fill the house rather than the serious works which he really preferred. How far he was capable of sustained composition after the close of the '60's will be discussed elsewhere (x): his desire for it undoubtedly remained and his contempt of the dramatic trifles to which circumstances forced him shows itself by various jeers at the debased tastes of the audiences (1). None the less he makes the best of a bad job and puts respectable workmanship into even the slightest of these trifles. He keeps too his love of laughter and his genial good sense in all of them, and though we can hardly endorse Mrs. Crouch's opinion that The Genius of Nonsense

(x) See Conclusion (p. ³⁴⁷ 2 et seq)

(1) Cf. Conclusion of the Prol. on the opening of the Haymarket, June 1781:

While Dancing shall remain the fav'rite rage
(these - i.e. On these and arts like these must stand our Stage;
the arts of But if some whim should "bid the reign commence,
pantomime Of rescued Nature and reviving Sense"
and dancing) Again to Humour shall we bend our cares,
And draw on Wit - to pay for our Repairs.

(3) Genest O.G. 21.9.72. 'The Prelude was acted at least 7 times.

On Sept. 21 it was followed by The Misog and The House As in
his. Miss Barzanti revived it by particular desire for her

is indeed the prince of pantomimes (1), we cannot fail to find traces in even his last interlude of practically all those characteristics which mark his best comedies, and to admire the versatility with which he attempted successfully such different forms of dramatic entertainment.

These 'oddments' include a burletta, a pantomime, various preludes and an interlude. The most numerous are the preludes which should perhaps therefore be mentioned first.

All are occasional pieces, written generally as an introduction for a new season. The first and seemingly the most popular (2) of these was the Occasional Prelude (2a) in which Miss Barsanti made her first appearance before the public (3). Deservedly

- (1) Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch p. 73.
- (2) Cf. the Advertisement in the Dram. Wks. IV p.247. 'This Prelude was honoured with so favourable a reception, that the managers of our theatres have since been induced to commence the season with similar entertainments.' This sounds as if the idea of the topical skit were his own, but Willson Fisher (op.cit.p.270) attributes the fashion of dramatizing greenroom gossip to Foote.
- (2a) Part of the MS. of the Occasional Prelude is included in A Collection concerning the Stage (Add. MS. 39,302,B.M.) It is written on scraps of paper of different sizes, put together out of order, and contains the text from 'Of comic talents, agreeable figure - but here she is,' to the end. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it gives the quarrelling scene between the Scottish lady and her son (which, whatever its merits when acted, does not make amusing reading) and the imitations in which Miss Barsanti proved her powers. The first is a speech of Jane Shore's, as rendered by an amateur, the second songs of Guglielmi, Guadagni and Lovatini,"and then in a different piece of recitative, Mrs. Barthelemont." These are followed by recitations, "the first a slice from Arthur's round Table, Hayward - Hither all ye Heavenly Powers etc., now for a Speech or two from Viola in Twelfth Night, The Honourable Lady of the House etc."
- (3) Genest C.G. 21.9.72. 'The Prelude was acted at least 7 times. On Sept. 21 it was followed by The Miser and The Deuce is in him. Miss Barsanti revived it by particular desire for her benefit 23.4.74.(Genest) and again 26.4.76.A notice of it appeared in The Gazetteer,Th.24.9.1772,criticizing Miss B.v.favourably.

popular as this piece was on the stage, it is curious that Colman should have thought it worth a place in *The Dramatick Works of 1777* since it makes indifferent reading. (1). As an acting piece it served its purpose very well. The opportunities given to the actress are such as afford her the best chance of showing her powers and at the same time the framework into which they are set is subtly chosen with a view to putting the audience in a favourable temper. There is no passion more universal with the groundlings than the desire for a peep behind the curtain and for scraps of knowledge about the private lives of actors and actresses (2).

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- (1) This is due to the fact that no topical piece ever keeps its force undiminished, and partly at least to the blanks which were left for Miss Barsanti to fill in; evidently ^{with} a success since the next season we find her repeating the part at D.L. (18.5.74). She retired from the stage in 1777 and died early in '78 (Genest). She was a good comic actress, something in the style of Miss Pope. Cf. *The Drama*, a poem London 1775 'Spirit and grace Barsanti I allow, And hope to see her what a Pope is now.' On 28. 1. '73. she played Mrs. Oakly for the first time (Genest).
- (2) Cf. the 'confessions' of different popular favourites in the magazine programmes of to-day, the multifarious articles, not exclusively in Home Chat and the poorer class of newspapers and magazines, on the home life of 'stars,' and the deadly dull pictures of So-and-So in the studio while such and such a film was being made or of Mary Pickford giving a children's party in her beautiful Hollywood home. All these forms of advertisement trade on the public's curiosity about the theatrical world.

and there is no unctious more flattering than the belief that they are being taken into the manager's confidence. Their vanity is tickled and their curiosity gratified. If Colman did not actually engage his performers as he is shown engaging Miss Barsanti, they believed he did and were accordingly pleased. A further circumstance calculated to put them in a favourable state of mind is the topical nature of the introduction. The scene is the Piazza of C.G., with a playbill hanging on the wall, there are references to the little manager, Younger appears in propria persona and describes his Liverpool venture during the summer, and they are allowed to hear the discussion between the manager and the carpenter on pantomimes which they know (1). All this has the powerful charm of the familiar. Into this setting are put the favourite devices of displaying national humours in the Irish chairmen and the Scottish author and of giving imitations. At the same time Colman works in sly hits at the two old foes of the drama, the Italian opera and the

(1) Dr. Wks. 1V p.253. The Sorcerer and Mother Shipton are promised during the season.

(2) Dr. Wks. 1V p.260. There is another jeer here at the awkwardness of the English performers who ape the Italians in opera. It is typical of Colman that he makes the Young Lady 'doat upon anything that is ridiculous.'

pantomime (1), but with such good-humoured adroitness that there is no fear of the spectators' taking umbrage at the criticism of their taste, even if they recognized its force. He winds up with a rather florid compliment on the discernment and generosity always shown by the public, and if the whole piece was not accepted with acclamation it was not his fault (2). Colman was not a showman in Mr. Willson Disher's sense of the word, but he knew how to manage his audiences, and if he was ignorant of the theories of psychology he was no stranger to the practice.

New Brooms (3) which also is included in the collected dramas, is of more permanent interest than the Occasional Prelude, although it is doubtful whether it was equally well calculated for the stage. It too was an occasional piece, its raison d'être being to introduce the new proprietors of Drury Lane at the beginning of their first season (4). As in the Occasional Prelude the opening scene

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- (1) Dr. Wks. 1V p.253,4. The carpenters' demand for more wages in view of the increased work they have to do and the sub-acid criticism of the 'comical gentleman at the Wells' who is as free with his tricks as if he were a Harlequin born, are instructive.
- (2) It was very popular. Genest remarks 'It is professedly a trifle, but as such it has considerable merit.'
- (3) D.L. 21. 9. 1776. A notice of the Prelude appears in The General Evening Post, T. Sept. 23, 1776; no criticism is given beyond praise of the Prologue with which the Prelude closes.
- (4) Cf. Advertisement, Dr. Wks. 1V p.321..

represents the exterior of the theatre, this time the playhouse passage, with the usual crowd of chairmen, fruit women and people going to the play. This is merely introductory, though it contains compliments to Garrick and a lament over the future without him; the main interest lies in the scene at Mr. Quaver's house and the discussions on the drama. They make very good reading, and the dialogue is vivacious enough to carry the weight of the subject in spite of the slight ~~xxx~~ setting. The satire is well aimed, and the views which the different characters express bear a close ^{enough} resemblance to the fashionable crazes of the day to have raised a laugh when they were first uttered and to endure scrutiny now as a just representation of contemporary taste. 'Otway's a rag, Jonson obsolete, and Shakespeare worn threadbare' - there must have been plenty of people who agreed with Crotchet's estimate, though to confess it would have been, in Sprightly's words, 'Treason! high-treason against the majesty of Shakespeare and the empire of the publick.' Mezzetin (1) however utters the greatest heresy: 'Vat signify your triste Sha-kes-peare? Begar, dere was more moneys got by de gran spectacle of de Sha-kes-peare Jubilee, dan by all de comique and

(1) The influence of the Commedia dell'arte is seen in the name. Mezzetin was introduced in 1697 when Columbine and Clown had joined Harlequin on the English stage (Disher, Clowns and Pantomimes p. 79). Crotchet's specimen!

The only remaining Prelude which was printed was The Manager in Mistress (1), a lively prelude which makes use of the device of

(1) Hay. 30. 5. 1780.

tragique of Sha-kes-peare beside, ma foi! - You make-a de danse, and de musique, and de pantomime of your Shakes^epeare, and den he do ver well.' Everybody knew that this advice had been put into practice many times and had met with great success. But satire, as Humbert Wolfe says of nonsense, 'like all other forms of creative effort, is related to its period, and, if it is to endure, it must surpass it, reaching out to an absurdity that is always with us.' For this reason the best thing in New Brooms is Crotchet's description of Operas: 'Operas are the only real entertainment. The plain unornamented drama is too flat, Sir.' Common dialogue is a dry imitation of nature, as insipid as real conversation; but in an opera the dialogue is refreshed by an air every instant. Two gentlemen meet in the Park, for example, admire the place and the weather; and after a speech or two the orchestra take their cue, the musick strikes up, one of the characters takes a genteel turn or two on the stage, during the symphony, and then breaks out -

When the breezes
Fan the trees-es
Fragrant gales
The breath inhales,
Warm the heart that sorrow freezes.'

How well we know that genteel turn or two on the stage before a character breaks out into song! And how many libretti are every ^{scrab}whit as silly as Mr. Crotchet's specimen!

The only remaining Prelude which was printed was The Manager in Distress (1), a lively prelude which makes use of the device of

(1) Hay. 30. 5. 1780.

actors speaking from different parts of the house, a trick still very popular with pierrot shows (1). The scene is Jewell's (2) parlour at the Haymarket, and the manager's distress arises from the desertion of all his actors owing to the persuasions of the winter theatres. A letter comes from Parsons, excusing himself from appearing, and four actresses announce that they are leaving in order to lecture on eloquence and oratory in the schools, a reference to the popularity of schools of oratory in London. Finally the prompter is sent to explain to the people what has happened (3). The scene changes: Hitchcock advances to address

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- (1) According to Disher (Clowns and Pantomimes p.81.) the device was popular in pantomime and was used in the Hôtel plays. Genest suggests that Colman took it from A Plot and No Plot (D.L.) and Colman the Younger traces it back to The Knight of the Burning Pestle. A more recent use was Foote's in The Orators where Tirehack and Scamper speak from a side box and later Terence and Dermot from an upper box; C. is more likely to have had this in his mind than any earlier example.
- (2) Jewell was the treasurer at the Haymarket. (Cf. G. Colman the Younger, Random Records 11. p.62.)
- (3) He has instructions if he sees any of the Corps Diplomatique in the side-boxes to take Baddeley to address them in French. 'Let him drop his arms, spread his hands, shrug his shoulders, hand his chin and say something about Au Desespoir, La Cabale etc.' a description which would no doubt amuse the vulgar.

(2) This paper gives a detailed account of the device.

the audience, and the fun begins with the speech of the Irishman in the pit, followed by speeches from a Lady in the Balcony and a Gentleman in the opposite Balcony, the latter with the ingenious suggestion of pasteboard figures and imitations by one real actor - a glorified Punch and Judy show, in fact - with the inevitable imitations there and then (1). While two ladies in a box are disputing as to who shall speak first, a woman enters with the Call-paper and says that the actors are all ready, the Prompter then announces The Suicide with Midas for that night, and Mrs. Crawford in Douglas for the following, and the curtain falls. This sketch of the plot is enough to show how varied were Colman's methods of handling a not very promising dramatic form. As the Morning Chronicle for Wednesday, May 31st, 1780, says (2), "A Prelude is, in our opinion, a mere prance of an author's Pegasus; one of those sportful exercises in which he may let his muse divert herself, and gambol at will, being tied down to no critical rule, nor any limitation whatever; if the

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- (1) They were given by Bannister Junior, who was famous for his mimickry. Cf. Gazetteer, W.31.5.1780: "Mr. Bannister Jun. now addressed the Prompter and in a well-marked imitation of a celebrated Parliamentary Orator recommended pasteboard actors.....He then introduced imitations of Mr. Smith, Mr. Dodd and Mr. Waldron, which were as usual very striking resemblances."
- (2) This paper gives a detailed account of the Prelude.

effect of the whole is pleasant, the spectator has no right to complain, and the end is fully answered. In the Bagatelle before us there is something of strong comic character, something of genuine wit, and something of sterling humour..... (1). No one characteristic of it does the author more credit, than the great good humour with which it has obviously been written." And these comments are true of all Colman's preludes.

The Manager in Distress is less interesting than New Brooms and less ingenious in its attacks on the audience than the Occasional Prelude, yet it shares the characteristics of both. Colman keeps to the topical skit, he uses once more the never-failing joke of the Irishman and his blunders, he refers to his own private affairs (2), and he represents himself and other officials of the theatre. All these are old devices and common to all the preludes. Yet they are "new-dressed", and each of these little pieces has a distinct, though slight, character (3).

- (1) The reviewer praises the acting of the prelude.
 (2) He makes capital out of his Christmas at Wynnstay. According to Walpole (letter to Mosan, July 15th, 1780) there is a reference to Cambridge, Colman's neighbour at Richmond, in "a news monger who lives about twelve miles from town."
 (3) In spite of their good points they do not rival Murphy's News from Parnassus. (1776). New Brooms comes nearest to this in subject and merit, but Murphy's prelude is the best which was shown in any of the theatres.

Ut Pictura Poesis or the Enraged Musician (1) was Colman's last composition, produced only a few months before he was put into confinement and when he was much enfeebled physically. There are no signs of oncoming madness in this trifle, but it is much less artistic than any of his other works. The burlesque is obvious and the end is hardly more than horse-play.

New paragraph^k The source of the sketch is Hogarth's print The Enraged Musician, the debt to which is acknowledged in the M.S. prologue to the printed copy in the British Museum (2). After saying that the average half-penny ballad has a wretched picture over equally wretched verses, it continues:

But here the whole case is the very reverse,
The Print is most brilliant, most wretched the verse;
And the Humour which Hogarth's dull genius created
To the Stage without Genius, or Honour translated.
Nor is this, I assure you, our Bard's first offence
Or this his first prespass on Hogarth for sense,
Six excellent prints full of Satire well plac'd
In five acts with twin efforts two playwrights disgrac'd.

me paragraph. ← After references to the death of Garrick and the opposition of the winter theatres the prologue closes, and the opening scene

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- (1) Genest, M. 18. 5. 89. Hay. Performed 17 times between May and July in that season. It does not seem to have been revived.
- (2) The handwriting is almost certainly not Colman's, but there is no doubt from the style that the prologue was his composition.

[1] Contrast, for instance, the earlier burlesque which are rather less the infinitely more artistic work of the same hand.

shows a room in Castruccio's house. There is a mock music lesson, with a ridiculous Italian song in falsetto, a nonsensical song by Castruccia and another nonsensical ode, sung because it is a day of public thanksgiving. The opening lines of this are:

O vot a happy day is dis - dis - dis
Each heart with joy go pit-a-pat-all Bliss etc.

← ^{Some paragraph} The scene then changes to the outside of Castruccio's house as in the Hogarth print. Young Quaver, who is in love with Castruccina, sends a letter to her by Doll the milkmaid, the knife-grinder devises the scheme of tormenting Castruccio by all the noise possible, and under cover of the din made by a crowd of men and women calling the familiar street cries, the two escape. Castruccio's curses and more street cries compose a glee, at the end of which Young Quaver and Castruccina, safely married, return with drums, marrow-bones and cleavers, and kneel before Castruccio's window, which enrages him yet more. The piece ends with an uproar, representing Hogarth's print as closely as possible.

Although this interlude deserves Genest's remark that 'it is much better calculated for representation than perusal' and although it is far inferior to Colman's best work in any of his petites pièces (1), it shows a vigour and high spirits which are rather remarkable in the circumstances. There is so much zest and such a

(1) Contrast, for instance, the satire in the ode quoted above with the infinitely more artistic satire on the opera in New Brooms.

(2) *Q. & A.*, 22. 11. 1773. Colman revived it at the Haymarket on July 24th 1777, and it was acted 12 times between July and September.

(3) Days in Petticoats, quoted Nicoll Hist. of Late 18th Century Drama p. 195.

love of fun and of the ridiculous that it might have been written by a boy in the tide of high animal spirits instead of an elderly man whose brain was on the point of giving way. Like the preludes it does not pretend to any kind of depth: there is no character drawing and no developed working out of plot. It gives simply a situation, three stock characters, the lover, his mistress and the old father who has to be outwitted before they can marry; and proceeds to ridicule foreign musicians, Italian music, and the sensibility of those who have a musical ear. This is done with so much gusto and such a keen sense of the absurd that the fun does not flag from beginning to end (1).

An attempt at a different form of entertainment is the burletta of 1770, The Portrait (2). Just what was meant by a burletta it is difficult to say; Mrs. Clive's description of it as 'a sort of poor relation to an opera' (3) is perhaps near enough. Colman the

(1) Ut. Pictura Poseis.

C. Publ. Advertiser T. 19* May '89. 'Mr. C. last night began his Summer Campaign with his own play of The English Merchant and tho' his Regulars cannot, for engagements at the Winter Theatres as yet take the field, his Recruits have been so well drilled, as to make a very respectable figure and do justice in the performance of the Piece.

(Acct. of U.P.P. follows) 'an exceedingly good personification of that able Artist's admirable Print..... The Piece is the production of Mr. Colman, was preceded by a smart Prologue spoken by Y. Edwin, and an excellent Overture by Dr. Arnold, who composed the music, and was received throughout with universal applause.'

- (2) C.G. 22. 11. 1770. Colman revived it at the Haymarket on July 24th 1777, and it was acted 10 times between July and September.
- (3) Bayes in Petticoats, quoted Nicoll Hist. of Late 18th Century Drama p. 195.

Younger (1) with 'the rooted notions of an old theatrical stager' defines it as 'A drama in rhyme and which is entirely musical; a short comic piece, consisting of recitative and singing, wholly accompanied, more or less, by the Orchestra.' Mr. E.B. Watson, in an interesting account of burletta, bears ^{out} Colman the Younger out: 'Tho' later used with the greatest freedom to apply to almost any piece that contained music, in 1787 ... it meant a light musical piece, generally of a burlesque nature, without a word of spoken dialogue ... The essential part was that nothing should be spoken. (*) (E.N. Watson, ~~Sheridan to Robertson~~, p.28). This certainly fits The Portrait. The piece is a free adaptation of Le Tableau Parlant by Anseume (2). Cassandre of the original ^{has} become Pantaloon, thus emphasizing the relation of the English version to the commedia dell'arte; Colman makes The Portrait a good deal shorter than the

(1) Random Records 1. p.51 et seq.

(*) Watson, ~~Sheridan to Robertson~~, p.28.

(2) It is not included among the alterations and adaptations because, as Colman himself points out, it is merely founded on Le Tableau Parlant and as he treats it, it is rather a re-telling of the same story as Anseume uses than an adaptation of his version of it.

(3) ~~Watson speaks of it as 'greatly good for the last of the~~
~~The Gazetteer and Day Daily Advertiser, 1787.~~
~~The first performance 'The caricature was the~~
~~print its 'favourite songs in the new burlesque comedy, The~~
~~Portrait (airs 1. 12. VIII and XII and the 'Favourite~~
~~not give any theatrical criticisms.~~

Le Tableau Parlant and stresses the comic side rather than the sentimental (1). The action is hastened, an advantage in a slight comic piece of this nature. The Advertisement in the collected edition of 1777 states that 'the piece was undertaken and completed in very few hours,' and its spontaneity seems to arise from easy rapid composition. It has no great merit except the infectious jingle of the verses and the variety of the metres used (2).

Colman would have made an excellent librettist for comic operas. He has the power of evoking the humorous possibilities of feminine rhymes and trisyllabic feet which finds its best expression in W.S. Gilbert. This power shows itself again and even more brilliantly in The Genius of Nonsense.

The Portrait appears to have been very successful on the stage (3). It deserves to be numbered among the best burlettas;

- (1) Cf. the changes in the first scene. In Le Tableau Parlant Isabelle explains at great length to Columbine the advances which Cassandre makes to her and laments Léandre's absence. Colman gives the necessary facts in a short song by Isabella and the succeeding interview between her and Columbine is a comic recital of the advantages of a wealthy old husband and the prospects of a speedy widowhood.
- (2) Cf. Isabella's first air, the interesting Recitative which follows it with the involved rhyme-scheme and the varying lengths of the line, and the trio which closes the first part.
- (3) Genest speaks of it as 'pretty good for the sort of thing.' The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser Th. 22.11. 1770 announces the first performance 'The characters new dressed,' and S.24.11.70 print its 'favourite songs in the new Burletta called The Portrait (airs l. ll. VIII and XII and the final song). It does not give any theatrical criticisms.

(1) She took the part of Isabella.

its humour depends on situation and character to a greater extent than that of The Golden Pippin or Poor Vulcan, both of which gain their effects by a burlesque treatment of the theme and by much colloquial if not actually vulgar language. It must be admitted that Poor Vulcan is worthy to be mentioned with The Portrait for the swing of its comic songs. The Advertisement modestly says that 'it was kindly received,' and attributes its reception to the excellence of the performers and of Mr. Arnold's music. The inclusion in the cast of Miss Catley (1) newly returned to London, after an absence of some length in Dublin, no doubt was of service, but it is to be suspected that the strongest reason for its popularity was the 'catchy' nature of the verses. Not only the palpable absurdities like the Quartetto in the last scene, with its burden,

He's watch'd us
And catch'd us
And knows what we've done,

stick in the memory, but the swing of many of the songs is unforgettable, notably Colombine's delightful air,

Of all evils under the sun
Of one, only one I'm afraid
I fear no misfortune but one
And that is to die an old maid.

(1) She took the part of Isabella. Besides of Nonsense appears, and Paragon (1768).
(2) Review Review II. p.16.

Oh Venus, avert the disgrace!
 Oh Cupid, be true to thy trade;
 What mortal can look on my face,
 And think I would die an old maid?

[Note: When this burletta was performed in Dublin the music was not Arnold's but a new setting by Barthelemon. No explanation of the change was given.

In the Dramatick Works of 1777 the character of Pierrot was omitted. This makes practically no difference, as his part is very small, and he really adds nothing to the development of the plot. In the acting editions he suggests asking The Portrait's consent to the wedding of Isabella and Leander, while in the later version Leander proposes this himself. Probably the part was always kept on the stage but Colman discarded it in the reading edition because he felt that the part was superfluous.]

The pantomime The Genius of Nonsense (1) is difficult to criticise. 'It is said to have contained so much wit and humour and contemporary satire as to give it a superiority over everything of the kind,' says Genest, an opinion which seems to have been very general.

(Same paragraph) According to Colman the Younger (2) the newspapers coined the phrase that the Genius of Nonsense was in fact the nonsense

(1) 2. 9. 80. Hay. Sept 15th was the 11th time. It was revived 4. 6. 81. Suggestions for the pantomime may have come from The Author's Farce in which The Goddess of Nonsense appears, and Harlequin Quack (1762).

(2) Random Records 11. p.14.

of Genius, a verdict which Biog. Dram. repeats (1). Reading it now it is difficult to see the qualities which won it such glowing praise. Good it certainly is, in parts; but we should hesitate to call it brilliant. This is due to two factors: in the first place, contemporary satire, especially when directed against one particular person, has seldom a universal appeal, and the salt loses its savour with the passing of time; and in the second, any pantomime depends so largely for its effects on the acting and the added point which it gains at the hands of a good clown that the written word, especially when the nature of the grotesque passages is barely indicated, gives only a shadowy idea of the original entertainment. In this particular case, Dr. Graham (2), the quack who is satirized, is forgotten, and his Temple of Health and Celestial Bed and other tricks for gulling the simple seem such remote absurdities that the long harangue of the Emperor of the Quacks is pointless, while electrotherapeutics have passed from the unfounded boast of a charlatan to an accepted branch of healing (3). Then again the joke about the Agreeable Companion in a Postchaise

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- (1) Biog. Dram. 111. (under Genius of Nonsense).
 (2) It should be mentioned that some of the piece's popularity was probably due to the fact that Dr. Graham threatened a libel action and was himself present at the first performance - an excellent advertisement for Colman.
 (3) Although they hardly perform such marvels as are claimed for them here,

... 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

is one which now needs explanation, and when a joke needs a foot note, good-bye to its humour. We understand its point but we no longer laugh at it. And finally, alas poor Bannister! A fellow of infinite jest, if we may believe Colman the Younger, who knew him. His gibes, his gambols, his flashes of merriment that were wont to set the house on a roar are as lost to us now as that other jester's; all that remains is his friend's description of his representation of Dr. Graham: 'His mere entrance upon the Scene, as the Doctor was wont to present himself in his Temple - his grotesque mode of sliding round the room, - the bobbing bows he shot off to the Company, while making his circuit, - and various other minutiae, were so ridiculously accurate, that he surpassed his prototype in electrifying his publick - and the whole house was in a roar of laughter.' (1).

It is doubtful whether the pantomime has yet been written which has any great literary interest (2). Certainly the mid-18th century pantomimes pretended to none. At an earlier date they might claim a little coherence: Theobald, for instance, keeps to the tradition of using a slight classical theme, treated operatically, for the foundation of his entertainment, and grafting on to that a harlequinade. As the popularity of Harlequin

(1) Random Records 11. pp. 17, 18. Cf. also the account of Edwin's drollery given in the Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch (p73).
 (2) With the possible exception of some of Planché's.

(2) In most cases the titles are all we have to judge by: if anything is printed it is only the airs and the choruses.

increased, even the shadow of a serious plot seems to have been dispensed with; from slight burlesque they pass to extravaganza. Woodward, the most noted contriver of pantomimes from 1750 onwards, has no titles to compare with Pan and Syrinx; instead we find Harlequin Ranger (1751), Proteus, or Harlequin in China (1755), Mercury Harlequin (1756), Harlequin Dr. Faustus (1766), Harlequin's Jubilee (1770), and a similar string of titles by anonymous authors, Harlequin Enchanted (1753), Harlequin Mountebank ('56), Harlequin Quack (1762), Harlequin Invincible (1795) (1). While one or two of these obviously begin as parodies of some play or entertainment, it is fairly safe to deduce from their titles (2) that most of them concentrated on the spectacular adventures of Harlequin and that the thread of the story was negligible. Colman in 1780 keeps to the more popular form of the moment. As far as there is a plot in The Genius of Nonsense it deals with the adventures of Harlequin, who is protected by the Genius of Nonsense, in search of Columbine, who has been taken to Gravesend. Harlequin follows her in a post-chaise, having first found an 'Agreeable Companion' to share it with him. Columbine is shown at Gravesend and shortly afterwards Harlequin arrives with the Agreeable Companion. The two order supper and the inn-keeper brings them a blade-bone of mutton so small that Harlequin, to prevent his

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- (1) See Hand list of Plays (History of Late 18th Century Drama, p.330).
- (2) In most cases the titles are all we have to judge by: if anything is printed it is only the airs and the choruses.

companion from eating all there is, pretends to have been bitten by a mad dog, a device which drives the companion away. Harlequin is then shown into a bedroom, where his comrade is sleeping, and during the night he plays further tricks on him, pretending that he dreams he is riding post and whipping and spurring him unmercifully, presumably because he has not lived up to his claim of being agreeable. These two scenes, like the opening one between Harlequin and the Genius, are written down in full. Some scenes of pantomime, undescribed, follow, then we are transported to the Temple of Health, and hear the Emperor of the Quacks announcing his wonderful cures. Electrical experiments are performed during his speech (1). At the end of this scene there must have been some further pantomime business before the Genius of Nonsense orders Columbine to be given to Harlequin, and when Pantaloon asks, 'Why so?' replies, 'Because it is thus that Nonsense ever concludes the adventures of Harlequin.'

This much we know for certain about The Genius of Nonsense but when was The Goddess of Health shown, and how was the patriotic theme, in which the Boys of the Marine Society and the Officers and Soldiers of the Camp presumably appeared, worked into the adventures described above? The text is so fragmentary that it is not even possible to allot all the airs to their right places.

(1) Walpole's account (Letters, ed. Toynbee XI p.259) shows how closely Colman copied the Dr.'s performances.

The M.S. in the Henry E. Huntington Library does not seem to be complete (1): although there are seven songs prefixed to it and only four airs indicated in the text, there must have been at least one more song. The duet by Harlequin and The Genius ('O follow then where Nonsense leads the way') indisputably belongs to the end of the first scene; it is fairly safe to attribute the third air ('Oh where'er you chance to Rove,' sung by Columbine) to the scene in which the Chambermaid lights her to bed, and the fifth ('Tis thus with a Wife and a Prosperous Life,' sung by the Genius of Nonsense) to the end of the extravaganza. But what air did the Emperor of the Quacks sing when he received the news that the Goddess of Health had gone home very ill? An air is marked to close the scene, but the only one which is even comparatively appropriate is the 'new song', 'All folks who labour with Disease', which Harlequin says he will sing himself. This probably, from the scrap of dialogue which precedes it, occurred after the distribution of bills in the street scene before the scene changes to the Temple of Health. The objection to this is that the stage

(1) The favourite catch song by three old women in Westminster Abbey, to which both Mrs. Crouch (Memoirs p.73) and B.D. refer in terms of high praise, is not included in the M.S., possibly because, as B.D. says, it was not original. The St. James's Chronicle (Sept. 5. 1780) also quotes the 'poor Thomas Day' catch together with two more songs which do not appear in the M.S.

directions make no mention of either a ballad-singer or Pantaloon: they simply run, 'A Street with two Men like Beadles, Distributing Bills to Passers-by, and, among the rest to Harlequin and Columbine.' The only other place where it could occur is after the Emperor of the Quacks has closed his speech. The scene is again a street, and this time Pantaloon is mentioned as being present. The air would be far more appropriate in the earlier scene, and it is probably safe to conclude that that was where it was sung. The second air, 'I'm Master of Forte Piano', (1) sung by Harlequin, the fourth, 'See the vivid Fire descends, tingling to your fingers' ends,' (2) , also by Harlequin, and the sixth 'Hark, hark! where the Trumpet now calls you to Arms', by an officer cannot be placed with even such certainty as the others. (3).

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- (1) Probably meant for the end of the Blade-bow scene as St. James's Chronicle says it was sung 'with animal accompaniments.'
- (2) After the electrical experiment? There is no indication in the text that the Emperor's air is sung by Harlequin.
- (3) The panto. ended with a camp scene (B.D.) and the officer's song must have occurred in the course of it.

It will be seen that all that can be criticised (1) is only three scenes of dialogue, the airs, and such of the situations as are described fully enough to permit of examination. The dialogue, like the tricks, is marked by a strong sense of fun shot with satirical observation. Even in a pantomime life may be mocked well, would seem to be Colman's motto. We must believe from contemporary evidence that Doctor Graham was faithfully represented by the Emperor of the Quacks, and we need no other

- (1) St. James's Chronicle, S. Sept. 2-7, 1780. Sept. 5th gives a notice of the pantomime. This is followed by the Critique: The old story of the mad dog has been lately wrought up by one of the French authors of the Proverbes Dramatiques under the title of L'Enragé, which the writer of The Genius of Nonsense seems to have perused and the idea of Harlequin's riding post in his sleep has been occupied by another French author in a farce called La Somnabule lately translated by Lady Craven and exhibited at the Family seat at Benham in Newbery by the Ladies and Gentlemen for their own diversion under the title of The Sleep Walker. The Humour of both these incidents is more pointedly given by our English imitator, and the Pleasantry much enhanced by the Agreeable Companion in a Post Chaise. On the whole there is much spirit in this extravaganza; but there are some dead limbs, of which we would recommend an immediate amputation."

The notice quotes the "Poor Thomas Day" catch, "I'm Master of Forte Piano" (with animal accompaniments), Air by Mrs. Cargill (The Goddess of Health), "Come then, ah come, oh Sacred Health, The Monarch's Bliss, the Beggar's wealth," and a cantata by Dames Turton, Gurton, and Burton, "Neighbours, neighbours, once in a way, Let's be merry, let's be gay." A compliment to Colman for the "Pleasing music and splendid scenery" closes the notice.

- (2) Hist. of Late 18th Century Drama, p. 580.

evidence than the written word to convince us of the point of the opening discussion on the powers of nonsense (1). The scenes with the Agreeable Companion show considerable originality in devising tricks and a shrewd eye for comic effect. The popularity of these scenes may be deduced from the fact that they were revived as a separate interlude, The Blade Bone (2) in 1788 and repeated at D.L. in 1789. The songs are undoubtedly good. Three elements play a large part in the reader's or listener's appreciation of all comic verse - surprise, which is created by varying the length of the lines and the occurrence of the rhymes, a sense of incongruity between the unimportance of the subject and the dignity of measure, and a pleasurable appreciation of the dexterity with which the author juggles with metres and rhymes, the last, of course a more intellectual and less instinctive enjoyment. All these requirements are satisfied by the songs in The Genius of Nonsense. Harlequin's and the Genius's songs abound in lines of unexpected length which keep the ear in suspense for the jangle of the like ending or surprise it by the introduction of an internal rhyme. The exception is the satirical song, The Emperor

(1) The first scene is full of contemporary allusions - the prevalence of suicide, the dulness of much of the drama, opera at the Haymarket, politics and religion all come in for some discussion, which is managed both naturally and wittily.

(2) Hist. of Late 18th Century Drama, p.320. the Mill 11. 14.

of the Quacks, which gains its effects by the nature of its contents and not by any metrical device. The stanza is a simple, though not particularly dignified, one - its effect is to concentrate attention on its contents and not its form. It is noticeable that Gilbert uses the same metre for the same purpose, to point a moral.

There lived a King, as I've been told
 In the wonder-working days of old
 When hearts were twice as good as gold
 And twenty times as mellow (1).

This is Colman's stanza doubled, with the last four lines repeated (in a slightly altered form) as a refrain. The remaining songs, the sentimental ballad given to Columbine, and the patriotic air which the officer sings, are not intended to excite mirth. 'Oh where'er you chance to Rove' is as insipid as the average song in the sentimental comedies of the time (2). The last song, 'Hark, hark! where the Trumpet now calls you to Arms', marks the influence of the 'Old England for ever' type of entertainment, which was already beginning to make itself felt and which becomes increasingly popular owing to the growth of national spirit in

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- (1) The Gondoliers, Act II. Contrast with this a song like the Dragoon's chorus in Patience 'Now is not this ridiculous now isn't this preposterous' etc. where the comic effect rises from the metre and the rhymes rather than the contents of the song.
- (2) Cf. Patty's song. 'Cease oh cease to overwhelm me,' (Maid of the Mill ll. 14.)

face of the menace from Napoleon (1).

Fragmentary though the text is, and little as pantomime deserves to be compared with more artistic forms of drama, The Genius of Nonsense was evidently better than the general run of such pieces (2). To suggest that Colman touched nothing which he did not adorn is to rate his achievements too highly; it is no exaggeration to say that his efforts in even the least worthy types of entertainment bear some marks of the comic spirit which animates The Jealous Wife and The Clandestine Marriage and to claim that in whatever he attempted he worked as conscientiously as his limitations would allow.

(1) Cf. the prevalence in early 19th century pantomimes of the comic seaman with a heart of gold and an overflowing fund of patriotic sentiments. He is already on the stage in sentimental comedy - cf. The Brothers (1769); he and the soldier, especially the Irish soldier, show a coalescence of comic and sentimental motives which, joined later with the patriotic, make them the stock figures of popular Christmas entertainments until well into the 19th century.

(2) Cf. B.D.'s enthusiastic account of it and contrast with the text the inanity which marks Dibdin's Harlequin Hoax - a chaotic pantomime of 1814.

(3) Written especially to be delivered by Holland who was Powell's intimate friend. (Prod to The Roman Father, July 1769, Bristol).

Note to preceding section.

Any account of Colman's theatrical work would be incomplete without some mention of the large number of prologues and epilogues which he produced. These cover the whole of his theatrical career. They are remarkable for their mastery of the heroic couplet (1) and the felicity with which Colman chooses the subject matter. The literary criticism which they contain has already been described. Taken as a whole they form an interesting running commentary on thirty years of theatrical and social affairs. The subjects touched upon range from contemporary fashions (2) to patriotism (3), his private affairs (4) to the King's birthday (5), an address for a child of five years old (6) ^{and} ~~to~~ a lament for the death of Powell (7). The best, in the present

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- (1) Almost the only occasion on which he abandons this metre (the accepted one for prologues and epilogues) is when he is writing for the amateur theatricals at Wynnstay in 1781, for which he devises the mock petition of a strolling player. It is written in irregular lines whose rhyme is their only claim to the name of verse.
 - (2) Prol. to Bon Ton, Nov. 1773.
 - (3) " " The Birthday, Aug. 1783.
 - (4) Occasional Epilogue on the Departure of the Manager of the Theatre R.C.G. May 1774 and Prol. at the opening of the Th. R. Haymarket. June '86.
 - (5) Prol. at the closing of the Th.R. C.G. on Sat. June 4, 1768, being the Anniversary of His Majesty's Birth-Day.
 - (6) Epilogue to the Fairy Tale, May 1764. The Epilogue which he wrote for her to speak the next year at her parents' benefit is rather charming.
 - (7) Written especially to be delivered by Holland who was Powell's intimate friend. (Prol to The Roman Father, July 1769, Bristol).

writer's opinion, are the Prologue to Philaster (1763) which won high praise from Byron, the Epilogue to The School for Scandal (1777), the Prologue to Bon Ton (1) (1773) and the Prologues to the two revivals, Epicoene (1776) and Fatal Curiosity (1782); but this estimate is largely a matter of personal taste, and there are many others which deserve praise. The level maintained is high, though naturally there are a few which are inferior (2); and all have the virtue of being admirably adapted for recitation. The couplet lends itself to epigram, and Colman's wit rises to the opportunities which present themselves. The high esteem in which he was held for this kind of writing by contemporary writers is evinced by the number of applications which they made to him for prologues for their new plays (3), and the variety of his productions is a further proof, if any be needed, of the fertility of his imagination and his unflinching industry throughout a long and chequered career.

(1) A favourite of Tom Davies's.

(2) The Prologue to The Positive Man (1782) is a little strained.

(3) Cf. Peake op. cit. passim and Mrs. Crouch's Memoirs.

2. Collaborations.
The Clandestine Marriage.

The history of this play is curious. Its composition stretches unevenly over more than two years, for the most part of which the authors were separated; they themselves quarrelled, when it was nearing an end, as to their respective contributions to its scheme, but made up their differences so thoroughly that they published it with a foreword declaring that the shares of each were indistinguishable; the matter was left there during the rest of their stormy friendship but after their deaths various rumours were put about, culminating nearly fifty years later in a charge of plagiarism. The vexed question of the shares of each of the joint authors will probably never be solved with finality, but there is a considerable body of evidence regarding its composition, an examination of which may throw some light on the problems raised. This evidence falls into two parts - facts concerning the date, and to some degree the manner, of composition, and facts concerning the authorship of the different portions.

The play appears to have been begun when the friendship between Colman and Garrick was at its height, that is to say after the production of The Jealous Wife and during that period of close connection with Drury Lane in which Colman gained the experience of theatrical management which made Garrick leave him as unofficial deputy during his own absence on the con-

According to Peake both parties made a statement (1). To this time must belong Colman's notes on the rough outline of the first four acts which his son found among his papers. The later notes obviously belong to much the same period but were drawn up after Colman and Garrick had met in consultation on the development of the plot. Exactly how long elapsed between the two drafts it is impossible to conjecture. Garrick writes from Naples on December 24th 1763 (2), 'I have not yet written a word of the 4th or 5th acts of the C.M. but I am thinking much about it' - a remark which sounds as if the earlier acts were already in existence. He refers to it again from Rome on April 11th, 1764 (3), and again on Nov. 10th 1764, an interesting comment: 'Did you receive my letter about our Comedy? I shall begin, the first moment I find my comic ideas return to me, to divert myself with scribbling; say something to me upon that subject. I have considered our 3 acts, and with some little alterations they will do. I will ensure them' (4). Three acts, then, were evidently written before Nov. 1764 (5) and probably

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- (1) Sept. 15th 1763 - April 1765 (Peake). (2) Peake 1. p.93).
 (3) Peake 1. p. 102 'Speed your plough, my dear friend, have you thought of the C.M.? I am at it.'
 (4) Peake 1. p. 126.
 (5) It is possible of course that G. meant the sketches of the acts only, but in view of the letter of Dec. 24th '63 this seems improbable.

before Dec. '63. According to Peake both parties made some effort to finish the comedy, which had by then been in hand for some considerable time, in the summer of 1765⁽¹⁾, that is to say, immediately after Garrick's return to England, and he quotes Hoadly's letter to Garrick in confirmation of his supposition⁽²⁾. Between September and November of that year Garrick must have announced his determination not to play the part of Ogleby⁽³⁾, and Colman presumably have felt that it was not worth while to finish the comedy, to judge from Clutterbuck's letter to Garrick⁽⁴⁾: 'The comedy was read to my Molly and me last Wednesday night and our concern for that it is not likely to be finished and represented, equalled the delight we had in hearing the piece; I cannot help thinking there is but one person in the world capable of playing Lord Ogleby et hinc illae lachrymae! but who can help it?' This certainly proves that it was as yet unfinished. The next evidence as to date is contained in a letter from Colman to Garrick dated Dec. 6th 1765⁽⁵⁾, after the quarrel as to the shares of each in what was already written (of which notice will

(1) Peake l. p.156.

(2) Garrick Correspondence. Sept. 24th 1765.

(3) See Clutterbuck's letter quoted below, and also the letters between G. and C. in Dec.'65. Gk. Corr. p.209 et seq. The quarrel evidently began in soreness about G's refusal to act.

(4) Garrick Corr. p. 205. The date of the letter is Nov. 9th 1765.

(5) Garrick Corr. p. 214, 215.

be taken later): 'I have sent you the fifth act as you desired but have had neither leisure nor inclination to compare it with that left by your brother yesterday. You know it was my opinion that it wanted retrenching, but for near two months past I have been totally incapable of that task as I could never without pain turn my eyes or thoughts on The Clandestine Marriage, - this unhappy comedy as you very properly call it.' The two were reconciled before Christmas 1765 (1), a hasty revision of the first four acts took place (2) and the piece must have been put into rehearsal at once for it was performed on Feb. 20th 1766 (3). To summarize, The Clandestine Marriage was certainly begun before September 1763; the first three acts existed in some form as early as December of that year and remained under consideration during the next year; an attempt was made to finish the play in the summer of 1765, to which time the composition of the fourth act probably belongs, but it was still incomplete at the beginning of the winter season of 1765-66 when Garrick declared he would not act Lord Ogleby. A quarrel arose between the two men while versions of the fifth act were still being considered, but on

(1) Cf. Garrick's letters to Colman, Peake 1. pp. 175, 177.

(2) Cf. Garrick's letter Xmas Day 1765 (Peake 1. 176).

(3) Cradock's story of the first night's performance points to the last act's being still unsettled and to the probability that whoever wrote it expected the other to revise it and settle its final form. From Colman's letter it looks as if this should have been his work. (Cradock Lit.^{enry} and Miscellaneous Memoirs vol. 1. p. 201.)

their reconciliation at Christmas the earlier acts were revised, it was finished in some shape and was put on the stage in February 1766.

The first dispute as to authorship arose early in December 1765. The correspondence is worth quoting at some length. Colman begins abruptly: "Gt. Queen St., Dec. 4th 1765. *Since my return from Bath I have been told, but I can hardly believe it, that, in speaking of The Clandestine Marriage you have gone so far as to say 'Colman lays a great stress on his having written this character on purpose for me, suppose it should come out that I wrote it!' That the truth should come out is my earnest desire; but I should be extremely sorry for your sake that it should come out by such a declaration from you." He then reminds Garrick that the joint enterprise was kept secret at his (G's) particular request, and he goes on to give the substance of a letter from Garrick to Clutterbuck: "You tell him 'that you had formed a plan of a somedy called The Sisters; that I brought some city characters into it; and moreover, that if the piece did not succeed, you had promised to take your part, with the shame that might belong to it, to yourself' The whole is diametrically opposite to my notion of the state of the partnership subsisting between us. You have the plan of The Sisters by you; read it and see if there are any traces of the story of The C.M. You returned me the rough draught

which I drew out of that story and thinking it might be of use in conducting the plot, I happened to preserve it: let them be compared and see what is the resemblance between them. The first plate of Hogarth's Marriage à la Mode was the ground I went upon: I had long wished to see those characters on the stage, and mentioned them as proper objects of comedy before I had the pleasure of your acquaintance, in a letter written expressly in your defence against the attacks of your old arch-enemy Shirley ... It is true indeed that by your suggestion Hogarth's proud lord was converted into L. Ogleby and that as the play now stands, the levee scene at the beginning of the 2nd act and the whole of the 5th act. are yours; but in the conduct as well as dialogue of the 4th act I think your favourite L. Ogleby has some obligations to me You complain also of what I have said on this occasion to other people. I will not recriminate upon you, nor will I attempt to excuse my own peevishness. I will only say that I had a right to tell my friends that I had withdrawn the piece, as well as to assign your refusing to play as the reason of it.' The rest of the letter contains nothing of great importance. Garrick's answer, dated Dec. 5th 1765, baulks the main issue. He declares, 'Though I think your account of the comedy somewhat erroneous, yet I shall not enter into that lesser consideration of who did this or who did that I will adjust that business very easily when I am called upon,' and spends his time discussing whose fault the

quarrel is. It is not an admirable letter. Colman's reply of Dec. 6th is largely concerned with answering Garrick's strictures on the personal aspect of the dispute, but he points out that he has received from Garrick no direct denial of having spoken the objectionable words, and he ends, 'I have sent you the 5th act as you desired, but have had neither leisure nor inclination to compare it with that left by your brother yesterday (1). You know it was my opinion that it wanted retrenching.' An undated note (2) points to an attempted reconciliation and the next reference to the play occurs in a friendly letter of Christmas Day 1765 from Garrick: 'I have read the three acts of the comedy and think they will do special well; but why did you not finish the first act as you would have it? and if you had hinted at L. Ogleby's vanity and amorous disposition, by way of preparation to the fourth act, as we talked it over, would it not have made the strong scene there more natural? I think 'the Grown Gentleman' (3) will do ... I have schemed my Epilogue, it will be uncommon at least.' Evidently the disputes were satisfactorily

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- (1) There must have been two versions of the 5th act in existence at this stage.
 (3) i.e. L. Ogleby (Peake 1. p.177)
 (2) Before Dec. 20th.

settled, and they remained so, since the Advertisement to the printed play, which Colman reproduced in the Dramatic Works of 1777, states, 'Some friends, and some enemies, have endeavoured to allot distinct portions of this play to each of the authors. Each, however, considers himself as responsible for the whole'. The question does not appear to have been raised again during the life-time of either. Later, however, various stories arose. Tate Wilkinson makes the extraordinary statement that Garrick wrote the part of Lord Ogleby before he went to Italy (1); Mrs. Inchbald says that Lord Ogleby is generally attributed to Garrick alone, but she is of the opinion that Garrick only 'cast a directing hand and eye over the whole'; (2) Biographia Dramatica also attributes to Garrick Lord Ogleby and the courtly family, and to Colman Sterling and the city family, and goes on to relate the story of Colman's having destroyed two acts sent him by Garrick and having written the play himself. (3). Murphy attributes the structure of the plot to Garrick and declares that he was the linner and for some

(1) Memoirs of his own Life.

(2) Remarks prefaced to The Clan. Mar. in her British Theatre.

(3) B.D. lll. p.106.

time intended to act the part of Ogleby himself (1); he has already stated (2) that each attended to the scenes and characters which he chose to cultivate; Davies (3) attributes Ogleby to Colman but adds, 'We are told they(4) received some of their most finished touches from the hand of Mr. Garrick.' Theatrical Biography (5) gives to Garrick as well as Ogleby, Sterling, Mrs. Heidelberg (6) and Canton;

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- (1) Life of Garrick ll. p. 30. The first part of this statement is founded only on Garrick's general mastery of the dramatic art.
- (2) Op. cit. ll. p.27.
- (3) Life of Garrick ll. p. 425.
- (4) i.e. Ogleby and Tamper. This is the only suggestion I have found that Colman received help with The Deuce is in Him.
- (5) Vol. 1. p. 119. > Colman never claimed the whole of the character of Ogleby as his work, but his son declares that he told him that Garrick did not write the entire character; on the contrary Colman wrote the whole of Ogleby's first scene (Peake 1. p. 171). But Colman the Younger must have made some mistake here (see Fitzgerald op. cit. ll. 171).
- (6) Fitzgerald (Life of Garrick l. p.171,2) says Cauthery the actor, told Reynolds that Mrs. Heidelberg was Garrick's work, but does not quote his authority for the statement.
- (5) Vol. I. p. 119.

Finally, J.P.Roberdeau (1) claims that Lord Ogleby, Sterling and Brush are all stolen from False Concord, an unsuccessful farce by Townly, and in answer to this Cradock, while acknowledging that there is some resemblance between Ogleby and Lord Lavender in that farce, declares, 'Mr Garrick assured me that he had taken the character of the gallant Lord from an old humorist in Norfolk; and that he had read the specimens of the dialogue in a rude state before their Majesties, and that they had been greatly amused with them' (2).

(1) J. P. Roberdeau. Fugitive Verse and Prose. 1803
 p. 90. Mr. Townly ... was a most convivial companion and a man of much literary ingenuity. He was a close intimate of Garrick, for whom he held for some years the valuable Vicarage of Hendon, in Middlesex, and it is not groundless to suppose that many of Garrick's best productions and revivals partook of Mr. T's assisting hand... Mr. T. also produced in 1764 False Concord a Farce, for his friend Woodward's bft. and in 1765 The Tutor a Farce, under Mr. Colman's protection at D.L., 'but which from the juvenile characters did not succeed. It is to be remarked that F.C. contains three characters of L. Lavender Mr. Suds, an enriched soap-boiler, and a pert Valet, who are not only the exact ^{Lord} Ogleby, Mr. Sterling and Brush of the Clan. Mar. brought out in 1767 (a) by Garrick and Colman conjointly, but that part of the dialogue is nearly verbatim. We leave the application of the inference to the Reader.

[(a) N.B. The inaccuracy of date.]

(2) Literary and Misc. Memoirs vol. 1. p. 201. (1828).

(2) B.D. C.D. 20. 3. 84.

(3) Colman the Younger dismisses it with very casual notice (cf. Peake l. p. 172)

(4) The entire lack of reference to it in the letters which passed between Colman and Garrick during their quarrel alone is enough to disprove it.

The evidence for and against these very varied statements is carefully examined in an article in Modern Language Notes (1). The author, Mr. J. M. Beatty, deals very summarily with the accusation of plagiarism. The Clandestine Marriage was well under way in 1763, while False Concord did not appear until March 1764 (2); Garrick was abroad at the time of its appearance, so that he at least is guiltless; furthermore, this charge was not brought against The C.M. until fifty years after its first performance. He does not mention, as he might have done, that both Colman and Garrick had plenty of enemies who would not have let slip an opportunity of discrediting them by such a suggestion. The accusation is negligible (3). Mr. Beatty also discredits the fairy-tale of Colman's burning the two acts which Garrick sent him - a story so improbable that it is surprising it imposed upon anybody (4). His examination of the evidence leads him to the conclusion that Colman was responsible for the basic characterization

(1) Mod. Lang. Notes, Mar. 1921. Garrick Colman and The Clandestine Marriage, by J. M. Beatty Junior.
 (2) B.D. C.G. 20. 3. 64.
 (3) Colman the Younger dismisses it with very casual notice (Cf. Peake l. p. 172)
 (4) The entire lack of reference to it in the letters which passed between Colman and Garrick during their quarrel alone is enough to disprove it.

of most of the chief dramatic personages including L.Ogleby and also for the most important details of the first four acts (1) as well as for the early part of the plot in almost every respect (2); but he is inclined to attribute to Garrick the modification of the original plan by the introduction at the opening of Act 11 of a servant scene and the incident of Melvil's finding Lovewell's bedroom empty (3), and to accept Garrick's authorship of Act. V and of the levee-scene which he had proposed in Act. 11. 'If he was the author of these scenes', he continues, 'it is probable that he was at least largely concerned in the other scenes where Ogleby and Canton appear. Their dialogue is so distinctive and so unvarying that it could not well have been written by two hands. Apparently Garrick had more share in writing Act 1V than he had in writing the preceding acts.' (4). He hesitates to

(1) Mod. Lang. Notes Mar. 1921, p.136.

(2) Loc. cit. p 134. His comparison of the rough draft of the play and the finished work shows how closely the original plan was followed even in very small details.

(3) M.L.N. p. 135.

(4) " " " " 140. Colman definitely states that this is so in his letter of Dec. 4th (Quoted above p.225) 'as the play now stands.' It is not probable that the first 3 acts came in for any drastic re-writing in that month. Garrick's query in his letter of Xmas Day, 'Why did you not finish the first act as you would have it?' sounds as if alterations had been discussed but not adopted when the revision was in progress. It seems safe to conclude that this final revision materially affected only the 5th act.

assume that 'every departure from Colman's early plan is traceable to Garrick's superior stagemanship. Act V it is true is the best act in the play, but Garrick was always at his best in short flights' (1).

These conclusions are drawn from the evidence afforded by the 'Papers relative to plan of Clandestine Marriage' which Colman the Younger found and printed, and from the internal evidence of the piece itself. He adds in corroboration that Colman had already written original comedies, whereas Garrick had produced very little except farces and re-workings of older plays. He does not mention that the crowded canvas of The Clandestine Marriage, the Fieldingesque virility of the characters, and the robust vigour which marks the execution, are all more in the style of The Jealous Wife than of any of Garrick's works. The tone of the letters between the two (2) and the fact that Colman sent the rough draft of the first four acts and then the sketch of the last act to Garrick suggest very strongly that most, if not all, of the original planning, and the writing of the play in its first form were Colman's, that Garrick, as Mrs. Inchbald says, cast a critical eye over the

(1) Op. cit. p. 141.

(2) Those written before Garrick's return from the Continent.

production, in his own phrase, diverted himself by scribbling (1) the levee scene in Act II. and one version of Act V (that it was the final one cannot be proved), and no doubt suggested various slight changes which Colman carried out(2). This agrees with Mr. Beatty's final judgment. Where there has been a definite shifting of scenes for dramatic effect it is probable, he thinks, that Garrick's brain, if not his pen, was the determining factor in the change (3), but the original idea, most of the spade work, and a very large

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- (1) Cf. his letter of Nov. 10th 1764, and compare with it his note on Victor's tragedy Sept. 1st 1766 - 'though he loves writing he knows very well that I hate it' (Gk. Corr. v. 1. p. 238) I think the truth probably lies in these two sentences. Garrick could amuse himself by hurried, fairly light writing (it is noticeable how often even his letters are written 'upon the gallop') but he was too volatile to care for, or even be capable of, much sustained work. He was eminently suited to criticize an outline and suggest telling situations, and then again to add effective passages to what was already written, but he would not be likely to stay the course in an arduous undertaking. With regard to his share in the last act, Colman the Younger says his father informed him that one of Garrick's greatest merits was planning the incidents in that act.' This sounds as if the actual writing were not his. Mrs. Inchbald was probably right in her summing up although she appears to have jumped to her conclusions.
- (2) Davies's criticism in another connection is applicable here: 'As a writer of plays, a scholar and critic I will not compare Mr. Garrick to Mr. Colman; as a man experienced in the conduct of the theatre and one who well understood what would best please the taste of an audience, I must suppose him equal if not superior to all competition.' (Dram. Miscellanies II. p. 263). Fitzgerald's account (Life of Garrick, II. pp. 169-176) is so strongly partisan and like his references to the friendship between C. and G., so ready to damage C. at G's expense that its evidence becomes almost worthless.
- (3) Loc. cit.

portion of the play as it stands are Colman's, and to him must go the lion's share of the credit for this sterling comedy (1).

The play is unmistakably a comedy of manners although Professor Bernbaum (2) includes it among the sentimental comedies and sees in it 'a surrender to the popular taste on the part of playwrights who had heretofore been disinclined to sentimentalism' (3). He bases his statement on the central situation and the characters of the main personages. The central situation however is surely comic: a concealed marriage involves the husband and wife in various difficulties, the wife is subjected to the addresses of her sister's suitor and is suspected of trying to alienate his affections, the husband is made the confidant of another man's passion for his wife, and when they try to disentangle themselves from their difficulties by asking the old nobleman to use his influence on their behalf, they find themselves more involved than ever by his imagining that he has made

(1) Hazlitt's opinion, founded on a general examination of the work of the two men, agrees with this: 'The C.M..... has some lighter theatrical graces which I suspect Garrick threw into it. Canton is, I should think, his, though this classification of him among the ornamental parts of the play may seem whimsical. Garrick's genius does not appear to have been equal to the construction of a solid drama; but he could retouch and embellish with great gaiety and knowledge of the technicalities of his art.' (Eng. Comic Writers of the last Century p.233).

(2) The Drama of Sensibility (Harvard Univ. Press, 1925).

(3) Op. cit. p.218.

a conquest of the lady. There is nothing essentially sentimental in these predicaments. Admittedly they are capable of sentimental handling, but that they never receive. The second argument which Professor Bernbaum finds for including the play among the dramas of sensibility is the characters of the principals. Here again it is difficult to agree with him. The chief characters are not Lovewell and Fanny; the interest of the play, though it arises from their situation, is centred not in them but in Lord Ogleby, Sterling and Mrs. Heidelberg, whom he himself admits to be purely comic. Fanny is certainly strongly tinged with sentimentalism: she has the delicate sensibilities of a Lady Betty Lambton (though she is not as full of false delicacy as that lady) but her distresses are represented not so as to draw the sympathetic tear but to move laughter. Even in the height of her persecution in the fifth act the emphasis is laid not on her sufferings but on the frustrated revenge of Miss Sterling and Mrs. Heidelberg and the oddities of the other characters present. The matter is patched up by Lord Ogleby's unexpected generosity and one or two sententious speeches from Lovewell and Melvil, which are not in the true comic spirit; here however the influence of sentimentalism ends. These two points, Fanny's character and the happy ending, are not enough to justify the inclusion of The Clandestine Marriage in the drama of sensibility. Further proof of the comic inspiration of the play lies in the treatment of the various situations.

Take for instance Miss Sterling's persecution of Fanny (1): what is shown is not the sufferings of a sensitive girl at the hands of a malicious sister but the vulgar spite of Miss Sterling, her 'Cheapside pertness and Whitechapel pride'. Again when she applies to Lord Ogleby for his influence with her father - an opportunity which the sentimentalist would have seized for harrowing our sensibilities with the picture of beauty in distress and chivalry to the rescue - the situation is treated in the best comic manner. We are given no time to 'relish the luxury of compassion' for Fanny, all our attention is occupied with the comedy of misunderstandings and the display of Lord Ogleby's absurdities. As Professor Bernbaum points out on another occasion (2), the sentimental dramatist arranges his situations so as to bring out their full emotional values. The emotional aspect is never stressed from beginning to end of The Clandestine Marriage. Even Fanny's predicament is not a genuinely sentimental one. She has married secretly in spite of her scruples;

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- (1) C.M.1. 2. (Dr. Wks. 1777 l. p.170-175) The scene in which Miss Sterling reproaches Fanny for Sir John's desertion makes remarkably little of Fanny's distress; the emphasis is laid on Miss Sterling's anger, in spite of the sentimental soliloquy with which it closes. (op. cit. p.211-213).
- (2) Op. cit. p.185, in connection with La Chaussée's La Fausse Antipathie.

Lovewell is averse from revealing the situation for purely financial reasons; and she urges the confession of the marriage not because her love of open dealing will not let her keep it secret any longer but because her condition makes it necessary. Schlegel would see in her and Lovewell the true source of all comedy, the conflict between the physical and the rational. The dénouement is not brought about by the triumph of her finer feelings but by a series of accidents for which she is in no way responsible. Only an ex parte judgment could seriously stamp this comedy as anything but risible. Its spirits shine through it. No comedy of the late 18th century or any later date could attain those emotional heights which the Comic Spirit inhabited at the beginning of the century; the power of humanitarianism has called her down to less icy regions and her laughter has never regained its crystal clarity but is tinged with warmer colours; but the presiding genius in The Clandestine Marriage ~~The C.M.~~ is not 'The Goddess of the woful countenance, The Sentimental Muse,' but Comedy herself.

The Clandestine Marriage (1), whoever be the credit for its composition and whatever category it be included in, is an admirable comedy, second only, Beatty declares, to the work of Goldsmith and Sheridan among contemporary writers. It is written with the same zest as The Jealous Wife and Colman's other early productions, and with greater stage-craft and polish than any other of his dramas. The reason of this is not far to seek; Colman had enough material from Hogarth and from the discussions with Garrick to supply him with a plot, and given that and a

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- (1) D.L. 20. 2. 66. (Genest gives the cast). Acted 19 times before Thu. 15. 5. 66, 7 times at Richmond (M. 21. 7. 66. bft. Mrs. Love, S. 16. 8. 66. bft. Keasberry, W. 17. 9. 66 bft. Master Love; it was received very well, though the acting was woeful; Ogleby by Dibdin - Garrick to Colman, Hampton 15. 7. 66. Peake p. 187) 16 times the following season at D.L. (F. 17. 10. 66 with a new epilogue. The 'Collection of material for a History of D.L.' puts the first performance with a new epilogue M. 17. 11. 66, but Genest records the new epilogue by Miss Pope on Oct. 17th, and marks Nov. 17th as King's first appearance since his accident - May '66, when according to the 'Public Advertiser' he broke his thigh by a fall from his horse). M. 23. 3. 67. bft. Mrs. Clive. T. 7. 4. 67. bft. Vernon. M. 20. 4. 67. bft. Mrs. Palmer, Th. 30. 4. 67. bft. Mrs. King, T. 12. 5. 67. bft. Evans and Miss Rogers, F. 15. 5. 67. bft. Hellman and Mrs. Bradshaw), 3 times at Richmond in the summer of '67 (all benefit performances) and it remains an exceedingly popular stock piece for at least 50 years. Th. 12. 10. 69 D.L. was a command performance, Th. 10. 4. 77 D.L. bft. Mrs. Robinson (who played Fanny) W. 13. 5. 78. D.L. a command performance. The first performance at C.G. appears to have been 9. 1. 68. but it occurs very seldom there. It was revived many times between 1800 and 1900 (see Nicoll H.C. History of the 18th Century Drama and Davenport Adams, Dictionary of the Drama p. 94) Its last performance seems to have been at the Haymarket, Mar. 1903. It was translated into French 1768 and German 1769, and adapted for an Italian comic opera 1796. It was evidently very popular in the provinces. T. Wilkinson mentions it frequently (Wandering Patentee passim).

free hand to write a comedy and not a mere farce he was happy (1). Then too, he was at the height of his powers and had not yet become so far involved in theatrical management that he could bring only weakened energies to dramatic composition. Finally, the collaboration with Garrick gave him the advantage of the experience of an old hand whose knowledge of the theatre was unrivalled.

The first impulse towards the writing of the play came from Hogarth's *Marriage a la Mode*, the theme of which is an alliance between an impoverished nobleman and a wealthy city family. Colman seized upon the figures Hogarth depicted as a suitable group to appear on the comic stage. The popularity of Lord Chalkstone in his own farce of Letham may have prompted Garrick, consciously or unconsciously, to suggest the change from Hogarth's proud lord to Lord Ogleby and memories of the old humorist in Norfolk (if Cradock is to be believed) have strengthened his ideas for the new character; various small touches have been provided by the ever-fruitful Connoisseur.

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- (1) He seems to have been very poor at devising a plot from his own materials. Practically every one of his dramas acknowledges ideas or characters taken from some other source - cf. The Jealous Wife and The English Merchant - or is a re-working or translation of an older theme. Even such slight pieces as Polly Honeycombe and The Musical Lady have borrowed from The Connoisseur, and the interlude, The Enraged Musician, is again founded on Hogarth.

The first plate in Marriage à la Mode alone has been followed in the construction of the play (1), although it is

- (1) 'The following description of Marriage à la Mode was found among the papers of the late Mr. Lane of Hillingdon; and his family believe it to be Hogarth's Explanation either copied from his own hand-writing or given verbally to Mr. Lane at the time he purchased the pictures

The First Picture.

There is always a something wanting to make man happy: the great think themselves not sufficiently rich and the rich believe themselves not enough distinguished. This is the case of the Alderman of London and the motive which makes him covet for his daughter the alliance of a great lord; who on his part does not consent thereto but on condition of enriching his son; - and this is what the painter calls Marriage à la Mode. . . . (N.P.) The 2 figures of the Alderman and the Earl are in every respect so well characterized that they explain themselves. The Alderman, with an air of business, counts his money like a man used to this employment; and the Earl, full of his titles and the greatness of his birth, which he lets you see goes as high as William the Conqueror, is in an attitude which shows him full of pride; you think you hear him say me, my arms, my titles, my family, my ancestors: everything about him carries marks of distinction; his very crutches, the humbling consequence of his infirmities, are introduced here as the usual consequence of that irregularity of living but too frequent among the great. The two persons who are betrothed, on their parts are by no means attentive to one another; the one looks at himself in the glass, is taking snuff and thinking of nothing; the other is playing negligently with a ring and seems to hear with indifference the conversation of a kind of a lawyer who attends the execution of the marriage articles. Another lawyer is exclaiming with admiration on the beauty of a building seen at a distance, and upon which the Earl has spent his whole fortune, and has not sufficient to finish the same. A number of idle footmen, who are about the court of this building, finish the representation of the ruinous pageantry in which the Earl is engaged.' Hogarth's Works (Ireland and Nichols) Second Series p. 7-9.

possible that the idea of Canton arose from Plate IV where a foreign servant is seen dressing the lady's hair. The city merchant and his daughter, the impoverished and decrepit nobleman and his son and the lawyers depicted here are all transferred almost without change from the canvas to the stage. It is true that Hogarth's merchant, whose home is shown in Plate VI, has not Mr. Sterling's passion for fine living (1) but his social ambitions and indifference to his daughter's happiness are the same as Sterling's. A further change lies in the fact that Melvil is only a nephew, not a son, of the Earl, and in the character of 'Hogarth's proud lord.'

The influences which have converted him into Lord Ogleby are probably to be found in Lethy, where Garrick had already successfully portrayed an old fop. Lord Chalkstone (2) is much afflicted with gout and rheumatism and is so feeble that he has to walk leaning on Bowman's arm, but finding himself in spirits he goes to coquet with the beauties of antiquity just as Ogleby 'has at' the ladies as soon as the cordials have enlivened him; his servant is an obsequious echo like Canton and is as readily amused by his master's jokes as the Swiss;

(1) Evidently the standard of living in the city had become more extravagant between the 1740's and the 60's since Colman finds a subject for ridicule in their ostentation and pretensions to taste and not in their living meanly, as Hogarth had done.

(2) His first appearance is heralded by his servant in much the same way as L. Ogleby's is by Canton.

his vanity and self-complacency call forth from Esop the remark, 'How flattering is folly: his lordship here, supported only by vanity vivacity and his friend Mr. Bowman, can fancy himself the wisest, and is the happiest, of mortals,' a summing up which is not far from describing Ogleby. How many of Ogleby's other traits were suggested by Garrick's personal observation of an eccentric and how many were owed to Colman (1) it is impossible to guess, nor can it be proved whose was the suggestion of having two contrasting attendants. They divide Bowman's attributes between them: Brush supports Ogleby's judgment, Canton flatters him and laughs at his jokes. Stress has been laid on the closeness of the resemblance between Lord Chalkstone and Lord Ogleby, generally, it would seem, with an idea of excusing Garrick for refusing to act in the new part. The similarities which have been pointed out are not so striking that the new part could be called merely an expansion of the old. The temptation to act the two parts in the same manner might have been difficult to avoid, and it very probably was better that another actor should interpret Lord Ogleby; but to pretend that a character from a farce has been carefully reproduced in a five-act comedy is a misrepresentation of facts and an unjustified slur on the creative powers of the two authors.

(1) Cf. Colman's letter of Dec 4th 1765 (quoted above p.224) 'In the conduct as well as dialogue of the 4th act I think your favourite L.O. has some obligations to me.' As this is Ogleby's great scene Colman must have some credit for his character. With regard to the old humorist in Norfolk it should be remembered that Mrs. Inchbald records that at the time of the play's appearance 'several noblemen were said to have been in the author's thoughts when he designed the character' and very probably all the rumours were equally unfounded.

The borrowings from The Connoisseur are all connected with either the cit's country place or the question of marriages of convenience. Satire on townsmen who must ape their betters and have a country box had occurred in four papers in The Connoisseur (1); as in these Colman makes fun of the fashions in landscape gardening and again laughs at the summer-house at the end of the garden which cammands a view of every carriage passing by (2), the artificial fountains (3), the Gothic and Chinese

(1) Nos. 33, 113, 120 and 135. Colman makes use of these papers again in The Spleen (Cf. ^{supra} ~~Farce~~ p. 187.)

(2) Cf. The Conn. no. 33, + Sterling 'The high octagon summer-house ... cammands the whole road; all the coaches and chariots and chaises pass and repass under your eye' (Dr. Wks. 1. p.197.)

(3) Conn. no. 33 and no. 113: 'Taste ... sheds its influence on every lawn, avenue, grass plot and parterre (sic) ... If a pond is dug, Neptune, at the command of taste, emerges from the bason and presides in the middle; or if a vista is cut through a grove it must be terminated by a Flora or an Apollo.'

Ogleby: The four seasons in lead, the Flying Mercury and the basin with Neptune in the middle are all in the very extreme of fine taste (Dr. Wks. 1. p.196)

Sterling: One must always have a church, or an obelisk or something, to terminate the prospect, you know. That's a rule in taste, my lord! (p. 200)

ornaments (1) as well as the many statues with which 'taste' adorned houses and gardens. On the marriage of convenience again The Connoisseur has given several hints. The remark in no. 38, 'Since true and sincere love is sure to make its votaries thus ridiculous, we cannot sufficiently commend our present people of quality who have made such laudable attempts to deliver themselves and posterity from its bondage (2)' might have been in Mrs. Heidelberg's mind when she answered Miss Sterling's complaints of Sir John's coldness: 'What you complain of as coldness and indifference is nothing but the extreme gentility of his address, an exact picture of the manners of

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- (1) Conn. No. 120. 'The ornaments both on the outside and inside of our houses, are all Gothick or Chinese and whoever makes a pagoda of his parlour throws a plank or two with an irregular cross-barred paling over a dirty ditch, or places battlements on a root-house or a stable, fits up his house and garden entirely in taste.'
 Cf. the 'clay-coloured ditch' which Sterling calls a canal (p. 186) the Chinese bridge (p. 200) and Mrs. Heidelberg's little Gothick dairy (p. 198).
 A further point of resemblance lies in The Conn. no. 135.

I wish you'd fell those odious trees ...
 Our house beholders would adore
 Was there a level lawn before.

and Sterling: 'We were surrounded with trees. I cut down above fifty to make the lawn before the house; and let in the wind and sun, smack smooth as you see.'
 It is surprising that Colman has not used the hint

Taste would want its first great law
 But for the skulking sly ha-ha

- especially as Lord Chalkstone also refers to the ha-ha.
 (2) Th. 17. 10. 54.

quality (1)'; and a phrase from a little further on has been transferred bodily (2). The comments in The Connoisseur No. 112 have been used in Miss Sterling's picture of the joys of marrying into Society (4) and indeed in her whole attitude towards the union with Sir John. Yet another paper seems to have suggested some features of Fanny and Lovewell in the figures of Will Easy and Miss - (5), although there is no suggestion here of the secret marriage.

(1) C.M. (Dr. Wks. 1. p.178)

(2) 'But while these miserable, fond dotting unfashionable couples are obliged to content themselves with love and a cottage, people of quality enjoy the comforts of indifference and a coach and six.' (Conn. loc. cit.)

Miss Sterling: Love and a cottage! eh Fanny! Ah, give me indifference and a coach and six. (Dr. Wks. 1.p171.)

(3) 'The splendour in which they are to be maintained' seems to be one of the chief considerations in modern matches. If a fine lady can be carried to court in a chair richly ornamented, or roll to the opera in a rich gilt chariot, she little **considers** with how disagreeable a companion she goes through the journey of life!

(4) Dr. Wks. 1. p. 174.

(5) Conn. no. 124. Like Easy Lovewell spends much time with the family, he and Fanny 'gave a thousand little indications of a growing passion not unobserved by others,' and 'the ill-judged ambition of a parent induced the father, out of mere love to his daughter, to refuse her hand to the only man in the world with whom she could live happily, because he imagined that he might, in the Smithfield phrase, do better for her.'

For the benefit of the audience is, 'My relationship with Dalry, and his having placed my with your father, may best, you know, be first links in the chain of this connection between the two families.' (p.164.) Lovewell's earlier speech which lets them into the secret for the first time is exactly the kind of review of the facts that I might make when he is trying to make someone take a particular view of the situation.

The Clandestine Marriage marks a pronounced advance on The Jealous Wife. There is here a greater ease in plot-development, a more skilled mastery of situation, and a more varied and polished presentation of character than in the earlier play. The opening scene at once puts the audience in possession of the necessary facts by the very natural conversations first between Fanny and Betty, and then between Fanny and Lovewell (1). Immediately the action begins: we meet Sterling, hear him refuse Lovewell as a suitor for Fanny, learn of Ogleby's approach and the preparations which are being made for him, and finally hear from Lovewell of some secret which Melvil has to entrust to him. The next scene, which introduces Miss Sterling and Mrs. Heidelberg, while giving them an opportunity to display their characteristics, also informs the audience of Sir John's coldness, his apparent preference for Fanny, and L. Ogleby's gallantry, while preparations for their arrival are still continuing. The second act contains the introduction of Ogleby with the hint to the audience that he thinks he has made

The situations in The C. M. are hardly noteworthy.

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- (1) The only remark of Lovewell's which sounds as if it were made for the benefit of the audience is, 'My relationship to L. Ogleby, and his having placed my with your father, have been, you know, the first links in the chain of this connection between the two families'. (p.164.) Lovewell's earlier speech which lets them into the causes for the secret is exactly the kind of review of the facts that a man might make when he is trying to make someone take a reasonable view of the situation.

an impression on Fanny (1), and the garden scene with Melvil's confession to Lovewell that he wants to marry not Betsy but Fanny, his love-making to Fanny and their surprisal by Betsy. Act III. shows the lawyers ready to make the marriage settlements, Melvil's successful proposition to Sterling, their rout by Mrs. Heidelberg and the proposal to get L. Ogleby to use his influence on their behalf. Lovewell and Fanny, we already know, are contemplating asking for help from the same source. From here to the general entanglement in the fourth act is a short step. L. Ogleby has become the focus of the situation. Fanny's confession is understood by him as a declaration of love for himself; each of the other principals comes to him in turn for his influence in their affairs, each time with further complications. The misunderstandings are complete at the end of the act. The *éclaircissement* follows naturally from Lovewell's imprudence and Betsy's malignity. 'The classis neatness of Mr. Colman', in Davies's phrase, shows itself to admiration in this handling of his single theme.

The situations in ^{The Clandestine Marriage} The C.M. are doubly praiseworthy, firstly as effective theatre, secondly as the natural outcome of the characters of the **chief actors**. The best are the garden scene between Fanny and L. Ogleby, followed by the excellent

(1) Dr. Wks. 1. p. 189.

series of misunderstandings between Ogleby and Lovewell, and Melvil, and the final unravelling of the situation in the gallery outside the bedrooms. In each case the plight of the dramatic personae is a cause for genuine mirth and also is the result of some weakness of their own. Fanny's bashfulness, Ogleby's vanity, Lovewell's imprudence and Betsy's wish for revenge have brought about the embarrassments in which they find themselves(1).

The greatest superiority of The C.M. to all of Colman's other works lies however in the character-drawing. Nowhere else does he attempt so varied a gallery of portraits and nowhere else has his art such finish as here. With the single exception of the lawyers (2) and the 'walking on' parts there is not one of the characters who has not been completely realized. Lovewell and Melvil perhaps are the least individual, but Lovewell's jealousy when he hears that Melvil is in love with his wife and is about to make his addresses to her gives

(1) Mention should also be made of the excellence of many other scenes - eg. Brush and the Chambermaid drinking Ogleby's best chocolate and discussing the family, Mrs. Heidelberg routing Sir John and Mr. Sterling, (Sterling 'Nay, I shan't hear of it I promise you. I can't hear of it indeed Sir John.' Mrs. H. 'But you have heard of it brother Sterling, you know you have! (p. 236.) The only weak passages are those when the lawyers are concerned.

(2) Did Dickens remember the joke about Mr. Trueman, the poor young gentleman who has been called to the bar only about nine years and three-quarters, in Pickwick when he introduced Mr. Phunky to Sergeant Snubbins?*

(4) Dr. Wks. 1. p. 194.

him unexpected vitality, and Melvil though he is uninteresting is better than many of the ordinary comedy heroes. In the city family Colman has held the balance very successfully between comic portraiture and caricature. Mercenary, purse-proud and ostentatious, Sterling despises Sir John for accepting Fanny with £30,000 less dowry than Betsy (1) and is despised in turn by his own family and his guests. While he is preening himself on showing 'the quality' what money can do ('I'll give them such a glass of Champagne as they never drank in their lives; no, not at a duke's table (2)), Mrs. Heidelberg has to remind him not to fall asleep directly after supper as he commonly does and not to burst out with his horrible loud horse-laughs which are 'monstrous vulgar' (3), and L. Ogleby regards him as a vulgar dog and would have nothing to do with him if there was not so much money in the family which he can't do without (4). Even Brush thinks

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- (1) Cf. p. 227, 8. 'Special fellows to drive a bargain! and yet they are to take care of the interest of the nation truly! Here does this whirligig man of fashion offer to give up £30,000 with as much indifference as it it was a china orange. Ogleby may well say he has no more feeling than the post in his warehouse. He never considers his daughters at all. There is some truth in Miss Sterling's outburst.
- (2) Cf. also p.190. 'I believe there are no better beds in Europe than I have; I spare no pains to get 'em nor money to buy 'em. His Majesty, God bless him, don't sleep upon a better, out of his palace; and if I said in too, I hope no treason, my lord.'
- (3) Dr. Wks. 1. p.179. She also despises him because she knows the hold she has on him by her money. The threat that his family 'shan't be better by a farden' always brings him to heel. He accepts the situation very philosophically.(p.242.)
- (4) Dr. Wks. 1. p. 194.

the family 'very well to marry in but would not do to live with' (1). Yet he always **escapes** becoming purely farcical. He is less exaggerated than old Russet. Mrs. Heidelberg is more vulgar than Sterling because of her snobbery: Sterling declares (and believes) that 'An English merchant is the most respectable character in the universe' (2) but Mrs. Heidelberg prides herself on belonging to the genteel part of the family and on knowing the ways of 'quality' (3) and is on pins and needles lest her brother should disgrace himself before Ogleby (4): she is effusive to Canton (5) just because he is the servant of a nobleman; 'she loves a lord' as Sterling points out (6). Miss Sterling, her faithful follower despises your city knight 'standing all day in his shop, fastened to his counter like a bad shilling' (7), and takes a special pleasure in mortifying his good

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- (1) Dr. Wks. l. p. 188.
 (2) " " " p. 169.
 (3) " " " p. 178.
 (4) " " " p. 179. 'I am always in a fright about you with people of quality.'
 (5) Dr. Wks. l. p. 180.
 (6) " " " p. 239.
 (7) " " " p. 173.
- (3) Dr. Wks. l. p. 183, 270, 277. Fresh objects to her particularly.
 (4) " " " p. 255.
 (5) Mrs. Heidelberg of course supports her because she has 'My spirit to a T' but even Fanny protests against Sir John's addresses more in self-defence than in consideration of her sister's feelings at the change of allegiance.

lady. Mortifying the other woman is one of her favourite occupations (1). Betsy has all the makings of one of Smollett's old maids. Her father knows her mischief-making temper (2), the servants hate her (3), even the gallant L. Ogleby calls her a bitter potion (4). It is noticeable here that her treatment is purely comic: there is no suggestion of sentimental feeling either in the attitude of the other characters towards her when she is jilted by Sir John (5) or in any indication of a reform in her temper. Unlike Mrs. Oakby, when she finds her suspicions groundless, she does not resolve for the future never to suspect at all. A shrew she is and a shrew she remains. How the amiable Fanny found her way Cinderella-like into this family is

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- (1) Dr. Wks. l. p.172, ('Oh my dear sister! - I must mortify her a little'), p.281, ('Had they made their escape I should have been exposed to the derision of the world: but the warm deriders shall be derided'), p.283. She sucks the full enjoyment out of her revenge (p.279, 286).
- (2) Dr. Wks. l. p.240. She is all sweet words while it looks as if Fanny is to be removed ('For all Fanny's baseness to me, I am sure I would not do, or say, anything to hurt her with you or my aunt for the world') but her true temper displays itself when she sees she will get no redress from Ogleby (p.254).
- (3) Op. cit. p.184, 276, 277. Brush objects to her particularly.
- (4) " " p.263.
- (5) Mrs. Heidelberg of course supports her because she has 'My spurrit to a T' but even Fanny protests against Sir John's addresses more in self-defence than in consideration of her sister's feelings at the change of allegiance.

not explained (1).

The minor characters are in their way as good as the principals. Betty is an enormous improvement on the Mrs. Muslins and Flounces and the other waiting-women confidantes: garrulous, indiscreet and yet faithful, she is as familiar to us as many a real old-fashioned servant who is what is popularly called a 'character'. Scott met plenty of her calibre among the Lowland peasantry (2). Even the chambermaid^{who} has the misfortune to be caught by Miss Sterling after the party below stairs in honour of the change in the family plans, has a personality suggested in the few times she appears. Canton (3),

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- (1) She does not resemble her mother if Ogleby's account of that lady is to be accepted (p.189). In her character Colman seems for once to have deserted the spirited heroines whom he generally favours. Fanny is very lachrymose. It is worth considering that in the draft of the C.M. (in which Fanny appears as Miss Bride) he proposes she should be 'warm and sensible but not lacking in proper spirit.' The only time she shows a gleam of spirit is when she repels Sir John's advances, and even then she is less brilliant than might be expected of one of Colman's heroines. In view of his predilection for mettled women it is a temptation to attribute this change to Garrick's influence.
- (2) The only time she savours of the theatrical is when she pockets the key, saying 'My mistress shall never repent her good opinion of me' (p. 279), and even then the action is quite in keeping with her character: it is only the phrasing that is a little stiff.
- (3) Cf. Kelly, Thespis. (p.25). In foreign footmen Baddely alone
Preserves the native nasilness of
tone
And in his manner strongly shows
ally'd
Their genuine turn of abjectness
and pride.
If proofs are wanting on Canton I
call
And ask the general sentiments of
all.

however, is the best of the low-life group. Foreign servants had appeared on the stage before, but not such a comic figure as this shuffling old man with his broken English. He is more original than the pert valet, Brush (1), and he serves as an admirable foil to L. Ogleby, whom he flatters by playing on his vanity and by serving not as a memento mori but as a delicate suggestion that L. Ogleby is not as other old men are. He laughs at Ogleby's jokes (he has 'certainly the most companionable laugh' [2]), flatters him when Sterling makes tactless remarks about his age (My lor ~~so~~ old as me! He is shicken to me; and look like a boy to pauvre me) (3), keeps him adroitly in good temper (4), sings French songs with him when he is in the mood (5),

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- (1) Yet Brush is more individual than the general run of stage valets. He identifies himself with his master - 'We don't consider tempers, we want money, Mrs. Nancy; give us enough of that, we'll abate you a great deal in other particulars' - and models himself to some extent on Ogleby - 'It is impossible to stupify one's self in the country for a week, without some little flirting with the abigails. This is much the handsomest wench in the house, except the old citizen's youngest daughter, and I have not time enough to lay a plan for her.' Sam Weller could have introduced Brush into a congenial circle at Bath. He and the man in blue have common interests.
- (2) Dr. Wks. l. p. 192 - cf. p. 198.
- (3) Op. cit. p. 194.
- (4) " " p. 243, 244. Notice how neatly he diverts the trend of O's thoughts when he is getting peevish at the prospect of being left with the 'Heidelbergs and Devilbergs'.
- (5) Op. cit. p. 246, 245.

in fact thoroughly deserves his master's eulogy, 'Thou art properly my cephalick snuff, and art no bad medicine against megrims, vertigoes, and profound thinking' (1).

The part par excellence in ^{The Clandestine Marriage} ~~the O.M.~~ is of course Ogleby. He is of interesting descent: the fop, young or old, had made a figure in Restoration drama but had since been forgotten or else drawn in very insipid style. There is nothing half-hearted in the picture of this old beau with his essences, his rouge, and his case of 'potecary's stuff, without the help of which he cannot face the day. He is in the last stages of decrepitude, but refuses to admit that he is not in the heyday of strength and spirits (2) and takes Sterling's ill-chosen remarks about his constitution with an ill-assumed grace (3), and he is convinced

- (1) Op. cit. p. 244. The following advt. from The Publick Advertiser, Wed. Jan. 1. 1766, is interesting in this connection: "Cephalic Powders; invented by a Physician of Eminence, and made public at the request of many distinguished Personages who have proved their Efficacy extraordinary in Disorders of the Head and giving instant Relief in the most depressed State. They give Life and Spirits unknown before, comfort the Brain, clear the Understanding, warm and cheer the Heart, remove any Load or Pain in the Breast, fortify the nerves and spirits against any Depravation (sic), constitute a juvenile Bloom and infuse a generous Warmth throughout the whole Body." etc.
- (2) Even with Canton he keeps up the pretence of needing no cosmetics. (Dr. Wks. 1. p. 187).
- (3) ~~Op. cit. p. 193.~~ He despises Melvil for not being a more dashing lover: 'What poor things, Mr. Sterling these very young fellows are! They make love with faces as if they were burying the dead.' (p. 192).
- (3) Op. cit. p. 193.

that he is now, as always, irresistible to the women. Once he had had his 'brushing and oiling, screwing and winding up to set him a-going for the day' (1) from Brush and has touched up his complexion with 'a faint tincture of the rose' to give a delicate spirit to my eyes for the day, he is ready for a game of romps with the girls (2). Even Mrs. Heidelberg comes in for her share of his attentions: he calls her 'the very flower of delicacy and cream of politeness' (3), although he has hardly yet 'got over her first reception: it almost amounted to suffocation.' (4). He is full of fine speeches: Miss Sterling's buttonhole is 'The truest emblem of yourself, madam! all sweetness and poignancy!' (5) and the opening of Fanny's appeal brings forth from him a flood of courtly phrases, much to his own gratification ('I'm in tolerable spirits, faith!') (6). He prides himself on his knowledge of the sex - he 'always reads the eyes of a young lady (7) - and on the ravages he makes in their emotions - 'My old fault - The devil's in me, I think, for perplexing young women!' (8). His

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- (1) Op cit. p.182.
 (2) " " 190. Cf. p.245. 'She vil make-a love to you. O: 'Will indeed my lord, if she? Have at her then! A fine girl can't oblige me more.'
 (3) " " 198.
 (4) " " 188.
 (5) " " 199.
 (6) " " 248.
 (7) " " 253.
 (8) " " 249.

vanity and complacency show best after Fanny leaves him in the garden: 'How the devil could I bring her to this? It is too much - too much - I can't bear it - I must give way to this amiable weakness - (wipes his eyes). My heart overflows with sympathy and I feel every tenderness I have inspired - (stifles a tear).'(1). He preens himself on his conquest and is quite certain there is no mistake: 'Believe me, my dear Miss Sterling, believe me, Miss Fanny has no passion for Sir John. She has a passion indeed; a most tender passion! She has opened her whole soul to me and I know where her affections are placed (conceitedly)..... Lovewell! No, poor lad! she does not think of him.' (2) The discussion of Fanny with Lovewell is pure comedy:

- O. She's a fine girl, Lovewell.
- L. Her beauty, my lord, is her least merit. She has an understanding. -
- O. Her choice convinces me of that.
- L.(bowing) That's your lordship's goodness. Her choice was a disinterested one -
- O. No - no - not altogether; it began with interest and ended in passion -
- L. Indeed my lord, if you were acquainted with her goodness of heart and generosity of mind as well as you are with the inferior beauties of her face and person -

(1) Op. cit. p. 252.

(2) " " 253,4.

O. I am so perfectly convinced of their existence and so totally of your mind touching every amiable particular of that ~~s~~w~~ee~~t girl, that were it not for the cold, unfeeling impediments of the law, I would marry her to-morrow morning!

L. My lord! (1).

Comedy was not in the last stages of exhaustion when it could produce passages such as this, and sustain the jest as successfully as Colman and Garrick do to the end of the play.

For all his vanity Ogleby has a good heart, as Lovewell recognizes (2), and he shows it at a moment when wounded self-esteem and the knowledge that he has exposed himself to the whole vulgar family, added to the interruption of his night's rest, would have excused some petulance. He forgives Fanny when he finds how he ~~has~~ been deceived, not because 'A philosophical air is the most becoming thing in the world to the face of a person of quality' but because he 'swore to support her affection with his life and fortune - 'tis a debt of honour and must be paid,' (3), and as he ~~has~~ already pointed out, 'I have too much sensibility to bear the tears of beauty.' (4). There is a new kindness here both in the presentation of Ogleby and in the

(1) Op. cit. p. 259, 60.

(2) " " 245.

(3) " " 290.

(4) " " 254.

attitude which he takes towards Fanny's misfortunes, which shows far more truly than any of the definitely sentimental comedies, the power of sensibility in the drama (1).

The C.M., in spite of the stormy course of its composition and those moments on the first night when its fate hung in the balance, was acclaimed by the critics at once, and became one of the most popular stock pieces of the late 18th century (2). The excellence of the cast (3) no doubt helped it considerably

- (1) This statement does not of course affect in any way the contention that The C.M. must be regarded as essentially a risible comedy: it merely indicates that the power of sensibility or of the new humanitarianism was such that when a genuine comedy was written the laughter which it called forth was laughter with a difference.
- (2) The following anecdote shows that its excellence was not immediately recognised on every occasion:
 ... 'Actors are not always the best judges of pieces. Notwithstanding the uncommon merit and extraordinary merit of The Clandestine Marriage the early part of this season at D.L. ; a piece which one should imagine, only slightly to peruse were sufficient to make any reader of common understanding pronounce it one of the best comedies in the Engl. language; yet strange to relate, at the first reading of it in the Green Room at Crow St. in Dec. the whole company concurred in opinion that it was not worth the trouble of getting up. It was accordingly laid aside, until Mr. T. Barry's benefit. The novelty inclined him to have it studied and performed; when it pleased so wonderfully that it was played twice a week at Cork the following summer and many nights the ensuing winter. (Hitchcock, View of the Irish Stage ll. p.147, 148.)
- (3) Genest's note on Mrs. Abington's appearance as Betty is interesting.

with the public: King's Ogleby (1) is never mentioned except in terms of the highest praise, and Mrs. Clive must have found a most congenial part in Mrs. Heidelberg, while all the minor parts give admirable opportunities to the actor. At the same time the intrinsic worth of the comedy was very generally acknowledged by theatrical critics and men of letters alike. Thus Bonnell Thornton in his dedication to The Merchant (a dedication which, though it smacks a little of flattery, is in the main sincere) refers to the reputation of 'the author of The Jealous Wife or the joint authors of the Clandestine Marriage.' (2). Foote, writing to Garrick, refers to the success of the play: 'I rejoice with him (Colman) and the public on the success of his C.M. ^{Clandestine Marriage} Lady Stanhope came here last night, gave me a very good account of it and is vastly pleased' (3). Christopher Smart writes, 'I observe, from the conversation in

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- (1) Cf. B.D. Theatrical Biography 1. p.119. ('King's O. greatly assisted the run of that excellent comedy'), Dibdin (intro. to the C.M., Brit. Theatre 1815).
B.D. 111. p.106. 'The incomparable acting of the late Mr. King ... could not be too highly praised nor will it ever be forgotten by those who have seen it.'
 Tate Wilkinson, Memoirs of his own Life, 111. p.254, says King founded his interpretation of the part 'on the voice and mannerisms of Mr. Andrew Brice, an Exeter printer and eccentric.'
 Bernard, who played O. at C.G. in '93 based his interpretation on the figure of Sir John Danvers, the celebrated Bath eccentric. (Retrospections of the Stage, 11. p.30.)
- (2) Peake 1. p.153.
- (3) Garrick Corr. Foote to G. Feb. 26. 1766. It is noteworthy that Foote speaks of the play as Colman's.

general on your late performance, that either your benevolence has won you more affection, or your wit commanded more applause (both I suppose) than that of any person in my memory' (1).

Garrick was evidently satisfied with its progress; he writes in April '66: 'How goes our bastard on? We have escaped well; Hawkesworth has been kind - it pleased me much ... Pray when you see Davies, the bookseller, assure him that I bear him not the least malice, which he is told I do, for having mentioned the vulggrisms in the Clandestine Marriage G.M.; and that I may convince him that all is well between us, let him know that I was well assured, that he wrote his criticism, before he had seen the play.'

Quod ert. 'demn.' (2). The play's reputation had reached Paris by July: 'Diderot told an English gentleman ... he wanted to see the Clandestine Marriage G.M. I happened to have one here and sent it him by the gentleman as a donum ex authoribus' (3). Murphy (who considers Colman and Garrick the Beaumont and Fletcher of their day!) (4), bases Garrick's fame as an author on this piece and

- (1) Peake 1. p.179. As the letter is dated Feb. 27th 1766 the 'late performance' must be the C.M. To reverse Thornton's phrase (Peake 1. 154) 'The end of this mote might seem written purely as a sugar plum to you to induce you to swallow down the beginning of it more glibly,' so perhaps the criticism should not carry much weight.
- (2) Peake 1. pp.180,181. Garrick would not have been so calm about an adverse criticism if things had not been going well.
- (3) Garrick Corr. Colman to G. July 27, 1766.
- (4) Murphy, Life of Garrick, ll. p.27. Cf. also Davies, Life of Garrick, ll. p.102.

his excellent farces (1), and criticizes The C.M. in some detail: 'The characters are copied from life and the dialogue is neat and terse, but never rises to comic humour except when Lord Ogleby breaks out in his pleasant vein. He is a battered rake, still willing to fancy himself in the vigour of youth; a man of high honour and generosity' (2). A New Theatrical Dictionary declares The C.M. is 'Indisputably one of the best comedies produced in the present times,' (3) a judgment which Biography Dramatica repeats word for word (4). Hazlitt goes further, 'The Clandestine Marriage is nearly without a fault.' (5).

Not all critics were so laudatory. The Theatrical Campaign for 1766 and 1767 (6) objects that 'the characters are outrés; the sentiments as well as incidents are often forced; and the conduct and dénouement are defective. Lord Ogilvie (sic) is certainly a being not in nature; there never was such a compound of folly and wit, foppery and sentiment, vanity and decrepitude. Mr. Sterling may be but too just a representation of

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- (1) Murphy Life of Garrick ll. p. 189, 190.
 (2) Life of Garrick ll. p.30.
 (3) p.41.
 (4) B.D. lll. p. 106.
 (5) Lectures in the Eng. Comic Writers p. 232.
 (6) London 1767. p.p. 2,3.

real life; yet we could wish, for the honour of the metropolis, that he were entirely an original: so much ignorance, blended with so much sordid cunning, was but a bad compliment in a portrait of the city which is the constant and great support of the theatres (1).... Sir John Melvil and Miss Sterling make so ridiculous an appearance in the last scene. He either should not have appeared, made some apology to the lady, or recanted and given her his hand.' Otherwise 'Let him remain absent since he has nothing to say to the purpose. Yes; but the lawyer would have lost his joke and the alibi would not have been proved. This indeed is the business of both these gentlemen in the last scene; whose presence might otherwise very well have been dispensed with.' This is a poor criticism. The denouement would be impossible without the presence of Melvil and Miss Sterling, and the appearance of Flower with one boot and a slipper, 'much alarmed about thieves at circuit-time - They would be particularly severe with us gentlemen of the bar,' is a legitimate addition to the fun of the scene. A poorer passage, which The Theatrical Campaign does not criticize, is the earlier conversation of the lawyers: 'this insipid exuberance coldly

(1) Carleton's op. cit. l.p.200. He mentions that Cantor's reference to "anti-sejanus" nearly caused a riot at the 1st performance as Spool, the author of the papers signed Sejanus,

(1) The author admits that this is outside the scope (of 201) dramatic criticism.

(2) The bargain between Melvil and Sterling (Dr. Wks. l. p.224-227.)

(3) Remarks prefixed to the 4.3. in The British Theatre.

(4) l.iii. p.106, an amusing anecdote.

escaped' (1). Mrs. Inchbald, ~~on the other hand~~, thinks 'The speeches are too long for the attention of a listener, though not for a reader (2)..... The play has not an atom of wit but it has some humour. - The plot is an interesting one and the events are natural and forcible, particularly the incidents in the last scene.' (3) She objects to Lord. Ogleby as too ephemeral a portrait to bear reproduction at a later date, an objection to which Biog. Dram. replies (4), but praises Mr. Sterling and his sister Heidelberg 'who are neither of them governed by fashion (and) will **survive** a thousand Lord Oglebys.' For the most part however, the play received the recognition which it undoubtedly deserved. The British Chronicle, Feb. 19-21, 1766 simply announces that at the first performance the C.M. 'met with great applause last night'. The St. James Chronicle, Feb. 20- Sat. Feb. 22, 1766, praises it very highly. 'Upon the whole it is but justice to acknowledge that this piece is not unworthy of the author of The Jealous Wife. The Fable is extremely interesting, it abounds with sprightly Sallies of Wit; the Incidents are

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- (1) Cradock op. cit. l.p.202. He mentions that Canton's reference to 'Anti-sejanus' nearly caused a riot at the 1st performance as Scott, the author of the papers signed Sejanus, was in a side-box and the pit wanted him removed. (p.201).
 (2) Both listener and reader may well be bored by the business details of the bargain between Melvil and Sterling (Dr. Wks. l. p.224-227.)
 (3) Remarks prefixed to the C.M. in The British Theatre.
 (4) lll. p.106, an amusing criticism.

well contrived, the Characters are strongly marked, and the Language is remarkably pure easy and elegant.'

The G. M. (1877, G. G. Gode.) Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1769.

See Lovewell, Brosch, des Lords Esmeralds, Flauer, Treaty, der Heidelberg Mädchen, Miss Heidelberg. Canton is the only change; the changes are very slight; e.g. cuts in the lawyers' scene, omission of the first interview between Brush and the Maiden, etc. For the most part the translation is very faithful.

A French translation exists, but I have not been able to find a copy of it.

Il Matrimonio Segreto, by Bertati. Paris 1798 (La musica è del celebre Sig. Domenico Cimarosa Maestro di Cappella Napolitano all'attual Serylixio di S.M. il Re delle due Sicilie.)

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| Count Paulino | (i.e. Lovewell.) |
| Carolina | Fanny. |
| Count Robinson | Ugley and Melvil, who are made into one person. |
| Signer Geronimo | Sterling. |
| Fidalsa | Mrs. Heidelberg. |
| Elisetta | Miss Sterling.) |

The opera is based on The G.M. but does not pretend to be a reproduction of the English comedy. A translation was published in 1830 (Il Matrimonio Segreto, or The Secret Marriage, a comic opera in two acts, the Music by Cimarosa. As represented at the King's Theatre, Haymarket. June 1830.) The following changes

Addendum to The Clandestine Marriage: Translations.

Die Heimliche Heirath. (by J.J.C.Bode.) Frankfurt and Leipzig.
1769.

Names, Lowewell, Brosch, des Lords Kammerdiener, Flauer, Trosty, Hannah, der Heidelberg Mädchen, Miss Heidelberg. Canton is omitted. The changes are very slight; eg. cuts in the lawyers' scene, the omission of the first interview between Brush and the Chambermaid, etc. For the most part the translation is very faithful.

A French translation exists, but I have not been able to find a copy of it.

Il Matrimonio Segreto. by Bertati. Pavia 1796 (La musica è del celebre Sig. Domenico Cimarosa Maestro di Cappella Napolitano all' actual Servizio di S.M. il Re delle due Sicilie.)

Cast: Paolino (i.e. Lovewell.

Carolina Fanny.

Count Robinson **Ogleby and Melvil**, who are made into one person.

Signor Geronimo Sterling.

Fidalma Mrs. Heidelberg.

Elisetta Miss Sterling.)

The opera is based on The C.M. but does not pretend to be a reproduction of the English comedy. A translation was published in 1830 (Il Matrimonio Segreto, or The Secret Marriage, a comic opera in two acts, the Music by Cimarosa. As represented at the King's Theatre, Haymarket. June 1830.) The following changes

have been made: Carolina and Elisetta quarrel continually. Geronimo is arranging a noble match for Carolina as soon as he hears Elisetta's ^{with the Count} is settled. The Count (who is the laughing stock of the other characters) thinks Carolina is his bride and when he finds his mistake he tells Paolino to approach Geronimo with an offer to marry Carolina with half Elisetta's dowry. This ends the first act. In the second Paolino tries to tell Fidalma of his distress and she thinks he is in love with her (She has already sung an air confessing she is ready to marry again). Geronimo prepares to send Carolina to a convent. Paolino goes to her room to discuss the predicament. Elisetta rouses the house, thinking it is the Count, he comes out of his own room and Paolino and Carolina are called out. They confess all and the Count promises to marry Elisetta if the others are forgiven. All ends well.

The libretto is quite amusing and the piece ran into many editions.

as scarcely novel; a Judge, a Bishop and a Prior, playing at Leap Frog; with various other fish equally out of their element. . . . Bouvier's scenery is excellent, above all praise. Five songs from the pastiche are printed in the paper. Morning Herald N. 19 August '33, gives the story and mentions changes of scene, elaborate machinery, etc. It commends Hewitt's mimicry of the guest, Dr. H. . . . Upon the whole we think the production deserves all the merit to attract the attention of the public.

Collaborations: Addendum.

O'Keefe states (Recollections of John Keefe, ll. p.46) that he collaborated with Colman in the pantomime Harlequin on Teague, (1782), of which the songs and airs at least appear to have been printed. I have not been able to find a copy of this. The following criticisms give some idea of it. Morning Chronicle M. Aug. 19., 1782. After giving a long review, the critic continues: 'The best idea in the whole Pantomime is that of the Masquerade at Ranelagh, with which it concludes. In this scene Mr. Colman has with an equal share of wit and humour contrived a powerful satire on the dulness and stupidity of modern masquerades. All his personages in masques appear out of character; he presents us with a Harlequin with one leg, a Butcher fainting away and Death assisting him with a smelling bottle, a brace of Quakers fighting, a Lawyer making up a quarrel and refusing a fee; a child in leading strings 20 ft. tall; a Running Footman so fat that he can scarcely move; a Judge, a Bishop and a Friar, playing at leap frog; with various other fish equally out of their element..... Rooker's scenery is excellent, above all praise.' Five songs from the pantomime are printed in the paper.

Morning Herald M. 19 August '82, gives the story and mentions changes of scene, elaborate machinery etc. It commends Wewitzer's mimicry of the quack, Dr. Katerfelto, as Dr. Caterpillar. 'Upon the whole we think the pantomime possesses sufficient merit to attract the attention of the public, whose curiosity

we have no doubt will be the means of making ample retribution for the expence and trouble such an entertainment must naturally be to the manager,' This paper also quotes songs from the pantomime.

Morning Post M. 19. August '82, gives the story in detail with high praise, and says it went off very well for a first performance..... It forms one of the most splendid and entertaining exhibitions of the kind ever seen, either at the Haymarket or winter theatres.'

Morning Chronicle T. 20. August '82. 'The Haymarket Pantomime went off last night still better than the first, in consequence of some judicious curtailments and transpositions, particularly the postponing the dialogue between Harlequin and the Man with the two heads to the Scene of the Masquerade. There seemed **however** to be some little failure of the excellent trick with the **caandles**.'

Morning Herald T. 20. 8. 82. - Also praises the improvement and adds, 'The alteration of Edwin's dress for his humorous song was a proof of the Manager's assiduity and attention as it was much more in **character** than when in a Lieutenant's uniform.'

3. Alterations and Adaptations.

As it has already been pointed out, Colman's main preoccupation was always to provide theatrical fare which would please his audiences and fill the house as well as satisfying to some extent his own literary ambitions. With this end in view he plundered freely from any of the older dramatists whose works he thought would prove attractive if they were altered or adapted to meet the tastes of the moment. Of the older writers, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson and Milton furnished material for the ever-popular petite pièce or for a new working of an old theme, while among more recent authors Gay, Lillo, Atkinson and Voltaire suggested further possibilities.

(i) Shakespeare.

Shakespeare fared comparatively well at Colman's hands. A Midsummer Night's Dream and A Winter's Tale were both cut down to after-pieces, but both had already suffered this indignity and with less justifiable results, while King Lear had never received such careful treatment before. On the A Midsummer Night's Dream comes off the worst. The additions to it at the Haymarket where it ran for seven nights (18.25.87 being Henderson's bft.) in A New Theatrical Dictionary (London 1792) refers to A Fairy Tale by G. Colman performed at D.E. in 1774 and adds '(performed with great applause)'. There is some mistake evidently.

Shakespeare in The Fairy Tale(1) are not felicitous, although the actual cutting of the play is done with sufficient skill to make a coherent plot of what remains. All the poetry and delicate fancy of the original are lost in the process, but the result was a pretty enough interlude which met with moderate success (2).

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- (1) A Fairy Tale taken from Shakespeare (D.L. 26. 11. 1763) 8^{vo} 1763, 8^{vo} 1777 (altered) Garrick had cut down A Midsummer Night's Dream to The Fairies, an opera, in 1755, and had prepared another version in 1763 which Colman rehearsed for him during his absence on the Continent. This was a failure, and Colman was much annoyed when the composition was laid at his door (Odell l. p. 376). It was obviously this failure which Colman refurbished and put on three days after the only representation of Garrick's. It is more accurate to speak of it as a re-working of a re-working than as a collaboration between the two. Odell (loc. cit) credits it with 'a brief uneventful career,' but the number of performances in '63-'64 and the fact that Colman thought it worth reviving at the Haymarket do not bear out his statement. The altered edition of 1777, which is considered here, was evidently made for the Haymarket. Genest (18.7.77.) speaking of the new edition of the play says 'some songs are added from the same play as acted at D.L. Nov. 23, 1763.
- (2) Acted D.L. 19 times in '63 and 14 times in '64-'65 at D.L. (S. 5.5.64. Being Jackson's bft. T.8. 5. 64. Philip's bft. and Th. 11. 10. 64. with the Provok'd Husband by Command) It was also acted 4 times in '65-'66, and 3 times in '66-'67. It then seems to have dropped until 1777 when Colman revived it at the Haymarket where it ran for seven nights. (M.25.8.77 being Henderson's bft.) A New Theatrical Dictionary (London 1792) refers to A Fairy Tale by G. Colman performed at D.L. in 1774 and adds 'Performed with great applause'. There is some mistake evidently.

In this version all the Theseus-Hermia-Helena episodes are omitted. The plot consists solely of the quarrel between Oberon and Titania, interwoven with which are the rehearsal of the Athenian mechanicals and the ensuing complications between Titania and Bottom. The play opens with the rehearsal in the wood, taken almost intact from Shakespeare. After giving the order 'At the Duke's oak we meet,' Quince produces a pitch-pipe (1) and the actors rehearse their songs. The song for the epilogue, 'Most noble Duke, to us be kind' closes this scene.

1. 2. is the opening scene of Act II. in A. Midsummer Night's Dream, much altered. The Fairy and Puck converse as in the original, but the Fairy is allowed only six lines of Shakespeare's speech, which she follows by an Air by Mr. M. Arne, "Kingcup, daffodil and rose" - quite pretty, but as much in place as a jasmine grot in the enchanted wood. Puck's description of his own tricks (2), which is cut down to twenty four lines, calls forth another song from the Fairy (3),

Yes yes I know you, you are he
That frightens all the villagrie,

which shows Shakespeare and Colman in about equal parts. The

(1) By Mrs. Dibdin. This song, together with the episode of the pitch-pipe comes from Garrick's version of The F.T., 1763.

See Addenda. 39, 302 in the B.M.

(2) Divided between the Fairy and Puck in the original.

(3) Again to an air by Mr. M. Arne.

(4) In this song occurs the line 'Foul shall be fair and black
seen white'. Anything more misplaced than a reminiscence of
Macbeth it is difficult to imagine.

(5) S.W. III. I.

(6) The influence of Harlequin and the pantomimes may be seen here.

entrance of Oberon and Titania introduces a much abbreviated version of the quarrel and a duet (1). not stir up from this

Tit. Away away I will walk up and down here and I will
I will not stay
But fly from rage and thee. This answers Titania's

Ober. Begone begone Shakespeare's words abbreviated. The
You'll find anon
What 'tis to injure me (2) etc. twelve lines (1)

After Titania has gone Oberon discovers his plot to Puck (3).

1. 3. takes place in another part of the wood (4):

Titania asks for a roundel and a fairy song, and the Second

Fairy sings, 'Come follow, follow me,' (5) The rest of the scene follows Shakespeare as far as the laying on of the love juice, when the First Fairy sings to an air by Hook a description of the effects of the spell (6). This closes Act 1.

Act II. opens with the entrance of Quince and the Athenian crew (7). The rehearsal is given practically unaltered until the entrance of Puck, who, exclaiming

A stranger Pyramus than e'er played here
Now for a storm to drive these rustics hence

waves his wand (8). Amid thunder and lightning he chases the

(1) Air, Dr. Burney.

(2) This duet is also taken from Garrick's version of The Fairy Tale (1763).

(3) Shakespeare much abbreviated again.

(4) Midsummer Night's Dream II. 2. His words should be put into

(5) Air by Mr. M. Arne. A close imitator's song was wanted for the

(6) In this song occurs the line 'Foul shall be fair and black seem white'. Anything more misplaced than a reminiscence of Macbeth it is difficult to imagine.

(7) M.N.D. III. 1. M. Arne.

(8) The influence of Harlequin and the pantomimes may be seen here.

actors off, but Bottom returns asking, 'Why do they let a little thunder frighten them away? But I will not stir up from this place, do what they can: I will walk up and down here and I will sing that they shall hear I am not afraid.' This awakens Titania, and the rest of the scene is Shakespeare's much abbreviated. The next scene is Shakespeare's 111. 2. cut down to twelve lines (1) and closed with an air by Smith, sung by Oberon,

Up and down, up and down
 We will trip it up and down
 We will go through field and town
 We will trip it up and down (2).

11. 3. represents the wood and bower, and the conversation is again Shakespeare much abbreviated. A duet by the First and Second Fairies (3) includes only a few of Shakespeare's lines. Titania then sleeps, Oberon puts the counter-spell on her eyes while the Fairy sings 'Flower of this purple dye' etc. The rest is Shakespeare's, thinned to a shadow of the original. Puck's closing speech, cut down to four couplets, serves as the epilogue.

As this account shows, the playlet which escapes from the general massacre holds together quite well, and on the whole

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- (1) With the necessary change 'My mistress with a mortal is in love'.
- (2) Why this poor adaptation of Puck's words should be put into Oberon's mouth is not clear unless a song was wanted for the actor who played Oberon. The change shows Colman's entire lack of comprehension of the character differentiation in the fairies.
- (3) To an air by Mr. M. Arne.

Shakespeare's phraseology is preserved (1). Further commendation can scarcely be given with honesty. The zest and tang of the craftsmen's scenes hardly survive; the rich comedy of Bottom and the ass-head, 'good hay sweet hay, hath no fellow' has disappeared entirely; and that wealth of pure poetry in respect of which A Midsummer Night's Dream stands second to no comedy in the language - where is it now, the glory and the dream?

A Winter's Tale had been even more hapless than A Midsummer Night's Dream. It had already been plundered to form a 'dramatic pastoral' by MacNamara Morgan in 1754 (2), and again by Garrick in 1756 (3) when Colman produced his after-piece in 1777. The 1754 version bears very little resemblance to either Shakespeare or Garrick and Colman. The scene has become Bithynia (4) (evidently the sea-coast of Bohemia stuck in Morgan's throat); the shepherd, whose name is given as Alcon, discovers

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- (1) Cf. Macnamara Morgan's cavalier treatment of the text of A Winter's Tale.
- (2) B.D. Florizel and Perdita; or The Sheep-shearing. F. 8° 1754, afterwards published with a transposition of these titles and called a Pastoral Comedy, 12° 1767. I have seen only the 1767 edition.
- (3) Florizel and Perdita, a Dramatic Pastoral in 3 Acts. Altered from the Winter's Tale of Shakespeare by David Garrick. Lond. 1758.
- (4) B.D., Florizel and Perdita: Dramatic Pastoral 1756, Printed 8° 1758.
- (4) Cf. also The Winter's Tale arranged for representation ... by C. Kean (Lond. 1856). Kean's introductory note runs: 'To connect the country known as Bohemia with an age so remote would be impossible. I have therefore followed the suggestion of Sir Thos. Hanmer, in his annotations on Shakespeare, by the substitution of Bithynia.' Ellen Terry was the Mamillius in this performance (M.28. 4. 1856).

himself as Antigonus and confesses that, penetrating Florizel's disguise, he has encouraged his visits to Perdita for the purpose of uniting the crowns of Bithynia and Sicily (1); an entirely new scene is invented (1. 3) in which Polixenes and Camillo disguised meet Autolicus (spelt thus) who describes to Polixenes various exploits of his own with the king at court, an incident which leads to a comic repentance on the part of Autolicus when the king reveals himself at the sheep-shearing. In the happy winding-up of the play Autolicus persuades Perdita to plead for him, which she does, ("May I presume to sue for mercy to him?") and he is forgiven and concludes the entertainment with a song which he has made "extrumpery" on the occasion.

The divergences from Shakespeare in this piece are almost as great as the resemblances. Even when Morgan takes a scene or a passage from Shakespeare he treats it with such freedom that like the old woman in the nursery rhyme the characters might well exclaim 'Lawk a mercy on us, this surely can't be I.' (2). It is, in short a miserable botch. (3). Presumably

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- (1) As an example of Morgan's phraseology this gem from the speech of Alcon to Perdita may be given:
 "My child, my child, thou'rt now my child no more;
 Yet don't forget that once you called me father."
- (2) Cf. 1.2. A rural prospect near Alcon's house, the love-scene between Florizel and Perdita. Barely a half of this is Shakespeare's language.
- (3) Nevertheless it was revived several times (Odell, opcit. p. 357)

however, it gave the suggestion to Garrick that something might be made of the pastoral scenes of A Winter's Tale, but his version owes little or nothing to Morgan's, and although it is a poor thing it does bear some resemblance to Shakespeare. Garrick opens with a scene between Camillo and a gentleman, in which the events of the first three acts of the original are condensed into a narrative, with the added information that Leontes, who has twice attempted his own life from remorse, is coming on a visit to Polixenes but that a storm which is raging makes his arrival uncertain; mention is made of Florizel's visit to the shepherd and the plan of the disguises of the elders is formed. This scene is in prose. The next scene takes the spectator to the country by the sea-side. The conversation between the old shepherd and the clown follows Shakespeare (1) closely, but with additions and with the important alteration that it is Leontes and Cleomines who have been wrecked and who are sheltered by the shepherd. Garrick then passes on to Ant-olycus+the clown (2) and closes his first act with this scene. Act II. opens before the shepherd's cottage with the love-making of Florizel and Perdita and makes no important alterations from

(1) Winter's Tale, III. 3.

(2) " " IV. 3.

Shakespeare except that Perdita sings a ballad to summon her guests, and that Leontes entering from the shepherd's cottage just before the betrothal, laments to Cleomines that had his daughter lived she might have been such another as Perdita. After the discovery and departure of Polixenes, Leontes offers to plead for Florizel and Perdita. Act III. is moved to another part of the country. Autolycus, in rich clothes stolen from a sleeping courtier, soliloquises, partly as in the end of IV. 4. in The Winter's Tale, partly in Garrick's own words to explain the differences in this version. The remainder of the scene, between Autolycus, the old shepherd and the Clown is taken almost unaltered from the original. A new scene is invented between Paulina, the gentleman and Camillo, to describe the reconciliation of Polixenes and Leontes and the recognition of Perdita, and to give Paulina's invitation to the kings to inspect her statue of Hermione; this takes the place of V. 1 and 2. but has practically no reminiscence even of Shakespeare's language. The end of V. 2. in A Winter's Tale, the meeting between Autolycus, the shepherd and the Clown at court, forms Garrick's III. 3; and he closes his play with the statue scene almost intact but with the addition at the end of some moralizing speeches of his own, which are exceedingly poor.

(3) A Winter's Tale III. 3.

(4) The Winter's Tale V. 2.

The Sheep-shearing of 1777 is far from being the worst of the three versions, although it met with so cold a reception that it was only acted once (1). Colman has plainly been influenced by Garrick in the general build of the play, but on the whole he keeps more carefully to the original than Garrick, with the important exception that he omits entirely the statue-motive, presumably judging it too improbable to be acceptable to his audiences even if his own judgment would have admitted it (2). He opens his play with Garrick's second scene (3), which he makes slightly shorter by the omission of some non-Shakespearean matter. The introductory matter of Florizel and Perdita, l. 1. he omits entirely: he hated 'inartificial' narrative and the use of the 'protactick' personage' (4). His second scene between Autolycus and the Clown, has hardly any variation from the Winter's Tale IV 2. (5); this closes Act 1. Act II. begins with the love-scene between Florizel and Perdita as in Garrick's version; it includes the song with which Perdita summons her guests, without, however, a stanza on city dames and

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- (1) B.D. also Genest, who is however merely quoting from B.D. He says it was 'brought out in the course of this season.' Actually it was performed with the Fairy Tale, 18.7. 1777, and a notice in the Morning Chronicle for S. 19. 7. 1777 announces 'On Wed. (the 2nd time) the two pieces taken from Shakespeare, called The Sheep-shearing and The Fairy Tale' On Wed. 23. 7. '77 the plays were The Merchant of Venice and The Fairy Tale. (see M. Chron. and other papers for that day)
- (2) Cf. the preface to King Lear 'thinking it one of the principal duties of my situation to render every drama submitted to the public as consistent and rational an entertainment as possible.'
- (3) A Winter's Tale III. 3.
- (4) Cf. the notes to Terence passim.
- (5) This is Garrick's l. 3.

their painted faces which Garrick had not felt to be inappropriate in Perdita's mouth. Leontes and Cleomines arrive among the guests and are greeted by Perdita but Colman does not include the 'Daffodils that come before the swallow dares' and 'When you do dance I wish you A wave o' the sea' speeches, which Garrick had done. The ballad-buying by the Clown is left almost unaltered, but the dance by the carters, neat-herds etc. is omitted, and the song, 'Get you gone for I must go,' is sung by Dorcas and Mopsa and Nicholas instead of Autolycus (1). The rustics then withdraw and Florizel declares his love for Perdita in a song (2). The betrothal then follows as in A Winter's Tale but in an abbreviated form. After the discovery and departure of Polixenes Leontes offers to intercede for the lovers, who accept his suggestion, and the scene closes with another song by Dr. Arnold. It will be noticed that this act follows very closely the general outlines of Garrick's second act, the chief differences being the extra abridgements and the introduction of the operatic element in the representation of some of the plot in song. This introduction of songs is not repeated in Act III until the very end. The first scene is Garrick's

(1) Edwin played Autolycus. As he was apparently a very fair singer (cf. Random Records I. p.250) was this apparently purposeless change made to give prominence to a good male voice from the chorus? The motive was almost certainly for the convenience of the actors.

(2) By Dr. Arnold.

rather shorter, the second, at Paulina's house, is again from Garrick but with no mention of the statue; and the last scene, again at Paulina's house, gives the reconciliation between Polixenes and Leontes and the betrothal of Florizel and Perdita. Colman keeps here a speech of Perdita's from Garrick "I am all shame," and ends with a chorus, both of which would have been better omitted.

Poor though this version undoubtedly is, it is on the whole better than Garrick's and certainly than Morgan's. It owes a great deal to Garrick, whose plan is followed closely, but the more flagrant interpolations are omitted, the language keeps more closely to the original and there is a greater economy observed in the plot. Yet with all these virtues, The Sheep-shearing remains a pitiful maimed thing, not even a Triton among minnows (1).

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- (1) The Morning Chronicle. for S. 19. 7. 77 gives a notice of The Sheep-Shearing and The Fairy Tale: "the first appeared much more slender and unsubstantial than has perhaps ever been the case with a first piece in our Theatres..... The Fairy Tale may truly be deemed an elegant theatrical morceau and was last night not less pleasing in itself than engaging for the merit of its representation.... To sum up all, it was a most creditable and agreeable after piece and will, if we mistake not, be a great favourite with the publick. Both The S.S. and The F.T. were neatly and properly dressed. The latter with a singular degree of nicety and neatness." Cf. The Gazetteer, 19. 7. 1777. The Morning Chronicle of M. 21. 7. 1777 has the following advertisement at the end of the 'Haymarket bill - 'As it appears to be the general opinion that the entertainment of Sheep-shearing should rank as an After-Piece, it will for the future (as well as the Fairy Tale) be subjoined to other performances.' It does not seem to have been performed again even as an after piece.

These two abridgements are minor works compared with the alteration of King Lear which Colman put forth in 1768. The popularity of Tate's version had continued almost unbroken from its first appearance (1), while the original was ignored by the average theatrical audience. With the increase of Shakespearian criticism during the 18th century the value of the tragedy was bound to be re-considered, and accordingly we find that most Shakespearean scholars of the time discuss it. It is not surprising that Colman in his character of both man of letters and theatrical manager should have contemplated the possibility of rendering acceptable to his audience a new adaptation which should combine the happy ending, praised by so high an authority as Dr. Johnson, with more of Shakespeare's Lear and less of Tate's. His advertisement is illuminating and worth quoting at some length. After mentioning the opinion of Dr. Johnson and Tate's modest claim to have new-modelled the story (which he calls 'a heap of jewels unstrung and unpolished') "out of zeal for all the remains of Shakespeare," and to have increased the interest by introducing a love-motive between Edgar and Cordelia, he comments: "Now this very expedient of a love betwixt Edgar and Cordelia, on which Tate felicitates himself, seemed to me

(1) Tate's version held the stage practically from 1681-1838 (cf. Erzgraeber, Tate's and Colman's Buhnenbearbeitungen des Shakespeare's King Lear. Weimar 1897) Garrick's Lear appeared in 1756 (cf. Odell p. 377) but it appears to have had very little influence on Colman. Garrick retained the Cordelia-Edgar theme as well as the happy ending: his work was little more than restoring a little more of Shakespeare's language to Tate's version.

to be one of the capital objections to his alteration: For even supposing that it rendered Cordelia's indifference to her father more probable (an indifference which Shakespeare has nowhere implied), it assigns a very poor motive for it; so that what Edgar gains on the side of romantick generosity Cordelia loses on that of real virtue. The distress of the story is so far from being heightened by it, that it has diffused a languor and insipidity over all the scenes of the play from which Lear is absent; for which I appeal to the sensations of the numerous audiences, with which the play has been honoured; and had the scenes been **affectingly** written, they would at least have divided our feelings, which Shakespeare has attached almost entirely to Lear and Cordelia, in their parental and filial capacities; thereby producing passages infinitely more tragick than the embraces of Cordelia and the ragged Edgar, which would have appeared too ridiculous for representation had they not been mixed and incorporated with some of the finest scenes of Shakespeare.

"Tate, in whose days love was the **soul** of Tragedy as well as Comedy, was however, so devoted to intrigue, that he has not only given Edmund a passion for Cordelia, but has injudiciously amplified on his criminal commerce with Gonerill and Regan, which is the most disgusting part of the original.' He goes on to point out that what saved Tate was the happy ending which satisfied the incurable romanticism of the average theatre-goer. "To reconcile the catastrophe of Tate to the story of

Shakespeare, was the first grand object which I proposed to myself in this alteration; thinking it one of the principal duties of my situation (1), to render every drama submitted to the publick, as consistent and rational an entertainment as possible Romeo, Cymbeline, Every Man in his Humour, have long been refined from the dross that hindered them from being current with the publick; and I have now endeavoured to purge the tragedy of Lear of the alloy of Tate, which has so long been suffered to debase it." He quotes Dr. Warton's censure of the Dover Cliff episode (2), and finding it more objectionable in representation than in print he has "without scruple" omitted it, preserving however . . . that celebrated description of the cliff in the mouth of Edgar." He would have liked similarly to omit the putting out of Gloster's eyes, but found it so closely interwoven with the fable that he durst not venture to change it. His next remark is enlightening in that it shows his natural judgment in conflict with his commercial sense of what would be successful in the theatre: "I had once some idea of retaining the character of the Fool; but though Dr. Warton has very truly observed, that the poet 'has so well conducted even the natural jargon of the beggar, and the jestings of the

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- (1) i.e. as director of the theatre. It will be remembered that this was written just after his first season at Covent Garden had opened.
- (2) *Adventurer* no. 122.

Fool, which in other hands must have sunk into burlesque, that they contribute to heighten the pathetic;' yet, after the most serious consideration, I was convinced that such a scene 'would sink into burlesque' in the representation, and would not be endured on the modern stage." It is noticeable that he has apparently not felt for himself the extraordinary power in that scene (surely one of the most wonderfully conceived and executed in all literature) in the differentiation between the speeches of real and assumed madness and the deliberate nonsense of the Fool (even Warton comments only on Shakespeare's skill in saving the situation from the burlesque and making it heighten the pathetic and says nothing of the **miracle** of creative power which has gone to the character-drawing): it is too early to expect that insight into the psychology of the characters: yet in his editorial capacity he does not shelve the question without 'the most serious consideration,' and finally decides against it because it would sink into burlesque in the representation. That he was justified in believing it would become merely ridiculous in the hands of the Covent Garden comedians hardly allows of a doubt. Woodward and Shuter, like Penkethman before them, had very little respect for their authors: an easy laugh from their audience was what they wanted, and it is not difficult to

imagine how the scene would have fared at their hands (1).

When we come to the consideration of the text of Colman's version his virtues and vices as an editor are made manifest. The only characters omitted are Curan and, as had already been mentioned, the Fool; Oswald becomes Goneril's steward and is given no name; there are no additions to Shakespeare's dramatis personae. The general course of the play hardly deviates from Shakespeare's until it is necessary to lead up to the changed ending. Certain scenes are omitted (3) and certain portions re-arranged (4). The parting of the ways comes after the cliff scene. With this Colman closes his fourth act. Act V. opens with Lear's recognition of Cordelia (5): at the end of this scene drums are heard and Cordelia breathes prayers for the success of their arms. This is taken almost

- (1) For accounts of the liberties which the comedians took with their parts cf. F. Reynolds. II, 60, 61. Genest quotes Davies as his authority for saying that Garrick had contemplated restoring the part of the Fool for Woodward 'who promised to be very chaste in his colouring and not to counteract the agonies of Lear, - but with some more mature deliberation Garrick would not hazard so bold an attempt.'
- (2) Cf. Tate's version, which introduces Arante, Cordelia's lady-in-waiting. There is more than a suggestion of Tibburna's confidante about her.
- (3) I. 5, III.1, III.5, and III.6.
- (4) I. 4: Lear's curse on Goneril is transposed from its right place to after the speech beginning 'Life and death! I am ashamed That thou hast power to shake my manhood thus,' and concludes the scene. Again, Colman's II. 2, outside Gloster's castle, begins with the quarrel between Kent and the steward, whom Kent drives off, then Colman inserts the meeting of Cornwall and Regan with Gloster and Edmund (in Shakespeare, II. 1.) and re-introduces Kent and the steward fighting (Shakespeare, II. 2.).
- (5) Shakespeare, IV.7.

word for word from Tate (1). The following scene, (V.2.), presenting the Bastard in his tent soliloquizing on the rival charms of the sisters (2), is again from Tate with the omission of the melodramatic opening (3). In the long battle-scene which succeeds he again follows Tate, **abridging** some scenes slightly and making one or two small changes, noticeably Goneril's secret orders for the killing of the prisoners. The final scene is Tate's, again with some abbreviations and a certain amount of re-arrangement (4). Tate's ascendancy, in short, is confined to the last act and is occasioned by the exigencies of the happy ending. In other respects he has not influenced the construction of the plot (5).

If he has treated his author with respect in the outline of the tragedy, Colman has not been impeccable where the text is concerned. In the abridgment he has been actuated by

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- (1) Tate, IV.5.
 - (2) Colman **softens** the suggestion of criminal intercourse between Edmund and Regan.
 - (3) Goneril and attendants preparing the poisoned bowl for Regan.
 - (4) Cf. Lear's closing speech, which is a conglomeration of a line or two of Shakespeare's and the last speeches of Lear and of Edgar to Cordelia in Tate's version.
 - (5) He has not only omitted the love-interest between Edgar and Cordelia with the subsequent complications of Edmund's attempt upon her and Edgar's rescue, but also very wisely discarded the grotto scene between Edmund and Regan.

(Shakespeare, "You dog! you slave! you cur! when Colman calls
Steward - I am none of those, III. 1. 200.

a natural desire to hasten the action of the play (1) and for the most part has achieved his end without sacrificing anything essential to the development of the plot (2). The actual phraseology, while generally preserved, is not always given to the right speaker, and in some cases the transposition is ludicrously out of character (3). Occasionally the cuts interfere with the metre, particularly when the line is already divided between two speakers. In such cases he seems content to have a series of broken lines (4). The sense generally escapes unscathed (5) but naturally it runs the risk of being weakened. For the most part there is no bowdlerizing although one or two curious instances occur, and there are few changes which are not due to the motives already suggested.

This version is hardly an achievement to be proud of.

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- (1) Even to-day it is too long generally to be acted in its entirety: when it had to be followed by an after-piece it had obviously to be shortened considerably, even when a theatrical performance lasted longer than it does to-day.
- (2) Cf. the opening scene, where various slight omissions occur but where the chief abridgement comes in the comparatively unimportant episode of the offering of Cordelia to Burgandy and France.
- (3) Cf. "Cordelia: Upon such sacrifices
The gods themselves throw incense"
(Colman V.3.)
- (4) Eg. l. 2., Lear and Kent. Shakespeare also leaves a few uncompleted lines in this passage.
- (5) An exception occurs in ll. 4: Lear - My lady's father?
my lord's knave!
(Shakespeare, "You dog! you slave! you cur!" which Colman omits)
Steward - I am none of these, my lord.

Its blemishes are many and obtrusive: its virtues are negative (1). Yet it marks a great advance on Tate's King Lear and also on Garrick's. It was acted but never met with much success and it held the boards for a short time only (2). While agreeing with the spectators' sentence one cannot endorse their reasons for it: they rejected the play not because they wanted the real thing but because they missed Cordelia's bonduca. Phalaster

'When, Edgar, I permitted your addresses
I was the darling daughter of a King,'

and the rest of Tate's sickly love-scenes, together with the more highly-flavoured intrigue between Edmund and Regan. They

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- (1) Nevertheless, there is a certain care manifest in Colman's work (eg. the note on wold in the Dramatic Works (1777) vol. lll. p. 165) which, in conjunction with his known scholarly methods in the translation of Terence and the edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, suggests that if he had not been revising for stage purposes he might have proved Steevens's sneer at his 'threatened' edition of Shakespeare a mere expression of ill-nature. Cf. Odell op. cit. p. 379 'Some of Colman's criticism assuredly reveals a new conscience in matters Shakespearean.' General line of attack shows no deviation
- (2) B.D. 'What he has attempted he has executed with his usual judgment yet the alteration has not superseded Tate's which still retains possession of the theatre. The present was performed only a few nights! Ct. Genest: 'Tho' Colman's alteration of Lear was not so successful as it deserved to be yet it certainly kept possession of the stage at Covent Garden till 1770 (See Dramatic Censor) and in all probability as long as Colman continued manager.' Colman's Bühnenbearbeitungen des Shakespears'schen King Lear. (Leipzig 1897).
- (3) It appeared at D.L. in 1763. It had already been adapted by Settle in 1696 but his was a poor version which met with no success. (F.D.) For an account of this and of The Restoration, or Right will take place, an alteration by Duckingham (t) about 1688 see Sprague. Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage, p. 187.
- (4) The only other alteration which had a run of any length, strangely enough, the Fairy Tale.

were hardly pearls which Colman cast before them, but his audiences turned again and rent him notwithstanding (1).

(ii) Beaumont and Fletcher.

Of even greater importance to Colman's reputation than the Shakespearean adaptations must be counted the two alterations of Beaumont and Fletcher, Philaster and Bonduca. Philaster was actually his earliest attempt at re-writing an old play (2) and was deservedly his most popular (3), although its popularity owed a good deal to the success of Powell, then new to the London stage, in the title rôle. The merits of the original are overshadowed by certain blemishes which render it unacceptable to an audience of to-day as to one of Colman's day, and the task which he set himself of removing these blemishes without injuring the fabric of the original was more serious than anything he attempted in his Shakespearean re-workings, or indeed in any of his others. The general line of attack shows no deviation from the methods pursued later in the other alterations: the

- (1) For more detailed working out of the relationship between Shakespeare's, Tate's and Colman's Lear see Rudolph Erzgraeber's 'Nahum Tate's and George Colman's Buhnenbearbeitungen des Shakespeare'schen King Lear.' (Weimar 1897).
- (2) It appeared at D.L. in 1763. It had already been adapted by Settle in 1695 but his was a poor version which met with no success. (B.D.) For an account of this and of The Restoration, or Right will take place, an alteration by Buckingham (?) about 1683 see Sprague, Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage, p. 187.
- (3) The only other alteration which had a run of any length was, strangely enough, the Fairy Tale.

omissions of unimportant passages of dialogue for the sake of hastening the action (1), the changing or expurgation of coarse phraseology where needful (2), and the occasional insertions of explanatory material necessitated by changes in the plot (3) - these are the same type of alteration as in the Fairy Tale and the rest: they are of minor importance and will not be mentioned in detail. But the treatment of the two objectionable themes, the Pharamond-Megra episodes and the wounding of Bellario by Philaster, calls for more detailed consideration.

In the first place, the intrigues of Pharamond have to be softened considerably: the scenes in the original are too coarse and immoral to pass muster. Accordingly Colman omits some of the speeches between Megra and Galatea (4), the dishonourable proposal of Pharamond to Arethusea (5), his solicitation of Galatea and Megra, and his acceptance by Megra (6). To compensate for this Colman inserts a scene of his own, in which Pharamond

(1) Cf. 1. 1. (Dramatic Works, vol. 111. p. 18, 19, 21) 1. 2. (p. 32) 1V. 1. (p. 66, 67, 68) etc. etc.

(2) Cf. 11. 2. (p. 37), 11. 4. (p. 45) etc. There are more changes to be made on these grounds than in any of the other alterations.

(3) Cf. 1. 1. explanatory speech of Thrasilene.

(4) 1. 1., 11. 4. (p. 43).

(5) Beaumont and Fletcher, 11. 2.

(6) Beaumont and Fletcher, 11. 2.

(4) V. 1. What remains of the scene is shortened.

refuses to have further dealings with Megra, and she, incensed by his repudiation of her, determines to do her utmost against him and Arethusa (1), and consequently the following scene between the King and Megra has also to be changed slightly (2). In the original the King orders Pharamond to allow his room to be searched, whereupon Megra comes forward and confesses her guilt but accuses Arethusa and Bellario. Here the King accuses Megra upon hearsay only, but she confesses and then attacks Arethusa. Further omissions in connection with Pharamond are the beginning of the hunting scene, in which the woodmen comment freely on his character (3), and the baiting when he is captured by the mob (4).

The second series of changes is in connection with the Philaster-Arethusa-Bellarario theme. The greatest objection lies, of course, in the character of Philaster, to improve which considerable alterations have to be made. At the same time Colman evidently realised the need for satisfying his audience's feeling of fitness by altering Arethusa's declaration of love, which

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- (1) Colman ll. 3. Phrases from Beaumont and Fletcher are used in this scene. A further reason for Megra's malignity is the King's discovery of her guilt.
- (2) Colman ll. 4. Scene, the Presence Chamber, (Beaumont and Fletcher, Before Pharamond's lodging.) pp.43-48.
- (3) This scene is also omitted for the sake of brevity, as it does not advance the plot. For the same reason Colman omits entirely Beaumont and Fletcher's IV.1. in which the King is setting out for the hunt.
- (4) V. 3. What remains of the scene is shortened.

not made clear by which of the antagonists. Philaster, also wounded, then flees, as in the original, and Bellario goes with him. The continuation of this scene (1) again varies from *The Beaumont and Fletcher*. In the original, Bellario, worn out with wandering, lies down to rest in the wood; Philaster enters, and hearing a cry of pursuers, wounds Bellario in her sleep for the sake of revenge. Then feeling too faint to escape he confesses to Bellario that it was he who stabbed the princess, and in a sudden access of generosity suggests that Bellario should say to the princess's attendants that her wound was incurred in trying to prevent Philaster's escape. Bellario refuses this piece of quixotry and urges Philaster to escape, as she can fend for herself. When the pursuers enter Bellario professes herself Arethusa's assailant, assigning as her motive Arethusa's withdrawal of her favour. In Colman's version Bellario is discovered in the wood with a scarf round her wounds. She falls asleep on a bank and is awakened by Philaster's entry. Hearing a cry within she tells Philaster to flee and save himself, as her wounds will be taken as proof that she was the princess's assailant. Philaster then creeps into the bushes and hides. Bellario is captured by Pharamond, and the scene closes as in *Beaumont and Fletcher*. This working-out, while not showing Philaster in a very heroic light (it seems impossible to make a gentleman of him) gets rid of the unforgivable wounding of the page in her sleep and of the wounding of Arethusa. A

question arises whether it is better to let an old author

further change occurs in V.2. In the original, Arethusa enters the Presence Chamber with Philaster and Bellario, and Bellario announces to the King that Arethusa has married Philaster. The King orders them all to the Citadel and threatens them with immediate death. News is then brought of Pharamond's capture by the mob, but the King does not alter his decision until further news is received of the mob's victory, whereupon he sends for Philaster and makes peace with him in order to placate the crowd. In Colman's version the King orders Arethusa to bring in the prisoners. A Messenger then brings news of the attack on Pharamond, followed by another with news of a mutiny in the city in favour of Philaster. The King finally decides to make his peace with Philaster to save his own skin; this he does and Philaster goes to restore order. The end of the play contains no material changes.

This re-working made the play possible for public representation and it deserves the commendation which it received. The omissions, though considerable, are well chosen and skilfully handled, so that the logical development of the plot is in no way hampered by them, while the resulting brevity is from the actor's point of view an undoubted improvement; the insertions are few and generally unobjectionable in style and matter. The more important changes in the handling of the theme are judicious. In its original form it would certainly have been impossible to present to an audience of the 1760's. The question arises whether it is better to let an old author fall

Although a moderate success on the stage it did not meet with the popularity which attended Philaster - partly no doubt on account of the lack of distinguished acting (1) (the salvation of many a bad play in this period), and partly because Colman had not yet gauged the possibilities of the Haymarket and was still trying to compete with the winter theatres instead of providing a different type of entertainment as he afterwards did (2). Regarded on its own merits it is not unworthy of Biographia Dramatica's epithet, 'judicious'. The omissions are well chosen and well handled, whether they are the abbreviations of speeches (3) or the discarding of scenes or parts of scenes. (4) Colman inserts very little of his own (5), but he makes slight

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- (1) B.D. 'We must do Mr. Colman the justice to suppose, that he would have retained more of his authors, but that he was constrained to cut them down to the ability of his performers.' *All his best actors were Comedians.*
- (2) Random Records. 1. p240.
- (3) A good example of the way in which he cuts down long speeches may be found in 111. 2., where all the invocations are considerably abbreviated.
- (4) 11. 2., (the opening discussions between Petillius Junius and the Herald are discarded. Colman begins with the entry of Demetrius); 11.3.(the conversation between Bonduca's daughters and the Roman captives - an unpleasant passage better omitted). Beaumont and Fletcher's 111.4. and V.2. disappear entirely but but a part of V.2. appears in Colman's V.3. (the description of Caratach's and Hengo's hiding place and a plan to surround them.)
- (5) 111. 2. (duet and chorus) 111.3.(Caratach's closing speech) V. 1. (Caratach's eulogy of Poenius) V.3.(the closing speech of the play).

changes in the speakers in one or two places (1), and he deviates from the order of the original on a few occasions, for what purpose it is difficult to see (2). His main alteration lies in the handling of that part of the plot which deals with the withdrawal of Penius and Drusus from the Roman army and their watching the battle from a hill. In the original, it will be remembered, after Poenius has refused to join in the battle, he and Drusus watch from a hill on the side of the stage: they remain there but are supposed to see and hear nothing of the trap into which Bonduca's daughters lead the Roman officers and of their rescue by Caratach, and they return to the chronicling of the fortunes of war after the departure of Junius, Curius and Decius. Colman omits this episode entirely. Poenius refuses to fight as in the original, but he is not present during the battle, and when Suetonius sends Petillius to him with messages of forgiveness he refuses to listen to them and kills himself from his own sense of wrongdoing (3) - another variation, for Beaumont and Fletcher make Petillius urge him to kill himself because he wants Poenius's regiment. The change here avoids the clumsy older contrivance

(1) ...

(2) He inverts Beaumont and Fletcher's 1. 1., and 1. 2. and again 111. 1, and 111.2, and 1V. 2, and 1V. 3.

(3) I've broke my fair obedience!

of having the two Romans present during an episode which they were supposed not to witness. At the same time it is interesting to notice that Colman adopts one of the older theatrical devices which was going out of fashion except in definitely spectacular pieces, that of the 'Scene opening' (1). In V.3. we are introduced to open country: Macer and Petillius meeting, to whom enter Judas with the news that he has 'lodged' Caratach and Hengo, whom they propose to capture immediately. The stage directions then run, 'Exeunt severally. Scene 111. changes and discovers Caratach and Hengo on a rock.' This must have been the old arrangement of a back curtain or cloth being withdrawn to expose the back portion of the stage. The rest of the scene passes on both the front of the stage and the raised portion at the back which represents the rock.

A less happily managed omission occurs in ll. 3, when Bonduca's daughters overhear from a rock the news that Junius is in love with the younger daughter, and from that get the idea of the letter which is to entrap the Roman officers. Colman omits this but sends the letter notwithstanding and works out the rest of the episode as Beaumont and Fletcher had done. The exclusion of this preliminary certainly weakens the plot. Otherwise, however, it does not lose to any great extent in his

(1) He had used the same device in King Lear (l. 1.) ten years before.

hands, and he has managed to preserve the spirit of the original very successfully (1). He was praised in his own day for bringing the merits of Beaumont and Fletcher before the public again by these two alterations (2), and he certainly attempted to attack the sentimental school on a new front, not by the hearty laughter of more wholesome and genuine comedy as in his own works, but by the nature and feeling, ^{of those bold plays} 'of those bold plays Wrote by rough English wits in former days' (3) ~~days' (3)~~.

(iii) Jonson, Milton and other authors.

A further re-working of an Elizabethan model is Epicoene (4), which like most of his alterations met with a

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- (1) In spite of his **softening** of the characters of Bonduca's daughters whose savagery he tones down.
- (2) Davies Dramatic Miscellanies p.307 Cf. the favourable criticisms in the St. James's Chron. 1. 8. 78. and the Gazetteer F. 31. 7. 78.
- (3) Prologue to Philaster, a most interesting attack on contemporary drama.
- (4) D.L. 13. 1. 76. N.B. Cast: Morose, Bensley; Truewit, Palmer; La Foote, King; Otter, Yates; Dan, Parsons; Cutberd, Baddeley. Dauphine, Brereton; Clermont, Davies; Epicoene, Mrs. Siddons; Mrs. Otter, Mrs. Hopkins; Lady Haughty, Miss Sherry; Lady Centaur - Mrs. Davies; Mrs. Mavis - Miss Platt. Mrs. Siddons acted Epicoene on the 15th and 17th - on the 23rd the part was given to Lamash and his name stands to it in the play as printed. Gifford attributes its failure to a woman's taking Epicoene "and when she threw off her female attire and appeared as a boy the whole cunning of the scene was lost." Genest contradicts this reason for the failure: 'the fault was solely in the audience.' D.L. Receipts give 4 performances: 13, 15, 17 and 23 Jan.'76. ~~Tit for Tat - see Mrs. Grouch ll. p.4.~~

doubtful reception. Genest states that Colman had begun to work on it as early as 1767 but had laid it by, presumably under the stress of managerial occupations, until the fallow period between 1774 and 1777, when he seems to have been driven back to it by the need of ready money (1). In the prologue he refers to the 'dating' of comedy:

'The comick wit, alas! whose eagle eyes
Pierce nature through, and mock the time's disguise,
Whose pencil living follies brings to view
Survives those follies, and his portraits too;
Like star-gazers, deploras his luckless fate,
For last year's almanacks are out of date.'

How right he was events proved: the follies of another day could not be made to live again. 'Mr. Colman', says Davies, 'after all the pains and skill he could bestow on this comedy, found it was labour lost; there was no reviving the dead.' The failure lay as Davies suggests in the comedy itself which, excellent though it is, abounds in 'licentiousness of manners, quaintness of expression and frequent allusions to forgotten customs and characters', and not in Colman's alteration which is certainly as good as any of his work in this province.

(1) Cf. Garrick Correspondence, vol.11. p.151. Colman offered it to D.L. and Garrick either from a genuine misunderstanding or from motives of prudence declared he thought it was a gift and that Colman did not expect any payment or a benefit for it. That Colman was at a low ebb financially at this time is also suggested by his letter asking Garrick to perform on the author's night of The Spleen (Sat. night April 13th 1776 - Garrick Correspondence vol.11. p.146.)

There is less to discuss here than in the plays previously mentioned. The actual alterations in the text are fewer in number: Colman ignores Jonson's classical **division** into scenes and makes a break of his own to begin Act. V., he gives Truewits song 'Still to be neat' to the Boy in 1. . and does not bring Truewit on to the stage until the song is at an end. He adds practically nothing of his own (1). Omissions are dictated exclusively by the need to hasten the action (2) and to purify what is too free in both language and sentiment to be possible for representation in a 'refined' age (3). The result is very readable and as good for acting purposes as any refurbishing of one of Jonson's comedies can be. It is to be doubted whether Ben Jonson would **have** kept his place on the atage during the eighteenth century if it had not been for the acting of Garrick in Kitley and Abel Drugger, and the cast of Epicoene offered

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- (1) 111.2. Morose's speech, "Tis but a day; and the remnant shall be quiet and easy" to the end is Colman's own: the opening is **from** Truewit's speech to Morose when the music begins.
 - (2) eg. 1. 1, which is considerably shortened by the omission of a good deal of irrelevant matter, purely for the sake of speed, 11. 2, which loses the conversation on classical authors, 11.3 etc. etc.
 - (3) eg. 1V.1, the remarks on women and love-making and the end of the discussion of Epicoene and the collegiates, V.2, the conversation of La Foote, Daw and Clerimont, etc. The most marked changes are in the close of the play when the the grounds of divorce are detailed and the freeing of Morose is arranged.

nothing even faintly comparable with his attractions. The play was not a success and was withdrawn after a few performances (1).

Colman's remaining alteration of a seventeenth century model was Comus, a revised form of which had been put forth by Dr. Dalton and acted at Drury Lane on 1738 with great

- (1) The Morning Chronicle. M. 15. 1. 76. after a detailed examination of the original, comments:- As the play originally stood it was not possible to revive it ... These faults are all now removed, at least as far it was possible, without maiming the plot. The alterer has also very happily hit off the style and manner of his author in the speech which Morose makes immediately after his wedding, and at the conclusion of the 3rd act. Upon the whole he deserves great praise for having with a most skilful hand cleared away the dross from the ore. Indeed the task must have been so arduous in point of labour, and so unpromising in point of profit that we wonder he had either spirit to attempt or patience to achieve it. B.J. is confessedly a good writer but the manners of his day differ so widely from those of the present that we fear that the S.W. notwithstanding it has great merit in its way will not be universally relished. The force of custom is invincible. The world are fond of novelty and are yet governed by habit. The Alchemist and Every Man in his Humour, though both good plays depend at this time rather on the merits of the actors than on the author. May the S.W. engross as much of the public favour as these pieces have done since their revival! It certainly is, in its present form, as full of strong character and true humour as either of them. The critic goes on to praise the prologue but censures Mrs. Siddons for her acting as Epicoene.
- (2) Contrast with this critique The Morning Post, M. 15. 1. 1776. The Gazetteer praises Colman's alterations: 'The plot at present is conducted infinitely to more advantage than in the original by a commendable transposition of the scenes. (i.e. by keeping the secret of Epicoene's garrulity as late as Act IV). It censures the acting and the prologue.'

success (1). Colman's version of 1772, which is condemned by *Biographia Dramatica* (2), is not very different from Dalton's. In a Foreword he defends himself for inserting more musical passages on the grounds that the arguments, divine though they are, overweight the play in performance, and that in the past, while it has been only the music which has kept the piece alive in the theatre, even that music has been almost lost beneath the burden of the drama. He also defends himself for giving Comus and the Lady singing parts, since it is not out of character for Comus to join in the music and the lady's singing the song to Echo avoids a manifest absurdity in the representation (3). The characters in Colman's version comprise, as well as Comus, the Lady, the Brothers, the Attendant Spirit and Sabrina, a second spirit, Euphrosyne, a Pastoral

- (1) B.D: it was 'rendered much more fit for the stage by the introduction of many additional songs, most of them Milton's own, of part of the Allegro of the same author and other passages from his different works, so that he has rather restored Milton to himself than altered him To the success of this alteration the exquisite music of Dr. Arne must have very much contributed.'
- (2) 'This mutilation of Comus is adapted entirely for the singer and cannot be approved of; though Mr. Colman has assigned some reasons which are well calculated to soften censure.'
- (3) 'Theatrical propriety is no longer violated in the character of the Lady who now invokes the echo in her own person **without absurdly** leaving the scene vacant while another voice warbled out the 'song which the lady was supposed to execute' - an interesting side-light on stage production.

Nymph, Bacchantes and Bacchanals - practically the same as Dalton's dramatis personae. The masque is divided into two acts; the first (1) opens with the revels of Comus and his crew, almost unchanged from Dalton (2), and includes the arrival of the Lady, to whom after her soliloquy and song Comus speaks as in the original (3). They then leave the stage. Comus's crew enter from behind the trees and a man sing a solo, after which there is a chorus (4). Exeunt omnes. A hallo is then heard, the Brothers enter and meet the shepherd, and the ensuing dialogue is Milton's (5). After the departure of the Shepherd Comus's crew enter revelling; they offer the cup to the Brothers who refuse it and the act ends after songs by a man and a woman and a trio by a man and two women - all copied very closely, with short omissions only, from the 1738 version. The second act shows a magnificent hall

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- (1) Consisting of Dalton's 1. and 11. but omitting the opening dialogue between the two spirits, the second of whom is named Philadel.
 - (2) They are a combination of Milton's Comus and L'Allegro and some of his own phraseology.
 - (3) Colman cuts the original here, whereas Dalton leaves it unchanged.
 - (4) As in the 1738 version which closes its first act here.
 - (5) Milton, ll. 480-493, after which there are various short omissions in the text. Four lines at the end of the Shepherd's speech, 'Within the bosom of this hideous wood,' are not Milton's.

in Comus's palace. Comus's attendants stand on each side of the Lady, who is seated in an enchanted chair. After a song by Comus (1) a nymph representing Euphrosyne enters and sings the same song as Dalton had given her; there is another song by Comus and chorus, followed by dances performed by the Naiads and a Recitativo and Ballad by the Pastoral Nymph and Euphrosyne respectively. Comus again sings and the Second Spirit enters invisible (and presumably also inaudible) to the rest and sings to encourage the Lady, who thanks him in non-Miltonic language (2). After the offering of the enchanted cup and more songs consequent on the Lady's refusal to accept it or to be convinced by Comus's reasoning, the Brothers rush in followed by the two Spirits, the second of whom (3) invokes Sabrina, and the rest of the act is almost unchanged from Dalton, except that some of the speeches which he added have been omitted (4).

(1) 'Come, thou goddess fair and free' (eighteen lines.)

(2) Taken from Dalton.

(3) His name is Lycidas: Dalton's was Philadel.

(4) Colman keeps the Younger Brother's speech 'Why did I doubt?' which he has taken from Dalton, but not the Elder Brother's after Sabrina descends, and he closes with a passage from the beginning of the masque (Milton, *ll.*, 79-81) and the Spirit's last song, the four closing lines being repeated as a chorus. This final chorus is omitted in the 1784 edition in Bell's British Farces.

This short account is enough to show how closely Colman followed the 1738 version of Comus and also to suggest that the conedmnation of Biographia Bramatica, following as it does on high praise of the earlier re-working, is not justified. It must be admitted that this operatic medley is no great achievement (1), but it is not markedly worse than the other, if it is worse at all, and it kept Milton's poetry before the general public (2). The greatest objection to it, apart from the question whether it is ever permissable to alter a classic, is that Colman has preserved as many as he did of Dalton's variations.⁽³⁾

A further excursion into the realms of the masque was The Fairy Prince, the advertisement of which states that the greater part was borrowed with some variations from Ben Jonson, with a few passages from Shakespeare, one chorus from

- (1) From the literary point of view: those of us who have heard Mr. Robert Radford sing some of Dr. Arne's songs have very pleasant memories of the musical value of the opera.
- (2) Comus occurs very often in the newspapers but it is not clear whose version is meant.
- (3) eg. Act II. Comus: Now softly slow Lydian airs attune
And breathe the pleasing pangs of gentle love,
and the ensuing ballads 'How gentle was my Damon's air' etc. which are 'lifted' from Dalton.

The Theatrical Review for 1779 speaks of this (unacceptable piece) as a piece which has practically no connection with the D.L. performance except in the subject.

See under G.O. 13, 14, 1779. Cf. also Walpole's Letters (Exposé VIII. p. 114).

Dr. Arne seems to have been the most popular as well as the best-known composer, while all the three scenic painters were famous. Dall, it will be remembered had painted the

Gilbert West (1) and another from Dryden. Colman calls the piece 'an effort to entertain by the combined powers of the most eminent proficient in the Arts of Musick, Painting and Poetry:' the music was composed by Dr. Arne, the scenes painted by Messrs. Cipriani, Dall and Richards, the three most widely known scene-painters of the age. It was evidently meant as a counter attraction to the Drury Lane show (2). The borrowings, as Genest points out, were chiefly from Ben Jonson's Masque of Oberon, and he adds "It was merely meant as a vehicle for representing the principal solemnities at the late Installation of the Knights of the Garter" (3). The same authority gives it twenty-three performances. This type of entertainment, the equivalent of the Pathé's Gazette and Gaumont Graphic of the cinema to-day, was exceedingly popular, as witness the many performances of the Coronation in 1761 and of the Shakespeare Jubilee in 1769, and Colman's trifle, as well as bringing an element of novelty into the reproduction of the ceremonies at Windsor by the masque-setting, would be quite effective,

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- (1) Colman p.15. Hail, fair Knighthood! Let our Lays Vindicate ~~thys~~ antient Praise! - cf. West p.55 (Hail British Prince! these faithful Lays Shall reassert ~~the~~ ancient Praise)
- (2) The Institution of the Garter, or Arthur's Round Table restored. (Genest Sept.28.'71. The Theatrical Review for 1771-72 speaks of this as a contemptible piece) C's piece shows practically no connection with the D.L. performance except in the subject.
- (3) See under C.G. 12. 11. 1771. Cf. also Walpole Letters (Toynbee VIII. p.114).
- (4) Dr. Arne seems to have been the most popular as well as the best-known composer, while all the three scene painters were famous. Dall, it will be remembered had painted the elaborate scenery for Imogen's bed-chamber at the time of the managerial disputes about Cymbeline.

slight though it is; it gives plenty of opportunity for theatrical display and no doubt was as well staged and as tunefully set as it could be, since Colman's collaborators were the most famous of their time. The Gazetteer, Th. 14. 11. 71 praises 'the descent of an admirable figure of St. George, finely executed by Cipriani,' and continues, 'On the whole the fancy in the contrivance of the action, composition in the music, richness of the habits, mastership in the painting and general regularity and excellence in the conduct and performance, afforded universal satisfaction and delight.'

Older authors of his own century also came in for their share of revision by this indefatigable manager. Two operas from Gay, Achilles in Petticoats (1) and Polly (2) were altered and produced, both with indifferent success (3). The alterations in Achilles in Petticoats are only such as were necessary to cut it down to a two-act piece, eg. the omission of the preliminary wrangle between Thetis and Achilles and her over-ruling his objections against remaining in Scyros in disguise, and of Achilles refusing Lycomedes'

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- (1) C.G. 16. 12. 73. Genest gives the cast which included Miss Catley.
 (2) Hay. 19. 6. 77. This was printed (8°, 1777 B.D.) but I have been unable to find a copy of it.
 (3) B.D. There is an interesting note on the revival of Polly and its attendance by the Duchess of Queensberry, Gay's old patroness.

was revised in 1782 (1) with a prologue by Colman and a post-
script in Act 11. and the abbreviation of the discussions
with remarks on the tragedy and on the comments of the
between Lycomedes and Theaspe, and Artemona and Theaspe, in
of 'Harriet's' 'Hallybery' who had praised its merits in
Act 1. and of Lycomedes' love-making in Act 11.

There has apparently been no other motive in the adaptation
and the insertion of new songs and omission of old have also
been actuated only by the needs of the occasion. No attempt
has been made at literary refurbishing or editing. The
objections which were made to it for lack of wit and for the
abruptness with which the discovery is ^{brought about} ~~made~~ have some
grounds (1). Another alteration was of Taverner's The Art-
ful Wife (2) into The Female Chevalier (3) which was 'acted
with applause' (4). More important are Fatal Curiosity and
Tit for Tat. Fatal Curiosity, originally produced in 1736,

(1) Cf. a squib in Theatrical Portraits (Lond. 1774).
If Achilles (sic) the brave
Could arise from his grave
His angry brows he would knit
Kick Colman to Styx
For playing such tricks
And robbing poor Gay of his wit.

(2) L. I. F. 1718.

(3) Hay 1778 N.P. See Genest, May 18, '78 for an account of the
alterations. He gives it seven performances.

(4) B.D., which points out as Peake does that the play made
the most of the public curiosity about the Chavelier D'Eon.

was revived in 1782 (1) with a prologue by Colman and a post-script with remarks on the tragedy and on the comments of 'the late Mr. Harris of Salisbury' who had praised its merits in his Philological Enquiries of 1780. The post-script contains as well as a note on the historical foundation of the tragedy a very sensible criticism of Harris and an explanation of his own methods in the revision. There is nothing noticeably different from his Shakespearean and other alterations. The dialogue is abbreviated in the same way, the alterations are made for the most part in a conservative spirit which prefers a close adherence to the original wording rather than the

and well judged. The prologue speaks with distinct

generous appreciation of Lillo's power.

- (1) It was also revived in 1784 at Covent Garden under the title of The Shipwreck: or Fatal Curiosity by Henry Mackenzie, but his version owes nothing to Colman's (in fact he suggests in his foreword that Colman owed the idea of reviving the play to him. As Colman mentions only his debt to Harris and as he was always very scrupulous to acknowledge any sources or suggestions which he had used this claim may safely be ignored.)

- (2) The following passage from II. 1. will give an idea of his method when he alters:

Hillo: If we can reach the wide intuitive
 Free from the narrow bounds and slavish ties
 Of sordid earth that circumscribe its power
 While it remains below roving at large
 Can trace us to our most conceal'd retreats.

Colman: 'Tis as some track the spirit after death
 Free from the bounds and ties of sordid earth
 Can trace us to our most conceal'd retreat.

- (3) In this spirit he omits Agnes's offer to help her husband in the murder, her 'Come, come, despatch', Young Wilmot's groans and the ensuing comments, and Charlet's speech on returning from seeing Young Wilmot's body; and he cuts down Eustace's lament.

(4) B.D. 8° 1785. Acted and printed at Dublin.

(5) B.D. May 1785, 8° 1785.

invention of new (1), and the omissions are intended to refrain from shocking the audience by softening the horror of the catastrophe (2). He admits in his post-script what is a change - that he has hazarded an attempt to correct some minute inaccuracies of language. In all his other alterations his motive has been solely to bring the plays up to date or to remove objectionable passages, not to improve on the original. Here however he evidently feels sufficiently superior to his author to be able to correct him. This does not mean that he depreciates Lillo's achievement: on the contrary, his praise of the 'true tragedy' is genuine and well judged. The prologue speaks with sincere and generous appreciation of Lillo's powers.

The last piece to be considered in this section is the re-working of Joseph Atkinson's Mutual Deception (3) as Tit for Tat (4), a comedy of intrigue. The alteration here is considerable. The original play consists of a double

(1) The following passage from ll. 1. will give an idea of his method when he alters

Lillo If as some teach the mind intuitive
 Free from the narrow bounds and slavish ties
 Of sordid earth that circumscribe its power
 While it remains below roving at large
 Can trace us to our most conceal'd retreat.

Colman If as some teach the spirit after death
 Free from the bounds and ties of sordid earth
 Can trace us to our most conceal'd retreat.

(2) In this spirit he omits Agnes's offer to help her husband in the murder, her 'Come, come, despatch', Young Wilmot's groans and the ensuing comments, and Charlot's speech on returning from seeing Young Wilmot's body; and he cuts down Eustace's lament.

(3) B.D. 8° 1785. Acted and printed at Dublin.

(4) B.D. Hay 1786, 8° 1788.

theme, the mutual deception of Amorveil and Florinda, who both change places with their servants, and a sentimental theme, the pursuit of the deserted Caroline (1) by the libertine Sir Harley Paramour, from whom she is rescued by Captain Blenheim, who, though poor and dependent on Sir Harley, is yet honourable in his love for Caroline. An accidental meeting between Blenheim and the long-lost father, Colonel Belgrade, a dastardly plot to entrap Caroline, counter-plots in aid of beauty in distress, and the final overthrow of vice in the person of Sir Harley - all this is in the genuine sentimental comedy vein, what to-day is vulgarly called sob-stuff and with slight variations furnishes the theme of hundreds of American emotional film dramas. It is just the type of stuff that Colman hated. He discards the whole without remorse and keeps only the comedy of the double mistake. He uses the pruning knife skilfully, but the task is easy, for the two themes are not closely interwoven in the original. Slight alterations are: the plan of Florinda's change of character with Letty is her own idea in Tit for Tat, while in The Mutual Deception it was suggested by Caroline; Letty and Old and Young Meanwell appear at Villamour's hotel (a weak change as no explanation is given for their visit there)

(1) Whose father has gone away and never been heard of since - a good sentimental theme.

and meet Skipwell (1); a duet between Letty and Skipwell is omitted; Amorveil for some unexplained reason becomes Villamour. There are hardly any abbreviations in the dialogue (2). Colman retains or discards in solid blocks. A slight weakness results from the loss of Atkinson's ll. 4, in which Florinda and Caroline discuss the supposed Skipwell and Florinda shows some partiality for him. This paves the way for his conquest of her affections, but the omission of the scene does not materially injure the plot. The alteration appears to have been moderately successful on the stage (3).

In all these alterations Colman is seen working very conscientiously according to his lights. That he had a conscience in artistic matters cannot be denied. He did his best for the improvement of the stage. The encouragement he

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- (1) The Mutual Deception l. 4 and ll. 1 with a little from ll. 3 ~~or~~ run together to make this scene.
 - (2) The Mutual Deception IV. 6. (which becomes Colman's III. 2)
 - (3) One occurs in Tit for Tat l. 2, second part (Mutual Deception ll. 3) and another in Villamour's offer of marriage to Florinda (Tit for Tat III. 4, part of V. 7 in The Mutual Deception).
 - (4) Atkinson in the Dedication to A Match for a Widow (1778) says of Tit for Tat 'I confess myself much flattered by the great applause that piece continues to receive in both kingdoms, and the manner in which Mr. Colman unsolicited by any interest or application on my part brought it forward in the British theatre'. 'E. 4. 11) For its success, see the Morning Chron. W. 30. 8. 86. and Public Advertiser of that date.

single refers to Juliet's 'Variation' of Hamlet (London 1781) and gives an account of it, 'wretchedly noted and

[1] Cf. Odell l. p. 339 on Garrick's Macbeth and Roderic and Juliet.

gave to young actors and writers is constantly referred to, and in bringing out the best of the older plays his motives were irreproachable. He quite genuinely wanted to provide good entertainments, and where he made alterations they were executed with the intention of making old-fashioned poetry seem to the spectators as it did to him, choicely good, and of doing as little harm as possible to the original. No less than Garrick's were his attempts genuine, if ill-judged, to restore Shakespeare, and he achieved far better things than Garrick. (1).

It is interesting to note that his chief alterations were all of tragedies or pieces of a serious nature. That he, who 'paid his court almost solely to the Comick Muse' should restore Lear, Bonduca and Philaster as well as picking out Fatal Curiosity for revival, shows him in a new light and is another tribute to his versatility and his catholic tastes.

Note. Elfrida is sometimes mentioned among Colman's alterations but he never claimed it and it is not given among his works in the B.M. Catalogue. B.D. (11. p.496) says it was altered by Colman in 1772 without Mason's permission (cf. also B.D. 111. p.190).

Walpole referred to Colman's 'violation' of Elfrida (Toynbee VIII. 226) and gives an account of it, 'wretchedly acted and

(1) Cf. Odell 1. p.339 on Garrick's Macbeth and Romeo and Juliet.

worse set to music'. (op. cit. p. 360) The extent of his alterations seems to have been to cut it down and alter some of the airs.

The Tailors, a Tragedy for Warm Weather, is included among his plays in Dicks Standard Plays (B.M. Catalogue). B.D. says this burlesque was 'abridged by Mr. Colman, with some additional touches from his pen,' but leaves the author anonymous. There is no reason to believe it is Colman's.

Addendum: Notes on Colman's Unprinted Plays.

The Spanish Barber.

1st performance, Hay. S.30.8.1777. Performed 7 times that season (T.16.9.77 bft. Miss Farren), 8 times in 1778 (W.24.6.78 by command with The Waterman), 4 times in 1786 (F.18.8.86 by Particular request, Th. 14.9.86 with The Manager in Distress, by Particular Request), 5 times in 1788 (21.4.88. with Colman's permission at Covent Garden, the rest at the Hay., W.13.8.88 being Jewell's bft.) It appears regularly once or twice a season until well into the nineteenth century. Genest notes that The Barber of Seville, produced at C.G., 13.10.1818 was little more than a new edition of The Spanish Barber.

New Theatrical Dictionary: "A very pleasing though farcical performance, taken from Beaumarchais."

Morning Chronicle, M.1.9.1777; "This comedy is nothing more than Le Barbier de Seville, ou La Précaution Inutile of M. Beaumarchais put into an English dress and fitted for our stage by that adroit dramatic habit-maker, G. Colman Esq. Mr. Colman's chief merit consists in having compressed the fable, omitted an useless incident and giving the whole a more rounded and a more dramatic form than it originally appeared in. His dialogue is not a literal translation but a series of smart comic colloquy, abounding with English wit and ridicule, though applied to the objects aimed at by the French writer. In fact, the public are much obliged to Mr. Colman for having in this

instance borrowed a pattern from Paris, and done by it as we do by everything we copy from the French, greatly improved upon it. The Spanish Barber is a most lively little comedy, too short perhaps for a first piece at either of our winter theatres, but sufficiently long for the Hay. and indeed exactly the measure for that shop. It savours somewhat of pantomime in its conduct, but the tricks are so truly comic and produce so good an effect that the spectator readily pardons the means, satisfied with having been incited to laugh heartily. No comedy was ever better received than this, and as it is not only dressed with an uncommon degree of propriety and characteristic fitness but represented well in all its parts, it bids fair to be as great a favourite in London as it has been in Paris...."

Morning Post M.1.9.1777"With all the advantages and the uncommon ease and accuracy with which the performers went through their different characters, we do not conceive the plot to be of importance sufficient of interesting enough to satisfy, as a first piece, an English audience. As a farce it would no doubt claim lasting approbation."

Gazetteer (This censures the last scene of the first act, and the third and last acts.) "The Gallic author has demonstrated his genius; the English translator has given a fresh instance of his genius and taste; and the audience by repeated plaudits expressed their entire approbation of both."

The Female Chevalier. (Three act comedy)

May. 18. 5. 1778. Acted 7 times that season

Oulton (p.72) "An alteration of Taverner's Artful Husband with reference to the Chevalier D'Eon." Davenport Adams, "An alteration of Taverner, with the omission of Mme and Mrs. Winwife." Morning Chronicle T.19.5.1778: "Being separated from the main fable of the original play, the incidents are but few and the plot rather of the thinnest.... The dialogue of The Female Chevalier is truly comic and full of vivacity, but like that of most of the dramatic writers of old, it is not very strait-laced on the score of warm expression and double entendré. The characters are in general well drawn; that of Belinda with great ease and spirit. In fact, though The Female Chevalier cannot at present be deemed a very substantial comic dish, it is a very palatable and pleasing dramatic morceau...The audience in general received the greatest part of this comedy with loud applause!" (The reviewer goes on to praise the improvement in the building and the new scenery by Mr. Canter)

Morning Post, T.19.5.1778 "We did not expect anything very great and therefore were not disappointed" (The whole review is very half-hearted).

The Suicide (Four act comedy)

Hay, 11.7.1778. Acted nineteen times (10.9.1778 being for Palmer's bft.),, "acted several times in 1779" (Genest), one performance in 1781, 1 in 1782, 1 in 1786, 1 in 1788, 1 in 1790, 1 in 1795 at D.L. (By permission of Colman the Younger), 1 in 1800 at Bath (bft. Mr and Mrs. Sedley); Hay. Aug. 29th 1820, "not acted for 26 years" (a misrepresentation); acted 9 times this season; and again 19.6.1822 at the Hay. This seems to be its last appearance.

See Oulton, p.73; New Theatrical Dictionary; Biographia Dramatica. All of these are complimentary.

The Morning Chronicle, M.13.7.1778 gives the plot and a description of the different sets of people in the play, and suggests possible sources. The characters "are thrown into pleasant situations and most of the scenes are replete with comic incidents - at the same time too that the laugh is kept up throughout the comedy a kind of serious interest is created for Tobine which renders him an object of respect even in his most dissipated moments."

The Morning Post, M.13.7.1778 "Though not the best of his dramatic writings, it is superior to most of them and is evidently the work of a master. The dialogue is classical, the wit polished, the humour neat and characteristic, and the temporary strokes of satire happily pointed. There is indeed no great novelty of character, nor perhaps is the superstructure of the Comedy faultless; but admitting the latter to be the case, the

nicest critic must approve the scenes that arise from it, though some of them are, here and there, rather detached from the main building. - One or two however well bear curtailing.... The comedy was received with universal applause and will no doubt be deservedly ranked among the favourite dramatic pieces." (For a less favourable account see The Gazetteer, M.13.7.1778)

The Separate Maintenance.

May, 31.3.1779. Performed 12 times; 1 performance in 1780, 1 in 1781, 1 in 1782; after that it seems to disappear from the bills.

Oulton, p.88: "The principal comic incident is borrowed from a story in no.90 of The Spectator. It was much applauded, though censured by some critics"

A New Theatrical Dictionary: "The characters of genteel life are not sufficiently distinct from each other to afford much entertainment to an English audience, therefore it is not the most pleasing of Colman's dramatic works."

Biographia Dramatica: "The part of Leveret, supposed to be intended to represent the late MR.Boothby Clapton, at that time nicknamed the Prince of Coxcombs, is well drawn and supported. The scene of the swathing, however...is disgusting in a public exhibition."

Morning Chronicle, W.1.9.1779 gives the plot in detail, followed by a critique. "The present comedy has considerable merit but is of a sort not much calculated to please the millions at first, because

they are accustomed to meet with more humour and incident on the stage than a picture of the fashionable world is capable of supplying;; hence it is, added to the extreme difficulty of painting manners which have no strong features, that so few writers attempt genteel comedy...In the play before us, Mr. Colman has shewn his ability as a comic writer, very eminently; the dialogue is remarkably neat and elegant; in many places it is pregnant with wit; in all full of well-applied observation and poignant satire. The characters are drawn with a delicate pencil, nicely discriminated and coloured with a judicious hand..

... The majority of the audience last night received this comedy with loud and repeated plaudits. Some few (and we are much mistaken if we describe them erroneously when we style them a party who came to the theatre for the purpose) opposed it and created a disturbance in the fourth act which kept the stage standing (as it is technically termed) for some minutes, but the friends of the piece triumphed and the actors proceeded not only without further interruptions but with increased applause.... The Prologue is one of the happiest ~~ever~~ ever bard hit upon... The Audience encored it and Mr. Palme was obliged to repeat it!"

Morning Post W.1.9.1779 "Inferior to the generality of

that gentleman's dramatic productions"

Polly

Hay. Th. 19.6.1777. 8 performances in June and July, 1777.

Biographia Dramatica "It completely justified all the censures which had been passed upon it, being as insipid and uninteresting a performance as ever appeared on the English stage. After a few nights' representation it sunk into its former obscurity and will hardly be revived again."

Morning Chronicle, F.20.6.1777: "The ppera of Polly, never performed before, which is the sequel to The Beggar's Opera and written by the same author, acted last night at this theatre, was received with the greatest applause and will be repeated this evening."

Morning Post, F.20.6.1777: "Considered in a dramatic light our impartiality compels us to pronounce it a very contemptible production indeed" (The reviewer condemns Gay, not Colman) "Upon the whole ~~ix~~ however the piece was favourably received, and at the fall of the curtain was given out for this evening".

Gazetteer. "The alterations are not many but judicious. Some of the original airs are omitted and others introduced with more advantage. The music is happily chosen and well adapted to please the taste of an English audience, which was evident from the applause given."

The Election of the Managers.

May. 2.6.1784. "Acted several times" (Colman the Younger)

Morning Chronicle, Th. 3.6.1784. "Last night we were regaled with Mr. Colman's new prelude, The Election of the Managers, which contains in our opinion many good points and lucky hits, accompanied with one or two touches, which though in reality gentle touches, were yet too hard strokes for the very nice and delicate feelings of the present jealous period....It is impossible for the nicest observer to discover the bias and party of the author who seems to have aimed at raising a general laugh at the expense of all the extravagancies attendant on electioneering ... Mr. Colman has often been thought happy in his Prologues but the Prologue to The Election of the Managers is, in the opinion of all who heard it yesterday evening the very best that the writer ever produced.... The scene of the hustings is a correct portrait, but nothing can exceed the elegance and spirit of the view of Covent Garden, at once exhibiting the Great Piazza, Russel-st. in perspective, and the view continued to the Bedford Arms. The objects of the Garden are most artfully seized and most happily displayed."

Parker's General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer 3.6.84.

... "It tickled, or rather pleased all, without putting any body of men or any individual into the least painful sensation. As a Prelude has no pretensions to plot suffice it to say, that in a choice selection of characters in a neat arrangement of scenes, and in a great deal of local humour consisted the merit of this

piece." (~~Also~~ ^{also} The reviewer, praises the Prologue)

Morning Herald, 3.6.84 censures the "indecenty" of representing real people on the stage. The whole performance is condemned, with the exception of the Prologue.

Cf also Biographia Dramatica and Random Records, II. pp. 215-217

Preludio to the Beggar's Opera reversed

Hay 8.8.1781 (attributed to Colman by Biographia Dramatica; "said to be written by George Keate" - Random Records II. pp. 59-61. Genest does not make it clear whether he thinks it was Colman's work or not; he mentions however that the Beggar's Opera reversed was acted about 18 times)

Morning Chronicle, 9.8.1781. "The dialogue is extremely lively and laughable and the satire at once pleasant and powerful. The audience relished it highly and received it with applause."

Morning Herald, 9.8.1781. "A Preludio in which the excessive love of the Italians for music, of the French for dancing, and of the English for newspapers and politics was ridiculed.... Upon the whole no entertainment was ever received with greater approbation than this burlesque met with from as numerous an audience as ever appeared at Mr. Colman's theatre, which could not contain above half the number of people who crowded to see so novel a performance.... We would however suggest to the manager that if he should entertain the Public a few nights more with burlesque, that he will not give so much of it at a time: for it is really too much to keep the house in one continued fit of laughter for four hours; as was the case last night".

IV. Colman's Influence.

The question of Colman's, or indeed any other writer's, influence on his successors is one which needs to be approached with caution. To over-estimate the importance of one man's work in deciding the trend of thought or directing the taste of his contemporaries is an ever-present danger; and to determine exactly what an individual contributes to the growth of a period and what the period itself contributes to the development of that individual needs a hawk-eyed judgment. Even when we come to examine what seem to be specific instances of imitation, we must pause. "The worst of literary composition," says Mr. A.A. Milne in one of his delightful essays, "is this: that when you have got hold of what you feel is a really powerful idea, you find that you have been forestalled by some earlier writer - Sophocles or Shakespeare or George R. Sims Then you have to think again." If it is permitted to say so, the worst of research is that when you have studied the work of one writer you fancy you can see his influence in all sorts of places where possibly, as Mr. Puff would say, two people happened to hit upon the same thought and the other made use of it first; and then, in Mr. Milne's words, you have to think again. Bearing in mind the ease with which the author may plagiarise quite unconsciously and the student may exaggerate equally unconsciously, we shall refrain from any hasty judgment.

That Colman's theatrical career had a considerable influence on the drama of the second half of the eighteenth century is incontestible. His connection with the theatres covers practically thirty years; his own productions stretch from 1760 to 1787; his managerial ventures spread over nineteen years. Only Garrick and Tom Harris reigned longer; only Garrick was more influential. Colman had of course studied in the school of Garrick; his admiration for the "great little man", combined with his inherited theatrical tastes, proved the turning-point in his career. His period of "under-studying" Garrick at Drury Lane during the manager's absence abroad must have deepened his knowledge of management as Garrick practised it; that he continued to use the same methods of conducting the theatre when he was in power at Covent Garden can hardly be questioned. Contemporary as well as later evidence bears out the statement that under his sceptre Covent Garden flourished; the actors were on the whole well-disciplined, and the audience received the compliment of being presented with adequately rehearsed plays (1). How much of an innovation this was and how quickly, once the restraining hands of Garrick and Colman were removed, the actors slipped back into their old bad ways, are shown by Fitzgerald's anecdote (2) of the fiasco of Much Ado about Nothing under Sheridan's rule, the

(1) Cf. The Morning Chronicle, 9.8.1781; "The performers have been drilled with and disciplined to their duty with obvious industry and judgment, and they were all dressed with the strictest propriety." This is only one of many compliments to Colman on the care with which his plays were presented.

(2) Fitzgerald, Life of Garrick, II.p.439.

crowning point of which is the liberty taken by so unimportant an actor as Lamash to absent himself without a word of excuse or warning, and from Colman the Younger's attack on John Kemble for ruining The Iron Chest by presenting it with insufficient rehearsal. Such abuses were not abolished when Garrick and Colman were ~~running~~ directing affairs at their respective theatres, (1), but ~~they~~ from the comparatively few complaints which were made, we may safely deduce that something like order was preserved behind the scenes. Colman's perpetual energy in rehearsing his actors is borne out by anecdotes which cover his career from the first unlucky cause of offence, when Harris and Rutherford made their appearance when he was in the midst of a rehearsal and took umbrage because his concentration on the work in hand prevented him from giving them the ceremonious welcome they expected, to Colman the Younger's account of his earnestness in preparing the amateur theatricals at Wynnstay and worrying over the way in which the butler presented a sword. (2). This influence, particularly when he was in sole control at the Haymarket, made for a general improvement in the state of the theatre and the repute in which it was held. In these respects, while

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- (1) Mrs. Griffith's complaints about Shuter's behaviour in A Wife in the Right (1772) are proof that such scandals still existed. Shuter had refused to attend rehearsals, so that the first performance of the play had to be postponed, and he was so imperfect on the first night that he vamped a "mean and ridiculous buffoon."
- (2) Random Records, II, p. 260.

he was only following what Garrick had done, he was throwing his weight on to the side of a more efficient and respectable play-house and helping to establish the tradition of law and order in the theatrical world. The work of both Garrick and Colman may seem to have been lost: Drury Lane rapidly degenerated under Sheridan and his partners both in point of order and in artistic excellence, Covent Garden, in spite of the tributes paid to Harris for his improvement in theatrical management after Colman left, never regained its ascendancy over its rival and followed it in all its absurdities in the early nineteenth century; and it is not until the days of Vestris and Mathews that a small theatre well run comes to be the ideal again. But the tradition had existed, and that within living memory, and it is far easier to return to an old ideal and improve upon it than to establish an entirely new one. Garrick and Colman are in their double capacity the last bulwarks against the onrushing tide of German sensibility and melodrama in play-writing and chaotic conditions in staging and producing; and whether they realised it or not in the different conditions which faced them in the nineteenth century, the so-called pioneers of the new movement owed a very real debt to those who had raised the theatres to a position of eminence in art and public estimation for a considerable period of time. That most of this debt is due to Garrick no one will deny. It was he who established order at Drury Lane, who by the powerful attraction of his own unparalleled acting made acceptable to the audience reforms which they might not have tolerated from anyone

less illustrious, and who by the dignity of his own private character improved, for the time, ^{being} at least, the status of the actor. But some of the credit must go to Colman. With none of Garrick's personal magnetism he enforced Garrick's discipline; hindered as Garrick had never been by quarrelsome partners and a rival second to none, he yet kept the play-house in a respectable condition; and finally, physically enfeebled, he raised the Haymarket to an eminence such as it had never before known. He was the interesting and not very usual combination, an enthusiast and a level-headed man of affairs. His business was his hobby, and he took a pride in every detail of it, whether it was making a dull actor yawn convincingly or providing comfortable seating accommodation for his patrons. The solidarity of the improvements in the theatres was increased enormously by their being united in their efforts towards good management, and the fact that it was not only a genius like Garrick who could carry them through was an encouragement to later managers to try to repeat this success.

One particular aspect of Colman's work as a reformer has not yet been mentioned, namely his influence in the improvements in dressing the plays. Mr. Donald Mackintosh, in an article in The Times Literary Supplement of August 25th, 1927, points out that sustained efforts were made to dress old plays in "the habits of the times", i.e. in Tudor dress, between 1762 and 1776, and he makes out a very good case for Colman as the originator of these attempts. He examines the bills which advertise plays "new dressed" thus, and finds that a series was performed at Drury Lane between

1762 and 1765, again at Covent Garden from 1767 to 1774, and finally at Drury Lane in 1776 - all these times being when Colman was in power at the respective theatres (1). If his evidence is right (and, as he points out, though it is circumstantial only there is nothing to disprove it) it is another feather in Colman's cap not only that he should have been the first to abolish the absurdity of a hero in appropriate costume and the rest of the cast in contemporary dress but also that he should have set on foot so important a reform as correct dressing in historical plays. His general care in providing suitable clothes, as well as the pains he took over scenery and decorations are the subject of frequent commendations in the newspapers (2).

Another important aspect of management is the choice of plays. In this Colman, though not behind Garrick, shows less

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- (1) In 1776 he was not of course officially connected with D.L. but he and Garrick were on friendly terms again and Garrick was producing Epicœne for him there. It should be mentioned that Epicœne was one of the plays "new dressed in the habits of the times."
- (2) Cf. the Morning Chronicle, M.1.9.1779 (on the dressing of The Spanish Barber), T.19.5.78. (on the improvements in the theatre), M.13.7.78. (on new scenery for The Suicide - the dresses are censured here), Th. 3.6.84. (on two excellent scenes for The Election of the Managers. The reviewers contrasts here the accuracy Colman displays in his settings with the old habit of displaying a Bond Street scene in Julius Caesar), 9.8.81 (the characters "were all dressed with the strictest propriety"), T.2.9.79. and M.19.8.82 (on Rooker's scenery); and The Morning Herald, T.20.8.82 "The alterations in Edwin's dress for the humorous song was a proof of the manager's assiduity and attention as it was much more in character than when in a Lieutenant's uniform!" This change had been suggested by the Morning Herald in its criticism of the first performance of Harlequin's Teague; Colman effected the change before the second night.

originality than might be expected. His own tastes, as we know, were classical and strongly anti-sentimental, but in selecting plays for his theatres, and especially for the Haymarket, he seems to have been influenced mainly by financial considerations. The old favourites figure largely on the bills—Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher and the Restoration dramatists all hold their places — but in putting on new pieces he seems to have been forced by the prevailing tastes of the day to accept third-rate sentimental stuff more often than he would have chosen of his own free will. His producing such a piece as The Chapter of Accidents (1) can be explained in no other way. The same is true of pantomimes and petites pièces. He produced them because he must and not because he liked them. His own work remained strongly unsentimental to the end. His admiration for O'Keeffe needs some explanation. O'Keeffe himself, as his Recollections show, was evidently a very lovable character as well as being very entertaining. Probably friendship accounts to some extent for his patronage; and also the strongly humorous element which is to be found in even the silliest of O'Keeffe's plays would appeal to Colman's tastes. He probably thought that if his audiences must have sentimentalism and melodrama they should at least have it interspersed with

(1) He explains that what he admires in this play is its truth to nature (cf. the prologue which he wrote for Miss Lee.) It is an interesting play, but it is a bad comedy.

genuinely ^{laughable} comic incidents. In the hands of Edwin we know that Lingo and Peeping Tom and the rest raised shouts of laughter. Finally, O'Keeffe's own account of all the praise that Colman gave to his plays is probably coloured by a little amiable vanity. All the same, for the author of The Jealous Wife to be patronising the English Molière (surely the most inappropriate identification Hazlitt ever made!) is a falling-off. It must be confessed that as a leader of taste Colman is disappointing. His audiences influence him, not he them.

With regard to direct imitations of Colman's work, it is of course possible to produce from contemporary drama examples which seem to afford more than accidental resemblances. That Polly Honeycombe was in Sheridan's mind when he delineated Lydia Languish seems incontrovertible. Like Polly Lydia has devoured so many sentimental romances that her brain is quite turned with them. Both have imitated the heroines of their favourite literature, Polly by the devices for communicating with Scribble during her anticipated imprisonment, Lydia by the trumped-up quarrel with Beverley. Both are longing to become romantic martyrs, but where Polly merely expects to be confined by a cruel parent for refusing the man of his choice, Lydia hopes to forfeit her fortune. Both look forward to an elppement and to outwitting the old people, more from the glamour which attaches to such exploits than from any innate duplicity of character. Further resemblances may be found in

in the amorous dispositions of the two old ladies in whose charge the girls are: Mrs. Honeycombe bills and coos with her husband, Mrs. Malaprop is engaged in an affair of her own under a romantic pseudonym. It is possible that Sir Anthony Absolute owes something to Squire Russet and Sir Lucius O'Trigger to Captain O'Cutter, whose taste for bloodshed he shares as well as his nationality, but these resemblances cannot be insisted on. The influence of Polly Honeycombe may be seen also in The Platonick Wife (1), where stress is once again laid on the evil influences of reading romances. Lady Frankland is separated from Lord Frankland because her head is so full of ideas about romantic lovers that she cannot be satisfied with the real but unostentatious love which Lord Frankland bears for her. Mrs. Griffith acknowledges a debt to L'Heureuse Divorce of Marmontel, but Polly Honeycombe must have been known to her.

(2)

The heroine of A Trip to Scotland is another of the Polly Honeycombe school; the attacks on novel-reading and elopements are both indebted to Colman. Finally, in Netley Abbey, (3) when Lucy Oakland exclaims, "I shall really fancy myself to be Zelinda in the Desert," and when, in answer to her complaint,

(1) The Platonick Wife, By a Lady (ie., Mrs. Griffith). Dublin 1765

(2) 1770

(3) 1794. The quotations given above are the only resemblances between Netley Abbey and Polly Honeycombe; the plots have nothing in common.

"Is the sweet embowered cottage belonging to Mrs. Woodbine, where I used to read the dear Recess, indeed to come down?" Oakland declares, "That girl gathers all her absurd notions from silly romances," we hear the tones of Polly and her father once again.

Colman the Younger shows less of his father's influence than might be expected. Direct imitation exists in Inkle and Yarico. The situation of Inkle with Sir Christopher Curry is copied from that of Tropick and Golding. When Sir Christopher says, "So! here's a particular friend of mine coming to sleep at my house, that I never saw in my life," and when he gets Inkle to describe his (i.e., Sir Christopher's) own character to him (1), we recall Golding's "So, here's an old friend and acquaintance of mine that I never saw in my life before;" and the succeeding description which Tropick gives to Golding. (2) He is fond of figures drawn in the style of broad humours, like Russet; Job Thornberry, Inkle and Medium, Kilhallock and the famous Doctor Pangloss, are all of this class. In The Heir at Law he comes nearest to his father in genuine comic power, but for the most part his work is inferior in both conception and execution. He is seldom witty, preferring a pun to a

(1) Inkle and Yarico, III.3.

(2) Man of Business, IV.2.

bon mot; he has none of the genuine power of creating a character which marks Colman the Elder's best work. His greatest strength lies in devising situations and raising laughter at the expense of farcical characters or calling forth the applause with which his audiences greeted moral sentiments. In his versification (1) he shows that he has inherited some of his father's talent. Most of his songs are insipid, but every now and again they have the jingle of those in The Genius of Nonsense, and the song in Bluebeard which extols the joys of being "father-in-law To a three-tailed Bashaw" suggests a direct link between W.S.Gilbert and the eighteenth century (2)

The Jealous Wife seems to have been less followed than would be expected from its popularity. Cumberland's debt to Mr. and Mrs. Oakly when he drew Sir Benjamin and Lady Dove is generally acknowledged (3). Sir Benjamin has been henpecked by Lady Dove just as Oakly has by his wife; like Oakly he finally rises and declares himself master in his own house.

(1) In drama - this does not refer to his tales in verse.

(2) Is it an exaggeration to see traces of Colman's influence in the songs of Peacock? They have something of the same ring; Mr. Trillo's verse, "After careful meditation And profound deliberation On the various pretty projects which have just been shown, Not a scheme in agitation For the world's amelioration Has a grain of common-sense in it except my own" has the same jingle of polysyllables as some of the airs in The Genius of Nonsense (and is very like Gilbert's verses). We know Dr. Folliott's opinion of the enchanter of Covent Garden and the pantomimes.

(3) S.T. Williams, Richard Cumberland, p.49; Davies Life of Garrick, II, p.264.

Lady Dove copies Mrs. Oakly in her device of pretending meekness to get her own way:

Lady Dove: Mistake me not, my dear, I do not accuse you. I accuse myself. I am sensible there are faults and imperfections in my temper.

Sir Benj. O, trifles, my dear, mere trifles.

Lady Dove Come, come, I know you have led but an uncomfortable life of late, and I am afraid I have been innocently in some degree ~~of~~ the cause of it. (1)

Compared with Mrs. Oakly's stratagem to trap Oakly into confessing that Squire Russet's letter was intended for him (2), this passage shows how closely Cumberland was imitating his rival's work. Davies points out (3) further reminiscences of the last act of The Jealous Wife in The Brothers. Captain O'Cutter seems to have suggested the figure of Captain Helm, a "sea-monster", to Robert Hitchcock (4), and in making him couch his wooing in sea-phraseology Hitchcock appears to have had Sir Harry Beagle's stable language in mind, mutatis mutandis. On the other hand the sea-jargon may have come direct from Congreve. Dick Starboard, however, who uses nothing but sea-terms, is an unmistakable follower of O'Cutter, though more exaggerated and less funny (5).

(1) The Brothers (1769) II.8.

(2) The Jealous Wife (Dramatic Works I.p.41 et seq.)

(3) Loc.cit.

(4) The Coquette, or The Mistakes of the Heart. Bath 1777.

(5) The Modish Wife, by F.Gentleman (1774)

A medley of reminiscences of Colman seem to have made their way into The Times (1) by Mrs. Griffith. The Prologue, which declares that

To glow with ardour and attempt with zeal

The reformation of the public weal

Is the high duty of the Comic Muse,

mentions among the figures which deserve to be satirized,

Loose as the buxom air, the Youth from College

Comes fraught with all Newmarket's hopeful knowledge

- a description which fits Jack Rubrick better than any contemporary stage figure; and when one of the characters describes a certain Sir Harry Granger "who ruminates upon every meal and tries to preserve the relish of his sauces by a repetition of their ingredients in every new company that admits him", we are transported to the company of Kitchen and the conversation of Man and Wife. Further, Sir William Woodley, a crusty benevolent old man, is cast in the same mould as Freeport. These resemblances, are in trifling details only. The plot of this comedy and its treatment are entirely unlike Colman's. Similar slight reminiscences exist in some of the work of Mrs. Cowley. Lady Bell Bloomer's description⁽²⁾ of the joys of

(1) 1780

(2) Which is the Man? II.1.

appearing at St. James's recall Miss Sterling's to Fanny (1), and Sophy Pendragon's reproaches to Lord Sparkle show that she has been duped by him, just as Polly Honeycombe would have been, because he has spoken to her in the way that various heroes of romance have done to the heroines. (2).

Colman's influence over Sheridan does not end with Lydia Languish. Catcall, who avows that "Dramaticus in the Chronicle the Observer in the Post, the Elephant in the Packet, the Drury-Lane Mouse and Covent Garden Cricket" are all his, and that he can "make a party with the audience and puff you in the papers" (3) foreshadows Puff, the "practitioner in panegyric, or to speak more plainly, a professor in the art of puffing," who is an adept in every kind of advertisement, the "Letter to the Editor, Occasional Anecdote, Impartial Critique, Observation from Correspondent or Advertisement from the Party." (4) There is moreover a suggestion that a hint for the subject of The School for Scandal may have come indirectly from The English Merchant. Among the Cuttings from A Collection of Material for a History of Drury Lane Theatre is a letter to the Printer of the Public Advertiser (5), in which "An Old Correspondent" writes, "I wish

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- (1) The Clandestine Marriage, I.2.
 (2) Which is the Man? IV
 (3) New Brooms 1776.
 (4) The Critic (1779) I.2.
 (5) Endorsed 9th March, 1767.

...was so much pleased to see the character of an insinuating mischief-making scribbling Slanderer exposed to the Odium and Contempt it so justly deserves, that I cannot help wishing some Dramatick Writer would entertain the Ladies with a Female Spatter. He goes on to describe the art of scandal as it is practised by the ladies in glance and hint. The whole letter forms an interesting forecast of the Scandal Club. Whether the young Sheridan ever saw this letter and kept the idea in mind or whether the character of Spatter encouraged him to see how else he could make comedy of scandal-mongering, it is impossible to say, but the coincidence is at least interesting.

An author whose debt to Colman is not problematical is Thomas Holcroft. Lady Peckham in The School for Arrogance (1) suggests Mrs. Heidelberg in her plebeian origin and her vulgar speech, although her pride of position is her own. Lapelle, in Seduction, lamenting, "Twenty minutes past ten! a shameful time of the morning for a gentleman's gentleman to be disturbed - My Lord has lost his money, can't sleep himself and won't suffer others to take their natural rest", recalls Handy grumbling because Beverley "is ready to pull the bells out of the pulleys between the hours of eleven and twelve." (2) More important

(1) 1791

(2) The Man of Business, II.1. The rest of Handy's soliloquy is quite like Lapelle's

are features in Duplicity and The Road to Ruin. In Duplicity the hero, Sir Harry Portland, is a gamester, like Beverley with a good heart and a weak head, whose friend Osborne deceives him and wins his money from him in order to show up his false friends. Osborne's duplicity arises from motives as pure as, and not dissimilar to, those of Fable. The Road to Ruin is even more closely related to The Man of Business. The themes are almost the same: in both the extravagance of the hero has nearly wrecked an honourable business. Like Beverley Harry Dornton lives expensively with other young men about town and wastes his substance in gambling, although he ought to be earning a respectable livelihood in commerce; like Beverley's his love affairs are nearly brought to a disastrous conclusion through his carelessness. Old Dornton regards his son's career with horror equal to Fable's, while Sulky, the faithful old clerk, bears an even stronger resemblance to Fable. Here the connection between the two plays ends. Holcroft's handling of the theme is serious and totally free from the comic treatment which Colman metes out to it.

To see Colman's influence at its strongest, however, we must consider neither his work as manager nor the number of occasions on which he has evidently been imitated by other dramatists. The chief debt the English stage owes to him is for his aid in keeping alive the comic spirit. The growth of sensibility (a term which we would take to cover both sentimentalism and the ever-increasing humanitarianism of the eighteenth century) continues almost unchecked in the novel until Miss Austen's time;

in the drama its progress is erratic. There are two causes for this: in the first place, the English dramatists suffered from a lack of artistic purpose and their work is accordingly tentative, in marked contrast to the French, who are singularly sure in their aim and whose achievement is an artistic triumph; and secondly, the English taste for laughing at comedy never suffered total eclipse. The second is the more powerful agent in hindering sentimentalism on the stage. The lack of emphasis on form, in which some see an ever-present menace to English literature and particularly to its most popular manifestations, would not have debarred audiences from enjoying sentimental drama in 1760 any more than it would distress nine-tenths of the audience at a modern popular comedy; but even with a farce to follow, an English audience could not sit through five acts of entirely unlaughable comedy. Burgoyne, himself a strong supporter of ^{the} sentimental school, writes in an interesting preface to The Lord of the Manor: "Continued uninterrupted scenes of tenderness and sensibility (*comédie larmoyante*) may please the very refined, but the bulk of an English audience, including many of the best understandings, go to a comic performance to laugh, in some part of it at least." In helping to keep alive this taste for laughter Colman did yeoman service to comedy. In works like The Jealous Wife, The Deuce is in Him, Polly Honeycombe and The Clandestine Marriage he provided true comedy whose success stimulated other writers to follow his example and encouraged audiences to demand a fair proportion of comic

scenes in even the most sentimental plays. Thus Mr. S.T. Williams points out that in spite of the remarkable success of The West Indian Cumberland increased the number of comic situations and characters in his later plays, and he accounts for this by quoting the popularity of the true comic writers (1).

Professor Bernbaum admits that in the period 1761 - 1767, when sentimental comedy was both dominant and prolific (and when Colman's best work was being produced), the public demanded "at least one prominent comic figure - a person whose habits were amusingly odd or affected but not vicious." (2). Colman joins forces with Foote and Murphy as the most considerable comic writer during this period; the influence of his work in impeding the growth of pure sentimentalism cannot be ignored.

But for Colman it is doubtful whether Goldsmith's ~~would~~ plays would have been acted during his life-time, a loss which would have impoverished laughing comedy greatly ~~ever have written for the theatre~~. We know how acutely sensitive at a time when it could afford no weakening, he was and what agony of mind the production of his comedies cost him; if it had not been for the example as well as the encouragement (3) of Colman The Good-Natured Man might never have been submitted to a public which, despite the unfailing compliments to its impartiality and generosity, (compliments

(1) S.T. Williams, Richard Cumberland, p. 324.

(2) Bernbaum, Drama of Sensibility, pp. 222, 223.

(3) Goldsmith makes particular mention of Colman's encouragement in the preface to The Good-Natured Man. "The author returns his thanks ... to Mr. Colman in particular for his kindness to it. It may also not be improper to assure any who shall hereafter write for the theatre, that merit, or supposed merit, will ever be a sufficient passport to his protection."

extorted, we may suspect, by the fear that the author was not going to experience those qualities), could be, and often was, the most tyrannical and brutal of masters. Colman cannot expect much credit for staging She Stoops to Conquer - it is notorious that he was driven to accept the play only by a kind of force from Dr. Johnson - but would the comedy ever have been written if The Good-Natured Man had not been produced? Sheridan, as we have already seen, began his career as a dramatist with strong marks of Colman's thought upon him; Goldsmith follows his example in making the delineation of character, nature and humour (1) his object. Thus both the outstanding comic figures of the time owe an indisputable debt to him.

In the welter of German sensibility which overtakes the drama at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries it may look as if his work were entirely lost. The fame of Colman the Younger, who at the outset of his career he had hoped might prove a Chip of the Old Block (2), rested chiefly on such productions as The Iron Chest and Bluebeard, performances which were enough to make his "Terentian father" turn in his grave. He did not follow The Heir-at-Law, which was acknowledged as one of his best plays, by other serious

(1) Cf. Preface to The Good-Natured Man.

(2) Cf. Prologue to Two to One.

attempts to produce a regular comedy. The inanities of O'Keefe, the horrid mysteries of the Radcliffe school, the melodrama of Kotzebue, the solemn didacticism of Holcroft - these combine with the increasingly strong forces of pantomime, comic opera and show to drive true comedy from the boards. The old plays continue to be acted, but on increasingly rare occasions; in the new ones, the fusion of sensibility and melodrama banishes character and humour to make way for sensational or pathetic situations, relieved by the antics of figures whose real home is farce. Yet in these figures linger the last remnants of the old comedy. The Irishman, all fiery honour, good heart and strong brogue, (1), the British tar, who faces the world with a joke on his lips and patriotic fervour in his breast(2),

(1) Cf. Kilmallock in The Mountaineers (1795) - "Dare you? Look you, Count Virolet! you dare do much! - for you are the first that everdared tell me to my teeth, he held my honour in doubt. Och, fire and oons, and St. Dominick to boot! Hark ye, Sir Don! ... I am an Irishman, mark you me; born a subject of his English Majesty - Heaven prosper the Kings and the country to the end oftime! - and if any Spaniard, Frenchman or else dare trench upon our honour, by my Soul we'll fillip them soundly for venturing to call it in question." (l.l.) And again: "O, St.Jago! may the man that falters to risk his neck for a friend, and a female in a mountain, break it while he's a boy climbing for eggs in an orchard!" (111.4).

(2) The "Old England for ever!" brigade. For the simple piety of this band, cf. Gunnel in Netley Abbey: "Damme, what's a seaman when he's a-foundering if he hasn't a clear conscience?"

the poor honest fellow whose noble sentiments are all his wealth (1), may seem at first sight to be more strongly influenced by Cumberland than by Colman, but they are intended to arouse laughter by the oddities of their natures, that is, they represent an attempt, however feeble, to display the comedy of character. Side by side with these we must put the degenerate descendants of the old comedy of humours - Sir Christopher Curry in Inkle and Yarico, Sir George Thunder in Wild Oats, and many others of their kind. They clearly derive from characters like Freeport, in whom a sentimental motives are displayed in a comic, though sympathetic, light, and even more markedly from Russet, who is not tinged by sentimentalism at all. Poor as they are and trivial as are the comedies of the forty years after Colman's death, in them we must acknowledge the last stand of the Comic Muse whom he served.

(1) Cf. Trudge in Inkle and Yarico, Zekiel Homespun in The Heir-at-Law; and many others.

V. Conclusion.

Colman's Contribution to British Drama.

A survey of Colman's work as a whole is slightly disappointing. He begins brilliantly: The Connoisseur contains much promise, his translation of Terence is a fine piece of work, his early plays stand out as perhaps the best comic productions between Farquhar, or at any rate Cibber, and Goldsmith.(1). After 1768, however, he produces nothing of outstanding merit. A glance at the dates of his plays is instructive: Polly Honeycombe, 1760; The Jealous Wife, 1761; The Musical Lady, 1762; Philaster and The Deuce is in Him, 1763; the translation of Terence, 1765; The Clandestine Marriage, 1766; The English Merchant, 1767; King Lear, 1768. After this date his only original printed comedy is the unsuccessful Man of Business (1774), and the only other pieces which can claim to be serious work are alterations (2) - Epicoene (1776), Bonduca (1778), Fatal Curiosity (1783), and The Mutual Deception as

- (1) The only comedies which have any claim to rival his during this period are The Suspicious Husband and The Way to Keep Him, and neither Hoadly nor Murphy can show such a body of respectable comic work as Colman.
- (2) It is of course difficult to judge of the merits of the later unprinted comedies. The Spanish Barber's popularity appears to have been deserved, but Colman can claim credit for the translation only. It is probably safe to dismiss all his unprinted comedies as of secondary interest. There is no contemporary evidence strong enough to suggest that Colman ever regained the levels of his early work, and the fact that when he was collecting his Fugitive Pieces in 1787 he did not also publish The Suicide, for instance, which had a fairly long run, suggests that he himself did not rate it very highly. On the other hand it is only fair to say that he may have kept all the later pieces in MS for the same reason as his son gave for refusing to let O'Keeffe publish those pieces of his of which the Hay. held the copyright (see O'Keeffe's Recollections, II.p.365).

Tit for Tat (1786). The rest are inferior farces, preludes, musical pieces, minor works of one kind or another. It is as if he wrote himself out in those eight years of work at high pressure, and after that, in spite of much conscientious and capable work, never regained his original inspiration.

It is not impossible to hazard reasons for this deterioration. In the first place, Colman seems to have been of poor physique. He had to go to Paris to recuperate in 1764 (1), there are various references in his and Garrick's letters to his frequent indisposition (2); he had a fit at the theatre in 1771 (3), and a seizure at Margate in 1785⁽⁴⁾, after which his health remained very precarious (5). His son also says that he suffered from chronic gout, and it is on record that he was of a highly-wrought temperament, which revenged any mental disturbance by making him physically ill (6). It is easy to imagine how a nervous disposition of this sort would handicap him in his managerial troubles at Covent Garden. The quarrels with Harris and Rutherford would leave him so much exhausted that he

(1) Peake, I.p.105.

(2) e.g. Peake I.p.188,189 (1766), 199 (1767).

(3) Peake I.p.262. According to this authority it was a few days before he was pronounced out of danger.

(4) Peake II.p.186.

(5) Peake II.p.196. "He also suffered under severe fits of epilepsy; when the greatest alertness was exercised by plunging him instantly into a hot slipper-bath to prevent the immediate termination of his existence."

(6) His cowardice (which is the subject of frequent jeers) probably arose from this nervous disposition. Colman the Younger ~~XXXXX~~ says that he was "somewhat timid" (Random Records, II.p.278)

... would have little or no energy left for creative work. He produced nothing between the end of 1767 (1) and 1769, that is, during the time when the Covent Garden troubles were at their height. Another unproductive period occurs between 1774 and 1776, after he had left Covent Garden and while he was presumably picking up strength again. The year 1777 was marked by a return of energy, an indication of restored health and possibly of high spirits at the prospect of theatrical management unhampered by any partner. After this he produced three quite considerable plays in 1778, a last original comedy in 1779, and nothing but slight pieces for the last ten years of his life. As well as the toil of composition he was beset by other anxieties for the whole of his theatrical career: actors and actresses were a continual thorn in the flesh, and there was the constant worry as to the financial success of the theatre.

With all these difficulties to contend against, his output was yet considerable, both in bulk and in the length of time over which he was writing. Herein perhaps we may find another reason for his falling off. Sir Anthony Hope is of opinion that only an exceptional man can go on writing at his best for more than fifteen years (2). Now Colman was writing for the best part of thirty years, and he cannot be considered exceptional. He was

(1) King Lear and The Oxonian in Town were already in being, though King Lear was not performed before January 1768.
 (2) According to Beverley Nichols (Are They the Same at Home?)

admittedly far above the level of most of the dramatic writers of his day, in both abilities and education. But to claim him as an outstanding figure in a wider literary field would be out of proportion to his merits. A gifted man, yes; but not unusual. Let us grant then that he probably wrote too much and for too long, and that if he could have afforded to produce less the quality of his work would have been improved. Finally, in spite of Dr. Johnson's assertion to the contrary, anyone who has to write for his daily bread whether the Muse is propitious or not, is bound to produce a certain amount of poor material.

Admitting that his career does not fulfill its early promise, let us consider how much Colman does nevertheless achieve. In the first place it must be put to his credit that, however trivial the piece at which he was working, he never contented himself with mere hack-writing. He brought to the most inconsiderable petite pièce the same love of fun and the same respect for efficient craftsmanship as he did to The Jealous Wife. He was never slipshod. In the second place, though force of circumstances drove him to produce trifles which in his heart he despised, he remained true to his ideal of laughing comedy. He might bow down in the House of Rimmon but his heart never went astray after false gods. It is significant that the last plays which he chose to alter for production in his theatre were a tragedy which he considered to be written with something of the Shakespearean fire and a comedy of intrigue in which, when he had finished with it, there was not

a single note of sentimentality. In an artificial age he is refreshingly robust. Instead of the distressed heroine of sentimental comedy he presents us with women of spirit who love a witticism better than a sentiment, who can hold their own if they are put to it instead of drooping tearfully or clinging to a noble preserver, with men who have something of the portraiture of an earlier day in their presentation, with situations round which the attendant imps of the Comic Spirit naturally gather. He has hold on reality. As Hogg says, "Whenever your author loses sight of probability his subject loses a share in your interest." Colman's common sense, combined with his strong sense of humour, gives him balance and a sense of proportion.

Apart from their value in keeping the flag of true comedy flying amid the onslaughts of sentimentalism, The Jealous Wife, The Clandestine Marriage and The Deuce is in Him all have intrinsic worth as comic representations of life. There may be flaws in construction (1), but the plays are well written; their language is always vigorous, simple and elegant; they contain both wit and humour; (2); in both character-drawing and situation they are worthy to take their place, not in the front rank certainly, but at any rate in the second or third of English comedy. They are, says Hazlitt of The Jealous Wife and The Clandestine Marriage, (3)

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- (1) In The Jealous Wife especially.
 (2) Hazlitt however finds very little wit in the Jealous Wife.
 (3) Lectures on the English Comic Writers, p.229.

"excellent plays of the middle style of comedy which are formed rather by judgment and selection than by any original vein of genius; and have all the parts of a good comedy in degree without having any one prominent or to excess..." The best and most genuine kind of comedy, because the most dramatic, is that of character or humour in which the persons introduced on the stage are left to betray their own folly by their words and actions", and this comedy, he claims, is admirably displayed in Mrs. Oakly. On that score alone we may include The Deuce is in Him among Colman's triumphs. It is slighter, of course, than either of the regular comedies which Hazlitt praises, but it has the genuine comic inspiration.

Colman has been overlooked because, as Professor Nicoll points out (1), "Through the peculiar blight which has fallen on late eighteenth century dramatic literature, these two men (i.e. Goldsmith and Sheridan) for the last forty years at least have occupied an over-exalted position." Compared with Sheridan and Goldsmith, of course, Colman diminishes in importance (2). She Stoops to Conquer and The School for Scandal stand unsurpassed. While Colman can never aspire to such heights as these he has, as Lady Sneerwell would say, "a very pretty talent and a great deal of industry." Except for these two outstanding figures there is

(1) History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama, p.157.

(2) Hettner (Geschichte der engl. Literatur p.500) picks out Colman and Goldsmith together as being free of the blemishes which Goethe finds in most English comedies, i.e. "sie meist formlos seien und wenn sie auch gut und planmässig anfangen, sich doch zuletzt ins Weite verlieren und dass ein wildes und unsittliches gemein wüsstiges Wesen durch sie hindurchgehe."

no comic dramatist at work between 1760 and 1790 who rivals him. Murphy comes nearest in The Way to Keep Him and his farces, but The Way to Keep Him, though it has a brilliance of its own, has not the breadth of vision or the vigour of The Jealous Wife and The Clandestine Marriage. It is not God's plenty that Colman gives us, but there is more richness of life in these two comedies than in Murphy's. Mrs. Cowley too has a number of amusing comedies to her credit but she shows more traces of sentimentalism than Colman, except in her excellent comedy of intrigue, The School for Greybeards, and comedy of intrigue is a lower type than that of manners or humours, calling as it does for skilful manipulation of circumstances rather than the display of character. Mrs. Cowley can depict a purely comic character like Lady Bell Bloomer, but she cannot keep a whole drama in focus under the microscope of comedy. Sooner or later sentimentalism gives a tiny turn of the screw and the outlines blur. Colman's superiority to the dramatists of his time lies in his power of viewing life consistently as a comic whole.

A nation gets the drama that it deserves, says Mr. St. John Ervine. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries made it very clear what they wanted. Colman, subduing his hand to the material it worked in, managed both to be popular and to provide entertainment above the general level. He was a force in his own days, and a force for good. That he should have been so completely forgotten is one of the unkind tricks of Fate. His masterpieces held the stage regularly until 1830; after that comes oblivion. If the

renewed interest in our older drama should drag his work into the light of day again, he has nothing to fear. The temporary stigma of being old-fashioned, under which every artist suffers for a while, has passed; a more complete knowledge of the conditions under which he worked, with an acknowledgement of the conventions and limitations which they imposed, gives a true background for critical study; and Colman will stand out, we may venture to prophesy, as a lineal descendant of both the Elizabethan and the Restoration playwrights, and a not unworthy figure in the goodly procession of British dramatists.

Appendix I.BibliographyA. Bibliography of Colman's Works.

Achilles / in / Petticoats / an / Opera. / As it is performed
 at the / Theatre-Royal, in Covent Garden. / -deceperat omnes /
 (In quibus Ajacem) sumptae fallacia vestis. / Ovid. Metam. Lib. X
 XIII / Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret. Hor. /
 Written by Mr Gay, / with alterations / The music entirely new
 by Dr. Arne. / London, / Printed for W. Strahan, T. Lowndes,
 T. Caslon, / T. Becket, W. Griffin, W. Nicoll, and R. Snagg. /
 MDCCLXXIV.

Svo, pp.viii+ 38, consisting of half-title, with blank reverse
 title-page, with blank reverse; a table of the songs (pp.v and vi)
 Advertisement; Dramatis Personae; text, pp.I - 38. P.I, which is
 is not numbered, is headed with an ornament, below which is the
 title, Achilles / in / Petticoats; each succeeding verso and
 recto are headed Achilles only. Signatures B - F(3).

Cf. also

Achilles / An opera / As written by John Gay § Distinguishing
 also the / Variations of the Theatre, / as performed, / in two
 acts / at the / Theatre-Royal in Covent Garden. / Regulated from
 the Prompt Book / By Permission of the Managers, / by Mr Wild,
 Prompter. / (The same motto as above) London: / Printed for
 John Bell, near Exeter-Exchange, in the Strand; / and C. Ethering-

ton, at York. / MDCCLXXVII

Bell's British Theatre, Vol. 9.

The Art of Poetry

Q. Horatii Flacci Epistola ad Pisones, / De Arte Poetica. /
The / Art of Poetry: / an / Epistle / to the Pisos. / Translated
from Horace / With Notes. / By George Colman. / London: / Printed
for T. Cadell, in the Strand / M.DCC.LXXXIII.

Svo. pp. i-ix, 2-40, iii-lxiii, consisting of half-title with
blank reverse; full title, with blank reverse; dedication (pp i-ix)
text, in Latin and English, pp. 2-40, pp. 2-40 verso giving the
Latin, pp. 2 - 40 recto the English (the pages are numbered thus);
there is no page numbered I. The reverse of p. 40 recto is blank;
the following page, Notes / on the / Epistle to the Pisos / (blank
reverse) is not numbered; it is followed by pp. (iii) and (iv)
which contain an introductory passage on the notes; pp. vi (not
numbered) - lxiii give the text of the notes. The pages are not
headed, the numbers are printed centrally, sometimes in square,
sometimes in round brackets. Signatures, a, B - T.

Beauties of the Magazines.

The / Beauties / of the / Magazines / and other / Periodical
Works, b/ Selected for a Series of Years: / consisting of / Essays
Moral Tales, Characters, and / other Fugitive Pieces, in Prose /
by the most Eminent Hands; viz. / Colman, Goldsmith, Murphy, ~~Smollett~~
Smollett, / Thornton, and C / Also / Some Essays by D. Hume Esq. /

Not inserted in the Late Editions of his Works: / With many other
 miscellaneous Productions / of equal Merit. / None of these Pieces
 are to be found in the Works that pass under the Names of the
 above Authors. / In Two Volumes. / London: / Printed for Richard-
 son and Urquhart, under / the Royal Exchange. / M.DCC.LXXII.

12vo.

-- Another Edition. Altenburgh. / Printed for Gottlob Emanuel
 Richter / MDCCLXXV

Bonduca

Bonduca / A Tragedy, / Written by Beaumont and Fletcher. /
 With Alterations. / As it is performed at the / Theatre Royal /
 in the / Haymarket. / The Third Edition. / London, / Printed by
 T. Sherlock, / For T. Cadell, in the Strand. / MDCCLXXVIII

8vo. A (unsigned) consists of half-title, with blank reverse;
 full title, with blank reverse; Prologue (two pages, unnumbered)
 Advertisement, with Dramatis Personae on the reverse. pp. 1 - 46
 give the text of the play, followed by a page of publisher's adve
 advertisement, reverse further advertisements of books. There is
 a running title, Bonduca Signatures, B - G.

-- Another edition: Bell's British Theatre. 1797 8vo.

-- Another edition: London, 1808 8vo.

-- A New Edition; London, M.DCC.LXXII. 8vo.

-- A New Edition: London, 1770, 8vo.

-- (Another Edition) ... as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in

Drury Lane and Crow Street... Dublin, M.DCC.LXXVIII 12vo.

The Clandestine Marriage.

The / Clandestine Marriage, / a / Comedy. / As it is Acted at the
 Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. / By / George Colman / and / David
 Garrick. / Huc adhibe vultus, et in una parce duobus : / Vivat, et
 simulque ejusdem simul uterque parens! Ovid. / London: / Printed
 for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, in the Strand; / R. Baldwin, in
 Paternoster Row; R. Davis in Pic / cadilly; and T. Davies in Russel-
 Street, Covent- / Garden. / M,DCC,LXVI.

8vo. pp.viii + 90 + iv, consisting of half-title, with blank
 reverse; full title, with blank reverse; Advertisement, with blank
 reverse; Prologue; Dramatis Personae; text of the play, pp. 1-90;
 Epilogue, pp. iv (not numbered) followed by a page of advertisements
 of Colman's plays, the reverse blank. Each verso is headed The
Clandestine Marriage, each recto A Comedy. Signatures, B - G.

Other editions.

- The Second Edition. London M.DCC.LXVI. 8vo.
- The Third Edition. London M.DCC.LXVI. 8vo.
- (Another Edition) Edinburgh: Printed (by Permission of the
 the Authors) for R. Fleming at the Cross. M.DCC.LXVI. 8vo.
- A New Edition; London. M.DCC.LXX. 8vo.
- A New Edition: London, 1778. 8vo.
- (Another Edition) ... as it is Acted at the Theatres Royal in
 Drury Lane and Crow Street... Dublin, M,DCC,LXXXVIII 12vo.

- (Another Edition) Bell's British Theatre (vol XIV)
M.DCC.XCVII. 8vo.
- A New Edition London: 1800 8vo.
(The copy in the British Museum is marked in MS
"Brighton Theatre, J. Field," and has various
cuts marked in ink and stage directions written
in the margins in MS)
- (Another Edition) Collection / of English Plays / selected for
the use / of those / who like to cultivate /
that language / (Vol.III.)
Copenhagen. 1815 12mo.
(Part of a series, Collection of English
Plays with explanatory notes in the Danish
Language by Fredk. Schneider. Copen-
hagen 1807etc.)
- (Another Edition) Mrs. Inchbald's British Theatre Vol. 16
London 1808 12mo.
- " " The Modern British Drama Vol. IV.
London 1811 8vo.
- " " Dibdin's London Theatre, Vol. XII.
London 1815. 16vo.
- " " Oxberry's New English Drama (1818 etc)
Vol. 5 London 1819. 8vo.
- " " The British Drama. Vol 1.
London, 1824 8vo.

- (Another Edition) The London Stage, Vol. 1.
London (XIVR) (1824etc)
8vo.
- Duncombe's Acting Edition of the British Theatre, Vol. 40. London 1825 12mo.
- Cumberland's British Theatre Vol. VII
(1829). 12mo
- The Acting Drama, London 1834. 8vo.
- Sinnett, The Family Drama
Hamburg 1834 8vo.
- Lacy's Acting Edition of Plays Vol 92.
London, 1850 etc. 12mo.
- Dick's Standard Plays no. 54.
London, (1883) 12mo

Cf. also

Die Heimliche Heirath, ein Lustspiel... von Colmann
(sic) und Garrick. Frankfurt und Leipzig
bey Dodsley und Compagnie. 1769 8vo.

and

Bertati (g). Il Matrimonio Segreto, Dramma giocoso
per musica. (Founded on The Clandestine Marriage)
1794 8vo. Italian and English.
1796 12mo. London 1872. 8vo.
1798 8vo. " " " " " " " " " " " "
1812 8vo. " " " " " " " " " " " "
1814 12mo
1830 12mo etc.

and

Die Heimliche Ehe Komische Oper. 1881 8vo.
(A translation of the above.)

Comus

Comus: / a / Masque. / Altered from / Milton. / As performed
at the / Theatre-Royal / in / Covent Garden. / The Musick Composed
by Dr. Arne. / London: / Printed for T. Lowndes; T. Caslon; S. Bladon; /
W. Nicoll; and T. Becket and Co. / MDCCLXXII.

8vo. pp. iv+ 30, consisting of half-title, with blank reverse;
full title, with blank reverse; advertisement (2½ pages) and Charac-
ters (1 page); text, pp. 1-30. The title is printed on every page,
p. 1, like pp. i-iv, is not numbered. Signatures B-E.

- (Another Edition) London M, DCC, LXXIV 8vo.
- " " Supplement to Bell's British Theatre, Vol. IV
London, M, DCC, LXXXVI^{IV}, 12mo
- " " A Collection of the most Esteemed Farces etc
Vol. IV. Edinburgh, M, DCC, LXXXVI 12mo.
- " " The Modern British Drama, vol. V
London 1811. 8vo.
- " " Inchbald's Collection of Farces.
London 1815. 12mo.
- " " The British Drama Illustrated (1764 etc)
Vol. XII. London 1872. 8vo.
- " " Dick's Standard Plays no. 167
London 1883. 12mo
- the work. Signatures, B-70 (vol. I), A-78 (vol. 2)

The Connoisseur

The / Connoisseur./ By / Mr. Town, / Critic and Censor General/
Vol. I /... Non de villis domibusve alienis, / Nec male necne Lepos
saltet, sed quod magis ad nos / Pertinet, et nescire malum est,
agitamus. / Hor. / (Ornament) London:/ Printed for R.Baldwin, at
the Rose in Paternoster Row. / M DCC LV.

Folio. The title page has a blank reverse. pp.1-420, The Con-
noisseur (first Volume) At the end of each paper is a notice:
"Printed for R. Baldwin at the Rose in Paternoster Row; where /
Letters to the Connoisseur are received," and each is headed with
an ornament, the title (The Connoisseur, By Mr Town, Critic and
Censor General), the number of the issue, the date and a Latin
motto. The Connoisseur is printed at the head of each page after
the first of a new issue; the first is headed with its number in t
the volume, enclosed in round brackets. On p.666 at the end of
paper CX is an announcement: "This day is Published, in Two Neat
Pocket Volumes, Price Six Shillings bound, The Connoisseur revised
and corrected. With a New Translation of the Mottoes and Quotations"
This notice is repeated word for word on p.726, at the end of
paperCXX. Further advertisements, "Just published" etc occur.
At the end of vol.II is an advertisement for the forthcoming third
and fourth volumes of The Connoisseur in Twelves which will complete
the work. Signatures, B-7C (vol. 1), A-7B (vol.2)

(The Connoisseur contd.)

- The Fourth Edition, London M DCC LXI 12mo. (in 4 vols)
- " Sixth " Oxford M DCC LXXIV 12mo " " "
- (Another Edition) Harrison's British Classics (vol. VI)
London MDCCLXXXVIII 8vo.
- " " The British Essayists, with Prefaces by
Alexander Chalmers A.M. (vols 30-32)
London 1802 12mo. (in 3 vols.)
- " " The British Essayists, with Prefaces..
by A. Chalmers, F.S.A.
London 1817 12mo. (in ³ vols)
- " " The British Essayists, with Prefaces...
by A. Chalmers F.S.A. (vols. 25 and 26)
London 1823 12mo. (in 2 vols)
- " " The British Essayists, with Prefaces...
by James Ferguson Esq. (vols. 26, 27)
1822 etc. Second edition.
London 1823 12mo.
- " " The British Essayists, with Prefaces...
by the Rev. Robert Lynam A.M.
London 1827. 12mo. (in 2 vols.)
- " " The British Essayists, with Prefaces...
by A. Chalmers, F.S.A. Vols. 25, 26
Boston. 1856 8vo.

Critical Reflections etc.

Critical Reflections / on the / Old English Dramatick Writers; / Intended as a / Preface / to the / Works of Massinger. / Addressed to / David Garrick, Esq. / London: / Printed for T. Davies in Russel-street, Covent Garden; / James Fletcher at Oxford; and J. Meril at / Cambridge MDCCLXI

4to. pp. iv + 27, consisting of half-title, advertisement for Poems by Robert ~~ELIXA~~ Loyd (sic) M.A.; title-page, with blank reverse text (pp. 1-27); advertisement for Coxeter's Massinger (reverse of p. 27). The pages are numbered centrally in Arabic figures enclosed in square brackets. Signatures B-E (2).

Cf. also Coxeter's Massinger, London M DCC LXI. 8vo
and Monck Mason's Massinger, London, M DCC LXXIX. 8vo.
(Colman's essay is prefixed to both of these editions of the works of Massinger)

London MDCCLXIX 8vo. (Halle from Horace)
London MDCCLXVI 8vo
[Another Edition] E Supplement to Bellin's British Theatre
vol. 1. London 1784. 12mo.
A Collection of the Most Esteemed Farces
A New Edition. Edinburgh 1786 12mo.
Modern British Drama vol. 5
London 1811 8vo.

The Deuce is in Him

The / Deuce is in Him / A / Farce / of / Two Acts. / As it is performed at the / Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. / Inceptio est amentium, haud amantium. Ter. / London: / Printed for T. Becket, and P.A. De Hondt, at / Tully's Head, in the Strand; and T. Davies in / Russel-street, Covent-Garden. / MDCCLXIII / (Price One Shilling)

8vo. pp.i-iv, + 44, consisting of title-page, reverse Advertisement containing the author's acknowledgement of sources; Prologue; and Dramatis Personae; the text of the play (pp.1-44). There are headlines on every page. Signatures B-G.

-- Second edition London MDCCLXIV 8vo.

-- (The title page has a different motto:- Stans pede in uno. Hor.)

-- (Another Edition) Dublin MDCCLXIV 12mo.

(The original motto is kept here)

-- A New Edition London MDCCLXIX 8vo. (Motto from Horace)

-- " " " London MDCCLXXVI 8vo " " "

-- (Another Edition) K Supplement to Bell's British Theatre vol. I. London 1784, 12mo.

-- " " A Collection of the Most Esteemed Farces etc

A New Edition, Edinburgh 1786 12mo.

-- " " Modern British Drama vol. 5

London 1811 8vo.

(The Deuce is in Him contd.)

- (Another Edition) Inchbald's Collection of Farces etc. First /
 vol. 6. / London, 1815 12mo.
- " The British Drama Vol. 1. /
 London 1824 8vo.
- " New York 1824 16vo.
- " The London Stage Vol. 3 /
 London (1824 etc) 8vo.
- " Dick's Standard Plays no. 182. /
 London 1883 12mo.

Cf. also The Deuce is in Him, ou, Il Est Possédé... traduite sur
 la seconde édition des Oeuvres complètes de Mme. Riccoboni
 (Tome 5ième) Paris 1818 8vo.

(Das Sündentinsarrische (pp. 157-292); Epilogue
 numbered). Signatures B-U (7). The headlines are the
 same for every act, and vary according to the play. The
 succeeding volumes are similarly arranged.

Vol. I, pp. 294, signatures B-U (3)

Vol. III, pp. 324 " B-U (3)

Vol. IV, pp. 348 " B-U (6)

The Dramatic Works of George Colman

The / Dramatick Works / of / George Colman. / Volume the First; /
Containing, / The Jealous Wife, / The Clandestine Marriage. /
London, / Printed for T. Becket, Adelphi, Strand. / M DCC LXXVII.

8vo, in four volumes, Vol. I consists of pp. 302, the numbers running from 12 to 292 only, including half-title, with blank reverse; title-page, with blank reverse; title-page of The Jealous Wife; Advertisement; Dedication (5pp); Prologue, written by Mr Lloyd and spoken by Mr. ^{Garrick} ~~MAYHAW~~ (2pp); Dramatis Personae; text of The Jealous Wife (pp. 11-147); Epilogue (2pp.); blank page; ^{title-page} ~~text~~ of The Clandestine Marriage; Advertisement; Prologue written by Mr. Garrick and spoken by Mr. Holland (pp. 2); Dramatis Personae; blank page; text of The Clandestine Marriage (pp. 157-292); Epilogue (10 pp., unnumbered). Signatures B-U (7). The headlines are the same for verso and recto, and vary according to the play. The succeeding volumes are similarly arranged.

Vol. II. pp. 294, signatures B-U (3)

Vol. III. pp. 324 " B-Y (2)

Vol. IV. pp. 348 " B-Z (6).

The English Merchant.

The / English Merchant, / a / Comedy. / As it is Acted at the / Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. / By George Colman. / Nae illiusmodi jam magna nobis civium / Penuria est. Homo antiqua virtute ac fide / Haud cito mali quid ortum ex hoc sit publice. / Quam gaudeo, ubi etiam hujus generis reliquias / Restare video! Ter. / London: / Printed for T.Becket and P.A.De Hondt, near / Surry-Street, in the Strand and R.Baldwin, in Paternoster-Row. / M.DCC.LXVII.

8vo. pp.viii 469 + vi., consisting of half-title, with blank reverse; title-page, with blank reverse; Dedication, with blank reverse; Prologue; Dramatis Personae; text (pp.1-69). From p.2 to p.60 each verso is headed The English Merchant, each recto A Comedy. The reverse of p.69 is blank; it is followed by the Epilogue (4pages unnumbered, but each headed Epilogue) . At the end of the Epilogue there is an ornament. This is followed by two pages of book-sellers advertisements, again followed by an ornament. Signatures, B - G.

- The Second Edition. London M.DCC.LXVII 8vo.
 -- (Another Edition) A Collection of New Plays 1774 etc. Vol. 2
 Altenburgh MDCCLXXVI 8vo.
 -- " " Inchbald's Modern Theatre Vol. 9.
 London 1811 12mo.

Epicœone.

Epicœone; / or, the / Silent Woman. / A Comedy, / Written by
 Ben Jonson. / As it is Acted at the / Theatre- Royal in Drury
 Lane. / With / Alterations, / By George Colman . / London: /
 Printed for T. Becket, Corner of the Adelphi, Strand / M DCC LXX VI

8vo. pp.vi ± 75, consisting of Title page, with blank reverse
 Advertisement, with blank reverse; Prologue (written by George
 Colman, Spoken by Mr Palmer); Dramatis Personae; text of the play
 pp.1-75. Pp. i-iii are neither numbered nor signed. Each verso
 is headed Epicœone; or, each recto The Silent Woman. Signatures
 B-L(2).

The copy in the British Museum contains after p.14 a curious
 addition. p.14 ends:

Second Verse

Let our shows be now as strange
 Ever hastening to their change;

p.15 begins

Let laws oft and sweetly vary,
 That beholders may not tarry,
 Long to wait the pleasing sight
 Taken away from the delight.

fin

the end design and sign... (all)

The Fairy Prince.

The / Fairy Prince: / a / Masque. / As it is performed at the /
 Theatre-Royal / in / Covent Garden / (Ornament) London: / Printed
 for T.Becket, in the Strand; / Book-seller to Their Royal High-
 nesses the Prince of / Wales and Bishop of Osnaburgh / M.DCC.LXXI

Svo. pp.viii& 25, consisting of half-title, with blank reverse;
 title-page, with blank reverse; Advertisement, with blank reverse;
 blank page, reverse Characters; text (pp.1-25). Each verso is
The Fairy Prince, each recto, A Masque, except on pp.17 and 23,
 where Parts II and III begin: there the page-number is printed
 centrally in brackets and the words A Masque are omitted. An
 ornamental heading is printed across these two pages. Signatures
 B-D; the first four pages are unsigned as well as being unnumbered

(The copy in the British Museum contains after p.14 a curious
 misbinding. p.14 ends:

Second Nymph

Let our shews be new as strange
 Ever hastening to their change;

p.15 begins

Let them oft and sweetly vary,
 That beholders may not tarry.
 Long to wait the pleasing sight
 Takes away from the delight.

Air

Let us play and dance and sing.... (611)

(The Fairy Prince contd.)

Duet and Chorus

Whilst all the Air shall ring....(6 ll.)

Curtain drops and closes the first ^{Part.} act.

The reverse of this page is blank.

The next page is again numbered 15 and begins with part of the Second Nymph's song:

That beholders may not tarry

Let them oft and sweetly vary.

Scene changes and discovers, in Vision, the Taking of the King of Bohemia's Standard at the Battle of Cressy: In Memory of which Circumstance the Princes of Wales have since borne Three Ostrich Feathers (the Bohemian Standard) as their Crest, with the Original Motto, Ich Dien.

Silenus

Now Nymphs and Satyrs, see reveal'd

In glorious Vision, Cressy's Field!

The Standard by Bohemia born,

Thence by British Valour torn:

First, brave young Edward's Prize; and since,

The Crest renowned of Fairy Prince.

Recitative.

Second Nymph

Let us hail the Glorious Sight

With Songs of Rapture and Delight. (End of p.15)

p.16:

Air

Let us play and dance and sing (6 ll.)

Duet and Chorus

Whilst all the Air shall ring (6 ll. as before)

Part.

Curtain drops and Closes the First Act.

p.17 (Part II) is signed D, p.19 D2, p.25, which one would expect to find signed E, has no signature.

A Fairy Tale

A / Fairy Tale / In Two Acts. / Taken from / Shakespeare/
 As it is performed at the / Theatre-Royal/ in the / Haymarket/
 London: / Printed for G. Kearsley in Fleet-street. 1777/. (Price
 Six-pence)

Svo. pp.ii & 24, consisting of Title-page; Dramatis Personae;
 text (pp.1-24); On the last page the Epilogue (Dr. Arnold) is
 pasted on under the final couplet (Oberon: "Come, my Queen, take
 hands with me Now thou and I are new in amity"). Under this is
 printed apparently the same epilogue, but so faintly that only the
 first two or three letters of the last four lines can be distinguish-
 ed from the reverse side of the paper. Signatures, A - C.

for R. Baldwin, in Patern-
 Street. / M DCC LXXVII.

Street. / M DCC LXXVII.

Svo. pp.viii & 14.

reverse: Advertisements.

a blank page (the reverse)

on every page. Start

Fatal Curiosity.

Fatal Curiosity: / a True / Tragedy. / Written by George Lillo / 1736. / With / Alterations / As revived at / The Theatre-Royal, Haymarket / 1782/ (Ornament) London: / Printed for T Cadell in the Strand. / M.DCC.LXXXIII. (Price One Shilling).

8vo. pp.52, consisting of title-page, with blank reverse; the Prologue written by Henry Fielding in 1736; the Prologue written by George Colman in 1782 (two pages); Persons, giving the casts in 1736 and 1782; text (pp.7 - 45); a blank page; Postscript by Colman (pp.47 - 52) The opening pages are not numbered, with the exception of p.5, which is numbered centrally in the Roman figure enclosed in square brackets; three pages later the numbers are continued in Arabic figures from 8 to 52. Signatures A - G(2).

The History of King Lear.

The / History / of / King Lear. / As it is performed at / The Theatre-Royal / in / Covent-Garden / (Ornament). London, / Printed for R.Baldwin, in Pater-noster-Row; and / T.Becket, and Co. in the Strand. / M DCC LXVIII.

8vo. pp.viii & 72, consisting of the titlepage, with blank reverse; Advertisement (pp.i-v); Dramatis Personae; text (pp.1-71); a blank page (the reverse of p.71). The title King Lear is printed on every page. Signatures A(2) - F.

The Jealous Wife.

The / Jealous Wife: / a / Comedy. / As it is acted at the / Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. / By George Colman, Esq. / Servatâ semper Lege et Ratione. - Juv. / London: / Printed for J. Newbery, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; / T. Becket, and Company, in the Strand; / T. Davies, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden; / W. Jackson, in Oxford; and A. Kincaid, / and Company, in Edinburgh. M DCC LXI.

Svo. pp. xii & 109 & iii, consisting of the Title-page, with blank reverse; a page of booksellers' announcements, with blank reverse; the Dedication, to The Right Honourable the Earl of Bath (4 pages); Prologue (1½ pages, the second finished with a printer's ornament); Advertisement, containing the author's acknowledgement of sources and help; Dramatis Personae; text (pp. 1-109); Epilogue (1½ pages, unnumbered, the second finished with an ornament, as after the Prologue); and a further page of publishers' announcements. There are headlines on every page. Signatures A - P.

| | | | |
|----|--------------------|---|-------|
| -- | The Second Edition | London M DCC LXI | Svo |
| -- | " Third " | Oxford. M DCC LXIII | Svo |
| -- | " Fourth " | Oxford. (1764?) n.d. | Svo |
| -- | (Another Edition) | Dublin. M, DCC, LXXV | 12mo |
| -- | " " | <u>A Collection of New Plays</u> (1774 etc) vol 3. | |
| | | Altenburgh, MDCCLXXVIII | Svo |
| -- | " " | With the Variations in the Manager's Book at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. | |
| | | London 1789 | 12mo. |

(The Jealous Wife contd.)

---Fifth Edition

- (Another Edition) Bell's British Theatre vol. 20
 1797 etc. 8vo
- " " Inchbald's British Theatre vol. 16.
 London 1808 12mo.
- " " Modern British Drama vol. 4
 London 1811 8vo.
- " " Dibdin's London Theatre vol. 11
 London 1815 16mo.
- " " Collection of English Plays (1807 etc)
 vol. 3 Copenhagen 1815. 12mo.
 (N.B. In the Dramatis Personae the name of
 Harriot is omitted in this edition)
- " " Lowndes London 1816. 12mo $\frac{1}{2}$
- " " Oxberry The New English Drama vol. 1.
 London 1818 12mo.
 (This edition has Hazlitt's introductory
 remarks)
- " " The British Drama vol. 1.
 London 1824. 8vo
- " " The London Stage vol. 1.
 London n.d. (1824 etc) 8vo
- " " Cumberland's British Theatre. vol. 7.
 London 1827. 12mo
- " "Lacy's Acting Edition of Plays. vol. 25.
 London 1850 12mo

(The Jealous Wife contd.)

- (Another Edition) The British Drama Illustrated vol.1.
London 1864 8vo.
- " " Dick's Standard Plays no.29
London 1883 etc. 12mo.
(Also no. 47. (bound with The Revenge.
The name of the comedy does not appear on
the title page)

-- Cf also

Die eifersüchtige Ehe-frau. / Ein Lustspiel in
fünf Aufzügen. Aus dem Englischen / durch B^{xxx}
(J.J.C.Bode)

Hamburg. bey Johann Carl Bohn. 1764 8vo.

And

The Jealous Wife, ou La Femme Jalouse, comedie...
traduite (by Mme. Riccoboni)

Riccoboni . Oeuvres Complètes. Tom. 6.
Paris 1818 8vo.

The Manager in Distress.

The / Manager / in / Distress. / A / Prelude / On opening
the / Theatre-Royal / in the / Haymarket, / May 30, 1780. / By
George Colman. / London: / Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand. /

8vo. pp. viii & 24, consisting of half-title, with blank
reverse; title-page, with blank reverse; Dedication, with blank reverse;
a blank recto, verso, Characters; text (pp.1-23); a
page of publisher's advertisements (the reverse of p.23). Each
verso is headed The Manager , each recto, In Distress. Signatures
B-D.

-- (Another Edition)

The New British Theatre (Late Duncombe's)
published by...T.H.Lacy.

London n.d. (1854) 12mo.

" "

Lacy's Acting Edition of Plays

n.d. (1872) 12mo.

(N.B. This edition leaves blanks in the text
text for the names of the missing actors
and actresses and for the play which is
to be performed that night).

Man and Wife

Man and Wife; /or, the / Shakespeare Jubilee. / A /
Comedy / of Three Acts, / as it is Performed at the / Theatre=
Royal in Covent Garden. / Quid vetat et Nosmet? / London, /
Printed for T.Becket and Co. in the Strand; and / R.Baldwin, in
Paternoster Row. 1770 / (Price One Shilling and Six-pence).

Svo. pp. xii & 64, consisting of title-page, with ~~XXXX~~
blank reverse; Dedicatión to Sir Joshua Reynolds, with blank re
verse; Advertisement, with blank reverse; Prelude (5 pages,
headed with the running title, Prelude, the first not numbered,
the rest running ii - v, p.vi not numbered); Characters;
text (pp.1-64). Each verso is headed Man and Wife; or, The ,
each recto Shakespeare Jubilee, except pp.39-42 which are
headed Shakespeare Procession. P.38 has no heading; its number
is printed centrally in square brackets. P.43 also has no head
ing; its number is printed centrally in round brackets. There
are ornaments at the beginning of the Prelude and at the head
of each act and of the pageant. Signatures, A - I.

- Second Edition. London 1870. Svo.
-- (Another Edition) Dublin M,DCC,LXX. 12mo.
-- " " London 1770 Svo.

The Man of Business.

The / Man of Business, / a / Comedy. / As it is acted at
 the / Theatre-Royal in Covent Garden. / By George Colman. /
 Mihi res, non me rebus submittere conor. Hor. / London, /
 Printed for T. Becket, at the Corner of the / Adelphi, in the
 Strand. / M DCC LXXIV. / (Price One Shilling and Six Pence).

8vo pp.viii & 80, consisting of Title-page, with blank
 reverse; pp.iii-vi (numbered thus) containing the dedication to
 the Hon. Constantine John Phipps; pp.vii and viii the Prologue;
 the lower part of p.viii the Dramatis Personae; pp.1-76 the text
 of the play. The running title, The Man of Business, is printed
 on each verso and recto from p.1 to p.76. Pp.77-79, which are
 not numbered, contain the Epilogue; the reverse of p.79 contains
 advertisements for books printed for T. Becket. Signatures A2-L.

-- Second Edition.

London M DCC LXXIV 8vo

-- (Another Edition)

Dublin M.DCC.LXXIV 12mo

-- " " "

London M.DCC.LXXV 8vo

-- " " A Collection of New Plays etc. vol 2.

Altenburgh MDCCLXXIV 8vo.

Signatures B - F.

-- (Another Edition)

London M.DCC.LXXVIII.

The Merchant.

The / Merchant. / Translated by / George Colman, Esq. /

included in

Comedies / of / Plautus, / Translated into / Familiar
Blank Verse / by / Bonnell Thornton. / Aspice, Plautus / Quo
pacto partes tutetur - / Hor. Lib. II. Epist. I. / Volume the
Second / The Second Edition / Revised and Corrected. / London, /
Printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, in the Strand / M DCC LXIX

8vo.

The Musical Lady.

The / Musical Lady. / A Farce. / As it is Acted at the /
Theatre-Royal / in / Drury-Lane. / Ridetur, Chordâ quae semper
oberrat eâdem. Hor. / (Ornament) London: / Printed for T. Becket
and P. A. De Hondt, / in the Strand. M, DCC, LXII. /

8vo, pp. vi & 40, consisting of titlepage, with blank re-
verse; Prologue (3 pages); Persons; text (pp. 1-40). Every page
is headed The Musical Lady. The first six pages are not numbered.

Signatures B - F.

-- (Another Edition) London M, DCC, LXXVIII.

8vo

Prelude.
(The Musical Lady contd.)

--(Another Edition)

A Collection of the Most Esteemed
Farces etc. vol.2.

Edinburgh. M,DCC,LXXXVI

12mo.

--

" "

Supplement to Bell's British Theatre etc
vol. 2. London M DCC LXXXIV.12mo

New Brooms.

New Brooms! / an / Occasional Prelude, / Performed /
 At the Opening / of the / Theatre-Royal, / in / ~~RX~~ Drury-Lane/
 September 21, 1776. / By / George Colman. / (Ornament) London/
 Printed for T.Becket, ~~xxx~~ Adelphi, in the Strand. / M.DCC.LXXVI.

8vo. pp.iii-viii, 9-34. The title-page has a blank
 reverse, followed by the Advertisement, pp.v and vi (vi, which
 is enclosed in square brackets, is the only one numbered).
 pp.i and ii are presumably lost. P.vii is blank, its reverse
 contains the Characters. PP. vii, viii, and 9 are not numbered,
 the text of the play begins on p.9, and pagination runs from
 p.10 - 34, marked in square brackets. There is no running title.
 Signatures, B - E, E consisting of pp.33 and 34 only.

The volume in the British Museum is bound together with
 a blank sheet and a page of some catalogue of books before the
 play and 25 blank pages at the end.

An Occasional Prelude.

An / Occasional Prelude, / Performed at the opening /
of the / Theatre-Royal, / Covent Garden. / On the / Twenty-first
of September, 1772/ By George Colman. / (Ornament) Printed for
T. Becket, Corner of the Adelphi, Strand. / M,DCC,LXX,VI. /
(Price Six-Pence)

8vo. pp.20, consisting of the title-page, with blank
reverse; Advertisement; Characters; text (Pp.5 - 20). The
numbers of the pages are enclosed in square brackets.
Signatures B - C (C consists of pp.17 - 20 only).

Two Odes.

Two / Odes. / Φ Ω ΝΑΝΤΑ ΣΥΝΕΤΟΙΣΙΝ·ΕΣ / ΔΕ ΤΟ
ΠΑΝ, ΕΡΜΗΝΕ ΩΝ / ΧΑΤΙΖΕΙ. Pindar, Olymp.ii/
(Engraving) London, / Printed for H. Payne, at Dryden's Head
in Paternoster Row. / M DCC LX.

4to. pp.23, consisting of half-title, with blank reverse;
title, with blank reverse; Ode I (pp.5 - 15); a blank page
(the reverse of p.15); a title-page, Ode to Oblivion, with blank
reverse; text of the ode (pp.19 - 23). The reverse of p.23 is
blank. There is a running title, Odes, except on p.5 and p.19,
where the pages are numbered centrally in Arabic figures enclosed

(Two Odes) contd.)

in square brackets. Pp. 16 - 18 are unnumbered. At the end of Ode I is a comic engraving representing Pegasus throwing the Bard. Signatures (A.) B-C.

Cf. also The Bard / a / Burlesque Ode. / Written by / R. Lloyd and G Colman/

Included in Poems by Mr. Gray. Dublin. 1768. 12mo.

The Oxonian in Town.

The / Oxonian in Town / a / Comedy, / in Two Acts, / As it is Performed at the / Theatre Royal in Covent Garden / No, Septimius; / To be a Roman were an honour to you, / Did not your manners and your life take from it, / And cry aloud that from Rome you bring nothing / But Roman vices which you would plant here, / But no seed of her virtues. / Beaumont and Fletcher's False One. / London, / Printed for T. Becket and Co in the Strand; and / R. Baldwin in Paternoster- Row. 1770 / (Price One Shilling)

8vo. Pp.viii & 29 & iii, consisting of the title-page, with blank reverse; Dedication, to the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, with blank reverse; Prologue (2 pages); Dramatis Personæ; text of the play, pp.1 - 29; Epilogue (2 pages); a page of advertisements of Plays and Farces. The pagination runs only

(The Oxonian in Town contd.)

from p.1 to p.29, which have a running title, The Oxonian in Town. Signatures, B - E.

The copy in the British Museum is bound with two blank sheets before the text and about two dozen at the end.

-- (Another Edition) Dublin 1769. 12mo.

Philaster.

Philaster, / a Tragedy. / Written by / Beaumont and R
Fletcher. / With Alterations. / As it is acted at the / Theatre-
Royal in Drury-Lane/ London: / Printed for J. and R. Tonson in
the Strand. / M DCC LXIII/ (Price One Shilling.)

Svo. pp.viii & 60, consisting of title-page, with blank
reverse; Advertisement (4 pages, unnumbered); Prologue; Dramatis
Personæ; text (pp.1 - 59); a blank page (the reverse of p.59).
Each page except p.1 is headed Philaster. At the ~~beginning~~ beginning
of each act an ornament is printed across the top of the page
immediately below the running title. Signatures A(2) - I (2).
P. 1 has an ornament across the top, under which is the title,
Philaster.

-- The Second Edition.

London M DCC LXIV 8vo.

-- Another Edition.

London M DCC LXXX 8vo.

Polly Honeycombe

Polly Honeycombe, / a Dramatick Novel / of one act, / As
it is now Acted / at the / Theatre -Royal / in / Drury Lane /
(ornament) London: / Printed for T.Becket, at Tully's-Head
in the Strand; / and T.Davies, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden
M DCC LX.

8vo. pp.xvi & 46, consisting of half-title, with
blank reverse; title-page with blank reverse; Preface, (pp.v-
ix, followed by an Extract from the Catalogue of a Circulating
Library, pp.ix - xiii); Prologue (pp.xiv, xv); Persons; text
(pp.1 - 44); Epilogue (pp.45, 46.) Every Page is headed Polly
Honeycombe. Signatures A - G (A1-4, b1 - 4, B1-4, C1-4etc)

- (Another Edition) Dublin MDCCLXI 12mo
- The Third Edition With Alterations London MDCCLXII 8vo
- " Fourth " " " London MDCCLXXVIII
8vo
- (Another Edition) Supplement to Bell's British Theatre
vol 3. London 1784 12mo
- " "A Collection of the Most Esteemed Farces etc
vol 3 A new edition 12mo
Edinburgh MDCCLXXXVI "
- " "Dibdin's London Theatre (1815 etc)
vol 24 London 1818 16mo
- " "The London Stage vol 2
London h.d. (1824) 8vo
- " "Dick's Standard Plays no.273
London (1883) 12mo.

The Portrait.

The / Portrait; / a / Burletta. / As it is Performed at the/
Theatre-Royal , in Covent-Garden. / The Music by / Mr Arnold. /
(Ornament) London, / Printed for T. Becket and Co. in the Strand,
MCCCLXX. (Misprint for M DCC LXX)

Svo. Pp. iv & 32, consisting of title-page; a statement of
copyright; an acknowledgement of the source; characters;
text (pp. 1 - 32). The title is printed on every page.
Signatures B - E.

-- Another Edition:

The Portrait: / a / Burletta. / As it is performed at the /
Rotunda / The Music by / Mr. Barthelemon / (Ornament). Dublin/
Printed ~~for~~ by S. Powell, in Dame-street, opposite to/ Fownes's-
street. / MDCCLXXII.

Svo.

Posthumous Letters etc.

Posthumous Letters / from / Various Celebrated Men; / address-
ed to / Francis Colman, and George Colman the Elder: / with /
Annotations, and occasional remarks / by George Colman, the Young-
er. / Exclusive of the letters, are, / An Explanation of the
Motives of William Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath) for his
acceptance of a peerage; / and / Papers tending to elucidate
the question relative to the proportional shares / of authorship
to be attributed to the Elder Colman and Garrick, / in the comedy
of The/ Clandestine Marriage / London: / Printed for T. Cadell
and W. Davies, in the Strand; / and W. Blackwood, Edinburgh. /
1820.

(Posthumous Letters etc. contd.)

4to. pp.xx & 348, consisting of half-title, with blank reverse; title-page, with blank reverse; Preface (pp.i - xi); a blank page; Contents (pp.xi - xvi); text (pp.1 - 347); blank page. Signatures B - YY.

D Prose on Several Occasions.

Prose / on / Several Occasions; / accompanied with / Some Pieces in Verse. / By George Colman. / Vol. I. / - Seu me tranquilla senectus / Expectat, seu Mors atris circumvolat alis, / Dives, inops, Romae, seu fors ita jusserit, exul, / Quisquis erit vitae, scribam, color. - Hor. / Imitated. / Whether Old Age a tranquil evening brings, / Or Death sails round me with his Raven Wings; / Rich, poor, at Rome, or London; well, or ill; / Whate'er my fortunes, write I must and will. / London: / Printed for T. Cadell (sic), in the Strand. / M DCC LXXXVII.

8vo. Three volumes. Vol.I consists of pp.xxiv & 266, including the title-page, with blank reverse; Dedication (3 pp.); blank page; Preface (pp.v - xvi, numbered thus); Summary of the Contents (7pp., unnumbered); blank page; text (pp.1 - 266). P.1 has a dropped title; after this each page is headed with the title and number of the paper (e.g. The Adventurer, no. 90 etc.) except when a fresh paper begins on a fresh page, when a dropped heading is again used. In this case the pages are not numbered. P.158, the end of The Genius,

(Prose on Several Occasions, contd.)

is followed by the title-page of The Gentleman, with blank reverse these pages are not numbered. Similarly Terrae-Filius is preceded by a title-page. There is a frontispiece, the engraving of Colman's portrait after Gainsborough. Signatures, A (8 leaves) a (4 leaves), B - R (8 leaves), S (4 leaves), T (1 leaf).

Vol. II consists of title-page, as before, Summary of contents (4pp.); Prose on Several Occasions (pp. i - 259); Verse on Several Occasions (pp. 263 - 318). As in the previous volume, separate title-pages are inserted before the different sections of the work. Signatures B - X: the first three leaves are unsigned.

Vol. III consists of title-page, as before; Summary of Contents (6 pp.); The Art of Poetry, title-page, with blank reverse; Dedication (pp. iii - xx); blank page; text, pp. 1 - 32 recto the English, pp. i - 32 verso the Latin. The first pages have dropped headings and are unnumbered; from pp. 2 onwards each verso is headed Epistola ad Pisonem, each recto Epistle to the Pisos. The reverse of p. 32 recto is blank; it is followed by a title-page, Notes on the Epistle to the Pisos, with blank reverse; text of the notes, (pp. 35 - 151). The reverse of p. 151 is blank; it is followed by a title-page, Verse on Several Occasions, with blank reverse; text (pp. 155 - 168); title-page, Prologues and Epilogues, with blank reverse; text (pp. 171 - 290). Signatures, a (3 leaves), B-Y (8 leaves), Z (4 leaves), Aa (2 leaves).

The title-page of this volume is the same as that of the first volume, but the name of the author is given as 'G. Colman del. G. Gainsborough sculp.' according to the title-page of the first volume. The title-page of the second volume is the same as that of the first volume, but the name of the author is given as 'G. Colman del. G. Gainsborough sculp.'

The Sheep-shearing.

The / Sheep-Shearing: / a / Dr amatic Pastoral. / In Three Acts. / Taken from Shakespeare. / As it is performed at the / Theatre Royāl / in the / Haymarket. / London: / Printed for G. Kearsley, no. 46, Fleet-Street. / M,DCC,LXXVII.

8vo. pp. iv & 40, consisting of half-title, with blank reverse; title-page; Dramatis Personae; text (pp. 1 - 39); a blank page. Every page is headed The Sheep-shearing. Signatures B - F.

Some Particulars of the Life etc.

Some Particulars / of / The Life / of the late / George Colman, Esq. / Written by himself, / and delivered by him to / Richard Jackson, Esq. / (One of his Executors) / for Publication after his Decease. / Printed for T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies / (Successors to Mr. Cadeā) in the Strand. / M DCC XCV.

8vo. pp. iv & 34, consisting of half-title, with blank reverse; title-page, with blank reverse; text (pp. 1 - 33). The reverse of p. 33 is blank. Signatures, B - E. (The last page should be F, but it is unsigned, thus giving E five leaves instead of four). The pamphlet has for frontispiece the portrait of Colman by Gainsborough, engraved by J. Hall, with the notice, "Publish'd according to Act of Parliament, by T. Cadell in the Strand, March 1. 1787."

The Spleen or Islington Spa.

The/Spleen, / or, / Islington Spa; / a / Comick Piece, / of /
Two Acts. / As it is performed at the / Theatre Royal, in Drury-~~LANE~~
Lane. / By George Colman. / (Ornament). London: / Printed for
T. Becket, Corner of the Adelphi, / in the Strand. / M,DCC,LXX,VI.
Price One Shilling.

8vo. pp.viii & 48, consisting of Title-page, with blank reverse
Advertisement; pp.i and ii Dedication, to Dr. Schomberg; pp.iii
and iv (not numbered) Prologue; p.v (also not numbered) Characters
pp.1 - 46 text; p.47 (not numbered) Epilogue; reverse, advertise-
ment of plays and farces by Mr. Colman. Signatures B - G. Each
verso is headed The Spleen; or, each recto Islington Spa.

The Comedies of Terence.

The / Comedies / of / Terence / Translated into Familiar Blank
Verse / By George Colman. / *Primos populi arripuit populumque
tributum; / Scilicet uni aequus virtuti atque ejus amicis. /
quin ubi se a vulgo et scena in secreta remorant / Virtus
Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli, / Nugari cum illo et discincti
ludere, donec / De coqueretur olus, soliti . / Horace. / London:/
Printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt in the Strand; W. John-
son in Ludgate- / Street; W. Flexney, Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn;
R. Davis in Piccadilly; / and T. Davies in Russel-Street, Covent-
Garden. MDCCLXV. /*

(The Comedies of Terence contd.)

4to.pp. lxii & 619, consisting of the Preface (pp.i - xlvi) followed by an engraving of the music; the Life of Terence (pp.xlix - lxi); Errata; a plate of the masks for The Andrain; title-page of The Andrian with blank reverse;introduction (2 pp.) Dedication (To the Students of Christ Church,Oxford); Persons; Prologue (pp.5 and 6); text of The Andrian (pp.7 - 104). This is followed by a plate of the masks for The Eunuch, title-page, introduction, dedication, dramatis personae, prologue and play as before, and similarly for each of the succeeding plays. An engraving of a bust of Terence forms the frontispiece. By some error the title-page is followed by a dedication to the Hon. Harry Pulteney, with the persons of the Self-Tormentor on the reverse; this is repeated on pp.211,212 before the Prologue to The Self-Tormentor, its proper place.

- (Another Edition) Dublin M,DCC,LXVI. 2 vols.12mo
- The Second Edition, revised and corrected. In Two Volumes.
London M DCC LXVIII 8vo.
- (Another Edition) London (printed for Lackington, Allen
and Co, Temple of the Muses, Finsbury
Square) 1802 8vo
- A New Edition London 1810 8vo
- " " " Revised and Corrected
London M.DCCC.XLI 12mo
- Select Comedies of Terence translated by George Colman:-
see The Works of the British Poets (1819 etc)

(The Comedies of Terence Contd)

Vol. 44. Philadelphia. 1822 12mo

(This includes The Andrian, The Brothers
and Phormio.)

-- The Adelphi of Terence (as it is performed at the Royal College
of St. Peter, Westminster. Together with the verse trans-
lation of George Colman the Elder, King's Scholar from 1746
to 1751) Westminster. Printed for the school and
sold in Ashburnham House, Little Dean's Yard

1890 8vo³

-- The Phormio of Terence etc (as above)

Westminster 1891 8vo

-- The Andria of Terence etc (as above)

Westminster 1894 8vo

(These three plays are printed in Latin, verso
and English, recto.)

Cf also:

Appendix / to / Mr. Colman's Translation of / Terence /
(Octavo Edition)

included in The/Plays / of / William Shakespeare. / Volume
the Second. / Containing / Prologomena and C. / Basil: /
Printed ~~for~~ and sold by J.J.Tourneisen./ M.DCC.IC./
8vo. (5pp. contain Colman's Appendix; they are printed after
Farmer's Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare.)

Tit for Tat.

Tit for Tat, / a / Comedy / in three acts. / Performed at
 the Theatres Royal / Hay-market, / Drury-Lane, and Covent-Garden,
 Printed under the inspection of / James Wroughton, Prompter./
 Exactly agreeable to the Representation. / London. / Printed
 for C.Dilly, in the ~~XXXXXX~~ Poultry. / 1788.

4to. pp. iv & 50, consisting of half-title, with blank reverse
 title-page; Dramatis Personae; text (pp. 1 - 49). The reverse
 of p. 49 is blank. Each verso is headed Tit for Tat, each
 recto A Comedy. Signatures B - H.

-- Tit for Tat / a / Comedy / In Three Acts / As performed at th
 the Theatres Royal / In London and Dublin. / Written by Joseph
 Atkinson, Esq. / Dublin: / Printed by P. Byrne, No. 108 Grafton
 Street. / M, DCC, LXXXVIII.

12mo.

T. Harris Dissected.

T. Harris / Dissected, / By / G. Colman. / (Ornament) London: /
 Printed for T. Becket, ^{near} ~~ix~~ Surry-Street, in the Strand / MDCCLXVIII

4to. The reverse of the Title-page is blank. pp. 1 - 36.
 There is no running title; the pages are numbered ~~in the~~
 centrally and the numbers enclosed in square brackets. The

(T.Harris Dissected, contd.)

pamphlet is dated at the end August 16, 1768; Finis is printed half-way down the last page, and near the bottom there is an ornament. Signatures B - F. (P. 19 is signed C2 in error for D2.) F consists of pp.33 - 36 only.

A True State of the Differences etc.

A / True State / of the Differences subsisting between/
The Proprietors / of / Covent-Garden)- Theatre; / in answer to /
A False, Scandalous and Malicious Manuscript Libel/ exhibited
on Saturday, Jan.23, and the two following Days; / and to a
Printed Narráitive, signed by T. Harris and / J. Rutherford/
By George Colman./ London, / Printed for T. Becket, in the
Strand; R. Baldwin, in Paternoster) Row; and / R. Davis, the
Corner of Sackville)Street, Piccadilly. / M DCC LXVIII

4to. pp.^{iv+}64. The reverse of the title-page contains Powell's statement of equal responsibility for the contents of the pamphlet; p.3 (unnumbered) and p.4, the Advertisement; pp.1 - 10 Introduction; pp.11 - 63 the True State. There is no running title; the pages are numbered centrally and the numbers enclosed in square brackets. The pamphlet is signed George Colman, William Powell, Covent-Garden, February 10, 1768. The reverse of p. 63 is blank. Signatures B - I.

-- The Second Edition London M DCC LXVIII 4to.

The Court of Thespis

The / Court of Thespis; / being a / Collection / Of the most
 admired / Prologues and Epilogues / That have appeared for many
 Years; / Written by some of the most approved Wits of the Age, /
 viz. Garrick, Colman, Foot, Murphy, Lloyd, and c. / O! ne'er
 may folly seize the throne of taste, / Nor dulness lay the
 realms of genius waste; / No bouncing crackers ape the thund'rer's
 fire; / No tumbler float upon the bending wire: / More natural
 uses to the stage belong, / Than tumblers, monsters, pantomime,
 or song. / Lloyd's Actor. / London. / Printed for Richardson
 and Urquhart, under the Royal Exchange. / M.DCC.LXIX.

12mo. pp.2 & ii & 148 & iv, consisting of title-page with
 blank reverse; Dedication, to David Garrick Esq. (pp.i and ii);
 text (pp.1 - 147); a blank reverse to p.147; contents (pp.i-iii);
 a blank reverse to p.iii. Signatures B - O(4). The signatures
 begin at p.1; the first pages are unsigned. Running title;
Prologues and c., pp.1 - 147. The book is embellished with
 plates of actors, actresses and authors.

Ut Pictura Poesis.

Ut Pictura Poesis! / or, the / Enraged Musician. / a / Musical
 Entertainment. / Founded on Hogarth. / Performed at the / Theatre
 Royal / in the / Hay-market. / Written by George Colman / Composed
 by Dr. Arnold. / London: / Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand./

(Ut Pictura Poesis)

M.DCC.LXXXIX.

8vo. . Title-page, with blank reverse; blank page (recto and verso); Characters; blank reverse; Prologue in MS; text of the farce, p.5 (not numbered) - 17. There is no running title. The play is interleaved. The only signatures are B, B2.

Beaumont and Fletcher.

The / Dramatick Works / of / Beaumont and Fletcher;/
Collated with all the Former Editions, / and Corrected; / With
Notes, Critical and Explanatory,/ by various Commentators;/
And Adorned with 54 Original Engravings./ In Ten Volumes./

London...MDCCLXXVIII

8vo.

(Colman 's edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, with his
introduction).

~~1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100~~

Cf. also

The / Dramatick Works / of / Ben Jonson / and / Beaumont and
Fletcher: / the first / Printed from the Text,/and/With the
Notes . of / Peter Whalley,/ the Latter / From the Text, and
with the Notes / of / The Late George Colman, Esq. / Embellished
with Portraits / In Four Volumes / Vol. I / London: / Printed
for John Stockdale, Piccadilly / 1811.

8vo. Vols. 2,3,and 4 are Beaumont and Fletcher's plays.

Foote's Works edited by Colman.

The / Devil upon Two Sticks; / a Comedy, / in three acts. /
 As it is performed at the / Theatre-Royal in the Haymarket. /
 Written by the late / Samuel Foote, Esq. / and now published by /
 Mr. Colman. / London, / (Printed by T. Sherlock, / For T. Cadell,
 in the Strand. / MDCCLXXVIII.

8vo.

-- Another Edition London 1794. 8vo.

The/Nabob: / a Comedy / in three acts. / As it is performed
 at the / Theatre-Royal in the Haymarket. / Written by the late/
 Samuel Foote, Esq. / and now published by / Mr. Colman / London,/
 Printed by T. Sherlock / For T. Cadell, in the Strand. /
 MDCCLXXVIII.

8vo.

-- Another Edition London 1795. 8vo.

The/Maid of Bath; / a Comedy, / in three Acts / as it is per-
 formed at the / Theatre-Royal in the Haymarket / Written by the
 late / Samuel Foote, Esq. / and now published by / Mr. Colman /
 London, / Printed by T. Sherlock, / For T. Cadell, in the Strand/
 MDCCLXXVIII

8vo.

(Foote's Works contd.)

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 of Newcastle / Mrs. Grierson Mrs. K. Phillips / Mrs. Jones
 Mrs. Pilkington / Mrs. Killigrew Mrs. Rowe / Mrs. Leapor
 Lady Winchelsea. / We allow'd you Beauty and we did submit /
 To all the Tyrannies of it. / Ah, cruel Sex! will you depose
 us too in Wit? / Cowley, / Vol. I / London / Printed for R. Bald-
 win, at the Rose in / Pater-Noster Row. / M DCC LV

2 volumes, 12mo.

-- Another Edition: London ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ M DCC LXXIII 12mo.

(Edited by George Colman and Bonnell Thornton?)

[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]

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Appendix II.

The Genius of Nonsense.

&

Pantomime.

Note:

The first six pages of the manuscript which contain the songs, are not numbered. The numbering begins on p. p.10, the first page of the dialogue, which Colman marks (3) ; from there onwards it is consecutive.

Genius of Nonsense

Pantomime.

Aug 25. 1780.

The

Genius of Nonsense

Pantomime.

(Fol. 1)

1780 Ballad Singer in the Genius of Nonsense.

A new Song! a new Song! entitled and called the Emperor of-

Pant} Let me see! let Me see!

~~Harl~~
Harl} A good easy Tune, I'll sing it myself.

1

All folke who labor with Disease
With Dropsies swell with Asthmas wheeze
May all recover when they please

By coming to the Doctor.

Tho' Death attacks or comes by stealth
Dispense a little of your wealth
You're sure of having Bills of Health

By coming to the Doctor

2

'Tis but to tip a handsome fee,
The Lame shall walk the Blind shall see
All Nature hold a Jubilee

So sovereign is the Doctor!

Blest Golden Age! each Science thrives!
The Church allows a Hundred Wives,
And Physic gives a Hundred Lives

So pow'rful is the Doctor.

3

To't Luxury Pallmall! the Dead
Entranc'd in a Celestial Bed
Revive and rear again the Head

So pow'rful is the Doctor!

Old Age again it's (sic) Sports begins

Old Dames renew their ancient Sins
And at a Hundred bring forth Twins,
So pow'rful is the Doctor!

4

The State's Disorder too He mocks
The pulse He raises of the Stocks
And gives the French Electric shocks

So pow'rful are the Doctors!

The Spanish Navy He can sweat
The Ministry supplies can get
And tap the Nation for its Debt

So pow'rful is the Doctor (End of Fol 2)

An Original, Whimsical, Operatical, Farcical,
Pantomimical, Elect rical, Naval, Military, Temporary,
Local Entert ainment, call'd

The Genius of Nonsense.

(Fol. 3.)

Songs in the Pantomime
of

The Genius of Nonsense

Duet (by Harl & Genius)

Oh follow then, where Nonsense points the way,
Like idle Flies that in the Sunbeams play!

Sport and Glee, merrily

Your Hours shall mark,
While Jollity and Dance shall lead the Day,
And softer Pleasures court you in the Dark.

Harl

Yes thou Goddess fair and free!
Blitheful as Euphrosyne!
Harlequin shall follow thee
Thou his Joys shalt Crown
Still in Triumph thou shalt ride,
Nonsense shall his Actions guide,
Pleasure o'er his Steps preside
Frisking up and down

Watchman, past 6 o Clock

Harl

But hark! I'm call'd away (End of Fol. 4)
To frolic sport & play!
My Life's a May, for ever Gay,
Thro' ev'ry Night and Day
Past Six o Clock

'Tis Colombine invites! 'tis Love prepares the rites,
Brisk Joy invites, fair Beauty lights
To Cupid's harmless fights
Past Six o Clock

Air 2 (By Harl)

I'm Master of Forte Piano
Notes suited to every Case

Or Two thousand Minstrel's notes.

Like Puppies I yelp in Soprano
Or growl like a Bull Dog in Bass
I can bark like a Dog; I can grunt like a Hog;
Squeak like Pigs; or like Asses can bray.
Or turn'd to a Fowl, I can hoot like an Owl
Sure of all I'd be at
Can Crow sharp and Quack flat
Or Gobble like Turkeys all Day. (End of Fol. 5)

Air 3 (By Colombine)

Oh Where'er you chance to rove,
Forfeit not the Bond of Love!
Seal'd with many a Burning Kiss,
Sign'd with ev'ry stamp of Blisse!
Vows of Love should ever Bind
Those who are to Honor true;
Colombine's still faithful Mind
Ne'er shall fail in faith to you.

Air 4 (By Colombine Harl)

See the vivid Fire descends, tingling to your fingers ends
Swiftly brightning, Darts like Lightning
Ev'ry Human thought transcends!
Now louder and louder, I seem to smell Powder
Hark! the awful Thunder rolls!
Thro' the roof resounding from side to side rebounding
Now nearer and nearer it comes,
Stronger than a Thousand Drums
Or Ten thousand Mustard-bowls. (End of Fol. 6)

Air 5 (Genius of Nonsense)

'Tis thus with a Wife and a Prosperous Life
Her favorite she labors to Bless;
To shew that Intrigue with Folly in League,
Must ever be crowned with Success.

'Tis thus too the fair, with the same partial Care,
She serves from beginning to end;
And when Misses elope, they'll acknowledgd, I hope,
That Nonsense is ever thair friend.

Song 6 (An officer)

Hark, hark! where the Trumpet now calls you to Arms,
Hark, hark! 'tis the Genius of Britain Alarms!

Her Sons that inherit

The Old English Spirit

Who pant with like Glory

To shine in our Story,

With heart and with Hand Will appear one and all

And when Britain calls on them, will answer her call.

2

(End of Fol 7)

See see where our Master and Monarch appears

See see where the Standard of Honor He rears

His Standard we'll follow,

Then Holla, Boys Holla!

Strong in Navy and Army

What Pow'r need Alarm ye?

With heart and with Hand then appear one and all

And when Britain calls on us let's answer her call!

(End of Fol 8)

Characters

Genius of Nonsense

Goddess of Health

Harlequin

Emperor of the Quacks

Agreeable Companion in a Post Chaise

Boys of the Marine Society

Officers and Soldiers of the Camp

Landlord

Chambermaid

(End of Fol. 9)

(3)

The Genius of Nonsense.

Scene, a Chamber.

Harlequin (cross Legg'd on the Floor)

Live? No - why should I live when it's the Fashion to kill one's self? if I had as many lives as a Cat, I wou'd part with them all unless I cou'd have as many Frolics and Gambols. A Relation of mine tickled himself to Death, and died of Laughing. Pleasant enough! Suppose I drink myself to Death! it's a very common Death among the Country 'Squires; or eat myself to Death, like a City Alderman? Several fatal Surfeits I hear since the late Turtle Feasts, and the last Swan hopping! but hold! I'll stop my Breath byya new Method, and sew up my Mouth immediately! (Pulls out a Needle and Thread) I wish half the Members of the

Houses of Parliament and all the Members of the Disputing Societies would do the same thing. (Begins to sew up his Mouth)
(Thunder, Genius of Nonsense Descends)

Heyday! what's the matter now?

Genius

Hold Harlequin! desist from your Purpose!

Harl

Pardon me Madam! Dumb Shew for me if you please

Genius

But why so? why shou'd you abjure talking, Harlequin?

(End of Fol 10)

(49)

Harl

Because I never talk'd to any Purpose, Madam, and the Managers of the Playhouses have put so much nonsense into my Mouth that I have resolved never to open it again- they have surfeited both me and the Public.

Genius

Do you flatter yourself that the Town was better pleased with your Mummery ?

Harl

Yes, while ther e was Masterly Mumping, I had wit at my Fingers Ends, and there was a Good Jestin every Tumble but Dulness and Dialogue came in together; So Mum's the Word! and pray Ma'am don't break the thread of my Argument. (Sewing)

Genius

Hold, I command you!

Harl (Dropping Needle and Thread)

I must obey your commands for they are irresistible

Genius: for all the Playhouses, and constantly sing
Nay, you shall not only Speak, but sing too

Harl

Lord, Ma'am! Sing? We are on the Wrong Side of the Haymarket!
I am not Qualified.

Genius

No matter for Qualification; you might as well make the same
Objection for standing for a Borough in Cornwall.

Harl

And pray, Ma'am, who may you be that claim such absolute
Power over me?

(End of Fol 11)

(5)

Genius

The only absolute Power in this Country. The Genius of Nonsense.

Harl

Genius and Nonsense! I always thought they were Contradictions
in Terms.

Genius

It is sufficient that the Spirit of Nonsense
You are mistaken: it requires much Genius to give Spirit to
Nonsense. Nonsense, like you her Prime Minister, takes all Shapes
and appears in all Places. before the Reformation she preach'd
in the Church, and, till the Revolution, had many Strongholds in
the State: but Sensebrought a writ of Habeas Corpus, and Established
her Rights by an English Jury. Since those Periods, Nonsense has
been driven to the Suburbs and outskirts of Religion and Politicks

her Disciples make some Speeches at both Houses, and Preach in the Foundry and Tabernacle - they are often at the College of Physicians; and have at times been seen even at the Royal Society, they frequently write and Act Bagatelles for all the Playhouses, and constantly sing at the Opera.

Harl

A very extensive Domain truly, and I am Nonsense's most humble Servant

Genius

You are - and have always worn her Livery. (End of Fol. 12)

(6)

Harl.

And what Business has she for me at present?

Genius

Your own Business - Pleasure.

Harl

Where am I to find it?

Genius.

Wherever you please to look for it. The Genius of Nonsense shall Inspire, Guide, and protect you.

Harl.

Are we always to hunt in Couples then?

Genius.

Oh, no, not visibly: it is sufficient that the Spirit of Nonsense prevails in all your Actions. I shall seldom descend to appear in Person; Farewell.

Harl.

Adieu, Madam!

Duett

(After several Scenes of Pantomime, in the last of which Harlequin

has been deprived of Colombine, Scene Changes to a Street)

Enter Harlequin

No Fortune Hunter running off with an Heiress to Scotland
You'd be more hurt at being overtaken than I am at the loss
of Colombine. I cou'd find in my Heart to make a Tragedy Speech
on the Occasion "there's more Happiness in Carrion flies than-"
Or suppose I sing like a Dying Swan "Oh sorte Corudele"

(End of Fol. 13)

(7)

(Enter Porter)

My Leaden Mercury! what have you brought me? A Letter? (Exit
Porter) Gone! requires no Answer I suppose. let me see!

"Your affectionate Colombine" now Blessings on the Boarding
Schools, that teach Misses to write and read, instead of making
Puddings and Pies, and teasing Samplers! "Taken to xxxc
Chatham, visit the Camp at Dartford - call at Gravesend"
enough! Oh for a horse with wings, or a Post Chaise and Four
immediately! (Enter Traveller) Well, Sir, who are you?

Trav.

An Agreeable Companion in a Post Chaise.

Harl

You're going out of Town then?

Trav

I am.

Harl

Which way?

Trav

To Gravesend and Chatham.

Harl

The very Man I wanted! Come a long with me, Friend! I am setting off for Gravesend and Chatham, was just going for a Post Chaise, and wish'd for nothing more than an Agreeable Companion! (Exeunt)

Scene, A Street

Over one of the Doors written, "Gravesend Coach Inne here"

(End of Fol 14)

(8)

Enter Pantaloon, Colombine, and Servant, and after some Pantomime go into the House

Then enter Harlequin and Traveller

Harl

And this is what you call being an agreeable Companion in a Post Chaise, Eh Friend?

Trav

Yes, I'm always Agreeable

Harl

That is, you Sleep all the way, and pay half the expence - and that's the English of an Agreeable Companion in a Post Chaise?

Trav

Yes-- I'm always agreeable

Harl

And are you hungry?

Trav

Consumedly! ~~Consumedly!~~

Harl

And Sleepy?

A good Sleep!

Trav

I shall be - after eat ing- I'm always agreeable.

Harl

Let's go into the Inn then, and see for a bed and a Supper, and perhaps I may shew you some of my Agreeable Qualities before I part with you.

Trav

Very well - I'm always Agreeable

(Exeunt to the Inn)

(End of Fol.15)

(9)

Scene, a Chamber in the Inn

Harlequin and Traveller following the Landlord

Harl

What! you are very full, Eh, Landlord?

Landlord

Full as we can hold, your Honour! they put into the Papers that the Royal Family would be down to see the Troops cross the Water - so the town is like a Fair- and the People like Fools in a Fair - for the Troops don't Cross, and no great Persons come to see them neither.

Harl

Well, what can you give us for Supper, Landlord?

Land

A Nice Blade Bone of Mutton, now upon the Gridiron - Just ready your Honour.

Harl

A good relish? Do you like it?

Tray

Exceedingly. I'm always agreeable. I hope there's enough on't.

Land

Enough? I warrant you! I'll go and see if it is Done enough, and you shall have it Immediately. Oh, here it is! the Table Cloth ready laid, Wine, Bread, and Beer, and all Appurtenances (Table brought in here) Pray sit down- you'll make a nice Supper- and much good may do you, Gentlemen! (Exit)

(They Sit to Table)

Harl

Much good may do us? much good must be done with a very little then! this is the smallest Blade Bone I ever saw in my Life, with the smallest Portion of Meat upon it.

Tray

I'll take a slice, however! (End of Fol. 16)

(10)

Harl

Hold! I'll help you if you please. Here's a Bit to Begin with.

Tray

The Devil of a Bit! Begin? I have made an End of it- Give me another.

Harl

Zounds how fast you eat! There! (helping him)

Tray

And there! (Swallowing it) Another!

Harl

You bolt! that's not eating fair Friend! Come, drink a Glass to Wash it down, or you'll Choak yourself.

Trav

I'll drink if you please- your Health, Sir! I'm always Agreeable.
(Drinks) 'Tother out, if you please!

Harl

I'll cut- but Devil take me if you come again, Friend (Aside)
Here's a bit finely Pepper'd and salted and full of Gravy !
Take it! phut! phut! whrr! whrr! (Twitching and Growling) how
D'ye like it? phut! whrr! Very good is not it?

Trav (Surprised)

Pretty good! but- - -

Harl

But what? eat away, eat away, Man! phut! whrr! hoo! Eat away!

Trav

Eat or drink I'm always agreeable, but what the plague's the
matter with you?

Harl

With me? why? (Eating) Eat, Eat! (End of Fol. 17)

(11)

Trav

So many strange motions and Noises- I don't know what to make of
them! You did not Jerk and Howl so upon the Road, or before
Supper.

Harl

No- Bow w wow ! the sight of Victuals and Liquor are apt to
have this Effect upon me ! Bow wow wow! it has only affected me
in this manner within this fortnight or three weeks - Phurr!
whrr! hoo! bow wow! never mind it, it will soon be over! (Eating
heartily)

Trav

But how came you by it? it is not over agreeable!

Harl

An Accident - a Dog - about a Month ago -

Trav

A Dog? (Laying down his Knife and Fork)

Harl

Yes, a little Lap Dog - a Countryman of mine - from Bologna - just drew Blood from the tip of my middle Finger - Bow wow! When I bark I fancy I see his Shock Pate - I am going down to the Salt Water - after a dip or two I shall be Perfectly well again - You don't eat!

Trav

I have no stomach - goodbye to you!

Harl

Where are you going? Bow wow!

Trav

Out of the Room as if the Devil were in ~~me~~ me! House! Murder!
Fire! (Running out)

Harl

Ha! ha! ha! I never play'd a nonsensical trick to more Advantage
XX- one must have recourse to Expedients on short

I'll follow you - My dear Harlequin, my Mind is ~~in~~ in ~~the~~ the ~~air~~ air
(End of Fol. 18)

where, ~~what~~ (12) ~~is~~?

short Allowance, and in a Dearth of Provisions - no bad Hint
for Young Students at the University on three halfpenny Commons
(Landlord peeps) Come in Landlord! you may come in!

Land (half entering)

He seems very Quiet! (Entering) The Gentleman said you were

Mad, Sir!

Harl

Only Mad at having so little to Eat, Landlord.

Land

He told me you had a Kennel of Hounds in your Stomach Sir.

Harl

The Meat from your Blade Bone in my Stomach- thanks to a lucky thought for it! we shou'd both have been starved by dividing the Morsel, so I frighten'd away his Appetite, and secur'd the whole to Myself.

Land

Is that all? - -

Harl

It is - and not much neither - so now Shew me to the Bed Chamber

Land

This way - this way, your Honour. Here, Chamberlain!

(Exit, lighting out Harlequin)

Scene, another Chamber.

Chambermaid lighting Colombine to Bed.

This way - this way, your Ladyship! (Exit)

Col

I'll follow you - My dear Harlequin, my Mind is full of thee where, where can you be?

Air (Exit)

(End of Fol 19)

(13)

Scene, A bedchamber - two Beds

Enter Landlord and Traveller

Trav

And so it was nothing but a Joke after all? vastly Agreeable.

Land

Nothing in the World else, Sir! only a bit of Fun as a Body may say - Bit a Mad Dog! all a Sham - to Bite you out of your Supper Sir! he is just gone to Bed as quiet as a Lamb, Sir.

Trav

Well, Well, I'll go to Bed too then, Light Suppers make sound Sleep they say - but have you none but a two Bedded Chamber, Landlord?

Land

Not a Cranny, Sir,- Not a Maid in the House sleeps single, half a Dozen Soldiers take up their Quarters in the Stable, and as many Sailors have their Birth in the Hayloft.

Trav

Well, good night then!

Land

Good Night Sir! (Going, returns) Oh, I had like to have forgot! the Gentleman desir'd me to tell you he is apt to walk in his Sleep - but begs you would not be alarm'd, for he never does any Mischief! - -

Trav

Vastly Agreeable again! However, it don't much signify! - - I

shall only lie down in my Cloaths (throws himself on the Bed)
Call me early in the Morning, and in the mean time, come in if
I ring or call for you- -

Land

I will - - Good Night, Sir. (Exit) (End of Fol. 20)

(14)

(After a short time, Harlequin jumps out of Bed with a Post
whip in his Hand)

Harl

Hollo! bring another Horse out Directly! Make haste Ostler!

(Smacking)

Trav (Undrawing the Curtain)

What the Devil is he at now? riding Post in his Sleep, I believe.

Harl

Oh you are come at last are you? this is a damn'd tir'd Hack I
fear! However, up I go! (as if mounting) off we go! Yoics! Clik!
Clik! Yoics! (Whipping and Spurring Slashes the Traveller)

Trav

Zounds! he'll cut me to Pieces! Softly! Softly!

Harl

Softly? No, no! we must get on! we have no time to lose! Clik!
Clik! Yoics! (whip and Spur) So, so! arriv'd at last! one Post
over - what's here? Fruit? I'll eat some till we set off again -
Currants? very good! (as if eating Currants) Ch erries too?
white Hearts! not bad neither! (Seems to bite and Spit the Stones
away) And Gooseberries! fine Amber Gooseberries! (Seems to
Squeeze them into his Mouth, blows up the Husk, and Squashes

it on his Fist) A pretty Cooling Desert! but Ostler! come off
we go again! (Whips, Spurs and Cuts as before)

Tray

Zounds! he makes me a whipping Post! Stop! Stop, I say!

Harl (Collars the Traveller)

Stop! What attacked by a Highwayman! Seize him there!

Tray

Help! Murder! Fire!

Enter Landlord and two Servants (End of Fol 21)

(15)

Land

What's the matter, Sir?

Tray

Zounds! he'll throttle me!

Land

Help the Gentleman! (Servants run up)

Harl (as if waking)

What's the Bu siness? where am I? what are you, Sir?

Tray

Almost Choak'd and Strangled! Vastly Agreeable!

Harl

I beg Pardon - I dreamt I was on our Journey - will you go Sir?

Tray

To the Devil sooner than go with you, I promise you!

Harl

I am sorry for it. But, however, if I have starv'd and disturb'd
you to night, you'll eat and Sleep the better to morrow! and,
take my word for it, you will never meet with a pleasanter fellow

Traveller when you advertise yourself as an agreeable Companion
in a Post Chaise! (Exeunt)

After some other Scenes of Pantomime

(A Street with two Men like Beadles, Distributing Bills to
Passers by, and, among the rest to Harlequin & Colombine.)

Scene changes to the Apollo Apartment in the Temple of Health.

Emperor of the Quacks

Most Sagacious, Gracious, Courteous, and Illustrious Auditors!
call myself, very modestly the Emperor of the Quacks; and,
when I stile myself an Emperor, I give but a very Limited Des-
cription of my Power; for no Emperor has equal Authority over
the World, Material and Immaterial. I have an absolute

(End of Fol. 22)

(16)

Command over every Human Body; for I can empty, or fill it,
Brace or Relax it, heat it, or cool it, speed, or retard it, as I
please or see proper. and it is just as well known that I can
Concentrate the Beams of the Sun; and Squeeze the Air into close
Prisons; nay, I can draw down the Forked Lightning into the Room;
and Reverberate the horrible Thunder, so Tremendously loud, that
if a thousand Drums were beat at the same time in the Apartment,
they could be no more ~~heard~~ heard than a Child's Rattle, or a
Bag of Wool struck with a Feather. Electricity, Air, Musick and
Magnetism are my Ministers.- The fire is made to pass through
any partic ular part of the Patient's Body, giving a number of
little pleasant vibratory Shocks- in Consequence of which the

Blind, recover their Eyes, the Deaf their Ears, the Dumb their Tongues, the Lame their Legs, the Asthmatical regain their Breath, and the Dropsical get rid of the Water: Place a Person at the Exit Point of Beath in that superb Pavilion, that looks like a Wine Hogshead with a Segement cut off in the Front, the Patientim immediately revives; or lay a new Married Couple in my Medico-Electrical bed, the certain Consequence of those little vibratory Shocks at Nine months End is a Child. The price of a Night's Lodging in this Miraculous Medico-Electrical Bed (a worthy Celestial Couch for Jupiter and Alcmena!) is but Fifty Guineas - but to ensure a ~~fine~~ Chopping Boy, an infant Hercules, the Couple must Deposit a Hundred. In this Chair I usually sit to write and give advice. Here is a massy Flint Glass Tube, Elegantly mounted with gilt Brass! This Tube goes down to the Room below, and into it I speak or drop down Prescriptions; and on

(End of Fol. 23)

(17) ~~Scene~~

on touching a Spring which Agitates a little Bell, up pops, in an Instant my Servant or my Assistant Apothecary - as for Example! (Speaks through the Tube) What ho! Apothecary! Bring up a bowl of Electrical AETHER! (Apothecary rises with bowl and descends) And now for the Electrical Fire - Put out the light and then - - (Electrical Experiments here) And now for some Medical Music! send in the Goddess of Health. ~~(Exit)~~

Attendant

The Goddess of Health is not in the House, Sir.

Emperor

Not in the House! she was here but this Moment!

Attendant

Yes- but the Goddess of Health was taken very Ill - and is gone home for Advice, Sir.

Emperor

Is she? then I must give you an Air of my own Composition.

Air

A Street

After some Pantomime, Trumpet sounds, and Enter

The Genius of Nonsense

Genius

Pantaloon! away to the Camp but first bestow your Daughter on Harlequin

Pantaloon

But why so ?

(End of Fol 34)

(18)
Genius

Because it is thus, that Nonsense ever concludes the Adventures of Harlequin

Air

(Exeunt)

Sir/

With Permission of the Right Honble The Earl of Hertford
this Piece is intended for Representation at the Theatre
Royal, Haymarket.

I am, Sir, your most obedt Hble Sert.

G. Colman

August 25th.

(End of Fol. 25)



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