

Julius Caesar and Restoration Shakespeare

Author(s): Arthur H. Scouten

Source: *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Summer, 1978), pp. 423-427

Published by: Folger Shakespeare Library

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2869155>

Accessed: 03/10/2008 13:17

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=folger>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1995 to build trusted digital archives for scholarship. We work with the scholarly community to preserve their work and the materials they rely upon, and to build a common research platform that promotes the discovery and use of these resources. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Folger Shakespeare Library is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

acting company at the Curtain (Queen Anne's company had apparently acted *The Travels of Three English Brothers* there sometime before the play was entered in the Stationers' Register on 29 June 1607).⁵ Similarly, if he was living in St. Giles', Cripplegate, in August 1607, one might suppose that he was acting with Prince Henry's company at the Fortune theatre⁶—though Cripplegate would not be entirely inconvenient to the Curtain.

Of course it is possible that Edmund the player was not living in either parish where his son was baptized and buried. Indeed, he may not even have been present at either event—something that would help to account for the inaccurate rendering of the father's name in both registers. It is curious, however, that both parishes have strong "theatrical" associations, as does St. Saviour's, Southwark, where Edmund was buried.

Edmund's burial in the latter parish may be owing, not to his residence in the parish of the Globe playhouse, but to his brother William's connection with both the playhouse and the parish, because it is now assumed that William Shakespeare paid for Edmund's burial "in the Church" (rather than in the churchyard) and "wth a fore noone knell of y^e great bell" (rather than of the lesser bell).⁷

⁵ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, 404; Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, VI (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 132; Sir Walter Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 4 vols. (1939–59; rpt. London: Bibliographical Society, 1962), I, 23.

⁶ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, 441; Bentley, VI, 145.

⁷ Schoenbaum, p. 26.

Julius Caesar And Restoration Shakespeare

ARTHUR H. SCOUTEN

EVIDENCE OF THE popularity of *Julius Caesar* in the Restoration theatre is steadily increasing, but except for two entries

in the Lord Chamberlain's lists and one printed cast list, much of the testimony is misleading, tenuous, or even contradictory for dating specific performances or providing accurate casts. There is a draft of notes for revision which was once attributed to Thomas Killigrew (who died in 1683), but it is now known to have been written ca. 1712–1716.¹ Colley Cibber mentions a revival of the play in 1695. G. B. Evans found two manuscript texts (at Douai and at the Folger) which he believes were copied from a Restoration stage version of the play.² The cast in John Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus* is of dubious reliability. The four undated printings of *Julius Caesar* after the quarto of 1684 were once thought, by Henrietta Bartlett,³ to have appeared between 1685 and 1688 (and hence to reflect an increase of stage performances in those years); but John W. Velz has demonstrated that all four were pirated editions, the first three appearing between 1691 and 1700 and the fourth after 1710 or even 1714.⁴

In the W. W. Greg copy of the 1691 quarto recently acquired by the British Museum (c131c14), one finds a full cast list written in a contemporary hand and dated 1681, with

¹ *The Shakspeare Allusion-Book*, comp. C. M. Ingleby, et al. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1932), II, 98–102; and G. Blakemore Evans, "The Problem of Brutus: An Eighteenth-Century Solution," in *Studies in Honor of T. W. Baldwin*, ed. Don Cameron Allen (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1958), pp. 229–36.

² "Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*—A Seventeenth-Century Manuscript," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 41 (1942), 401–17, and "The Douai Manuscript—Six Shakespearean Transcripts (1694–95)," *Philological Quarterly*, 41 (1962), 158–72. Evans once dated the Folger MS after 1665; he now places it ca. 1695.

³ "Quarto Editions of *Julius Caesar*," *The Library*, IV, 3rd Series (1913), 122–32; H. C. Bartlett and A. W. Pollard, *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto, 1594–1709* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1939), p. 41. As John W. Velz points out, Bartlett, without explanation, lists these four editions after 1691 in her revised edition of *A Census*.

⁴ "'Pirate Hills' and the Quartos of *Julius Caesar*," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 63 (1969), 177–93.

ARTHUR H. SCOUTEN, Professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania, is one of the editors of *The London Stage*.

the year 1675 written beside the name of the actor Richard Bell (who died in January 1672). Greg recorded this cast in his *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*,⁵ but the late Emmett Avery declined to use it when he came to compile the Calendar for Part One of *The London Stage*.⁶ This careful scholar began his career at a time when stage history was in low repute from the use of unreliable data and secondary sources. Consequently, when he examined this cast list, which included three players who had left the stage before the death of Richard Bell in 1672 and four players who did not commence acting for the King's Company until after Bell's death, he decided that it was too untrustworthy for use. Nor did the *Roscus Anglicanus* list inspire Professor Avery's confidence: it placed the actress Mary Corbett (who began acting in the fall of 1674) in the same cast with Richard Bell.

It may be, however, that Emmett Avery was overly conservative. For, if *Julius Caesar* was a stock play in the King's Company repertory and if it was frequently acted, Greg's manuscript cast of seventeen names may be a composite one, representing performances in three periods: ca. 1663-64, ca. 1668-72, and ca. 1674-77. One name on the list is difficult to read. Greg gives it as "Clynn." I believe that the actor Walter Clun is intended. If so, there must have been an early production of the play, because Clun died in August 1664. Indication of early performance appears in *Roscus Anglicanus*. Downes obtained his records of the King's Company from their prompter, Charles Booth, who lists *Julius Caesar* as one of fifteen "Principal Old Stock Plays" offered by the company after they moved to their new theatre in Drury Lane in the late spring of 1663.⁷

Working from the assumption that the Greg list represents a composite cast, I have constructed a chart to indicate possible casts

at different periods. Booth's cast of six players—Bell, Kynaston, Hart, Mohun, (Rebecca) Marshall, and (Mary) Corbett—provides some corroboration, in that all of these players are in the Greg manuscript list. Of the seventeen players in the Greg list, eleven appeared in the King's Company in 1660, and one, Thomas Gradwell, began in 1661. These twelve players constitute the first cast in Table A.

The acting career of Richard Bell and the inclusion of a "Prologue to *Julius Caesar*" in the *Covent Garden Drollery* (1672) provide dates for a second revival. Bell had been a novice with the King's Company until the fall of 1668, when he became a regular actor. Since Booth lists him for the title role, rather than the actor who played Caesar before 1664 or after 1672, we can assume that Bell attracted some notoriety or acclaim in the role, and such repute would suggest a number of performances; hence the play may have been acted from the fall of 1668 until Bell's death in a fire in 1672. Clun's name drops out of the second cast, as does that of Thomas Loveday, who does not appear in the company roster after the spring of 1668. Thomas Gradwell acted as late as January 1669, but was not with the troupe in the next season.

If the notation of 1675 beside Bell's name refers to a performance in that year (rather than providing an incorrect date for his death), we can suppose that there were continued productions of the play. On 4 December 1676 we come to an exact date of performance. Here excellent use can be made of the manuscript list, for Booth's cast list and the Greg manuscript list both give Mary Corbett as Portia. This independent verification indicates that at some time or another Mrs. Corbett played Portia, no matter how unreliable both sources may be concerning dates. Mrs. Corbett joined the King's Company in September 1674 and is last heard of in October 1681. Since we have a known performance of *Julius Caesar* on 4 December 1676 (at a time when she was acting in a number of other plays), we may infer that she was the Portia for this production. Philip Griffin, who began acting in 1672, now had the role of Casca. Cardell Goodman, who joined the company in September

⁵ (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), III, 1268-69; also see Edward A. Langhans, "New Restoration Manuscript Casts," *Theatre Notebook*, 27 (1973), 149-57.

⁶ All details concerning players or stage history are taken from *The London Stage, 1660-1800*, ed. E. L. Avery, et al. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1960-68), 5 pts. in 11 vols.

⁷ (London, 1708), pp. 3, 8.

1673, played Decius Brutus; Thomas Clark, who entered the company with Goodman, played Metullus Cimber.

Actually, the date 1681 may be the most questionable of the notations on Greg's quarto. By the fall of 1681 only seven members of this manuscript cast remained in the company. Since Cardell Goodman assumed the title role for the revival in 1683, his name would appear for Caesar rather than Richard Bell's, were there a production in 1681. Nor can the 1681 date pertain to the cast listed in the 1684 quarto, for the cast is largely filled with Duke's Company players.

The third list, ca. 1699–1700, comes from a manuscript cast list found by John W. Velz in a Folger copy of the 1684 quarto.⁸ It is undated, but Scudamore does not appear after 1700, Thurmond did not act for Betterton after 1700, Trout was not with the Lincoln's Inn Fields company from 1697 to 1699, and George Bright was not in that company's roster for 1698–99. The next known performance of *Julius Caesar* was that of 14 February 1704. The bill does not give the cast, but the performers were probably those of the previous production, except for the absence of Scudamore and Thurmond. Booth

TABLE A

(All seventeen names are from the manuscript cast in Greg's *Bibliography*, III, 1268–69; names in *italic* are also found in Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 8).

	1663–64 King's	1668–72 King's	4 Dec. 1676 King's
Julius Caesar		<i>Richard Bell</i>	
Octavius	Wintershall	Wintershall	Wintershall
Antony	<i>Kynaston</i>	<i>Kynaston</i>	<i>Kynaston</i>
Brutus	<i>Hart</i>	<i>Hart</i>	<i>Hart</i>
Cassius	<i>Mohun</i>	<i>Mohun</i>	<i>Mohun</i>
Casca			Griffin
Trebonius	Gradwell	Gradwell	
Ligarius	Burt	Burt	Burt
Decius Brutus			Goodman
Metullus			Clark
Cinna, the Poet	R. Shatterel	R. Shatterel	R. Shatterel
Flavius	Loveday		
Plebeians	Lacy Cartwright Clun	Lacy Cartwright	Lacy Cartwright
Calpurnia	<i>Mrs. Marshall</i>	<i>Mrs. Marshall</i>	<i>Mrs. Marshall</i>
Portia			<i>Mrs. Corbett</i>

The Greg manuscript cast list was now completely superseded by the United Company revival of 1683. Thus, the first cast in Table B is taken from the 1684 quarto. Betterton takes over the part of Brutus. Cardell Goodman (now in the title role), Kynaston, and Griffin are the only actors remaining from the previous productions. A dated performance occurs on 18 April 1687, and Table B shows the probable cast. After Goodman's career ended in February 1687, John Bowman very likely took over his part, as he is listed for Julius Caesar in our next source. Carlisle and Wiltshire had left the theatre by this time, as had Lady Slingsby. Her role was probably taken over by Elizabeth Leigh, as indicated by the next cast on the chart.

probably took over the title role (as indicated on the final list), with John Bowman returning to the part of Ligarius which he had played twenty years earlier. For the performance on 14 January 1707, a full cast list is given in the *Daily Courant*, and I have entered it to show both continuity and changes. Betterton, Verbruggen, Bowman, and Bowen are the only ones to hold on. Booth would take over Betterton's role as Brutus, Wilks would enact Antony, and the play would be even more frequently offered in the age of Queen Anne. John Velz's dating of as many as three quartos between 1691 and

⁸ "A Restoration Cast List for *Julius Caesar*," *Notes and Queries*, 213 (1968), 132–33.

1700 would suggest much activity in those years, in view of the known correspondence of publications with stage performances. From the new evidence it would appear, therefore, that this tragedy was a stock play from the spring of 1663 to 1702, when the listing of playbills in the *Daily Courant* provides us with fuller performance records.

tered tragedies were being acted, one emerges with a suspicion that the emphasis on adaptations in the Restoration has been exaggerated.

An examination of the Calendar in *The London Stage* will show what happened. *Macbeth*, as revised by Davenant in 1664, was popular throughout the period. *Hamlet*,

TABLE B

	1683-84 (1684 Quarto) United Company	18 April 1687 (Conjectural Cast) United Company	1699-1700 (Folger MS Cast) Lincoln's Inn Fields	14 Feb. 1704 (Conjectural Cast) Lincoln's Inn Fields	14 Jan. 1707 (Daily Courant) Queens
Julius Caesar	Goodman	Bowman	Bowman	Booth	Booth
Octavius	Perrin	Perrin	Scudamore		Mills
Antony	Kynaston	Kynaston	Thurmond		Wilks
Brutus	Betterton	Betterton	Betterton	Betterton	Betterton
Cassius	Smith	Smith	Verbruggen	Verbruggen	Verbruggen
Casca	Griffin	Griffin	Freeman	Freeman	Keen
Trebonius	Saunders	Saunders			
Ligarius	Bowman			Bowman	Bowman
Decius Brutus	Williams	Williams			Husband
Metullus	Mountfort	Mountfort			
Cinna	Carlisle				
Artimedorus	Percival	Percival			
Messala	Wiltshire				
Titinius	Gillow	Gillow			
Cinna, the Poet	Jevon	Jevon	Bowen	Bowen	Bowen
Flavius	Norris	Norris			
Plebeians	Underhill	Underhill	Underhill	Underhill	Johnson
	Leigh	Leigh	Trout	Trout	Bullock
	Bright	Bright	Bright	Bright	Norris
					Cross
Calpurnia	Mary Slingsby	Elizabeth Leigh	Elizabeth Leigh	Elizabeth Leigh	Elizabeth Barry
Portia	Mrs. Cook	Mrs. Cook	Mrs. Bowman	Mrs. Bowman	Anne Bracegirdle

This evidence of the continued popularity of *Julius Caesar* runs counter to the prevailing view that Shakespeare's tragedies were seen by Restoration audiences only in adaptations, for *Julius Caesar* was an unaltered play. From the treatment in Hazelton Spencer's *Shakespeare Improved* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1927) and G. C. D. Odell's *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving* (New York: Scribner's, 1920), as well as in briefer references in other books on English drama, one would get the impression that Restoration playgoers saw Shakespeare chiefly in adapted versions. But if one asks whether the adaptations were successful on the stage, whether any of them were replaced by the original texts, whether the revisions came early or late, and whether any unal-

equally popular, was never adapted, though some changes in diction were made. Sometime after 1662, James Howard supplied a happy ending for *Romeo and Juliet*, but we never hear of any later performances. In 1679, Otway made a different adaptation (*Caius Marius*), which did go into the repertory. In 1678, Shadwell revised *Timon of Athens*, and it also became a stock play. In the same year, Ravenscroft altered *Titus Andronicus*, and his text was published, though we have no specific record of performance. In 1682, Nahum Tate transmogrified *Coriolanus* into *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth*, but the production was a failure and was replaced by the original about 1699, at which time "it was acted twenty Nights together," according to John

Dennis.⁹ Tate also reworked *Richard II*, but his two revisions were banned after two performances. His adaptation of *King Lear* was produced somewhat late in the period, ca. 1681; the original had been acted in January 1664, "exactly as Mr. Shakespeare wrote it," according to Downes,¹⁰ and again on 29 June 1675. The notorious revision of *Richard III* by Colley Cibber did not come until the winter of 1699–1700; the original had been acted in the seasons of 1671–72 and 1691–92.

Othello was never altered, and there are performance records for fifteen theatrical seasons from August 1660 through the spring of 1695, with eight "Players' quartos" appearing between 1670 and 1705, a sure sign of numerous stage performances. No adaptation of a Shakespearean tragedy was printed eight times in this period. How many Restoration plays ever achieved eight editions in these years? When we place the newly-established indications of the continuous stage popularity of *Julius Caesar* beside the records for *Othello*, we are in a position to see that the total number of performances of plays from genuine texts approximates that of the adaptations.

Restoration audiences had a very good opportunity to see authentic Shakespearean tragedy.

⁹ *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. E. N. Hooker (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1939–43), II, 164–65.

¹⁰ p. 33. The record of this performance was found by Giles Dawson about twelve years ago and hence was not known to Spencer or Odell.

The Popularity of Shakespeare's Plays, 1720–21 through 1732–33

PAUL SAWYER

ALMOST ALL JUDGMENTS on the popularity of Shakespeare's plays in London theatres during the eighteenth century are

based on the number of recorded performances.¹ However, the account books of Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden from September 1714 to 26 November 1761, often described as (John) Rich's Registers, provide not only a list of performed plays but also receipts for a very large number of these performances. The longest uninterrupted period for which all receipts are recorded extends from the 1720–21 season through the 1732–33 season. I have subjected these thirteen seasons to a statistical study in an effort to determine the proceeds of the various types of entertainment presented by John Rich.

Rich, it will be remembered, was the manager of the third theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields when it opened in the fall of 1714; he moved his company in 1732 to a theatre he had contracted to be built in Covent Garden. He is much better known for his connection with pantomime as performer and developer, and for staging *The Beggar's Opera*, than he is for his contribution to literary drama.

Elsewhere I have published the total and average income for major attractions at Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden for these seasons.² Here I wish to concentrate on the receipts of Shakespeare's plays, attempting to draw from these receipts conclusions that will be valid without being too simplistic.

I want to stress that my conclusions are based exclusively upon receipts at Lincoln's

¹ The two registers that contain the data for the period I cover are in the Folger Shakespeare Library (Vol. I, 1714–1723) and the Garrick Club in London (Vol. II, 1723–40; the Folger has this in microfilm). The receipts are easily accessible today. See *The London Stage, 1700–1729*, ed. Emmett L. Avery (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1960), II; see also Part 3: 1729–47, ed. Arthur H. Scouten, (Carbondale, Southern Ill. Univ. Press, 1961), I. A few performances, such as those on 3 March 1725/26 and 21 October 1726, have no receipts. Rich's Register, Vol. III (1740–50) is currently unlocated.

² See "The Popularity of Various Types of Entertainment of Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden Theatres, 1720–1733," *Theatre Notebook*, 24 (1970), 154–63.

PAUL SAWYER, Professor of English at Bradley University, concentrates on eighteenth-century English drama and is currently writing a biography of John Rich.