CULTIVATING THE BARD: THE CONSTRUCTION OF SHAKESPEARE IN THE LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by

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Abstract

The construction of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' in the long eighteenth century was a constant, yet changing, process that shifted as did contemporary philosophical and scientific views of the natural world. In this study, I examine how Shakespeare became 'the poet of nature' as a result of critics, adapters, and editors using metaphors of the natural world and cultivation to describe him and his writing during the era. I take a new approach by assessing these metaphors more literally, since the language critics used to assess Shakespeare's works from 1660 to 1799 reflected gardening practices and philosophical ideals of the times. The language of cultivation was a powerful tool for Shakespearean critics to use as it allowed them to apply metaphors that could show that Shakespeare's 'Beauties' coexisted with his 'Faults' or 'weeds,' while at the same time justifying their argument for the removal of the 'Faults.' My study shows how literary critics were influenced by philosophical ideals of cultivation, which shaped their adaptations and editions of Shakespeare's plays. I connect the long eighteenth century's shifting attitudes to Shakespeare with the changing perceptions of nature and gardening in this period. My study shows how Shakespearean criticism moved throughout the era from seeing Shakespeare as in need of cultivation to a national genius by the time of Garrick's 1769 Jubilee.

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Introduction

The posthumous association of Shakespeare with nature began in 1623: and what this thesis will do is examine how this relationship was transformed in the long eighteenth century. Ben Jonson, in his poem, 'To the memory of my beloved, The AUTHOR Mr. William Shakespeare And what he hath left us,' in the prefatory materials of the First Folio (1623), associates Shakespeare with both nature and art. Jonson states that:

> Nature her selfe was proud of his designs,
>
> And joy'd to weare the the dressings of his lines!
>
> Which were so richly spun and woven so fit,
>
> As, since, she will vouchsafe no other Wit.
>
> …
>
> Yet must I not give Nature all: Thy Art,
>
> My gentle *Shakespeare*, must enjoy a part.
>
> For though the *Poets* matter, Nature be,
>
> His Art doth give the fashion…[1]

Nature is positioned by Jonson here as a supernatural being who is at the centre of Shakespeare's inspiration. Nature and art, when applied together, create rich literary designs. In the First Folio, John Heminges and Henry Condell refer to Shakespeare as 'a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it.'[2] In this passage, Shakespeare is directly labelled as an 'imitator of Nature.' This label was expanded on in the long eighteenth century and the paradox of art in contrast with nature became a key point of criticism. Critics would cultivate Shakespeare's

[1] Ben Jonson, 'To the memory of my beloved, The AUTHOR Mr. William Shakespeare And what he hath left us,' in *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, by William Shakespeare* (London: 1623), n.p.

[2] John Heminges and Henry Condell, 'To the great Variety of Readers,' in *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, by William Shakespeare* (London: 1623), n.p.

identity and his writing to shape him into the poet of Britain's nature. Jonson's viewpoint in the First Folio is a starting point for the discussion of Shakespeare's relationship with nature which would intensify further from 1660 onwards.

By the Restoration, critics would start differentiating their views from Jonson's by praising Shakespeare for being inspired by nature, while at the same time criticising him for his lack of art. Jonson's attention to nature in the First Folio would begin the practice of associating Shakespeare with nature in contrast with art. Notably, Jonson does not see nature and art as conflicting forces, but rather as sources of strength, since nature is 'the *Poets* matter' and art provides 'the fashion.' From the Restoration onwards, critics viewed nature and art as opposing forces that conflicted with each other. In the Restoration and early eighteenth century, critics used art as a way to structure nature. By the mid and late eighteenth century, the concern over order and structure was replaced with variety, and art was used to create variety in the natural world. The natural world and Shakespeare, 'the poet of nature,' were both seen as perfect, yet in need of improvement, which presents a paradox and a tension. The debate between art and nature remained throughout the era, but the understanding of the relationship between the two changed based on evolving gardening trends. Gardening manuals were the key purveyors of these trends. The language used by critics, editors, and adapters and editors to describe Shakespeare parallels the discourse of cultivation present in the manuals; this is a significant connection, as it reveals that Shakespeare and his plays were seen in the same way as the unrefined natural world. Editors and adapters' actions in altering Shakespeare's words, plot, settings, characters, and stage directions are metaphorically comparable to gardening trends of the era. This connection has been overlooked by current scholars. Yet, it deserves a further exploration as Shakespearean

critics clearly were influenced by the language of gardening and cultivation, which is shown in their assessment of Shakespeare's 'weeds.'

My study examines the importance of nature in the construction and cultivation of Shakespeare. I will be analyzing the changing meanings behind 'nature' in the long eighteenth century by examining the shift in how critics used nature to describe Shakespeare. Cultivation linked nature with art; as the natural world was weeded and pruned by gardeners, Shakespeare's works were refined and perfected by editors and adapters. The eighteenth century's perception of Shakespeare's works as flawed and in need of editing is tied to the era's desire to cultivate and master the natural world for aesthetic perfection. By the end of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare was seen as an immortal literary genius because of his association with the natural world. David Garrick would claim at his 1769 Jubilee that, 'SHAKESPEARE but with Nature dies.'[3] Nature was fully embraced as the source of Shakespeare's genius.

'Nature' itself is a complex word due to its various meanings which I will explore further later on in the introduction. 'Nature' can be used to describe the natural world, and human nature, and can also refer to a supernatural figure ('Nature'). These definitions were, at times, intertwined by long eighteenth-century critics in their assessment of Shakespeare, but one constant factor remained: nature was discussed in relationship with art. I begin this introduction with my view of the nature versus art debate followed by an overview of my assessment of the metaphors of cultivation used by critics to criticize Shakespeare. My discussion of gardening metaphors then leads into my examination of the gardening manuals I will be referring to throughout this project. I briefly evaluate why these manuals matter in the long eighteenth-

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[3] David Garrick, 'To the Immortal Memory of Shakespeare' in *Shakespeare's Garland, Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads, Roundelays, Catches, Glees, Comic-Serenatas, &c. Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford Upon Avon, ed. by David Garrick.* (London: 1769), p. 15.

century discussion of Shakespeare. I then present my argument that Shakespeare became 'the poet of nature' in large part due to the language of cultivation used by long eighteenth-century critics. The construction of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' is a part of the larger story of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century. Following my argument, I provide a thorough overview of the various definitions of 'nature' by examining the *Oxford English Dictionary* and Samuel Johnson's 1755 *A Dictionary of the English Language* to provide current and historical context behind the many meanings of 'nature.' I then outline my method and define the various historical meanings of 'genius' in relationship with nature. My literature review then explores how my work advances the current scholarly discussion of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century. I conclude my introduction with summaries of each of the chapters in my project. My introduction leads into my first chapter, where I provide an historical overview of gardening and cultivation practices in order to fully assess the role of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' and begin my analysis of the relationship between nature and art.

My study offers a new way of seeing this debate by showing how nature and art are intrinsically linked in the construction of Shakespeare during the long eighteenth century. Critics presented art as corrective to 'flawed' nature, thereby creating a tension between nature and art. The language of cultivation and gardening linked together the forces of nature and art, which shaped the construction of Shakespeare in the long eighteenth century. The tension between nature and art was fascinating for critics during the era, and still continues to intrigue current scholars. Scholarship from the 1990s onwards (such as the work of Michael Dobson, Margreta De Grazia, Jean I. Marsden, Marcus Walsh, Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor) has provided insight into the cultural forces, including nationalism, which led Shakespeare's works to be canonised in the eighteenth century. These scholars have examined the roles played by patriotism, commerce,

and divinity (and blasphemy at the Jubilee, according to Peter Holland) in shaping Shakespeare's reputation.[4] Recent scholarship has noted that metaphors of nature were used to criticize Shakespeare for his lack of Art and to argue for his refinement; however, scholars have not fully delved into the complexities of these metaphors.

I take a new, ecocritical approach by assessing these metaphors more literally, since, as I show, the language critics used to assess Shakespeare's works from 1660 to 1799 reflected gardening practices and philosophical ideals presented in gardening manuals of the time. Ecocriticism is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as 'the interdisciplinary field of study which explores how the natural world is portrayed in literature, esp. in relation to modern environmental or ecological concerns.'[5] My approach analyzes how critics, editors, and adapters used the language of the natural world to critique, praise, revise, and alter Shakespeare. While my research does not apply modern environmental concerns to long eighteenth-century literature, I do examine the ideals of gardeners and landscapers of the era. In particular, I assess their views on how to alter the natural world for aesthetic perfection. I analyze how the work of gardeners and landscapers is then reflected in the language and actions of Shakespeare critics, adapters, and editors.

The language of cultivation was a powerful tool for Shakespearean critics to use as it allowed them to use metaphors that could show that Shakespeare's 'Beauties' coexisted with his 'Faults' or 'weeds,' while at the same time justifying their argument for the removal of the 'Faults.' 'Beauties' had been used as a critical term in the eighteenth century to describe high-quality elements in writing. The cultivation of Shakespeare's works extends beyond the

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[4] Peter Holland, 'David Garrick: saints, temples and jubilees' in *Celebrating Shakespeare: Commemoration and Cultural Memory, ed. by Clara Calvo and Coppélia Kahn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 15-37.
[5] 'ecocriticism *n.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary* (2021) <http:// www.oed.com> [accessed 12 January 2021].

figurative 'weeding' to various other metaphors of improving the natural world, as the definition of 'cultivation' itself suggests more than simply 'weeding.' The first section for 'cultivation' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* involves definitions categorized as: 'Senses relating to growing crops or raising other living things.'[6] The specific definitions include: 'The action or an act of preparing and using the land for growing crops; tillage. Also: the state or condition of being cultivable or cultivated land' and 'The action or an act of growing and improving a plant, esp. for commercial purposes. Also: the state or condition of being a plant which is cultivated.'[7] In addition, there are also 'Figurative and extended uses' such as 'The action of refining or improving a person, the mind, faculties, etc., by education or training' and 'The condition of being cultivated; culture, refinement.'[8] These definitions emerged from the 1550s to the 1660s, and all of them highlight that when 'cultivation' is used, it refers to improvement. Long eighteenth-century Shakespearean critics, then, were aware of these definitions; however, what to cultivate and 'weed' from Shakespeare's plays changed with the shifting tastes and attitudes over the era. 'Weeds' became a label for Shakespeare's perceived weaknesses. Shakespeare's works in the long eighteenth century were seen as in need of improvement, and the metaphors used to describe this improvement involved perfecting the natural world. The language of cultivation has been missing from the current scholarly discussion, as the metaphors of the natural world are an underlying thread within long eighteenth-century Shakespearean texts that may be overlooked due to other cultural discussions such as nationalism (Dobson) and Biblical editorial practices (Walsh). However, the underlying thread of nature deserves further attention,

[6] 'cutlivation, *n.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary* (2022) <http:// www.oed.com> [accessed 19 January 2022], I.
[7] Ibid., I.1.a., I.2.a.
[8] Ibid., II, II.4.a., II.4.b.

as nature and the cultivation of nature are constant factors in Shakespearean criticism throughout the era.

Gardening manuals and philosophies of the natural world developed rapidly and were widely circulated during this time period, from the symmetrical garden to the picturesque landscape. My study examines how these discourses overlapped with, and can illuminate, the processes of editing, adapting, and criticising Shakespeare's works which provides a new and crucial lens into understanding the association between literary criticism and cultivation. To take one example, John Worlidge's 1669 *Systema Agriculturae, The Mystery of Husbandry Discovered* presents agriculture as an art.[9] His 1677 *Systema Horti-culturae: Or, The Art of Gardening* explains how to create an aesthetically structured (and therefore, perfect) garden.[10] In these two guides, Worlidge firmly places gardening and cultivation as arts designed to correct nature. Worlidge's garden design concepts are reflected in the set for Thomas Shadwell's 1674 version of John Dryden and William Davenant's *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island*, which consists of symmetrically structured and balanced natural settings, in effect a version of Prospero's island as perfected by an Enlightenment garden designer. Stephen Switzer, in his 1715 *The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation*, claims that gardening is a classical art form at the same elevated level as poetry. Switzer refers to Alexander Pope's *An Essay on Criticism* and argues that Pope's suggestions for art are applicable to gardening.[11] Switzer directly associates gardening with poetry; Switzer, as a landscape designer, looked to literature for guidance in the early eighteenth century, and his work also reflects the classical practice of referring to poetic masterstrokes as 'flowers.' His reference to Pope suggests that they had the

[9] John Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae, The Mystery of Husbandry Discovered* (London: 1669), p. iii.
[10] John Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae: Or, The Art of Gardening* (London: 1677), p. i.
[11] Stephen Switzer, *The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation* (London: 1715), pp. xv-xvi.

same audience, as Switzer would expect his readers to understand the context of Pope's writing. Thomas Whately's 1770 gardening manual, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, defines the picturesque garden as a site of variety, and also argues that the purpose of the gardener is to 'supply its defects, to correct its faults, and to improve its beauties.'[12] Whately was a Member of Parliament which would have drawn attention to the publication of his gardening manual. In 1785, he published *Remarks on Some of the Characters of Shakespeare*, and claimed that Shakespeare's characters 'are masterly copies from nature,' referring to their life-like qualities.[13] Whately and Pope both wrote Shakespearean criticism in addition to commentaries on gardening. Gardening manuals were for the wealthy, landowning class (and their garden designers), which was the same audience who purchased Shakespeare editions and attended the productions of Shakespeare adaptations. Concepts of beauty and the perfect natural world changed during the long eighteenth century (from the symmetrical garden to the picturesque landscape), but the role of gardening remained to remove faults and perfect the beauties. These gardening concepts are reflected in the comments of adapters, editors, and critics who viewed Shakespeare's works as a garden in need of weeding.

The construction of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' in the era was a constant, yet changing process that shifted as did contemporary philosophical and scientific views of the natural world. The link between these changes deserves a full, in-depth examination. In this study, I argue that Shakespeare became 'the poet of nature' as a result of critics, adapters, and editors using metaphors of the natural world and cultivation to describe him and his writing over the long eighteenth century. In particular, I show how these literary critics were influenced by

[12] Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening* (Dublin: 1770), pp. 1-2.
[13] Whately, *Remarks on Some of the Characters of Shakespeare. By the Author of Observations on Modern Gardening* (London: 1785), p. 7.

philosophical ideals of cultivation, which shaped their adaptations and editions of Shakespeare's plays. I assess the different perceptions of nature and gardening throughout the long eighteenth century in order to show the shifting attitudes towards Shakespeare's identity as 'the poet of nature,' moving from seeing Shakespeare as in need of cultivation to a national genius. This chronological, ever-changing process has yet to be explored until now. I compare gardening manuals to adaptations and editions in order to show how the language of cultivation and gardening was used by adapters and editors. My study further argues that Shakespearean criticism throughout the era provided the inspiration for Garrick to claim Shakespeare as the divine 'poet of nature' at the Jubilee.

Editors, adapters, and critics developed their own labels for Shakespeare's association with nature. Eventually, Jonson became seen as the artful (and therefore, more literarily perfect) poet in contrast with Shakespeare's nature, which John Dryden outlines in his 1668 *Of Dramatick Poesie, An Essay*.[14] Nicholas Rowe, in his 1709 biography of Shakespeare, claims that, 'Art had so little, and Nature so large a Share in what he did.'[15] Dryden, Rowe, and other critics positioned Shakespeare on the nature side of the debate. In 1725, Pope labelled Shakespeare as 'an Instrument, of Nature' in his edition of his plays.[16] Pope's claim of Shakespeare as an 'Instrument' connects Shakespeare more directly to Nature than Heminges and Condell's label of 'imitator of Nature.' Shakespeare is not simply copying Nature, but rather he is the device by which Nature creates literature. Eight years later, Lewis Theobald referred to Shakespeare's 'grand Touches of Nature.'[17] In 1748, Peter Whalley directly labelled

[14] John Dryden, *Of Dramatick Poesie, An Essay* (London: 1668), pp. 14-47.
[15] Nicholas Rowe, 'Some Account of the Life, &c. of Mr. William Shakespear,' in *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear, ed. by Nicholas Rowe*, 6 vols (London: 1709), I, iv.
[16] Alexander Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear, ed. by Alexander Pope*, 6 vols (London: 1725), I, ii.
[17]Lewis Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare: In Seven Volumes,* 7 vols (London: 1733), I, xx.

Shakespeare as 'the Poet of Nature.'[18] Samuel Johnson would cement Shakespeare's identity as 'the poet of nature' in his 1765 edition of Shakespeare's plays, where he twice refers to Shakespeare by this title. Johnson states that, 'Shakespeare is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirrour of manners and of life,' and later, Johnson notes that, 'he does not endeavour to hide his design only to discover it, for this is seldom the order of real events, and Shakespeare is the poet of nature.'[19] These various statements throughout the one hundred and forty-two year period following the printing of the First Folio reveal that Shakespeare was intricately associated with nature. However, the definition of 'nature' varies within these examples; Ben Jonson presents Nature as a supernatural figure, whereas Samuel Johnson is referring to nature in terms of human nature (disposition).

Johnson's 1755 *A Dictionary of the English Language* provides eleven definitions of 'nature.' These definitions include: 'The regular course of things,' 'The compass of natural existence,' 'The state or operation of the material world,' 'Sort; species,' 'Physics; the science which teaches the qualities of things,' 'Disposition of the mind; temper,' and 'An imaginary being supposed to preside over the material and animal world.'[20] The *Oxford English Dictionary* also provides a plethora of definitions for 'nature,' from current uses of the word to obsolete and rare meanings. 'Nature,' in terms of the natural world, is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as: 'The phenomena of the physical world collectively; *esp.* plants, animals, and other features and products of the earth itself, as opposed to humans and human creations.'[21] This

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[18] Peter Whalley, *An Enquiry Into the Learning of Shakespeare, with Remarks on Several Passages of his Plays* (London: 1748), p. 81.
[19] Samuel Johnson, *Selections from Johnson on Shakespeare, ed. by Bertrand H. Bronson with Jean M. O'Meara* (Binghamton: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 10, pp. 22-23.
[20] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language,* 2 vols (London: 1755), II, 197.
[21] 'nature, *n.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary* (2021) <http:// www.oed.com> [accessed 17 April 2021], IV.11.a.

definition of nature dates back to circa 1400. The definition of nature as human nature dates back to the Middle Ages: 'Senses relating to innate character… More fully *human nature*… The basic character or disposition of mankind; humanity, humanness.'[22] In the mid nineteenth century, nature could refer to both the earth and the human species, 'In wider sense: the whole natural world, including human beings; the cosmos.'[23] In the eighteenth century, nature also was seen as '(Contrasted with art.) In a person's speech, writing, drawing, etc.: fidelity or close adherence to nature; naturalness; (apparent) lack of artifice.'[24] 'Art' itself was a complex term, as critics often used 'art' to describe artless-seeming art, such as in garden design. 'Art' needed to be present, but not highly visible; gardens needed art to be a perfected version of the natural world. Shakespeare's identity as 'the poet of nature' can be as complex as the term 'nature' itself. Shakespeare is defined as the poet of human nature, the poet of the natural world, a poet trained by Nature (the supernatural being, such as in George Romney's c.1791-92 painting, *The Infant Shakespeare Attended by Nature and the Passions*, see Chapter 4), and by the late eighteenth century, Shakespeare becomes 'a guardian spirit … associated with a place,' stepping into the role as the Genius of Stratford-upon-Avon, a supernatural poet of nature.[25]

Numerous literary figures associated Shakespeare with nature, creating a narrative that entwined Shakespeare with forests, landscapes, gardens, mines, and various other aspects of the natural world. While my study does lean more towards the definition of 'nature' as 'The phenomena of the physical world collectively; *esp.* plants, animals, and other features and products of the earth itself, as opposed to humans and human creations,' I do also refer to

[22] Ibid., III.7.a.
[23] Ibid., IV.11.b.
[24] Ibid. IV.13.
[25] 'genius, *n.* and *adj.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary* (2021) <http:// www.oed.com> [accessed 12 March 2021], A.I.1.a.

‘nature’ in terms of human nature and ‘Nature’ as a supernatural being, as the definitions often overlap (for example, the cultivation of human nature for refinement).[26] The importance of human nature versus the natural world cannot be overlooked, however as it was the most common use of the term in relationship with Shakespeare. Christopher Hitt states that ‘debates about art’s relationship to nature date back to antiquity, but in the long eighteenth century–an age that ushered in empiricism, natural theology, and natural history–the subject assumed an increased urgency.’[27] He sees ‘ecocriticism as a promising new approach to teaching and studying the period.’[28] My study delves into a specific and significant feature of the era: Shakespeare’s identity as ‘the poet of nature.’ In the later eighteenth century, the natural world was directly physically associated with Shakespeare during Garrick’s 1769 Jubilee festival in Stratford-upon-Avon. Garrick told his audience that, ‘Now, now, we tread enchanted ground, | Here Shakespeare walk’d, and sung!’[29] The physical environment of Stratford was celebrated as a special literary site since the nature of Shakespeare’s home town was claimed to be the source of his talent.

I provide a new angle to the discussion of Shakespeare in the long eighteenth century by assessing the role of cultivation in linking together nature and art that scrutinizes philosophical views of the natural world during this era. I show how nature and art coexisted as constructive ideals in the promotion of Shakespeare. Prior to the eighteenth century, agriculture and horticulture had been perceived as enhancements to the natural world; however, during the long eighteenth century, cultivation had a more dominant role in culture. Nathaniel Wolloch argues

[26] ‘nature, *n.*’, *OED*, IV.11.a.
[27] Christopher Hitt, ‘Ecocriticism and the Long Eighteenth Century,’ *College Literature*, 31.3 (2004), 12-147 (p. 123).
[28] Ibid., p. 124.
[29] David Garrick, *The Jubilee* in *The Plays of David Garrick, ed. by Harry William*, 7 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980-82), II, III.i.9-10.

that, during the Enlightenment, 'Cultivating nature… meant also cultivating the human mind, and vice versa'; therefore, the cultivation of both the natural world and human nature was key to sustaining civilization.'[30] He further examines the philosophical debate during the era that the cultivation of the natural world was key to sustaining civilization.[31] The language used by critics to cultivate Shakespeare, therefore, deserves to be assessed as part of the process of improving human nature and society.

The primary texts that I examine all contribute to the construction of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' in the long eighteenth century. My study primarily addresses the definition of nature in terms of the natural world, and as such, I begin by addressing eighteenth-century gardening manuals and philosophical texts involving the natural world in order to show the key principles of the era's changing understanding of nature. The gardening manuals of Worlidge, Switzer, and Whately have yet to be studied in relation to literary criticism, as most of the research on these texts has been in regards to garden and landscape history. Specifically, the construction of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' in the long eighteenth century needs to be assessed within the framework of perceptions of the natural world. Adapters, editors, and critics relied heavily on the discourses of cultivation, gardening, landscaping, and weeding to describe their work in critiquing Shakespeare. My study assesses key textual examples in order to uniquely show how these discourses were collectively used to construct Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' I have selected to study the adaptations of four Shakespeare plays (*The Tempest, A Midsummer Night's Dream, As You Like It,* and *The Winter's Tale*) due to their extensive natural settings, which made them especially hospitable to this sort of critical language and particularly

[30] Nathaniel Wolloch, *History and Nature in the Enlightenment: Praise of the Mastery of Nature in Eighteenth-Century Historical Literature* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), p. 32.
[31] Ibid., p. 78.

revealing of critical attitudes towards landscape, agriculture, and horticulture. Adaptations of these plays have all adjusted the presentation of nature in the dialogue and in the settings themselves. I have selected a chronological range of eighteenth-century editions to explore in order to show how Shakespeare editorial practices were a part of an atmosphere of ideas that emerged in the early stages of changing perspectives of nature. The discourse of the editions I have chosen to examine rely on metaphors of the natural world (particularly the language of cultivation) to critique and revise Shakespeare. I have chosen a range of texts in relation to Garrick's 1769 Jubilee, including songs, poems, and newspaper articles, in order to fully explore the role of nature at the festival and the successful staged afterpiece.

In the later portion of the eighteenth century (especially during the events of the Jubilee), Shakespeare was identified as a genius with his labelling as 'the poet of nature.' Jonathan Bate, in his 1998 study, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, examines how Shakespeare was defined as a genius to justify his artless talent and position him as the Bard inspired by his birthplace, rural England.[32] Bate outlines the transitions in the meaning of the term 'genius' over the two centuries, from 'the Genius of the Place' to the concept of 'original genius' (a positive result of 'artlessness') in the mid-eighteenth century.[33] In the mid-eighteenth century, 'original genius' became the term for a person with extraordinary talents, and Shakespeare became the prime example of the phrase.[34] Bate argues that 'genius' was invented as a category during the course of the eighteenth century because of Shakespeare, and this process connected Shakespeare's genius to nature and also identified 'genius' as artless (and therefore, un-French) to present Shakespeare as the English national poet.[35] He notes that as a result of Garrick's Jubilee (which

[32] Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1998), pp. 157-186.
[33] Ibid., pp. 162-163.
[34] Ibid., p. 163.
[35] Ibid., pp. 165-167.

claimed Shakespeare as a god), 'through the very process of shaping the word "genius", Shakespeare forced it back to its oldest sense, that of a tutelar deity.'[36] My study examines the specific ways that Shakespeare was presented a genius (in terms of a deity) in the later eighteenth century and how the language used by critics in the decades leading up to the Jubilee assisted in constructing Shakespeare as such a figure. In the Prologue to Nahum Tate's 1681 adaptation of *King Lear*, Tate does criticize Shakespeare, but he also refers to Shakespeare's talent as 'a Power Divine.'[37] My study provides a new argument to the discussion of how Shakespeare was labelled as a genius (as a tutelary deity). I argue that the process of constructing Shakespeare as a natural genius began slowly in the Restoration with critics such as Tate noting Shakespeare's divine talent.

'Nature' implied rusticity by the time of the Jubilee. By the end of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare was seen as a Romanticised rustic genius because of his artlessness. Shakespeare, as Bate has noted, was not seen as an artful poet, but rather as a genius.[38] This concept was furthered by poetical depictions of Shakespeare being inspired while lying on the banks of the river Avon:

> *Thou soft-flowing* Avon, *by thy silver stream,*
>
> *Of things more then mortal, sweet* Shakespear *would dream*,
>
> *The fairies by moonlight dance round his green bed,*
>
> *For hallow'd the turf is which pillow'd his head.*[39]

[36] Ibid., p. 185.
[37] Nahum Tate, *The History of King Lear* (London: 1702), p. 54.
[38] Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, p. 162.
[39] David Garrick, *An Ode upon Dedicating a Building, and Erecting a Statue, to Shakespeare, at Stratford upon Avon* (London: 1769), p. 12.

The imagery from Garrick's *An Ode upon Dedicating a Building, and Erecting a Statue, to Shakespeare, at Stratford upon Avon* directly associates nature with Shakespeare's genius, or talent, and positions Shakespeare as a tutelar deity. Shakespeare's birthplace connected the natural world with Shakespeare's identity as a genius. The specific natural location of the banks of the Avon is presented as a Romanticized sacred place. My study delves further into the unique connection created between the definitions of 'nature' and 'genius' as a result of critics' interpretations of Shakespeare.

While scholars have examined how the eighteenth-century adaptation of Shakespeare's plays made him the Bard, the national poet of England, I am proposing a new perspective to examine Shakespeare's identity as 'the poet of nature.' Scholars such as Dobson, De Grazia, Marsden, and Walsh have examined the role of Shakespearean editors as cultivators of eighteenth-century tastes and values. They have touched on the use of cultivation as a metaphorical term to describe refinement; however, these studies have not taken into the changing gardening and cultivation practices throughout the era. Dobson, in *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769*, argues that the processes of adapting and canonizing Shakespeare worked in tandem to make Shakespeare the national figure of the Bard during the long eighteenth century.[40] Dobson outlines how Shakespeare was identified as 'the literary exemplar' of Nature in the introduction of the 1623 Folio, and briefly notes how literary critics (such as Flecknoe and Locke) viewed Shakespeare's natural style as in need of cultivation.[41] De Grazia, in *Shakespeare Verbatim*, argues that 'The Tonson editions served to cultivate Taste and Judgement… primarily through their determinations of

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[40] Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 5.
[41] Ibid., pp. 29-31.

Shakespeare's Beauties and Defects… because Shakespeare had traditionally been associated with irregular and artless Nature,' and by doing so, the editing of Shakespeare's works 'cultivated English tastes and manners.'[42] De Grazia's main argument is that modern Shakespearean study is a result of eighteenth-century criticism and involvement with Shakespeare's works, creating an historical construct of Shakespeare.[43] Marsden, in *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory*, argues that while long eighteenth-century adapters (and critics) of Shakespeare's plays did respect Shakespeare as a poet, they did not venerate his language in the same way.[44] She states that, 'Because playwrights did not see Shakespeare's language as an intrinsic element of his genius, they were able to treat his work as a plastic material which could be reshaped at will,' and was reshaped to long eighteenth-century ideals.[45] Marsden examines how the perception of Shakespeare as the poet of nature in the era presented Shakespeare as 'England's native genius' in contrast with foreign artifice.[46]

Walsh argues in *Shakespeare, Milton, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing* that some eighteenth-century editors wanted to improve Shakespeare's works rather than 'restore' the original texts; Pope edited Shakespeare's works for aesthetic eighteenth-century taste, since he viewed Shakespeare as 'the author of a past and less cultivated age,' who needed cultivation.[47] Viewing Shakespeare's works as sacred texts is based in eighteenth-century hermeneutic theoretical practices, according to Walsh.[48] Walsh argues that editing during the eighteenth

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[42] Margreta De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford, NY: Clarendon Press Oxford, 1991), pp. 196-200.
[43] Ibid., p. 1.
[44] Jean I. Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), p. 2.
[45] Ibid., p. 17.
[46] Ibid., p. 149.
[47] Marcus Walsh, *Shakespeare, Milton, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 130-131.
[48] Ibid., p. 2.

century was an interpretative activity based in developed theoretical practices to identify the true intentions of the author.[49] Walsh states that the established Biblical interpretation practices led to literary editors attempting to create 'an English national Scripture' by editing the works of Shakespeare and Milton.[50] By the late eighteenth century, Marsden states, Shakespeare was seen 'as magician, as nature, and above all as divinity,' and as a divine figure, his text became a sacred object.[51] Walsh's study thoroughly examines how 'restoring' Shakespeare was influenced by eighteenth-century ideals and interpretation; however, I am examining how a particular eighteenth-century ideal (cultivating nature) led to the interpretation of Shakespeare as in need of cultivation in order for his works to become a part of 'English national Scripture.'[52] My study provides a new angle to the examination of editorial practices by delving specifically into the cultural inspiration behind Pope and other editors' aesthetic tastes. Walsh briefly refers to cultivation in his statement about Pope; my sustained analysis compares editorial practices to gardening and cultivation methods. Marsden has also identified the same eighteenth-century view of Shakespeare's writing as underdeveloped and unrefined.[53]

Long eighteenth-century scholars have touched on the role of nature and cultivation in the construction of Shakespeare; however, this topic deserves its own study, as nature reappears in Shakespearean criticism throughout the era. I am building on previous scholars' work by examining more closely the language of cultivation in critiquing, editing, and adapting Shakespeare and his plays. The discourses of cultivation and editing directly offer a space for an ecocritical study that has yet to be fully explored until now. This study will examine the role of

[49] Ibid., p. 2.
[50] Ibid., p. 51.
[51] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text,* p. 127.
[52] Walsh, *Literary Editing,* p. 51.
[53] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text,* p. 52.

metaphors of cultivation present in within the writings of Shakespearean critics and assess how the actions of editors and adapters paralleled the work of landscapers and gardeners. As cultivation and gardening practices changed throughout the era, perceptions of the natural world changed, so did the metaphors of the natural world used by Shakespearean critics. I argue that nature was a key element in defining Shakespeare as the national poet, as the language of nationalism was associated with descriptions of English land. Critics such as Marsden and Dobson have assessed the role of nationalism in the construction of Shakespeare. I address the association of Shakespeare with the landscape and nature of England (in particular, Stratford-upon-Avon) physically and directly places Shakespeare as the national poet of England's nature. My study also directly shows the connection between nature and Shakespeare's identity as a divine figure.

Human nature and Shakespeare's language were not only critiqued by literary critics: painters and other visual artists also evaluated Shakespeare and his works in the eighteenth century, as examined by Stuart Sillars in *Painting Shakespeare: The Artist as Critic, 1720-1820*.[54] Sillars' book examines various eighteenth-century images of Shakespeare and his plays to argue that visual criticism of Shakespeare was just as important, and worked in tandem with, eighteenth-century editing and performance of Shakespeare's plays.[55] Sillars explains how in the mid-eighteenth century Shakespeare's plays became more associated with the landscape and the English countryside, as shown in the art of the era.[56] Sillars has identified the importance of the natural world as a visual backdrop to paintings as well as the significance of cultivating human nature with intellectual discussions of the paintings. My study applies Sillars' discussion of

[54] Stuart Sillars, *Painting Shakespeare: The Artist as Critic, 1720-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 25.
[55] Ibid., p. 25.
[56] Ibid., p. 16.

paintings to long eighteenth-century Shakespeare editions, adaptations, and criticism in order to show that the natural world not only influenced visual art, but the revision and assessment of written work as well. In order to assess the role of the natural world, I take a different approach than Sillars by assessing philosophies of the natural world and gardening manuals for a new, full understanding of the changing concepts of nature and the control of nature throughout the period. I examine late seventeenth-century set designs of Shakespeare adaptations in order to show how ideals of gardening and nature carried onto the stage itself, framing the dialogue of the plays with visual depictions of the perfected natural world.

In the 'Introduction' to *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century,* Ritchie and Sabor examine Giovanni Battista Cipriani's painting, *Shakespeare Striding through a Storm-Ridden Landscape* (1766), and they argue that the natural landscape surrounding Shakespeare in the painting represents eighteenth-century ideals of nature with the designed landscape.[57] The painting shows Shakespeare as a natural genius, who, by the latter half of the eighteenth century, became a key cultural figure beyond literature.[58] Ritchie and Sabor note that Shakespeare is depicted in 'nature as experienced by the eighteenth-century landed class, which had a penchant for carefully crafted yet seemingly "gardenless" gardens.'[59] While Ritchie and Sabor have briefly noted the connection between gardening and Shakespeare as shown in Cipriani's painting, more work needs to be done to fully assess how the idea of the perfected garden influenced Shakespearean criticism by showing the sources of these ideas and the channels by which they influenced eighteenth-century critics. Cipriani's painting is only one example of the extensive references to nature and gardening in relation to Shakespeare throughout the long eighteenth

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[57] Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-17 (p. 1).
[58] Ibid., pp. 2-3.
[59] Ibid., p. 1.

century; the perfected garden appeared on the stage in Restoration Shakespeare adaptations. Concepts of symmetrical garden layouts influenced early eighteenth-century Shakespearean editorial practices. Ritchie and Sabor have noted one of the concepts (the '"gardenless" garden'), but there are a variety of gardening and cultivation practices used throughout the era that need further exploration.

Kate Rumbold, in 'Shakespeare and the Stratford Jubilee,' examines the convergence of the discourses of religious reverence, patriotism, commerce, and fashion at Garrick's Jubilee, which she argues combined to present Shakespeare as an immortal figure.[60] Rumbold also surveys the natural environment of Stratford and Warwickshire as a backdrop to the Jubilee, and during the Jubilee, Garrick presented his *Ode* which further enforced the connection between Shakespeare and Nature.[61] My study specifically examines how the discourses of gardening and cultivation were used during the Jubilee to construct Shakespeare as an immortal figure and the genius of Stratford. I expand Rumbold's analysis of the connection between Shakespeare and Nature in Garrick's Jubilee and *Ode* by examining how the long eighteenth century associated Shakespeare with the natural world and human nature. The Jubilee is also the climax of claiming Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' in the long eighteenth century; yes, Shakespeare had become the national poet, but nature and the discourse of nature played a significant role in constructing Shakespeare as the Bard.[62] The label of 'bard' has particular significance at this historical juncture, as the revival of medieval bardic traditions in Ireland, Scotland and Wales to support their own cultures in the eighteenth century was followed by an English appropriation of the

[60] Kate Rumbold, 'Shakespeare and the Stratford Jubilee', in *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century,* ed. by Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 254-276 (p. 254).
[61] Ibid., pp. 258-259.
[62] Johnson, *Johnson on Shakespeare*, p. 10.

form in the 1750s and 1760s.[63] In Chapters 1 and 4, I will unpack how the term 'bard' became specifically applied to Shakespeare in the late eighteenth century. My research aims to show how nature was used by Garrick at the Jubilee to present the narrative of Shakespeare as the national poet.

Scholars, then, have begun to address the association of Shakespeare with nature, but a thorough analysis of the use of nature in the canon of long eighteenth-century Shakespearean criticism has yet to be completed. I will be building on Wolloch's theoretical framework in *History and Nature in the Enlightenment: Praise of the Mastery of Nature in Eighteenth-Century Historical Literature* in my assessment of philosophies of nature in the long eighteenth century. Wolloch examines how the cultivation of nature by humans was an ideal key to sustained civilization during the eighteenth century.[64] Many literary critics during the era referred to Shakespeare's works with metaphors of cultivation; therefore, there is a need in scholarship to examine the implications of the metaphors of cultivation in relation to philosophical ideals about nature. Marsden states that, 'Along with current theatrical practices, an age's perception of what literature is and how it should be treated determines the form adaptation will take and can itself be tied to larger, nonliterary issues.'[65] The nonliterary issue I am noting in this study is the issue of the cultivation of natural world, which was then reflected in cultivated refined taste and human nature.

Each chapter in this study focuses on a key aspect behind the construction of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' in the long eighteenth century. Chapter 1, 'Nature in the Long Eighteenth Century,' provides an overview of the changing historical perceptions of nature between 1660

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[63] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 4.
[64] Wolloch, *History and Nature*, p. 78.
[65] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text*, p.7.

and 1799. In this chapter, I survey philosophies of nature (such as the work of John Locke and David Hume) to provide a chronological narrative of how nature was transformed by humankind, both physically and philosophically. I analyze how gardening manuals of the era put philosophy into action. These manuals suggest how to shape the land in order to reflect moral and aesthetic values and create a perfected natural paradise. The work of gardening philosophers influenced critics, editors, and adapters of Shakespeare, who sought to 'perfect' 'the poet of nature.' Editing and adapting Shakespeare became a form of cultivation to turn Shakespeare into the ideal eighteenth-century poet, paralleling the perfected English garden.

Chapter 2, 'Adapting Nature, Adapting Shakespeare,' examines how the adaptation of Shakespeare's works paralleled gardening practices. This chapter focuses on the adaptations of *The Tempest, A Midsummer Night's Dream, As You Like It,* and *The Winter's Tale,* because natural settings are key to the narrative of each of these plays. I compare passages and set designs from these adaptations with gardening manuals and philosophies of the period. By doing so, I show how the altered dialogue reflects ideas of cultivation and how the set designs placed the perfected English garden on the stage. This chapter moves through the changing concepts of idealized nature throughout the period, starting with the symmetrical garden of the Restoration and early eighteenth century, to the pastoral landscape of the mid-century, to the awe-inspiring sublime in the late eighteenth century. Each of these ideals influenced the settings of the adaptations and the dialogue of the characters. The alterations mirrored the changing views of the natural world.

Chapter 3, 'Perfecting the Poet of Nature,' specifically examines the connections between editing Shakespeare and cultivating the English garden. In this chapter, I assess the editions of Nicholas Rowe (1709), Alexander Pope (1725), Lewis Theobald (1733), Samuel Johnson (1765),

and John Bell (1774). I analyze how each of these editors justify their editorial methods using words such as ‘weeding’ and other gardening metaphors to critique Shakespeare. Intriguingly, the editions seem to anticipate emerging gardening and landscaping trends of their eras, from the symmetrical garden to the dramatic sublime landscape. Editorial practices towards Shakespeare’s works changed throughout the eighteenth century and although the changing methods cultivated ‘the poet of nature’ differently, the techniques collectively shaped Shakespeare into a poet who people would be in awe of, much like a sublime landscape.

Chapter 4, ‘Nature as Divine, Shakespeare as Divine,’ examines Garrick’s 1769 Stratford Jubilee and the historical context leading up to this festival. The Jubilee, I argue, ultimately positions Shakespeare as the divine poet of British nature. Garrick uses nature to praise Shakespeare and place him above all other poets, moving away from the criticism of the previous one hundred years, which suggested that Shakespeare needed to be cultivated. The Jubilee is the culmination of my study as it fully celebrates Shakespeare as ‘the poet of nature’ using the nature of his birthplace to position him as a spiritual being, thereby claiming him as a genius in terms of his talent and as a tutelar deity. I begin the chapter by addressing commentary from long eighteenth-century adapters, editors, and critics who, prior to the Jubilee, began presenting Shakespeare as a divine or an immortal figure. This chapter reveals the convergence of two existing discourses (divinity and nature) at the Jubilee. Stratford, Shakespeare’s birthplace, is turned by Garrick’s Jubilee into a literary paradise due to his language and actions. Garrick presents Stratford as the site and the source of Shakespeare’s divine literary inspiration. He brings the natural setting of Shakespeare’s birthplace visually, physically, and verbally to the attention of the Jubilee attendees.

However different critics' opinions were during the long eighteenth century, one factor remained consistent throughout the period: associating Shakespeare with nature meant that there was something unique about his writing. Critics separated Shakespeare from other writers by connecting him with nature, and this process of separation developed into elevation by the latter half of the eighteenth century: Shakespeare, as 'the poet of nature,' was placed above other writers. Nature became a marker of Shakespeare's divinity and immortality, in particular during the Jubilee. The imagery of Garrick's 1769 'To the immortal Memory of Shakespeare' would echo into the nineteenth century and beyond:

> IMMORTAL be his name,
> His memory, his fame!
> Nature and her works we see,
> Matchless SHAKESPEARE full in thee!
> Join'd by everlasting tyes,
> SHAKESPEARE but with Nature dies.
> Immortal be his Name,
> His memory, his fame![66]

By the end of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare's status had become permanently entwined with nature; it was the very source of his immortality. In my study, I examine the process of this elevation to understand how it all began, and why it persists today.

[66] David Garrick, 'To the Immortal Memory of Shakespeare' in *Shakespeare's Garland, Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads, Roundelays, Catches, Glees, Comic-Serenatas, &c. Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford Upon Avon, ed. by David Garrick* (London: 1769), p. 15.

Chapter 1: Nature in the Long Eighteenth Century

Since Shakespeare is defined in the long eighteenth century as 'the poet of nature,' particular attention needs to be paid to how nature was perceived during the period.[67] This chapter will provide an overview of philosophical and scholarly thought on the role and purpose of the natural world, particularly examining the transitions between different historical perceptions of nature. These historical transitions, I argue, influenced the transformation of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' Only in the light of the changing views of nature from 1660 to 1799, Shakespeare's identity as 'the poet of nature' can be fully understood. 'The poet of nature' was seen as in need of cultivation, editing, refinement, adaptation, but then that perception changed throughout the century to be a genius worthy of national attention. The definition of the word 'nature' changed during the long eighteenth century, and these various meanings impacted how critics viewed Shakespeare as a result of their understandings of the natural world, human nature, Nature as a supernatural figure, and nature in terms of everything in existence.

I will first assess the roles of gardening, cultivating, and landscaping as arts to correct and perfect nature. As Wolloch observes, during the eighteenth century 'Nature might be beautiful in itself, but it was even more so when it received the cultivating attention of civilized human beings.'[68] Cultivation and gardening were seen as art forms, and art was seen as the means to perfect nature. Hitt notes that 'debates about art's relationship to nature date back to antiquity, but in the long eighteenth century – an age that ushered in empiricism, natural theology, and natural history – the subject assumed an increased urgency.'[69] Shakespeare's 'nature' was placed in contrast by critics with art, and editors and adapters relied on art to perfect Shakespeare. For

[67] Johnson, *Johnson on Shakespeare*, p. 10
[68] Wolloch, *History and Nature*, p. 78.
[69] Hitt, 'Ecocriticism and the Long Eighteenth Century,' p. 123.

Marsden, 'The favorite approach to Shakespeare during this time period was to portray him as a natural genius, unlearned in the ways of art' in order to show 'The superiority of England's native genius over (foreign) artificiality.'[70] Dobson examines how critics and philosophers (such as Richard Flecknoe and John Locke) thought that Shakespeare's natural style of writing needed cultivation.[71] In this project, I will be assessing how literary critics used the discourse of cultivation to critique Shakespeare's writing so that I can reveal the full picture behind defining Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' And in order to understand the usage of cultivation discourse by literary critics, it is important to assess the writings of gardeners, landscapers, and philosophers and their theories of land use. Philosophies of nature influenced gardening practices, providing guidelines for gardeners to follow in order to create idealized versions of the natural world.

As mentioned in the introduction, the process of defining Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' began with Jonson in the First Folio in 1623. While Jonson did not directly title Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature,' he did note that 'the *Poets* matter, Nature be,' referring to reality rather than the natural world.[72] The moment Shakespeare was first labelled as 'the poet of nature' was in Whalley's 1748 *An Enquiry Into the Learning of Shakespeare.* During his comments on scenes from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Richard the Second*, Whalley states that, 'For *Shakespeare* could be no less the Poet of Nature in drawing rural and descriptive Scenes, than in painting the Passions and Manners.'[73] Labeling Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' continued throughout the eighteenth century. David Erskine Baker's 1764 *The Companion to the Play-House*, a compendium of biographies and listed works of English and

[70] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text*, p. 52.
[71] Dobson, *The National Poet,* pp. 29-31.
[72] Jonson, 'Mr. William Shakespeare,' n.p.
[73] Whalley, *The Learning of Shakespeare,* p. 81.

Irish Playwrights, labels Shakespeare directly as 'the poet of nature' in his biography: 'Shakespeare, *William*, the great Poet of Nature, and the Glory of the *British* Nation, was descended of a reputable Family, at *Stratford* upon *Avon*.'[74] This is the first sentence of Shakespeare's entry in the compendium. Immediately, Shakespeare, 'the Poet of Nature,' is associated with the whole British nation as well as his birthplace, Stratford. 'The Poet of Nature' as an expression becomes part of Shakespeare's identity, just as much as his nationality and his birthplace.

A year later, Samuel Johnson's Preface to *The Plays of William Shakespeare* furthers the presentation of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' Scholars have suggested that Johnson's claim that Shakespeare is 'the poet of nature' meant that Shakespeare was 'the poet of *human* nature.'[75] However, Johnson is also asserting Shakespeare as the poet of the natural world. In the Preface, he uses two metaphors of the natural world to describe Shakespeare's writing ability:

> the composition of Shakespeare is a forest, in which oaks extend their branches, and pines tower in the air, interspersed sometimes with weeds and brambles, and sometimes giving shelter to myrtles and to roses; filling the eye with awful pomp, and gratifying the mind with endless diversity…. Shakespeare opens a mine which contains gold and diamonds in unexhaustible plenty, though clouded by incrustations, debased by impurities, and mingled with a mass of meaner materials.[76]

[74] David Erskine Baker, *The Companion to the Play-House*, 2 vols (London: 1764), II, 335.
[75] Bertrand H. Bronson, 'Introduction,' in *Selections from Johnson on Shakespeare, ed. by Bertrand H. Bronson with Jean M. O'Meara* (Binghamton: Yale University Press, 1986), ix-xxv (p. xxii). This view is supported by Philip Smallwood 'Shakespeare: Johnson's poet of nature,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Samuel Johnson, ed. by Greg Clingham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 143-160 and John Hardy in 'The "Poet of Nature" and Self-Knowledge: One Aspect of Johnson's Moral Reading of Shakespeare', *University of Toronto Quarterly,* 36.2 (1967), 141-160.
[76] Johnson, *Selections,* pp. 31-32.

Shakespeare's works, for Johnson, are metaphorically comparable to the wild, uncultivated natural world. Yes, his works have beautiful features, but they are often obscured by his many flaws. The fusion of Shakespeare and nature by Johnson created a different understanding of literature in the eighteenth century; literature served a philosophical purpose based in understanding how to cultivate both the natural world and human nature for perfection. Editors and adapters of the era gave themselves the responsibility to 'fix' Shakespeare's plays, and, like Johnson, they relied on metaphors of weeding and cultivation to exemplify their work in perfecting Shakespeare. Eventually, starting with Garrick's 1769 Jubilee, Shakespeare's identity as 'the poet of nature' would move from being a label suggesting that although his works had merits, they needed revising and fixing, to become a title that would purely praise his unique natural and native talents. In the final section of this chapter, I examine the role of Stratford (Shakespeare's birthplace) in the promotion of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.'

Before I address the specific connection between Shakespeare and nature, I chronologically assess perceptions of nature during the long eighteenth century. Culture and cultivation become intertwined in the long eighteenth century. Wolloch states that, 'By the eighteenth century… the control of nature, and the arts and sciences in general, not political, military or governmental developments, were considered the basis for culture.'[77] Wolloch's study primarily examines the control of the natural world. However, in this statement, he is emphasizing that the control of nature, alongside the arts and sciences, were seen as the basis for culture. Within Shakespeare's own writing, the role of art as a means to control nature is debated. In *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare poses a debate between Polixenes and Perdita as to whether or not art is a part of nature:

[77] Wolloch, *History and Nature*, p. 82.

POLIXENES Wherefore, gentle maiden,

Do you neglect them?

PERDITA For I have heard it said

There is an art which in their piedness shares

With great creating nature.

POLIXENES Say there be,

Yet nature is made better by no mean

But nature makes that mean. So over that art

Which you say adds to nature is an art

That nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry

A gentler scion to the wildest stock,

And make conceive a bark of baser kind

By bud of nobler race. This is an art

Which does mend nature – change it rather; but

The art itself is nature.[78]

Perdita rejects grafting and believes that ‘neglecting’ nature is the correct way to maintain a garden, but for Polixenes, grafting is a natural process. Polixenes argues that nature provides the art of cultivation since different aspects of nature can be used to shape the natural world. Polixenes sees cultivation as a part of nature. The tension between art and nature is balanced by cultivation, as Polixenes notes.

I go beyond Wolloch by stressing that arts and sciences became key features to encourage and support the cultivation of the natural world. John Locke suggests that ‘the Improvements of

[78] William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale,* in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works,* ed. by John Jowett and others, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1123-1152 (IV.iv.85-97).

the Arts and Sciences' leads to cultivation.[79] In this chapter, I will examine philosophies of nature and gardening from 1660 to 1799 in order to provide an overview and a historical context. In addition, I will address gardens and landscaping of the time period, with an overview of Stratford-upon-Avon. I dissect how Shakespeare was constructed as 'the poet of nature' and will reveal how the discourses of gardening, cultivating, editing, and adapting shaped the era's perception of Shakespeare.

Nature and Philosophy: Constructing the Garden in the Long Eighteenth Century

From 1660 to 1799, the writings of multiple philosophers, scholars, gardeners, and landscapers examined the moral, intellectual, and religious value of the natural world, particularly addressing how the cultivation and refinement of the natural world could improve human character. Philosophical writings about nature influenced gardening and cultivation practices, creating standards that gardeners and landscapers followed. Nature was often set in contrast with art during the era. Art was the solution to work with and refine uncontrolled nature into the perfected garden. The Restoration marked a shift in gardening practices. The revival of the monarchy encouraged a revival of gardening. John Evelyn in *Sylva, Or A Discourse of Forest-Trees, and the Propagation of Timber* (1664) and Abraham Cowley in *Sex Libri Plantarum* (1668) were among the first writers who associated King Charles II (alongside the Restoration of the monarchy) with gardening. Evelyn, in his dedication, states that the king has: 'by your own Royal Example, exceeded all your Predecessors in the Plantations which you have already made, and now design, beyond (I dare affirm it) all the Monarchs of this Nation since the Conquest of it.'[80] Cowley describes Charles II's work in reviving the monarchy following the Interregnum as:

[79] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2001), p. 59.
[80] John Evelyn, *Sylva, Or A Discourse of Forest-Trees, and the Propagation of Timber* (London: 1664), n.p.

Of his neglected Garden, which he finds

O're-run with Ruin, he do's gentle pare

Luxuriant Plants: the Loose and Wandering binds:

…

Vast is the Work, but sweet; for all his Pains

By growing Beauties are repaid and blest.[81]

England during the Interregnum is described as a 'neglected Garden' which Charles II must repair. Cowley positions the king as a successful gardener who is 'repaid' and 'blest' for all of his work due to the 'Beauties' that are now growing in the garden. While Cowley's praise of the king's work is metaphorical, Evelyn's is literal, since he is directly lauds the king for his success in restoring the planting of trees in England's forests. Cowely and Evelyn's work reveal the significance of gardening and restoring the English landscape alongside the restoration of the monarchy.

Dryden continues the trend of associating Charles II with gardening in his 1685 *Threnodia Augustalis: A Funeral-Pindarique Poem Sacred to the Happy Memory of King Charles II*. In this poem, Dryden laments the death of the monarch:

Our Isle, indeed, too fruitful was before,

But all uncultivated lay

Out of the *Solar* walk and Heav'ns high way;

With rank *Geneva* Weeds run o're,

And Cockle, at the best, amidst the Corn it bore:

The Royal Husbandman appear'd,

[81] Abraham Cowley, *A Translation of the Sixth Book of Mr. Cowley's Plantarum,* trans. by anon. (London: 1680), p. 36.

And Plough'd, and Sow'd, and Till'd,

The Thorns he rooted out, the Rubbish clear'd,

And Blest th' obedient Field.

…

And such a plenteous Crop they bore

Of purest and well winow'd Grain,

As *Britain* never knew before.[82]

Dryden continues his metaphor of Charles II as 'The Royal Husbandman' by stating that the King improved Britain with his reign, making the country successful. The Restoration of the monarchy was not only a success for Dryden, but a turning point that created the best version of Britain. Dryden's poem does lament the loss of Charles II, but with his praise of the king, he is setting up a framework for a proper, cultivated, Britain that needs to be maintained following the monarch's death.

The importance of the Restoration to gardening history was emphasized decades later in Switzer's 1715 *The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation*. While Switzer stresses the value of gardening to noblemen and gentlemen, his prime example of the ideal gardener is a royal figure: Charles II. Writings such as Switzer's influenced gardening practices, encouraging gardeners to follow examples outlined by writers, especially if the suggestions had historical and national significance. The Restoration marked a significant moment in gardening history:

[82] John Dryden, *Threnodia Augustalis: A Funeral-Pindarique Poem Sacred to the Happy Memory of King Charles II* (London: 1685), pp. 18-19.

> Upon the happy Restitution of the Royal Family, *anno* 1660. Planting began again to raise its dejected Head; and in this Reign it was, that those preliminary Foundations of Gard'ning were laid, that have since been rais'd to such a stupendious Height.[83]

The Restoration, for Switzer, did not only revive the monarchy, but gardening as well. The Jacobite rebellion to put James II's son on the throne (which failed in 1715) likely influenced Switzer to align himself with the monarchy. Switzer is critical of James II's gardening practices (or rather, lack thereof) during his short reign:

> There does not remain much of what King *James* did, or designed to do…. Whatever *Halcyon* Days might seem to shine at the Beginning of his Reign, yet afterwards Planting was at a stand, and never pursued in so good Earnest as in his Successor's Time.[84]

Switzer shifts from his criticism of James II to his praise of his successors' (William III and Mary II) gardening practices. With this shift, Switzer aligns himself with the monarchy and the Glorious Revolution, rather than with the Catholic James II (who abdicated) and his son's potential claim to the throne.

Switzer continues his praise of William III and Mary II's gardening practices. He states that 'Gardening advanc'd to its highest Meridian, by the Encouragement of King *William* III' and he emphasizes the connection between these monarchs and the Restoration:

> The Foundation of great Designs being laid at *Hampton-Court*… by their Royal Uncle King Charles II. it was thought to be one great inducement to those Princes to take up their chief Residence there, and *Gard'ning* soon felt the happy Effect of it.[85]

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[83] Switzer, *Gardener's Recreation*, p. 39.
[84] Ibid., p. 42.
[85] Ibid., p. 57.

The Restoration, for Switzer, did change gardening ideals. The Hampton Court gardens are a symbol of the restored monarchy. The continued focus on garden design into the end of the seventeenth century due to William III and Mary II's work in contrast with James II's lack of involvement reveal that Switzer is aligning himself against the Jacobite rebellion. Switzer supports William III and Mary II's successors (Queen Anne, followed by George I in 1714), and he even praises Queen Anne's gardening practices: 'I must remark something of our late pious Queen, whose Love to *Gardening* was not a little.'[86] He applauds her work at Kensington Palace by explaining that she 'made that new Garden behind the *Green-House*, that is esteemed amongst the most valuable Pieces of Work that has been done any where.'[87] The current connection between the monarchy and gardening, for Switzer, was a result of and began with the Restoration. Gardening was brought to a new glory because of Charles II:

> 'Tis certain that Prince, whose Thoughts and Expressions of Things were allowed by all to be just, did plant the large Semicircle before the Palace at *Hampton-Court, &c.* in pursuance of some great Design he had form'd in *Gard'ning*, besides what he did at *Windsor,* and in other Places.[88]

Switzer's description of Charles II resembles the metaphor cited above in Dryden's 1685 *Threnodia Augustalis*, where Dryden claims Charles II as 'The Royal Husbandman.'[89] For Switzer, Charles II's work at Hampton Court and Windsor set the new standard for gardening, which he is encouraging his readers to be inspired by in the early eighteenth century.

The gardens of Hampton Court have an extensive history that dates back to 1532, when Henry VIII hired John Needham to oversee the construction of the south gardens. Hampton

[86] Ibid., p. 62.
[87] Ibid., p. 62.
[88] Ibid., p. 39
[89] Dryden, *Threnodia Augustalis*, p. 18.

Court was a venue for court performances by Shakespeare's company, and is depicted in *Henry VIII*. In 1688, the 'new king, William, was quite passionate about formal gardens' and by 1702, he had developed the south garden into his Baroque Privy Garden.[90] For Louise Wickham, William III's Privy Garden is what she refers to as 'Franco-Dutch,' where the garden has:

> the elements that were seen in France and Holland: formal gardens near the house with complex parterres, topiary and fountains that could be enjoyed from the house and on the ground. Away from the house were long avenues or allées, often as patte d'oie, together with wooded areas or bosquets. Even the architecture at this time, a form of the Baroque, had its roots from across the channel.[91]

Wickham's description emphasizes the Baroque, grand visual of the Privy Garden. Part of the reason for the grandeur of the Privy Garden, however, was its symmetrical, mathematical layout. In the 1798 *The Beauties of the Royal Palaces: or, a Pocket Companion to Windsor, Kensington, Kew, and Hampton Court*, the unnamed author provides a brief description of the Privy Garden; 'On the south side of the palace is the privy garden, which was sunk ten feet, to give a view from the apartments to the river Thames. In this garden is a fine fountain, and two grand terrace walks.'[92] The author is less interested in the cultural inspiration behind the garden, but rather in the contrast between early eighteenth- and late eighteenth-century garden design:

> The celebrated Brown had his present Majesty's permission to make whatever improvements, in these gardens, his fine imagination might suggest; but be declared his opinion, that they appear to the best advantage in their present state; which not the modern natural stile, but that which prevailed some years ago, when mathematical

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[90] Louise Wickham, *Gardens in History: A Political Perspective* (Havertown: Windgather Press, 2012), p. 115.
[91] Ibid., p. 115.
[92] Anon., *The Beauties of the Royal Palaces: or, a Pocket Companion to Windsor, Kensington, Kew, and Hampton Court* (Windsor: 1798), p. 20.

figures where preferred to natural forms; the regularity and grandeur of which, appear correspondent to the magnificence of the palace.[93]

The unnamed author's language is reflective of Whately in 1770, who critiqued the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century focus on 'mathematical figures' and instead promoted 'freedom and variety' in later eighteenth-century garden design.[94] However, for the author of *The Beauties of the Royal Palaces*, the mathematical, symmetrical garden layout creates a regal, historical, grandeur. For Wickham, the Privy Garden is a Baroque garden influenced by the French and Dutch, but in addition to the Baroque, the garden also represents the symmetry and regularity encouraged by late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English writers.

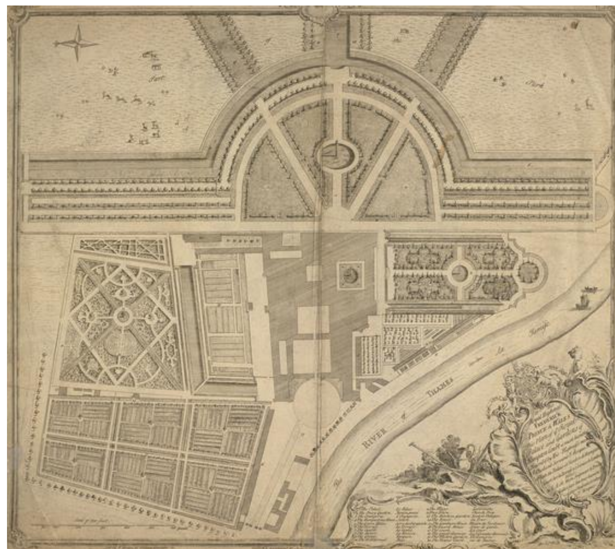

Figure 1 - Plan of the Royal Palace and gardens of Hampton Court. published 1736, by J. Roque. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021.

The hedge maze is a unique example of late seventeenth-century gardening and cultivation practices on the property, as a maze has a distinct shape that is always in need of

[93] Ibid., p. 20.
[94] Whately, *Observations,* p. 143.

maintenance. The maze was added during William III's reign and 'is reportedly the first hedge planted maze in the country and was added to the gardens on the north side of the palace in

Figure 2 - Prospect of Hampton Court from the Garden side dated 1738, attributed to Bartholomew Roque. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021.

1691.'[95] The author of *The Beauties of the Royal Palaces* describes the location of the maze on the property:

> On the north side of the palace is a tennis court, beyond that a gate leads into the wilderness, wherein is the much celebrated Maze, called Troy town; further on is the royal gate to the gardens, on the sides of which, on large stone piers, are carved the lion and unicorn couchant.[96]

The maze is a unique feature of the gardens, as it is not a symmetrical, balanced walk, but still needs to be maintained for aesthetic flawlessness and shape. The garden is further emphasized to be distinctly royal with the lion and the unicorn on the gate's piers, which reference the royal coat-of-arms.

Gardening and the cultivation of land were paralleled with the revival of the monarchy in gardening manuals of the Restoration. During the long eighteenth century, the whole natural

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[95] Gordon Haynes, *Landscape and Garden Design: Lessons from History* (Caithness: Whittles Publishing, 2013), p. 4.
[96] *Beauties of the Royal Palaces*, p. 20.

world was seen as being in need of refinement, from the individual's garden to the forests of Britain. Evelyn's 1664 *Sylva* presents a plan to promote the regrowth and strengthening of trees in Britain's forests, paralleled with the strengthening of the Restoration of Charles II. In Evelyn's dedication to Charles II, he begins to pose his argument stating that, 'by cultivating our decaying Woods, contribute to your Power, as to our greatest Wealth and Safety; since, whiles your Majesty is furnish'd to send forth those Argos, and Trojan horses, about this your Island.'[97] Evelyn's dedication emphasizes the association of the revival of cultivation and land control with the Restoration. He further addresses Charles II in the 'To the Reader' section:

> It is not therefore that I here presume to instruct *Him* in the management of that great and august *Enterprise* of resolving to *Plant* and repair His ample *Forests*, and other *Magazines* of *Timber*, for the benefit of His *Royal Navy*, and the glory of His *Kingdoms*; but to present to His *Sacred Person*, and to the *World*, what *Advises* I have received from others, observed my *self*, and most Industriously *Collected* from a studious propensity.[98]

Evelyn states his purpose clearly in the introductory passages: he is offering scholarly suggestions for the improvement of the forests. His book is a guide on how to grow and care for trees and strengthen the forests; part of his purpose is to ensure supplies of wood for the Navy in order to support the newly restored monarchy. Evelyn heavily criticizes the treatment of the forests during the Interregnum: 'But what shall I then say of our late prodigious *Spoilers*, whose furious devastation of so many goodly *Woods* and *Forests* have left an Infamy on their *Names* and *Memories* not quickly to be so forgotten!'[99] The cultivation of the forests aligns with the monarchy, countering the mistreatment of the forests during the Interregnum. Before Evelyn

[97] Evelyn, n.p.
[98] Ibid., n.p.
[99] Ibid., n.p.

starts explaining how to care for trees, he states, 'But, first, it will be requisite to agree upon the *Species*; as what *Trees* are likely to be of greatest *Use*, and the fittest to be cultivated.'[100] He is arguing that nature needs to be useful, a philosophy that would be echoed further by John Locke; however, his argument goes beyond the property boundaries of landowners and is aimed towards the country's forests as a whole. Evelyn is constructing Charles II as 'The Royal Husbandman' who is cultivating England's forests to provide timber for the growing Navy.[101] Nature becomes a product to serve the nation. In this instance, nature serves the monarchy and the country by providing protection and the expansion of trade by international commerce.

Gardening manuals of the Restoration provide direct connections between philosophies of the natural world and gardening practices. In addition to gardening manuals, prominent late seventeenth-century philosophers provide their own cultivation theories. Locke, in particular, wrote extensively on land use throughout many of his different works. Locke's primary focus was empirical explorations of the human mind; however, in these theoretical explorations, he also began to associate the natural world with human nature. His 1689 *Two Treatises of Government* provides a religious justification for the cultivation and ownership of land. His discourse encourages wealthy landowners to own land and employ common, non-landowners, to cultivate the land:

> God when he gave the World in common to all Mankind, commanded Men also to labour, and the penury of his Condition required it of him. God and his Reason commanded him to subdue the Earth, *i.e.* improve it for the benefit of Life…. God gave the World to Men in common; but since he gave it them for their Benefit, and the greatest Conveniences of Life they were capable to draw for it, it cannot be supposed he meant it

[100] Ibid., p. 2.
[101] Dryden, *Threnodia Augustalis,* p. 18.

should always remain common and uncultivated. He gave it to the use of the industrious and rational, (and labour was to be his title to it…)[102]

Locke is providing a religious justification for the labour of cultivating and the land and the possession of it, which connects to colonisation. Cultivation, therefore, does not simply serve an aesthetic purpose; it is a divine requirement from God for people to use the land. Wolloch's claim that Locke 'viewed leaving nature in an uncultivated state as almost a sin' is evident in this passage: those who do not cultivate the land are not 'industrious and rational.'[103] Land must be useful in order to create property: 'As much Land as a Man Tills, Plants, Improves, Cultivates, and can use the Product of; so much is his property.'[104] Notably, the actual physical labourers of the land are the not the people Locke is encouraging. Ownership is key to Locke's rationale for the cultivation of land.

Cultivation, for Locke, is directly associated with faith in God. In his 1689 *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* Locke examines 'Innate Principles' in humanity. Locke identifies global cultures who do not believe in a deity, and states that 'These are instances of nations where uncultivated nature has been left to itself, without the help of letters, and discipline, and the improvements of arts and sciences.'[105] The uncultivated natural world, for Locke, is associated with a lack of knowledge and a lack of a belief in a God. An educated nation (with an innate belief in God) cultivates the natural world. Locke's opinion reveals an interconnection between culture and cultivation, where cultivation creates culture. Wolloch argues that the control of the natural world was seen as the base for culture in the eighteenth

[102] John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (London: 1690), pp. 250-251.
[103] Wolloch, *History and Nature*, p. 25.
Locke, *Two Treatises*, p. 251.
[104] Ibid., p. 250.
[105] Locke, *Human Understanding*, p. 59.

century.[106] The control of nature was done by physical labour, but was also theorized in philosophies which influenced gardening manuals.

Locke's own philosophies provide a framework for cultivation as a result of national and religious influence into the value of labour in controlling the natural world. Tillage, husbandry, and gardening almost become virtues in Locke's language. In *Elements of Natural Philosophy,* Locke describes the natural world, and states that, 'All these ways of increasing plants, make one good part of the skill of gardening; and from the books of gardeners may be best learnt.'[107] Locke is emphasizing the importance of gardeners as cultivators and encouraging his readers to read the works of gardeners to learn the skill of cultivating. Locke also uses metaphors of cultivation to describe refining human nature. In an addition to the sixth edition of *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, Locke uses nature to describe how to develop a child's 'Natural Genius,' and in his description, he uses a metaphor of cultivation to explain a potential hindrance to a child's development:

> *Affectation* is not, I confess, an early Fault of Childhood, or the Product of untaught Nature; it is of that sort of Weeds which grow not in the wild uncultivated Waste, but in Garden-Plots, under the Negligent Hand, or Unskillful Care of a Gardener. Management and Instruction, and Some Sense of the Necessity of Breeding, are requisite to make any one capable of *Affectation*, which endeavors to correct Natural Defects, and has always the Laudable Aim of Pleasing, though it always misses it; and the more it labours to put on Gracefulness, the farther it is from it.[108]

[106] Wolloch, *History and Nature*, p. 82.
[107] John Locke, *Elements of Natural Philosophy* (Berwick upon Tweed: 1754), p. 35.
[108] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education,* 6th edn (London: 1709), p. 82.

Affectation (or pretention, artifice) is a flaw Locke has noticed that arises from poor education in the metaphors of nature and the gardener; '*Affectation* is an awkward and forced Imitation of what should be Genuine' that attempts to fix 'Natural Defects.'[109] Here, Locke links his views of the cultivation of the natural world with the refinement of human nature: both the natural world and human nature are in need of improvement, but the improvement must avoid artifice so that it does not appear as forced or false. The gardener becomes a figure from whom to learn. Since tillage, husbandry, and gardening are viewed as near virtues, then the husbandman and the gardener are virtuous figures *if* they are 'skillful.' Locke is arguing for the development of a refined individual during childhood education in the metaphor of cultivation in order to further emphasize the labours of gardeners in cultivating the natural world. As the natural world needs to be cultivated, human nature is in need of refinement.

Worlidge's 1669 *Systema Agriculturae, The Mystery of Husbandry Discovered* is a guide to the 'Art of Agriculture.'[110] His book is a thorough guide to gardening, including specific assessment of soil, the use and care of trees, and tool selection. Before his guide begins, he includes a poem entitled, 'Explanation of the Frontispiece,' which describes the ideal garden depicted in the frontispiece's illustration:

> Walk on a little farther, and behold
>
> A pleasant Garden from high Windes and Cold
>
> Defended (by a spreading, fruitful Wall
>
> With Rows of Lime, and Fir-trees straight and tall,)
>
> Full fraught with necessary Flow'res and Fruits,

---

[109] Ibid., p. 84.

[110] John Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae, The Mystery of Husbandry Discovered* (London: 1669), p. iii.

And Natures choicest sorts of Plants, and Roots.[111]

The garden Worlidge describes is very organized: the wall of trees serves as both a boundary and a source of protection, suggesting that the ideal garden is contained. Within this contained garden

THE
EXPLANATION
OF THE
Frontispiece.

First cast your eye upon a Rustick Seat,
Built strong and plain, yet well contriv'd, and neat,
And scituated on a healthy Soyl,
Yielding much Wealth with little cost, or toyl.
Near by it stand the Barns fram'd to contain
Enriching stores of Hay, Pulse, Corn, and Grain;
With Bartons large, and places where to feed
Your Oxen, Cows, Swine, Poultrey, with their breed.
On th'other side hard by the House, you see
The Api'ary for th' industrious Bee.
Walk on a little farther, and behold
A pleasant Garden from high Windes and Cold
Defended (by a spreading, fruitful Wall
With Rows of Lime, and Fir-trees streight and tall,)
Full fraught with necessary Flow'res and Fruits,
And Natures choicest sorts of Plants, and Roots.
Beyond the same are Crops of Beans and Pease,
Saffron, and Liquorice, or such as these;
Then Orchards so enrich'd with fruitful store,
Nature could give (nor they receive) no more,
Each Tree stands bending with the weight it bears
Of Cherries some, of Apples, Plums, and Pears:
Not far from thence see other Walks and Rows
Of Cyder-fruits, near unto which there flows
A Gliding Stream; the next place you discover
Is where St. Foyn, La Lucern, Hops, and Clover
Are propagated: Near unto those Fields,
Stands a large Wood, Mast, Fewel, Timber yields.
In yonder Vale hard by the River stands
A Water-Engine, which the Winde commands
To fertilize the Meads, on th'other side
A Persian Wheel is plac't both large and wide
To 'th same intent; Then do the Fields appear
Cloathed with Corn, and Grain, for th'ensuing Year.
The Pastures stockt with Beasts, the Downs with Sheep,
The Cart, the Plough, and all, good order keep;
Plenty unto the Husbandman, and Gains
Are his Rewards for's Industry and Pains.
Peruse the Book, for here you onely see
Th' following subject in Epitomy.

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Figure 3 - Frontispiece to Systema Agriculturae, The Mystery of Husbandry Discovered.
The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, 4 Delta 44, Signature [A]1.

are the 'choicest' plants. Worlidge's described garden is as organized as it is selective: the garden is surrounded not just by trees, but by trees that are specifically 'straight and tall.' The plants that are included within the garden are 'necessary' and therefore, useful. The land has been 'improve[d]… for the benefit of Life' with '*Trees* [that] are likely to be of greatest *Use*.'[112] And, of course, the landowner was responsible for establishing this utilitarian garden. Like Locke, Worlidge encourages landowners to cultivate their land in 'The Preface':

[111] Ibid., n.p.
[112] Locke, *Two Treatises,* p. 251.
Evelyn, *Sylva,* p. 2.

> If they diligently read and persue the Ancient Writers, they may observe that many wise and learned Men, worthy of praises were exceedingly delighted, not onely in a *Rural* Habitation, but did also exercise themselves in Tilling the Earth; That the study of *Agriculture* was so high an esteem, and so worthy of honour, that *Poets, Philosophers, Princes,* and *Kings* themselves, did not onely acquire an honourable and an immortal name, by their Writings and Precepts in this Art left to Posterity.[113]

While Locke uses God and the story of creation to persuade his readers to the value of cultivation, Worlidge depicts agriculture as a study worthy of Kings with a history based in classical art. Worlidge's book predates Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* by twenty years, and although there is a difference in the examples for their persuasions, they follow a similar technique to encourage wealthy landowners to the value of gardening by arguing that cultivation serves a higher purpose, be it religious, intellectual, historical, or regal. Gardening for both Locke and Worlidge is grounded in human history (Biblical for Locke and classical for Worlidge), which connects cultivation to existence and to human improvement beyond survival, including moral, intellectual, and aesthetic development. While both Locke and Worlidge refer to the 'tilling' of the earth (which suggests using land to grow food), their focus is not simply on cultivation for human survival; the natural world must be aesthetically perfected to influence human nature.

The garden, as Worlidge depicts in his 'Explanation of the Frontispiece,' must be organized and balanced. While his 1667 book is a guide to the 'Art of Agriculture,' Worlidge's 1677 *Systema Horti-culturae: Or, The Art of Gardening* explains how to achieve an organized and aesthetically perfect garden.[114] These two guides firmly place cultivation and gardening as

[113] Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae,* pp. i-ii.
[114] Ibid., p. iii.

an art, thereby labelling art as a means to improve the natural world for usefulness and appearance. In the late seventeenth century, ‘this *Art* hath with its subjects encreased of late years, so have the instructions or treatises written to that effect been multiplied.’[115] While both Locke and Worlidge note that cultivation has been a part of human civilization since the beginning, Worlidge here has identified a change in the late seventeenth century: gardening techniques have developed and society’s interest in gardening and improving the natural world has increased, as reflected in the publication of manuals. *Systema Horti-culturae* is a guide on how to create, with the ‘Art of *Horti-culture*,’ the ideal seventeenth-century garden:

> So that we may without vanity conclude that a Garden of pleasant Avenues, Walks, Fruits, Flowers, Grots, and other branches springing from it, well composed, is the only complete and permanent inanimate object of delight the world affords, ever complying with our various and mutable Minds, feeding us and supplying our fancies with dayly Novels.[116]

Worlidge further emphasizes the idea of gardening as an art form by stressing that the layout of the garden is ‘well composed.’ Nature becomes ‘inanimate’ in the garden and has been shaped into an aesthetically perfected version of the natural world; it is a created art piece. Although the garden is presented as an aesthetic piece, Worlidge notes that the garden is useful in addition to beautiful as a result of the influence from nature on human nature. However, it is specifically cultivated nature that inspires human nature. The garden, therefore, is given a significant position in the establishment of morality, intelligence, and other positive attributes of human nature.

John Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae: Or, The Art of Gardening* (London: 1677), p. i.
[115] Ibid., p. iv.
[116] Ibid., p. i, p. 4.

While Worlidge is interested in discussing the production of food in the garden, his main purpose is the metaphorical 'food' gardens can provide human minds.

Worlidge emphasizes cultivation at each step of the gardening process, from selecting the proper location and soil to choosing statues and other ornaments. He walks his reader through the development of the ideal seventeenth-century garden, starting with the selection of the garden's location; 'a Garden remote or by its self is neither pleasant nor useful. Therefore where ever your House is, near it must be your Garden.'[117] Worlidge later becomes even more specific in explaining how to choose the location for the garden:

> That you endeavor to make the principal Entrance to your Garden, out of the best Room in your House or very near it, your Walks being places of divertissement after a sedentary repast. The Aromatick Odours they yield, pleasant refreshments after a gross dyet, and such innocent exercises, the best digestive to weak Stomachs. Let there be some other door into your Garden, for Gardeners, Labourers, *&c.* And let your principal walk extend it self as far as you can in length directly from your choicest Plants for Beauty and Scent, and that there may be a succession of them through the Year, not without Flower pots with Grace the best of Gardens.[118]

Worlidge connects the ideal interior space with the perfected outdoor space, creating an aesthetically pleasing transition for wealthy landowners and their guests. The garden is distinctively divided so that movement can be controlled. The entrances, of course, divide the upper class from the labourers, yet allow the workers access in order to keep the garden in its ideal form. Worlidge's perfect garden is a balance between the spaces for the labourers and the landowners (and their guests). In addition to the control of space, Worlidge is also proposing a

[117] Ibid., p. 7.
[118] Ibid., p. 20.

control of scent, where the nicest smelling plants are at the start of the walk, and the scent then carries along the walk (apparently, to aid digestion).

Worlidge's manual advises wealthy landowners on how to create refined gardens based on specific, individual details, yet the most important feature of the garden, he argues, is in fact one of the largest: the fence. For Worlidge, once the landowner has, 'discovered the best Land, and pleased your self with the compleatest Form you can imagine for your Garden; yet with out a good Fence to preserve it from severall Evils that usually annoy it, your labour is but lost.'[119] The fence has two purposes: to first protect the perfected garden from animals and other potential pests, and second to set a boundary that clearly defines the landowner's property. The garden becomes, in part, cut off from the rest of the natural world; it is a space that is owned and controlled, created into the landowner's idealized version of nature. The fence, of course, does not fully separate the garden from the rest of nature, but the intent of the landowner is separation.

Separation allows the garden to be maintained. The landowner's garden became his own paradise: 'The Original of *Gardens* was from a Divine Hand: And they also long since delighted in by the wisest of Kings, and in principal esteem ever since by the best of men.'[120] The garden is presented by Worlidge as a space belonging to those at the top of the social hierarchy. The garden was a status symbol, which Worlidge further establishes with his references to classical gardens: 'The *Italians*, in the time of their Ancient Glory, thought no Palace nor Habitation complete without its Garden, on which they spared for no cost.'[121] He encourages his readers to imitate classical gardens to show their social status in part due to their selection of plants. One of the first plants Worlidge recommends that wealthy landowners use in their gardens are laurels,

[119] Ibid., p. 21.
[120] Ibid., p. 2.
[121] Ibid., p. 3.

since ‘the Laurell for its Glory hath been in great esteem with the Ancients, whose branches have crowned the Heads of Emperors in their Triumphs…. It is one of the best Ornamental Trees you can plant either for beauty or shade.’[122] Worlidge’s manual presents the ideal Restoration garden. Charles II’s work on the Hampton Court gardens establishes Worlidge’s hierarchy, where perfect gardens belong to the highest social class. Restoration garden practices carried into the early eighteenth century (as exemplified by Switzer’s 1715 praise of the Restoration garden), and by the 1720s, order and balance became key phrases to describe the ideal garden.

The garden, in the eighteenth-century, was a pivotal feature of culture. The garden served both an aesthetic purpose (for beauty) and a survival purpose (for food), and these purposes were examined in depth in philosophical writing. Controlling the beauty of the natural world in the garden provided a visual, pleasing balance that could inspire good behaviour. The natural world needed to be cultivated to produce food as well, and eighteenth-century philosophical thought presented the labour of cultivation as a divine right and responsibility assigned to man by God. Garden history in the eighteenth century stems from philosophical thought that influenced the creation of gardens. In 1707, abbé de Vallemont published *Curiosities of Nature and Art in Husbandry and Gardening* which frames the history of the garden in the Biblical creation story:

> If we consult the sacred Historian of the Birth of Nature, we shall see that *in the Beginning God planted a delicious Garden, into which he put the Man whom he had form’d….. Thus the Lord God took the Man, and put him into the Paradise of Delights, that he might till it, and keep it.* Genes. Chap. 2 *v.* 8. And 15.
>
> Agriculture therefore was the Work to which Man was first appointed.[123]

[122] Ibid., pp. 72-73.
[123]abbé de Vallemont, *Curiousities of Nature and Art in Husbandry and Gardening* (London: 1707), p. 3.

The Book of Genesis is presented as a sacred history, thereby combining divinity with history in order to emphasize cultivation as a historical practice and a sacred duty. The Biblical passage selected by Vallemont specifically refers to God creating the garden and then placing Man in the garden to 'till it.' Vallemont follows the Biblical passage with his interpretation, which further emphasizes the divine duty of cultivation assigned to Man. In the eighteenth century, the history of gardening was framed as beginning at creation; gardening, therefore, began with the creation of Man. Gardening was further grounded in classical history, turning the garden into an idealized version of the Biblical and classical past.

Switzer's 1715 *The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation* is a gardening guide that begins with a lengthy Preface that presents the philosophical values of gardening, starting with classical history. Switzer's work is intended for the wealthy, landowning class, and is supportive of the established monarchy, dismissing the Jacobite rebellion by criticizing James II's lack of interest in gardening and praising the Protestant monarchy established by the Glorious Revolution.[124] Gardening, for Switzer, is an elevated art associated with the monarchy:

> But that Agriculture and Gard'ning, abstracted from the Profits of it, was so very solid, durable, and delightful an Employ, plac'd above the most Refined Pleasures of Antiquity (not inferior to the Seraphick Entertainments of Musick and Poetry)… and the most elevated Notions they had of Heaven and a future State, from the incomparable Beauties of the Garden; the Writings of their Poets and Historians do every where declare, their *Elyzium* being no other than the happy and regular Distribution, and cheerful Aspect of pleasant Gardens, Meadows, and Fields.[125]

[124] Switzer, *Gardener's Recreation*, p. 42, 57.
[125] Ibid., p. ii.

Like Worlidge, Switzer is claiming gardening as an art, although he takes his argument further by specifically claiming gardening as a classical, elevated art form equal with poetry. Switzer's claim here is significant to the construction of Shakespeare in the long eighteenth century; both gardening and poetry were seen as elevated, refined art forms. Shakespeare, as 'the poet of nature,' therefore, was in need of art, and gardening was seen as the art of the natural world. Switzer goes further than Worlidge in his assessment of classical gardens, as he argues that Ancient ideas of paradise in the afterlife were inspired by the 'regular' and 'cheerful' gardens. Switzer does not specifically reference Genesis, but his language positions the start of gardening with the Biblical creation, arguing 'That God Almighty was not only the first Author and Founder, but also the Regulator and Planter of *Gardens* and *Gard'ning.*'[126] Switzer has given God multiple titles to place His position as Creator within the arts in terms of both literature and gardening; however, 'Gard'ning' goes a step further, suggesting that God created gardens in addition to techniques used for maintaining gardens. His creation, therefore, was given to humankind to maintain and improve with gardening techniques.

By the 1720s, order and balance became key features of garden design, reflecting the period's interest in aesthetic perfection. John Laurence's 1726 *A New System of Agriculture* stresses the need for order in the garden: 'The *Designing Arts*, are unquestionably the most becoming Retirement, as well as the most natural Enjoyment of Life. God made Man as ardently desireous of the Beauty of *Order*, as of any Indulgence of Sense.'[127] Order was associated with refinement; a proper English garden must have order and balance to be seen as refined. Laurence's text reveals that Alexander Pope was not the only writer during the era who emphasized the need for order in the garden; order was clearly a trend which was prevalent

[126] Ibid., p. 2.
[127] John Laurence, *A New System of Agriculture* (London: 1726), p. iv.

across other gardening texts. Laurence presents a divine reasoning behind the need for order, which provides a purpose to garden design as an art form. Gardening, as an art form, was to be applied to give order to the country:

> And thus also we shall find, according to the Language of the Poets, that the Golden Age was spent not in Cities, but in the Countrey; where the first, most innocent, and happiest Men, applied themselves to cultivate the Earth, no less for their Pleasure than Advantage.[128]

The country has become a place of pleasure and escape, where cultivation can create a 'Golden Age' (an Arcadia, an Elysium, or an Eden) for wealthy landowners that has been inspired by poetry. Laurence's language is hinting at the pastoral here in his presentation of the country as 'innocent,' yet his orderly, balanced gardens are not the gardens of the pastoral.

The prime example of order, balance, and symmetry in gardening philosophies and practices of the 1720s is the work of Pope in both his writing and his gardening practices at his estate. Pope's writing across his various texts (including *Epistle to the Earl of Burlington*, *Verses on the Grotto at Twickenham*, and *An Essay on Man*) reveals his appreciation for the natural world. He viewed nature as a divine force providing order to the world. His philosophical views of the natural world carried over from his writing into the creation of his garden, villa, and grotto at Twickenham. Anthony Beckles Willison points out that 'Pope also exerted enormous influence on the development of English landscape gardening in the early years of [the eighteenth] century.'[129] Pope's garden and grotto at Twickenham as a physical example of his gardening practices is one example of his non-literary influence, as the grotto attracted visitors even long after his death and led to his gardener, John Serle, complied a tourist guide to the

[128] Ibid., p. v.
[129] Anthony Beckles Willson, 'Alexander Pope's Grotto in Twickenham,' *Garden History*, 26.1 (1998), p. 31.

grotto and garden.[130] Donors, including the Prince of Wales, supported Pope's construction of the grotto.[131] Pope's garden was discussed in periodical publications, such as *The Newcastle General Magazine, or Monthly Intelligencer*, which upper class readers could read about as an example of garden design.

Pope's influence on gardening practices can be seen as key to his criticism of Shakespeare. He viewed the natural world as in need of cultivation for perfection, just as he perceived that Shakespeare's works needed editing to be more refined. My examination of Pope's horticultural writings is a new approach which highlights the fusion of 'cultivation' and 'editing' as terms used to refine and perfect Shakespeare. In his *Epistle to the Earl of Burlington*, Pope combines his philosophical view of the natural world with his own gardening theory:

> To build, to plant, whatever you intend,
> To rear the Column, or the Arch to bend,
> To swell the Terras, or to sink the Grot;
> In all, let *Nature* never be forgot.
> Consult the *Genius* of the *Place* in all,
> That tells the Waters or to rise, or fall,
> Or helps th' ambitious Hill the Heav'ns to scale,
> Or scoops in circling Theatres the Vale,
> Calls in the Country, catches opening Glades,
> Joins willing Woods, and varies Shades from Shades,
> Now breaks, or now directs, th' intending Lines;

[130] Ibid., p. 47.
[131] Ibid., p. 47.

Paints as you plant, and as you work, *Designs*.[132]

Pope is instructing garden designers to be aware of the force of the natural world in planning garden designs. Nature cannot be forgotten, and the gardener needs to be aware of nature with their intentions. While the gardener may be viewed as an artist, Pope is highlighting that nature is an artist as well who has designed 'th' ambitious Hill' and the 'willing Woods,' and some of nature's designs cannot be controlled (such as the rising and falling of water). Pope wants gardeners to be aware of 'the *Genius* of the *Place*,' which is 'a guardian spirit … associated with a place.'[133] The 'Genuis,' for Pope, is an artful spirit who reveals proper order in the natural world.

Pope's garden at Twickenham reflected his belief that the gardener must follow nature. Of Pope's garden, *The Newcastle General Magazine, or Monthly Intelligencer* states that, 'Every Thing within the Compass of Art and Nature is carried to the highest Pitch: The Hills and Lawns, Wood and Fields, are cultivated and displayed to the utmost of Skill and Industry.'[134] The anonymous comment was published in January 1748, after Pope's death, but the writer is aware of the balance Pope and his gardener, John Serle, achieved between art and nature. Nature, for the *Intelligencer*, has been improved by cultivation, but still appears natural. The writer is shifting the focus away from nature as an artist, to 'Skill and Industry' as means to improve the natural world while maintaining nature's designs. Pope did believe that the natural world could be improved; however, the main rules of nature could not be altered. Willson argues that, 'As a small country estate Pope's house and garden were not a natural entity: a relationship had to be

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[132] Alexander Pope, *An Epistle to the Earl of Burlington* (London: 1732), 31-59 (p. 7).

[133] 'genius, *n.* and *adj.*', in *OED.*

[134] 'An Epistolary Description of the late Mr. Pope's House and Gardens at Twickenham', quoted in Maynard Mack, *The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope 1731-1743* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 237.

fashioned from the special characteristics of the land.'[135] Pope used the characteristics of the land to guide the landscaping. While nature's designs were followed and the garden did appear natural, Pope's garden was perfected to his aesthetic ideals of the natural world.

In addition to the garden, Pope also had a grotto at Twickenham. It is depicted in his poem, *Verses on the Grotto at Twickenham*:

> Thou who shalt stop, where *Thames* translucent Wave
>
> Shines a broad Mirrour thro' the shadowy Cave;
>
> Where lingering Drops from Mineral Roofs distil,
>
> And pointed Crystals break the sparkling Rill,
>
> Unpolish'd Gemms no Ray on Pride bestow,
>
> And latent Metals innocently glow:
>
> Approach. Great Nature studiously behold![136]

Pope's poetic description reveals how the grotto was designed to appear like a natural (and very abundant) mine. The poem begins by presenting the grotto as a cave found along the River Thames, thereby suggesting that the grotto was not built by people. However, the grotto was built in a tunnel connecting Pope's house with his garden on the other side of the road.[137] The grotto outlived the house, and twenty years ago, people could still occasionally visit the grotto and see Pope's design. Pope encouraged extensive landscaping, but that landscaping must follow nature. While Pope's property was not a 'natural entity,' as Willson has identified, the property still needed to be designed to look as though it was natural.[138] Pope is stating that his designed

[135] Willson, 'Pope's Grotto,' p. 33.
[136] Alexander Pope, *Verses on the Grotto at Twickenham* (London: 1743), p. 4.
[137] Willson, 'Pope's Grotto,' p. 33.
[138] Ibid., p. 33.

cave is ‘Great Nature’: nature is in its finest state when it has been cultivated to perfection, yet looks as though it has not been altered by humans.

Katherine Myers argues that the landscaping philosophies of the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, influenced Pope’s creation of his villa at Twickenham as well as Pope’s view on the significance of the natural world in relation to art.[139] Shaftesbury ‘saw nature as superior to human art’ and ‘he endowed pristine landscape with moral power, since for him it embodied the beautiful and good divine design.’[140] Myer further emphasizes Shaftesbury’s belief that nature revealed a ‘divine design’ by noting that he viewed ‘the classical orders [as] merely imitations of the ‘supreme order’ or nature’s own architecture.’[141] Myer’s assessment of Shaftesbury here is significant to Pope, as Pope viewed Nature as a divine force behind his Great Chain of Being, which provided order to the world. Like Shaftesbury, Pope believed that nature revealed the divine order of the world. For Shaftesbury, ‘sacred nature should be imitated by the architect and gardener.’[142] For Pope, nature should also be imitated by the poet and artist. In Pope’s Preface to *The Iliad of Homer,* he states that, ‘For Art is only like a prudent Steward that lives on managing the Riches of Nature.’[143] Pope is presenting ‘Art’ as a steward, a servant to nature; here, Pope is noting the importance of cultivation and associating cultivation with art. While the poet must follow nature, the poet must also manage nature and refine the natural world. Mack emphasizes the religious significance of the gardener’s role in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Christianity respiritualized the garden and landscaping since ‘The individual gardener in his garden was acclaimed heir to all the innocence and felicity of Eden,

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[139] Katherine Myers, ‘Shaftesbury, Pope, and Original Sacred Nature’, *Garden History*, 38.1 (2010), 3-19.
[140] Ibid., p. 7, pp. 5-6.
[141] Ibid., p. 10.
[142] Ibid., p. 10.
[143] Alexander Pope, ‘Preface,’ in *The Iliad of Homer,* trans. by Alexander Pope, 6 vols (London: 1715), I, ii.

and to the pagan paradises that anticipated it.'[144] Mack also points out that, 'At the same time, it was never forgotten that the individual gardener was Eden's heir in another sense, and faced therefore a task of reparation and improvement, psychic and moral as well as horticultural,' citing Evelyn's 1658 letter to Sir Thomas Brown, which argues that gardens influence spiritual reflection, and the landscape designer Switzer's 1715 claim that gardens can be designed to achieve a connection between humanity and God.[145] Myers argues that Pope and Serle's roles as gardeners and landscapers of Twickenham, then, held a further significance as they imitated sacred nature in their cultivation of the land.[146] The garden, for Pope, was a space that revealed God's divine Chain in the natural world with the aid of the gardener, who improved the land.

The concern with improving the land continued into the middle and late eighteenth century as shown in the works of philosopher and empiricist David Hume. Hume associated the cultivation of nature with perfected human nature and society as well as with the idea of natural talent and the concept of genius. In *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, Hume examines how the labour of cultivating the natural world leads to a higher, perfected, state of society:

> In order to cure most of the ills of human life, I require not that man should have the wings of the eagle…. Let him be endowed with a greater propensity of industry and labour…. Almost all the moral, as well as natural evils of human life arise from idleness; and were our species, by the original constitution of their frame, exempt from this vice or infirmity, the perfect cultivation of land, the improvement of arts and manufactures… and men at once may fully reach that state of society.[147]

[144] Mack, *The Garden and the City*, p. 24.
[145] Ibid., pp. 24-25.
[146] Myers, 'Shaftesbury', p. 10.
[147] David Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, *ed. by Dorothy Coleman, Karl Ameriks, and Desmond M. Clarke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 83.

Hume and Locke have similar perspectives on labour: idleness is not simply a sin, but the direct cause of evil, which contrasts with the virtue of labour. While Locke states that there is a divine reason for cultivating land, Hume goes a step further: land must be cultivated perfectly in order to raise society to a state of perfection. Virtuous human nature is directly connected to the perfectly cultivated natural world. Throughout Hume's writing, he fuses his view on cultivating the natural world with refining human nature: 'A Man's Time, when well husbanded, is like a cultivated Field, of which a few Acres produce more of what is useful to Life, than extensive Provinces, even of the richest Soil, when over-run with Weeds and Brambles.'[148] Hume's metaphor of cultivation here seems to lose its figurative focus in his description of the cultivated natural world. He begins by comparing a person's use of time to a cultivated field, but the discourse that follows almost completely shifts away from the metaphor and instead provides a description of the literal benefits of cultivation that aligns with Locke's statement in his *Two Treatises of Government*.

Hume uses the metaphor of cultivation to describe the refinement of genius, taste, and human nature. In an addition to the second edition of his *Essays, Moral and Political*, Hume explores the qualities of what defines a genius: 'Nature must afford the richest Genius that comes from her Hands; Education and Example must cultivate it from the earliest Infancy; And Industry must concur to carry it to any Degree of Perfection.'[149] Natural talent, for Hume, is not enough: a person who is a natural genius must be educated in order to be perfect. The evolution of the word 'genius' in the eighteenth century is directly connected to natural world: and the perception of Shakespeare, 'the poet of nature,' during the era, became a part of the changing definition of 'genius.' During the mid-eighteenth century, when Hume published *Essays, Moral and Political*,

[148] David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (London: 1751), p. 124.
[149] David Hume, *Essays, Moral and Political*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Edinburgh: 1742), II, 50.

literary critics still struggled to categorize Shakespeare as a result of his 'Faults' among his 'Beauties.' Hume's statement reflects many eighteenth-century biographies of Shakespeare who emphasize Shakespeare's natural talent while at the same time mentioning his lack of education as his flaw, which therefore suggests that Shakespeare has not reached perfection. Shakespeare would be perceived as a genius due to his talent by the late eighteenth century.

The purpose of perfection, for Hume, was for the taste of the refined consumer and critic. Hume's writing reveals the mindset of eighteenth-century literary critics towards the 'natural genius' and also states the qualities of a refined critic:

> I am persuaded, that nothing is so proper to cure us of this Delicacy of Passion, as the cultivating of that higher and more refined Taste, which enables us to judge of the Characters of Men, of Compositions of Genius, and of the Productions of the nobler Arts.[150]

The metaphor here suggests education again: a literary critic must have a refined taste in order to be a valid judge of what qualifies as a work of genius. The refined critic, for Hume, is able to assess what products of art are best for the refined consumer. As gardens were refined for the tastes of wealthy landowners, so too were literary works, placing both gardens and literature as products that could be polished.

A refined taste was key to art throughout the long eighteenth century, even though specific aesthetic ideals for art changed. Gardening, like art, evolved with each decade and by the late eighteenth century, aesthetic ideals shifted from order to the variety of the picturesque. Both Samuel Cooke and Thomas Whately's 1770 gardening manuals argue for picturesque gardens.

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[150] David Hume, *Essays, Moral and Political* (Edinburgh: 1741), p. 5.

These manuals, which were published in the same year, reveal the consistent push for variety in the garden. Cooke begins his gardening manual, *The Complete English Gardener* by stating that:

> The Art of Gardening may be deemed the most useful and entertaining of all others, as it expands the variegated beauties of nature, and administers the most wholsome food to the body.–It has been the study and delight of the greatest men in all ages, as well as employed the ablest pens.[151]

Gardening and writing continued to be intertwined into the late eighteenth century. An artful garden could inspire artful writing. Cooke's description is not of the ordered, balanced garden of the Restoration and early eighteenth century; the garden is 'variegated.' Whately, in his gardening manual, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, defines and explores the picturesque, variegated garden:

> Gardening, in the perfection to which it has been lately brought in England, is entitled to a place of considerable rank among the liberal arts. It is as superior to landskip painting, as a reality to a representation… to shew all the advantages of the place upon which he is employed; to supply its defects, to correct its faults, and improve its beauties.[152]

While Whately's language continues the long eighteenth-century discourse of correcting 'faults' and improving 'beauties,' the form and structure of the garden has changed. Whately's gardening manual describes how to create a garden that can be both the object of and the inspiration for a picturesque, landscape painting.

Whately's own work in critiquing Shakespeare in *Remarks on Some of the Characters of Shakespeare. By the Author of Observations on Modern Gardening* focuses primarily on Shakespeare's characters and human nature. For Whately:

[151] Samuel Cooke, *The Complete English Gardener* (London: 1770), p. iii.
[152] Whately, *Observations*, pp. 1-2.

> No other dramatic writer could ever pretend to so deep and so extensive a knowledge of the human heart; and he had a genius to express all that his penetration could discover.
>
> The characters, therefore, which he has drawn, are masterly copies from nature.[153]

Whately and Pope uniquely both wrote about gardening and Shakespeare. While Whately does not use the same nature-based language to critique Shakespeare as Pope does, he includes the title of his gardening manual alongside the title for his remarks on Shakespeare's characters: *By the Author of Observations on Modern Gardening*. He uses the title of his gardening manual in order to help sell his Shakespearean criticism; this reveals that his gardening manual sold well enough to merit the reference to it on the title page. The inclusion of the title also shows that the people who purchased gardening manuals were the same audience as those who read Shakespearean criticism in the late eighteenth century. While Whatley's view on gardening and Shakespeare differed from perceptions in the early eighteenth century, the audience for both genres of writing remained the same: upper class, land-owning men.

Whately explicitly critiques gardening designs of the Restoration and early eighteenth century and contrasts them with the preferable, and more modern, picturesque garden. Art, in Whately's opinion, was used incorrectly:

> It has always been supposed that *art* must then interfere; but art was carried to excess…. when ground, wood, and water, were reduced to mathematical figures; and similarity and order were preferred to freedom and variety…. it excluded, instead of improving upon nature; and therefore destroyed the very end it was called in to promote.[154]

Whately's statement here is crucial to the historical understanding of the shift in garden design. The previous use of art to refine the garden became seen as a mathematical, destructive force that

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[153] Whately, *Characters of* Shakespeare, p. 7.

[154] Whately, *Observations*, pp. 142-143.

contradicted the promotion of nature. His language contrasts the order, balance, and symmetry praised by Worlidge, Laurence, and Pope and instead promotes 'freedom and variety.'[155] Whately is not calling for an abandonment of cultivation, but rather for a new way to improve the natural world with the art of variety rather than the art of symmetry: 'But regularity can never attain to a great share of beauty, and to none of the species called *picturesque*; a denomination in general expressive of excellence, but which, by being too indiscriminately applied, may be sometimes productive of errors.'[156] While the picturesque can lead to faults, it overall produces a superior beauty than order. Whately's manual marks a change in the long eighteenth century's understanding of art's relationship with the natural world. The natural world still was in need of art to improve it, but art itself developed a new meaning: variety.

Whately's 1770 *Observations on Modern Gardening* provides descriptions of several estates to support his argument for the picturesque in gardening. He uses these descriptions to show how gardeners manipulate land to create ideal landscapes. Whately explores Moor Park, the estate of Sir Laurence Dundass in Hertfordshire, and notes that on the property:

> The other side and the end were originally the flat edge of a descent, a harsh, offensive termination; but it is now broken by several hillocks…. They do more than conceal the sharpness of the edge; they convert a deformity into a beauty, and greatly contribute to the embellishment of this most lovely scene; a scene, however, in which the flat is principal; and yet a more varied, a more beautiful landskip, can hardly be desired in a garden.[157]

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[155] Ibid., p. 143.
[156] Ibid., p. 153.
[157] Ibid., p. 6.

Whately's key purpose in using Moor Park as an example is revealed in the following few words from the passage: 'convert a deformity into a beauty.'[158] His language stresses the importance of improving the natural world and he provides a specific example of the hillocks as a varied way to break up the original flat land. The original 'offensive' land is contrasted with the beautiful landscape that followed the work of the landscapers. His descriptions of the late eighteenth-century parks, gardens, and estates metaphorically describes the land as a scene, or a landscape painting. In his description of the groves at Claremont, he states that 'The whole is a place wherein one may continue with secure delight, or saunter with perpetual amusement.'[159] Whately's imagery presents gardens as idealized places of escape, almost like a landscape paintings. Instead of visual images, Whately uses words to pull his readers into his picturesquely described settings.

The influence of landscape on the natural world painting carried over from gardening manuals to tourist guides. Thomas West's 1778 *A Guide to the Lakes* is a tourist guide to the lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, and he tells travellers:

> Whoever takes a walk into these scenes, will return penetrated with a sense of the creator's power and unteachable wisdom, in heaping mountains upon mountains, and enthroning rocks upon rocks. Such exhibitions of sublime and beautiful objects surprise and please, exciting at once rapture and reverence.[160]

West is suggesting that touring the lakes is like walking in a landscape painting. His description carries the reader through a metaphorical painting that is full of natural variety, including both the picturesque and the sublime. In this particular passage, West focuses more on the sublime in

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[158] Ibid., p. 6.
[159] Ibid., p. 52.
[160] Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes: Dedicated to the Lovers of Landscape Studies, and to All Who Have Visited, Or Intend to Visit the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire* (London: 1778), pp. 4-5.

his description of the towering mountains as awe-inspiring, but he also touches on the beautiful so as to not overwhelm his reader. He is aware of the likely emotional response of his readers, and he takes the reader on an emotional journey, from being almost overwhelmed by the sublime to being 'charmed with the sight of sweet retreats, that he will observe in these enchanting regions of calm repose.'[161] West's guide is a description of the variety of the natural world that goes beyond the individual properties and gardens Cooke and Whately discussed and into massive, unadulterated, natural landscapes that include a variety of features to inspire a variety of emotions. Variety is evident throughout his guide, as he states that:

> Something new will open itself at the turn of every mountain, and a succession of ideas will be supported by a perpetual change of objects, and display of scenes behind scenes, in a succession of perpetual variety, and endless perspective.[162]

West's description here suggests that the variety of nature can unlock a plethora of intellectual stimulants. He is advertising the lakes specifically to 'The contemplative traveller' who, in West's discourse, is depicted as someone searching for meaning in unadulterated nature.[163]

West's focus on landscape art is evident throughout his *A Guide of the Lakes*. For him, the taste for landscape is a British strength:

> The taste for landscape, as well as for the other objects of the noble art (cherished under the protection of the greatest of kings, and best of men,) in which the genius of Britain rivals ancient Greece and Rome, induce many to visit the lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, there to contemplate, in Alpine scenery, finished in

[161] Ibid., p. 4.
[162] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[163] Ibid., p. 4.

> nature's highest tints, what refined art labours to imitate; the pastoral and rural landscape, varied in all the stiles, the soft, the rude, the romantic, and sublime.[164]

West is praising British landscapes as rivals of classical landscapes and he is complimenting the ability of British people to appreciate natural beauty when they see it. He further refers to 'the Genius of the Place': specifically, 'the genius of Britain.' West is aware that the audience of his tourist guide includes landscape artists, and he provides guidance to these traveling artists:

> This Guide will also be of use to the artist in his choice of station, by pointing out the principal objects in a country that abounds in landscape studies, with such variety of scenery. Yet it is not presumed, dogmatically to direct, but only to suggest hints, that may be improved, adopted, or rejected.[165]

In this guide, West directly suggests specific landscapes for artists to paint, thereby selecting which features of nature are worthy of being depicted in visual art. However, he also invites artists to make changes to the natural world in their paintings in order to present a perfected view. He is promoting, as Hitt notes, the imaginative transformation of nature, going beyond physical transformation.[166] West's suggestion is an indirect form of art controlling nature; he is not arguing for the landscape itself to be improved, but the visual record of the lakes has been improved and perfected. The landscape paintings, then, are not accurate 'snapshots' of the scenery, but rather idealized depictions of the natural world.

The natural world in the mid eighteenth century continued to be seen as in need of control, in particular, by 'civilized' humans. Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon wrote extensively on natural history in the eighteenth century; his multi-volume *The Natural History of Animals,*

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[164] Ibid., pp. 1-2.
[165] Ibid., p. 7.
[166] Hitt, 'Ecocriticism,' p. 138.

Vegetables, and Minerals (the first fifteen volumes were published in French from 1749-1767; it was translated into English in 1775) provides a detailed overview of his philosophical views of the natural world. Nature, for Buffon, is not a being or a god, but rather a copy of the divine and a 'system of laws established by the Creator for the existence of things…. Nature… [is] an immense power…. This power flows from divinity, and is indeed the only one which the divinity manifests.'[167] Buffon has identified nature as a unique aspect of the world; nature is a divine power. However, Buffon also stresses the significant role of humanity in controlling the natural world:

> Nature is the exterior throne of the divine magnificence. In contemplating and studying this, man raises himself to the interior throne of omnipotence. Formed to adore the Creator, he commands all the creatures; the vassal of heaven, the sovereign of the earth, he ennobles it, peoples it, enriches it; among living beings he establishes order, subordination, harmony; even Nature he embellishes, he cultivates, he extends, he polishes; he rids it of the thorn and the thistle, and multiples in it the grape and the rose.[168]

Buffon has described nature as a divine power that still is in need of cultivation. His language leads to possible colonial ramifications and his views about race are problematic. For Buffon, the 'civilized' man is 'the sovereign of earth' and has the divine right to cultivate the land for the sake of order and harmony. Buffon's language in this passage is similar to the discourse of early eighteenth-century Shakespeare critics who use metaphors of nature to describe editing

[167] Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon, *The Natural History of Animals, Vegetables, and Minerals*, trans. by W. Kenrick and J. Murdoch, 6 vols (London: 1775–76), II 450-456.
[168] Ibid., p. 456.

Shakespeare's works as removing the thorns (possibly from early editors, such as those who worked on the Fourth Folio) to allow the beauties (the roses) to be seen.

Cultivation, for Buffon, leads to the natural world being both useful and aesthetically pleasing. In 'Observation II,' Buffon notes that, 'If a tree is planted between a cultivated and an uncultivated piece of land, generally the part of the tree on the cultivated side will be greener and more vigorous, than that on the other.'[169] The cultivated side of the tree described as 'vigorous,' which reveals the usefulness of cultivation in maintaining healthy plants, and when plants are healthy, they are also more aesthetically pleasing in their lush colours. By descriptively dividing the tree, Buffon creates a binary visual, where the uncultivated natural world is 'bad' and the cultivated natural world is 'good.' Buffon influences his reader to see the cultivated natural world as good and perfect: 'Thus cultivated, how beautiful is Nature! By the care of man, himself her principal ornament, her noblest production, how brilliant does she appear, how pompously is she adorned!'[170] Cultivated nature is praised as aesthetically pleasing; care enables nature to be its best and even more beautiful than it naturally is. Wolloch's description of the eighteenth-century view that 'Nature might be beautiful in itself, but it was even more so when it received the cultivating attention of civilized human beings' is evident in Buffon's writing.[171] The 'civilized' man (a problematic, colonial concept), who is a refined product of nature, makes nature even more beautiful by cultivation. Buffon places 'man' as a dominating power over the natural world; 'Man, the sovereign of the earth, has changed, has renovated its whole surface, and that he partakes in the empire of Nature.'[172] Cultivation is compared to colonialism and the creation of an empire; 'man' is again placed by Buffon as 'the sovereign of the earth' who

[169] Buffon, *Natural History,* VI, 40.
[170] Ibid., II, 458.
[171] Wolloch, *History and Nature*, p. 78.
[172] Buffon, *Natural History,* II, 459.

expands his lands. Both cultivation and colonialism involve the control of land by humans, creating ideals of dominance and refinement for civility and perfection.

Shakespeare in the Garden: Temples of 'The Poet of Nature'

Restoration and eighteenth-century commentaries on gardens not only provide descriptions of the gardens, they also offer insight into philosophical thoughts of the time period. By understanding how gardening, philosophy, and criticism were intertwined during the era, the construction of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' can be understood as a process based on historically changing ideas of the perfection of the natural world. Shakespeare's reception was guided by the varying notions of how and why nature needed to be perfected. Restoration gardening practices provide insight into the nationalistic reasons for cultivation nature and Shakespeare. Indeed, the nationalistic elements are evident in these adaptations, and quite often, nationalism is tied to control of the natural world. Shakespeare adaptations of the Restoration such as Dryden and Davenant's 1667 *The Tempest* and Elkanah Settle's 1692 *The Fairy-Queen* present Prospero and Titania as powerful figures due to their control of the land and their balanced, symmetrical properties and gardens, reflecting gardens of the era. The connection between Prospero and Titania with dominance over the land is comparable to Restoration-era descriptions of Charles II as a gardener and landscaper (such as Cowley and Evelyn's). Gardening and landscaping were symbolically linked to the nation and the monarch; likewise, Prospero and Titania fill these roles as leaders and landscapers. The varied picturesque and the influence of the pastoral (as a genre and as an aesthetic of the natural world) by the end of the eighteenth century impacted critical perceptions of Shakespeare and particularly adaptations of *The Winter's Tale*, which removed the sixteen-year long plot to focus instead on the pastoral

romance of Florizel and Perdita. Adapters and editors in the mid to late eighteenth century moved away from order and symmetry and instead complimented Shakespeare for his variety and bringing these 'beauties' forward in their adaptations and praising them in the editions. The pastoral elements of *The Winter's Tale* were brought forward in response to the focus of the pastoral in gardening. Even though gardening practices and aesthetic ideals changed from 1660 to 1799, one dominant feature remained: the natural world needed cultivation for perfection, and as nature needed refinement, so too did 'the poet of nature.'

Shakespearean editors and adapters saw themselves as the means to provide art to Shakespeare's nature, which they often expressed in metaphors of cultivation. Eliza Haywood, for example, described Shakespeare's plays as, 'fine Gardens full of the most beautiful Flowers, but choaked up with Weeds… Those therefore which have had those weeds plucked up by the skilful Hands of his Successors, are the most elegant Entertainments.'[173] Adapting, in Haywood's metaphor, parallel cultivation and gardening. Buffon stresses the duty of man to cultivate nature. Garrick adapted Shakespeare's plays to be more refined and several long eighteenth-century Shakespeare critics state that his writing needs 'weeding' (as exemplified by Haywood). As Flecknoe noted in 1678, 'as another [said], of *Shakespeare*'s writings, that 'twas a fine Garden, but it wanted weeding.'[174] This metaphor suggests that Restoration and eighteenth-century gardens were held to a high standard: a standard worthy of imitation in literature. Since the garden was seen in this esteemed way, it is important to assess the methods and practices used to create them, and examine how these practices were reflected in the editorial, adaptation, and critical choices made in constructing Shakespeare.

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[173] Eliza Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, 4 vols (London: 1745), II, 91.
[174] Richard Flecknoe, 'A Short Discourse of the English Stage,' in *Love's Kingdom A Pastoral Trage-Comedy* (London: 1678?), n.p.

‘The poet of nature’ was physically placed in the garden by William Kent, Susanna Ashley Cooper, and Garrick during the eighteenth century. ‘The Temple of British Worthies’ (1734) by Kent at Stowe, the Countess of Shaftesbury’s gardens at St Giles House in Dorset (mid-eighteenth century), and Garrick’s statue of Shakespeare (1756) are three prime examples of gardens featuring statues of Shakespeare. George Bickham’s *The Beauties of Stow* examines the house and gardens of Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham. Bickham’s description of the gardens combines aestheticism with refinement:

> Those Woods are extremely elegant in their Kind… They seem, at this Distance, to be laid out in a very fine Manner… These are the noble Production of Art and Nature. I think every End is answered, when a Nation’s Taste is regulated, with regard to the most innocent, the most refined, and elegant of its Pleasures.[175]

For Bickham, art and nature must work in tandem to create an elegant garden. The woods are not wild; they are ‘regulated’ by art. The refinement of the natural world is a product of art, comparable with a sculptor who molds clay into a statue; the landscaper molds the natural world into an aesthetically ideal garden. In the poem, ‘On Gardening,’ the landscaping of the Earl Temple and Viscount and Baron Cobham’s gardens is described as the moment when, ‘the lovely Nature saw at last, | Unite with Art, and both improve by Taste.’[176] The significance of art in refining the natural world is further emphasized in this poem. While nature is lovely, the improvement of nature by art leads to the garden reaching its full aesthetic potential.

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[175] George Bickham, *The Beauties of Stow, or a Description of the Most Noble House, Gardens and Magnificent Buildings Therein* (London: 1756?), p. 37.

[176] Anon., ‘On Gardening,’ in *Stowe: A Description of the Magnificent House and Gardens* (Buckingham: 1777), p. 6.

Figure 4 – 'The Temple of British Worthies', photo by Michael Dobson.

Bickham thoroughly examines the Earl Temple and Viscount and Baron Cobham's house and gardens. Set in the gardens is 'The Temple of British Worthies' (1734) by William Kent. The Temple is designed as a series of niches, past which people can walk and see up close the bust and inscription of each Worthy. The design is intended to encourage conversation about the Worthies as people walk through the gardens. Shakespeare is one Worthy among many: a contrast from how he is revered by Garrick at the time of the Jubilee as a singular figure raised above all others. The niche of Shakespeare includes the inscription: 'Whose excellent Genius opened to him the whole Heart of Man, all the Mines of Fancy, the Stores of Nature; and gave him Power, beyond all other Writers, to move, astonish and delight Mankind.'[177] Nature, and Shakespeare's relationship with nature, is one conversation starter for people as they walk past the Worthies and through the garden. The natural environment surrounding the Worthies in

[177] Bickham, *Beauties of Stow,* p. 22.

connection with Shakespeare's inscription provides a unique atmosphere where the physical setting can influence how people interpret the inscription and vice versa.

Figure 5 - Shakespeare's niche, 'The Temple of British Worthies', photo by Michael Dobson.

The inscription directly connects Shakespeare with nature; like Johnson's Prologue, it compares Shakespeare's talents to a mine. Shakespeare's genius allows him to access the powers

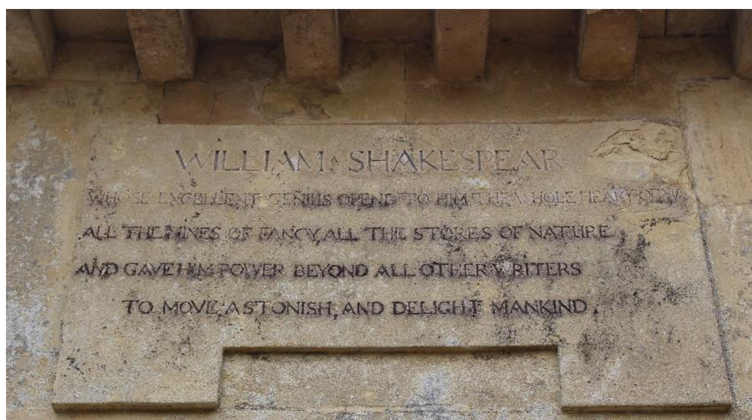

Figure 6 - Shakespeare's inscription, 'The Temple of British Worthies', photo by Michael Dobson.

of nature, as a miner has access to a mine. However, Bickham retains his position that nature needs to be improved by art:

> But we cannot make Nature; the utmost we can do, is to mend her. Yet though I can allow Nature to have an excellent Fancy, I do not think she has the best Judgement… For which Reason I am for having her placed under the Direction of Art.[178]

While Bickham does praise the fancy of Nature, he is also critical of Nature's judgement and states that art is needed for improvement. The inscription admires Shakespeare for his Fancy and Bickham at first praises Nature's Fancy, but then Bickham shifts his tone and suggests that Nature is in need of 'the Direction of Art' since Nature lacks 'the best Judgement.' Nature and Shakespeare are both worthy of praise, yet in need of refinement, which becomes a balancing act of praising them for their 'Beauties' and then arguing for the 'weeding' of their 'Faults.' Nature and 'the poet of nature' are both ambiguously beyond improvement but also in need of improvement.

Susanna Ashley Cooper, the wife of the fourth Earl of Shaftesbury, had a Shakespeare garden at St Giles House. Her work as the founder of the Shakespeare Ladies Club helped 'champion Shakespeare not just as one of an array of British Worthies, but as the most worthy of the lot.'[179] Her own garden showcased her appreciation of Shakespeare, as the garden contained a Wilderness which:

> contained Shakespeare's Seat or House, which contained the original model for Peter Scheemakers' statue of the Bard which had been erected in Westminster Abbey in 1741 –

[178] Ibid., p. 27.
[179] Genevieve Kirk, '"And His Works in a Glass Case": The Bard in the Garden and the Legacy of the Shakespeare Ladies Club', *Shakespeare Survey*, 74 (2021), 298-316 (p. 303).

> another project of 'Countess Susan' in her capacity of foundress of the 'Shakespeare Ladies Club.'[180]

The Shakespeare Ladies Club was a key force behind the erection of the statue of Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey.[181] The model for one of the chief national monuments to Shakespeare was located in the Countess of Shaftesbury's garden. The Wilderness replicates the natural world, but it has been designed and cultivated to fit the Countess of Shaftesbury's ideal version of a wilderness. The model for the national monument of Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey is located in a *cultivated* wilderness; Shakespeare is 'the poet of nature,' and that nature has been cultivated.

Garrick also had a statue of Shakespeare (1756) in a temple in his garden. Joel-Henrietta Pye visited Garrick's house and garden, and noted that:

> the garden is laid out in the modern taste, with a passage… cut under the road, to a lawn, where close by the water-side, stands the temple of Shakespear. This is a brick building, in the form of a dome, with a handsome porch, supported by four pillars. Opposite to the entrance, in a large nich, stands a statue of the poet as large as the life, at his desk, in an attitude of thought.[182]

Pye's description of Garrick's garden reveals that the landscaping was refined and intentionally designed with a passage to the temple of Shakespeare. Garrick's garden and temple emphasize his own perception of Shakespeare's relation to the natural world. The temple is situated right by the water, a visual that foreshadows Shakespeare being inspired by the Avon in Garrick's *Ode*.

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[180] The Earl of Shaftsbury and Tim Knox, *The Rebirth of an English Country House: St Giles House* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2018), pp. 218-219.
[181] Fiona Ritchie, *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 146.
[182] Joel-Henrietta Pye, *A Peep into the Principal Seats and Gardens in and about Twickenham* (London: 1775), pp. 21-22.

Shakespeare is depicted in a moment of thought while writing, directly opposite the entrance. If the door to the temple was opened, the statue of Shakespeare would have a view of Garrick's finely landscaped garden and the river Thames. The position of the statue in the temple is meant to mimic how Shakespeare was inspired by the natural world, occluding the notion of Shakespeare as a commercial writer who worked in London; however, the view is of a cultivated eighteenth-century garden, not the uncontrolled natural world eighteenth-century critics associated with Shakespeare. Garrick's garden and the temple of Shakespeare is a controlled view of a Shakespeare who has been refined by eighteenth-century ideals. Garrick's statue and 'The Temple of British Worthies' present Shakespeare as associated with nature, but also disconnected from the natural world (and furthering the ambiguity of being beyond improvement and in need of improvement), since the statues are inside a building and a niche. Garrick's positioning of Shakespeare in the temple by the river Thames links Shakespeare to the river Avon, connecting him to his birthplace in Stratford. Stratford would become the site of Shakespeare's natural and divine literary powers by the end of the eighteenth century.

'Kindred Ground': The Nature of Stratford-upon-Avon

Attention in the eighteenth century turned to the nature of the birthplace of 'the poet of nature': Stratford. Garrick's 1769 Jubilee in Stratford played a major role in attracting people to Shakespeare's birthplace and making them aware of the environment which inspired him, a moment which Dobson refers to as the climax in 'The promotion of Shakespeare as both symbol and exemplar of British national identity.'[183] Rumbold notes that 'Shakespeare's relationship with nature had been evoked by a range of eighteenth-century writers… but, at the Jubilee,

[183] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 185.

surrounded by the Warwickshire countryside, it becomes a particularly potent image.'[184] In Chapter 4, I will explore the language and events surrounding the Jubilee in further detail. In this chapter, I stress the importance of how the nature of Stratford was depicted in the eighteenth century since the nature of Shakespeare's birthplace was seen as the source of his literary creativity. Nicola J. Watson examines the rise in tourism popularity in Stratford from Garrick's Jubilee onwards, and for Watson, the Jubilee:

> required [Garrick] to play up what we would now recognise as specifically romantic claims for the nature of genius as emanating from a particular, national landscape, rather than focusing on the record of the career professional working in the metropolitan theatre.[185]

Watson is stating here that the Jubilee grounds Shakespeare's talent and identity as a genius with the nature of Stratford. She notes that the Jubilee shifted the attention away from Shakespeare's career in London, a move which I would like to examine more closely by dissecting how the nature of Stratford played into the late eighteenth-century's perception of Shakespeare as the Bard.

Stratford becomes a significant natural site in the long eighteenth-century's construction of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' However, Shakespeare also became something more than 'the poet of nature' by the end of the eighteenth century; he became a new, Romanticised 'Genius of the Place.' He is the *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of 'a guardian spirit … associated with a place' as a result of the long eighteenth century's association of Shakespeare with nature.[186] The work of literary critics, editors, and adapters who reshaped Shakespeare with

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[184] Rumbold, 'Stratford Jubilee,' p. 258.
[185] Nicola J. Watson, 'Afterword: "Dear Shakespeare-land": Investing in Stratford', *Critical Survey*, 24.2 (2012), 88-98 (p. 90).
[186] 'genius, *n.* and *adj.*', in *OED.*

the discourse of cultivation led to the claim of Shakespeare as ‘the poet of nature’ and eventually Garrick’s Jubilee which encouraged people by celebration, nationalism, and marketing to tread along Shakespeare’s historical footsteps. In the following pages, I examine how Stratford-upon-Avon became labelled as the natural source of Shakespeare’s genius. I focus on four key texts: Joseph Warton’s 1744 ‘The Eucharist: or, the Lover of Nature,’ Samuel Ireland’s 1795 *Picturesque Views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon* and John Huckell’s 1811 *Avon, A Poem, In Three Parts,* and Robert Folkestone William’s 1832 ‘A Hymn to Shakespeare.’ Following the 1769 Stratford Jubilee, popular, public, and literary attention turned to the site of Shakespeare’s birth, with a particular focus on the river Avon, an interest that would carry beyond the eighteenth century.

Warton’s ‘The Eucharist: or, the Lover of Nature’ presents a fantastical version of Shakespeare’s life as a baby. Warton describes how Fancy inspired the baby Shakespeare on the banks of the river Avon:

> What are the Lays of artful *Addison,*
>
> Coldly correct, to *Shakespear*’s Warblings wild?
>
> Whom on the winding *Avon*’s willow’d Banks
>
> Fair Fancy found, and bore the smiling Babe
>
> To a close Cavern: (still the Shepherds shew
>
> The sacred Place, whence with religious Awe
>
> They hear, returning from the Field at Eve,
>
> Strange Whisperings of sweet Music thro’ the Air)
>
> Here, as with Honey gather’d from the Rock,

She fed the little Prattler, and with Songs

Oft' sooth'd his wondering Ears, with deep Delight

On her soft Lap he sat, and caught the Sounds.[187]

The reason for Warton's selection of nature over art is the Avon. Warton begins this stanza by borrowing Milton's words to show how Shakespeare was inspired by Fancy to compose 'Warblings wild.' Warton also starts by contrasting Addison's art with Shakespeare's nature. He describes Addison's 'artful' writing as 'Coldly correct' whereas he depicts the source of Shakespeare's inspiration as a natural, almost magical setting, like that of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Warton's argument here is predating the responses of late eighteenth-century and Romantic Shakespearean critics by placing nature above art in 1744. Warton uses religious and pastoral discourses alongside his fantastical rendering of Shakespeare's early years. Shepherds are described as the gatekeepers to the location of where Fancy educated Shakespeare, and the location itself is describe as 'sacred,' which claims the land as holy ground. The Shepherds keeping watch over the area reflect the shepherds gathered by the nativity. Fancy is feeding Shakespeare, 'the little Prattler,' with music.[188] The metaphor of 'feeding' as a comparison to inspiration suggests that the natural setting was a key part of Shakespeare's development; like food, the inspiration of the Avon nourished Shakespeare and encouraged his growth (both physically and creatively). Warton's focus on the Avon as an important, natural location of Shakespeare's life, was early in comparison with other critical views of the river. Garrick's 1769 Jubilee provided a more forceful literary focus to the significance of the river. Following Garrick's Jubilee, poets and critics delved further into the Romantic significance of the river as a source for Shakespeare's inspiration.

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[187] Joseph Warton, 'The Eucharist: or, the Lover of Nature. A Poem' (London: 1744), pp. 12-13.
[188] Ibid., p. 13.

Figure 7- Frontispiece of Picturesque Views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon, image courtesy of the owner, Professor Nicola J. Watson.

Ireland's *Picturesque Views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon* (1795) provides a thorough description and history of Stratford, leading up to the events of the Jubilee. The book begins with an illustration of Shakespeare playing a lyre on the banks of the river Avon while Nature (depicted as a woman) stands beside him, listening. Below the illustration is a caption by Churchill: 'Here NATURE list'ning stood, whilst Shakespear play'd | And wonder'd at the Work herself had made!'[189] Below Shakespeare are the masks of comedy and tragedy and in the background is a group of nine women (the Muses) and Holy Trinity Church, where Shakespeare was baptized and is buried. The most noticeable part of the church is the spire, which the church did not have in Shakespeare's time. The image is a late-eighteenth-century view of Shakespeare, an almost mythical representation of Shakespeare in the midst of his creative process. The illustration grounds Shakespeare in the nature of Stratford and suggests that this nature was the

[189] Samuel Ireland, *Picturesque Views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon* (London: 1795), n.p.

powerful, inspiring source behind his writing. Shakespeare visually becomes the new, Romanticised version of 'the Genius of the Place.' He is positioned among Nature and the Muses, giving him a spiritual identity that has been shaped by the late-eighteenth-century focus on the picturesque. As West encouraged painters to improve natural landscapes in their paintings, the artist here created an idealized image of the Avon. By beginning his history and description of Stratford with this image, Ireland is clearly showing exactly what the focus of his book will be and places Shakespeare at the center of the town's history. The first two sentences of the Preface further the high position Ireland is raising Shakespeare to in the history of the town:

> The Upper or Warwickshire Avon, though not equally famed for the nature and extent of its commerce, as for the many beautiful and elegant scenes displayed on its banks, yet deservedly holds a pre-eminent rank amongst the lesser rivers, that so abundantly fertilize our luxuriant island. Had the vicinity of our Avon in its gentle and meander course exhibited less of the picturesque, or of the magnificent fragments of antiquity, than it can in so many instances justly boast, yet still, the honour it derives from having produced our immortal Shakespeare, "so divine in reason! and "in faculties so infinite, the paragon of "the world!" would alone have been? sufficient to induce the author to have aspired at being its historian.[190]

The first sentence of the book praises the Avon as one of the sources for fertilizing the lush natural landscape of the nation, which overstates the strength of the river, as it is (as he even admits) is one of the 'lesser rivers.' Ireland purposefully elevates the Avon in the first sentence of his book in order to set up the river as a central force behind the nation's nature, and this

[190] Ibid., pp. ix-x.

central force of nature would be the influence for the nation's Bard. Even though the Avon is a 'lesser river' it has a 'pre-eminent rank,' as the picturesque nature of the river is the source for producing Shakespeare. While the Avon has been praised by Ireland as a source that enriches the nature of Britain, Shakespeare becomes the source that enhances the literary and historical culture of the nation.

The title of Ireland's work suggests that he will be focusing on the river Avon. However, he clarifies in the Preface that he cannot discuss the river without addressing Shakespeare:

> the author feels it a duty here to disclose, as it is nearly connected with the intention of the present undertaking–a History of that river on whose banks nature has in a happy and propitious hour teemed forth her proudest work.[191]

For Ireland, the history of the Avon cannot be separated from the life of Shakespeare. In this passage, he personifies the river as an artist or an author with Shakespeare as the river's creation. Shakespeare is directly connected here with a certain feature of the natural world; 'the poet of

Figure 8 - 'Stratford Church, &c.' by Samuel Ireland, image courtesy of the owner, Professor Nicola J. Watson.

[191] Ibid., p. xii.

nature' becomes specifically the poet of the river Avon. Ireland's illustration, entitled, 'Stratford Church, &c.,' is a view of the river's bank by Holy Trinity Church, where Shakespeare is buried. The picturesque illustration of the nature surrounding Shakespeare's final resting place reminds readers of the direct connection between Shakespeare and the river; the Avon's 'proudest work' is buried along its banks.[192] Ireland's illustration is of a calm, yet moving river Avon; the two swans are leisurely swimming along the gentle waves of the water and the single person in the boat is rowing along the river. The boat, although fairly large on the page, does not obscure the church; the angle of the mast directs the viewer's eye to the church. The few trees in front of the church do not fully cover it and notably, no trees have been drawn directly in front of the church's landmark spire. While Ireland's illustration is of the Avon, the river itself is only part of the focus of his drawing, much like the written content of his book. Ireland's contemporary picturesque illustration is of Shakespeare's Stratford – or rather, the eighteenth-century's construction of Shakespeare's Stratford, as the book is essentially a tourist guide, focusing on what visitors would see in the present day. The illustration is a representation of Shakespeare's afterlife in the latter half of the century. Stratford is the picturesque influence of Shakespeare's genius, and Ireland's picture attempts to reveal new, Romanticised version of 'the Genius of the Place' in the river Avon.

Ireland precedes his illustration of Holy Trinity Church with a description of Stratford. Unlike the illustration, where the viewer is looking at the church from across the river, Ireland guides his reader from the town towards the church:

> The entrance to the town of Stratford across the meadow partakes neither of the beautiful or the picturesque; the buildings are mean, and the adjoining scenery flat and

[192] Ibid., p. xii.

> uninteresting: but looking to the left, the eye is gratified with a pleasing view of the venerable church of Stratford rising on the margin of our gentle Avon. In the chancel are enshrined the sacred remains of our immortal bard, who in this town, as is well known, first drew breath, first received his truly inspired gift.[193]

Ireland's illustration captures what he has identified as the picturesque view of Stratford and in this picturesque setting, are Shakespeare's remains. Again, Ireland draws the reader's attention to the fact that Shakespeare has been buried alongside the river which inspired him. Although Ireland's purpose is to describe Stratford, he is also placing Shakespeare's birth and death within a religious and environmental narrative. Shakespeare's life is bookended by both the church (which was the most impressive building in eighteenth-century Stratford) and the river, and Shakespeare's popularity and literary afterlife continues along these same features.

Ireland refers to Shakespeare as 'our immortal bard.'[194] The earliest definition of 'bard' is from 1449: 'In early Lowland Scottish used for: A strolling musician or minstrel.'[195] Later definitions from the 1620s further defined 'bard' as, 'A lyric or epic poet, a "singer"; a poet generally' and as a term that was, 'Applied to the early versifying minstrels or poets of other nations, before the use of writing.'[196] Ireland's use of 'bard' here goes beyond labelling Shakespeare as a poet or minstrel: he associates Shakespeare's skill as a poet with immortality. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare was praised as *the* Bard, *the* poet of Britain. Ireland's statement is one example of how literary figures claimed Shakespeare in this highly esteemed position, but the label of 'bard' has historical implications. Thomas Gray's 1757

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[193] Ibid., p. 185.
[194] Ibid., p. 185.
[195] 'bard, *n.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary* (2021) <http:// www.oed.com> [accessed 12 January 2021].
[196] Ibid.

poem, 'The Bard,' discusses the history of bards in Great Britain and condemns Edward I for killing all the bards in Wales during the thirteenth century. Thomas Mulholland explains that:

> Gray's focus on the figure of the bard… was not unusual; other mid-eighteenth-century authors were also studying oral culture, gradually re-characterizing it as impassioned and heroic rather than vulgar and corrupted. The bard figure took on a new seriousness as a result.[197]

Before the poem begins, Gray begins with 'A Dedication to the Genius of Antient Britain.' He evokes the genius of Cambria in the Dedication and states that, 'Methinks I trace | Some antient Bard in ev'ry *air-drawn** face!'[198] A note is affixed to the second line, which Gray clarifies at the bottom of the page that he is referring to 'Shakespear.'[199] Shakespeare is at the centre of Gray's focus on the bard. While the poem itself refers to bards in general, the Dedication suggests that Shakespeare holds a special position among (and perhaps even above) all other bards.

The construction of Shakespeare as the national figure of 'the bard' is, in part, a result of English interest in (and reshaping of) historical bardic poetry. The term 'bard' historically identifies the writer as linked to ethnicity and location, which directly presents the writer as a national figure connected to the land.

Trumpener notes that, during the eighteenth century, 'Ireland, Scotland, and Wales nationalist antiquaries edited, explicated, and promoted their respective bardic traditions; emphasizing the rootedness of bardic poetry… their work represents a groundbreaking attempt

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[197] James Mulholland, 'Gray's Ambition: Printed Voices and Performing Bards in the Later Poetry', *ELH*, 78.1 (2008), 109-134 (p. 109).
[198] Thomas Gray, 'The Bard' (Chester: 1757), p. 2.
[199] Ibid., p. 2.

to… understand literary form as a product of a particular national history.'[200] She notes that the popularity of poems such as Gray's 'The Bard' would 'stir up English enthusiasm for bardic poetry' which 'endangered the bardic tradition in a new way, as English poets tried to impersonate the bardic voice.'[201] English poets, Trumpener argues, depicted the figure of the bard 'as an inspired, isolated, and peripatetic figure… English poets are primarily interested in the bard himself, for he represents poetry as a dislocated art, standing apart from and transcending its particular time and place.'[202] Trumpener is referring to a generic, archetype bard figure when she states 'the bard himself'; she does not address the appropriation of 'the Bard' to describe Shakespeare during the era. Yet, critics and poets applied the qualities listed by Trumpener to Shakespeare: Samuel Ireland does present Shakespeare as a figure who transcends time, and Gray's poem, while referring to bards in general, does elevate Shakespeare. For Ireland, Shakespeare's birthplace is an important part of Shakespeare's development into 'our immortal bard' as it is where he, 'first drew breath, first received his truly inspired gift.'[203] By the end of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare would be Romanticised as *the* Bard, as exemplified by Ireland's reference to the 'immortal bard.'

Huckell's 1811 *Avon, A Poem, In Three Parts* carries the significance of the river and the church into the nineteenth century. The narrator is walking along the river, seemingly being inspired by some supernatural force (perhaps the Genius of the river Avon), as if literally following in Shakespeare's footsteps. The river itself appears to be the supernatural force, as the first two lines exclaim, 'Where thou, bright Avon! lead'st thy waves along | To scenes renown'd

[200] Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism,* p. 4.
[201] Ibid., p. 6.
[202] Ibid., p. 6.
[203] Ireland, *Picturesque Views,* p. 185.

for Shakespeare's wond'rous song.'[204] The references to music throughout the poem echo the first illustration in Ireland's *Picturesque Views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon*, where Shakespeare is playing a lyre on the banks of the river. This image of Shakespeare echoes the classical image of the poet as musician. The narrator is being led along the river to the church:

> But see,–the laurel'd guide, with serious smile,
> Precedes my way to yon majestic pile,
> Whose sacred foot, for many a distant day,
> Has press'd the verge of Avon's watry way.
> The doors expand, the visto'd arches sound,
> With pleasing awe I tread my kindred ground.[205]

Huckell notes in a footnote that 'pile' refers to the church, which, like Shakespeare's footsteps, are close to the edge of the Avon. Both Ireland and Huckell stress the close proximity of the church to the river, emphasizing Shakespeare's divine connection to the natural world. Huckell goes a step further than Ireland by presenting the ground by the river as holy ground. The narrator's trip along the river becomes a pilgrimage guided by the Genius of the river Avon, leading the narrator along Shakespeare's footsteps.

The narrator's 'guide,' however, is difficult to identify. The guide appears to be the Genius of the river Avon, but at times, the narrator seems to be led by Shakespeare himself:

> But Nature seem'd above the rest to shine,
> No muse herself, but mistress of the nine.
> The vocal shell, forsaken when they flew,
> He seiz'd, and o'er the strings his fingers threw;

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[204] John Huckell, *Avon, A Poem, In Three Parts* (Stratford-upon-Avon: 1811), p. 7.
[205] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

Enchanting music floated down the stream,

And Nature's beauty was his deathless theme.

And oft in these, alike our native shades,

The pow'rful strain my ravish'd ear invades.

Behold! behold the laurel'd Shakespeare rise!

Grace in his mien, and light'ning in his eyes;

See vari'd wit in ev'ry feature play,

See kindling passions rap the soul away.

Possess'd of more than his own Prosp'ro's skill,

He makes me what, and leads me where he will.[206]

Again, Huckell brings back Shakespeare's music, suggesting that perhaps the narrator is in fact following the music along the Avon. Perhaps Huckell is claiming Shakespeare as the new Genius of the river Avon, as his talents are so intertwined with the river itself that when the narrator walks along the river, he is immediately drawn into Shakespeare's creations as a source of inspiration. The intellectual 'genius' and 'the Genius of the Place' are overlapping: Shakespeare becomes the Genius of the river Avon because his 'genius' talent and as a result of the long eighteenth-century's construction of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' By claiming Shakespeare as more powerful than Prospero over nature, Huckell gives Shakespeare a powerful spiritual identity with music and the river; he becomes a Romantic version of 'the Genius of the Place.' *Avon, A Poem, In Three Parts* places Shakespeare in what Bate refers to as 'the "Romantic" aesthetic,' where 'Shakespeare was the cardinal exemplar of "original genius" since it was above all because of his supposed "artlessness" that the concept was developed and

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[206] Ibid., p. 10.

became so widely accepted.'[207] Claiming Shakespeare as an 'original genius' balanced his lack of education and art, allowing for him to be claimed as the Bard. Shakespeare is still crowned with the laurel, but a few pages later, Huckell fully removes Shakespeare from classical influence and does away with the laurel: '(in the stream the attic laurel thrown).'[208]

Robert Folkestone William's 'A Hymn to Shakespeare,' which was presented at the Shakespeare Anniversary in April 1832, continues the focus on the river further into the nineteenth century. Williams describes the scene by the river:

> A splendor dwelleth round fair Avon's stream,
>
> And o'er old Stratford's antiquated towers;
>
> And flashes of a sunny radiance gleam,
>
> Around the flowers.
>
> For fondly rules the sun upon the earth
>
> Of Shakespeare's glorious birth.[209]

The river Avon is a part of the journey to Shakespeare's birthplace. Williams states that there is 'a splendor' around the river, which he describes as a sunny aura filling the space. The sun is an active agent and it provides a golden glow over the land of Shakespeare's birth, almost as if blessing the land. The language here presents the land of Shakespeare's birth as special. Although the passage does not directly refer to the land as holy ground, there is a sense of a nature being an otherworldly force present in the landscape due to intangible features such as 'splendour' and 'radiance.' The site of Shakespeare's birth is highlighted (figuratively and

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[207] Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, p. 163.

[208] Huckell, *Avon,* p. 12.

[209] Robert Folkestone Williams, 'A Hymn to Shakespeare: Volunteered at the Shakespeare Anniversary,' Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library MS, April 1832, p. 47.

literally) by the sun. Nature is the active agent providing the blessing over the land. By the nineteenth century, nature was presented as a force capable of creating its own change.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Shakespearean critics had also claimed a new perspective on the debate of art in contrast with nature. Huckell reveals this new stance in his poem:

> But where's the grateful pomp, th' ambitious strife
> Of art, in glorious rivalry with life?
> To bear him high, no tropied columns rise,
> No cloud-capt pyramid ascends the skies.
> Proclaims this wants the jealousies of art?
> Or say, with him did ev'ry muse depart?
> Here, Avon, o'er her Parian urn reclin'd,
> Should see her waves in fluid marble wind;
> While (in the stream the attic laurel thrown)
> She gives the buskin'd muse a nobler crown.[210]

Huckell does not simply place nature over art; he almost mocks the previous century's concern that Shakespeare lacked art. He metaphorically throws away the need for the influence of classical art by depicting the 'attic' (old) laurel crown being literally thrown away in the water. Shakespeare's muse was not the Muses, and instead of a crown associated with the Muses and classical art, Shakespeare is crowned by the Avon. Huckell does not provide a visual description of the crown, which suggests that the crown may not, in fact, be visual, but may be something more supernatural or spiritual. *Avon, A Poem, In Three Parts* balances imagery of the river Avon

[210] Huckell, *Avon,* p. 12.

with a supernatural/spiritual subtext that is created by Nature and the Genius of the Place. While Shakespeare's crown is not a visual object, the poem provides the reader with the sense that the crown is otherworldly, connecting Shakespeare with nature on a spiritual level.

Shakespeare reception alongside the language of cultivation balanced praise of Shakespeare with the desire to improve his work. Philosophies of nature and gardening manuals of the time period reveal the language and practices gardeners used to reshape and perfect the natural world, and this language crosses over into Shakespeare reception. The following chapters examine the more subtle and less discussed ways in which the language of nature informed the handling of Shakespeare adaptation, editing, and criticism. I will examine how the language used by Shakespeare adapters echoed the discourse of cultivation and gardening. The adapters' use of this language positions the work of Shakespeare, 'the poet of nature,' as an uncultivated, flawed garden in need of refinement. I take a similar approach by assessing how eighteenth-century Shakespeare editors use the language of cultivation to justify their editorial decisions. I analyze how Garrick's 1769 Jubilee raised Shakespeare to be the divine 'poet of nature' using the language of nature. The chronological history of gardening and cultivation practices influenced Shakespeare criticism.

Chapter 2: Adapting Nature, Adapting Shakespeare

> In Honour to his Name, and this learn'd Age,
>
> Once more your much lov'd *SHAKESPEAR* treads the Stage.
>
> Another Work from that great Hand appears,
>
> His Ore's refin'd, but not impar'd by Years.
>
> Those sacred Truths our Sages coldly tell
>
> In languid Prose; as *HE* describes – we feel.
>
> He looks all Nature thro'; strikes at a Heat
>
> Her various Forms, irregularly Great.
>
> …
>
> Now, - *As you like it*, judge the following Play,
>
> And when you view this Work retrieved to Day;
>
> Forgive our modern Author's Honest Zeal,
>
> He hath attempted boldly, if not well:
>
> Believe, he only does with Pain, and Care,
>
> Presume to weed the beautiful Parterre.[211]

Eighteenth-century Shakespeare adapters saw Shakespeare's plays as undeveloped, as exemplified by Charles Johnson's 1723 Prologue to *Love in a Forest* (an adaptation of *As You Like It* with the play from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*). Johnson presents Shakespeare's work as unrefined and in need of weeding; Shakespeare is the uncultivated 'poet of nature.' Adapters metaphorically claimed themselves as gardeners and landscapers, allowing themselves to have the responsibility to perfect and refine Shakespeare, placing them in a position of control.

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[211] Charles Johnson, *Love in a Forest* (London: 1723), n.p.

In this chapter, I argue that adaptation practices paralleled those of gardening and cultivation, placing the adapter in a role with responsibilities similar to a gardener. My analysis of the connection between alteration and gardening is key to my overall assessment of how Shakespeare became the Bard. Throughout this chapter, I will compare passages from Shakespeare adaptations of the period with contemporary gardening manuals and philosophies of the natural world. I will examine the work of late seventeenth-century horticultural and agricultural writer Worlidge in order to reveal the connections between gardening and adaptation practices, as the descriptions of set designs are reflective of the language used by Worlidge to describe the ideal garden. Set designs for the adaptations visually placed the English garden on the stage, furthering attempts to create Arcadia or another idyllic escape. Influences for gardening practices varied from 1660 to 1780; in the Restoration and early eighteenth century, symmetry was key to the perfect garden. In the mid-eighteenth century, wealthy landowners desired idyllic pastoral landscaping and by the late eighteenth century, the sublime became the aim of gardeners. These influences carried over into Shakespeare revisions of the period: set designs reflected contemporary ideals and the revised dialogue further emphasized the new values of perfecting the natural world. As the natural world was 'perfected,' so too were the plays of 'the poet of nature.' The adapter must remove the flaws of the plays and let the natural beauty remain while at the same time adding content to perfect the story.

'Nature' is a complex term in the discussion of Shakespeare revisions from 1667 to 1777, as adapters sought to change the human nature of characters and restructure the presentation of the natural world in the setting and set designs of the plays to reflect contemporary values and artistic practices. Shakespeare, as 'the poet of nature,' was positioned by adapters into one side of the art versus nature dichotomy. As I have already explored, one of

current definitions of 'nature' is that it is, '(Contrasted with art.) In a person's speech, writing, drawing, etc.: fidelity or close adherence to nature; naturalness; (apparent) lack of artifice.'[212] While Shakespeare's works were seen as nature in favourable contrast with artifice, they were also depicted as wild, uncultivated, and unpolished, as exemplified by Samuel Johnson's 1765 metaphorical description of Shakespeare's works as 'a forest… interspersed sometimes with weeds and brambles... Shakespeare opens a mine which contains gold and diamonds in unexhaustible plenty, though clouded by incrustations, debased by impurities, and mingled with a mass of meaner materials.'[213] Shakespeare was seen as both superior and inferior to art. Adapters, as metaphorical gardeners, had to cautiously navigate how to 'weed' Shakespeare's plays without accidently removing a potential beauty. Therefore, adapters were not entirely in control, as they had to maintain the natural elements that made Shakespeare's plays strong and unique.

Scholars have examined the nationalist elements present in many eighteenth-century Shakespeare adaptations and have touched on the natural features. Dobson, in particular, has led the way in examining the cultural forces, including nationalism, that led to the canonization of Shakespeare's works.[214] He argues that the alteration of Shakespeare's plays following the Interregnum both 'revere Shakespeare and deny him full rights in his own works.'[215] My work builds on Dobson's study by explicitly examining the role of the discourse of cultivation as a cultural force that helped canonize Shakespeare's works. The acts of revering and denying Shakespeare full rights were constructed using the language of cultivation, running in parallel with gardening manual and philosophies of nature on how to control the natural world. Marsden

[212] 'Nature,' *OED.*
[213] S. Johnson, *Selections,* pp. 31-32.
[214] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p.5.
[215] Ibid., p. 19.

analyses the intellectual rationale behind the alteration of Shakespeare's plays, which simplified his language and ambiguous morality in some of his characters.[216] She further argues that the modifications made to the plays were reflective of the changing social climate in regards to gender and politics and 'Not only are they the Shakespeare that most theater-goers in the Restoration and eighteenth century saw on the stage, more importantly, they are also a manifestation of the period's perception of Shakespeare.'[217] Other scholars, such as Sandra Clark and Laura J. Rosenthal, examine rationale behind textual changes as well as questions of ownership and authorship. Clark, in the 'Introduction' to *Shakespeare Made Fit*, notes that for the post-Restoration era, 'it was not only words and phrases that need changing for Shakespeare's texts to satisfy the cultural needs of a new age. Dryden, Tate and Cibber were brilliantly successful in meeting these needs' to adapt Shakespeare's plays to fit an age 'that regarded itself as infinitely more sophisticated than that of Shakespeare's time.'[218] My study expands on Clark's claim by showing that the language of cultivation was used by adapters to refine Shakespeare's plays to achieve the era's 'level' of sophistication. My chapter provides a new approach to the study of eighteenth-century Shakespeare revisions by examining the alterations with an ecocritical angle, where I examine how environmental philosophies and ideals of the time period impacted the adaptation process. In the Restoration and early eighteenth century, gardens were symmetrically structured and followed orderly designs (such as William III's Privy Garden at Hampton Court). By the late eighteenth century, the varied, picturesque landscape became the ideal form for the garden. These garden practices influenced how adapters constructed their versions of Shakespeare's plays.

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[216] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text,* pp. 15-16.
[217] Ibid., p. 16, p. 1.
[218] Sandra Clark, 'Introduction,' in *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare, ed. by Sandra Clark* (London: Everyman, 1997), xli-lxxviii (p. xlii).

In this chapter, I will primarily focus on alterations of *The Tempest*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream, As You Like It*, and *The Winter's Tale* from 1660 to 1780 in order to assess how the adapters transformed nature in Shakespeare's plays. The main settings of these four plays involve nature in terms of the natural world, from Prospero's island to the pastoral backdrop of *The Winter's Tale*. These four plays are all comedies, which made them especially susceptible to alteration in the long eighteenth century as adapters viewed Shakespeare comedies as in need of refinement to fit in with the polished standards for comedies of the era. Shakespeare, 'the poet of nature,' was seen as being inspired by (and at time, taught by) nature. Since nature was seen as a key influence on Shakespeare's writing, it is important to notice how Shakespeare portrayed nature in his writing, and subsequently how adapters altered his representation of nature. If the 'poet of nature' was seen as in need of alteration, so too were his depictions of nature. The four plays I will be discussing provide literary gardens and landscapes where adapters specifically applied long eighteenth-century gardening practices to the scenes. Adapters could apply their cultivation metaphors of Shakespeare directly to Shakespeare's gardens and landscapes, thereby refining 'the poet of nature's' natural settings. The alterations of these four plays reveal the influence of philosophies of nature and gardening practices on literature and adaptation practices, and how concepts of nature and adaptation practices similarly changed during the period from Dryden and Davenant's 1667 *The Tempest*, *Or The Enchanted Island* to George Colman's 1777 revision of *The Winter's Tale,* entitled, *The Sheep-Shearing: A Dramatic Pastoral*. I will chronologically compare horticultural practices with the adaptations throughout this chapter in order to reveal the influence of gardening practices on Shakespeare alterations.

'And ever flourish the *Enchanted Isle*': Adaptations of *The Tempest*

Dryden and Davenant's *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island* is a useful starting point for my examination, since it is one of the longest-lived and best known Restoration Shakespeare adaptations (the longest lived were Nahum Tate's *King Lear* and Colley Cibber's 1699 *Richard III*). Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest* in 1610 or 1611, which leaves approximately sixty years between the original play and Dryden and Davenant's alteration. In my examination of *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island,* I will emphasize how the late seventeenth century reframed ideas of nature and cultivation which influenced the eighteenth century. I will critique how *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island* enforces ideas of land control in tandem with adaptation practices. Dryden and Davenant's Prologue sets the tone of cultivation and control:

> As when a Tree's cut down the secret root
> Lives under ground, and thence new Branches shoot;
> So, from old *Shakespear's* honour'd dust, this day
> Springs up and buds a new reviving Play.[219]

The first line of the Prologue immediately suggests cultivation with the simile of the tree being cut down. The 'old' tree is removed, but it leaves behind a root that will grow into something new. The new shoot will be molded by Dryden and Davenant into their new, perfected, and refined version of *The Tempest*. Dobson argues that this passage reveals that Shakespeare is both venerable and outdated; '"Old" Shakespeare is here identified with the restored monarchy… but that the same time he is identified with the irretrievably dead Charles I – like the Globe, a victim of the axe during the Interregnum.'[220] As Dobson states, Dryden and Davenant place Shakespeare in the past.[221] Shakespeare remains in the past, but the play itself is brought into the

[219] William Davenant and John Dryden, *The Tempest: Or, The Enchanted Island,* in *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare, ed. by Sandra Clark* (London: Everyman, 1997), p. 87.
[220] Dobson, *The National Poet,* pp. 38-39.
[221] Ibid., p. 38.

late seventeenth century. Their alteration reshapes the play with late seventeenth-century values, emphasizing the importance of ancestral control of land for the aristocracy following the confiscation of estates during the Interregnum.

Dryden and Davenant's adaptation reframes the plot and the setting to emphasize the island, as their title, *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island*, suggests. The tempest remains, but the island setting becomes as significant as the storm. The island becomes an object of possession which is connected to cultivation and fertility (both sexually and of the land). Prospero controls the island and the sexuality of his daughter, Miranda, as well as Dorinda (his second daughter, who was added by Dryden and Davenant) and Hippolito (another added character who has been Prospero's ward since birth and is the Duke of Mantua). Dorinda and Hippolito are the main 'buds' added by Dryden and Davenant's adaptation. Miranda and Dorinda have never seen a man other than their father, and Hippolito has never seen a woman, yet they all live on Prospero's land. Prospero divides the land based on gender, keeping Hippolito in a cave away from his daughters. The sexual comedic elements to the adaptation are a result of Prospero's control of sexuality by dividing the land. They also heighten Prospero's obsession with separating the sexes, as he has two additional people to control. Clark examines how Restoration adaptations 'participate in the new cultural changes of their times, revealing, for instance, changed attitudes to domestic life, marriage, and gender roles.'[222] The heightened focus on gender roles in *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island* does reflect changing attitudes towards gender and marriage in the Restoration, but the dominant force behind Prospero's regulation of sexuality is his desire to maintain control of the island. The Restoration alterations

[222] Clark, 'Introduction,' p. xlvi.

also participated in the cultural changes regarding nature, gardening, and cultivation, and attitudes towards understanding and controlling the natural world.

Prospero is not the only character in the adaptation who associates sexuality with the control of the land. When Trincalo and Stephano plot with Caliban to take control of Prospero's island, Trincalo plans to marry Sycorax (who is Caliban's sister in the adaptation) as part of the plot. Stephano eventually betrays Trincalo and tells Sycorax of his plan: 'He said you were as ugly as your Mother, and that he Marry'd you only to get possession of the Island.'[223] Sycorax and the land are both objects for the men to possess. The plot of the adaptation is more concerned with the island rather than the tempest which stranded the sailors; the weather cannot be controlled by the sailors, but the land can. The land also needs to be controlled by a leader who assumes a position of nobility. In both the adaptation and Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Prospero's Dukedom of Milan has been usurped by his brother, Antonio. However, Dryden and Davenant reframe Antonio's attitude towards his usurpation. Antonio admits in the adaptation that 'I did usurp my Brother's fertile lands, and now | Am cast on this desert Isle.'[224] In Shakespeare's play, Antonio does not show remorse following the shipwreck and states in response to Sebastian's comment about his usurpation that, 'My brother's servants | Were then my fellows; now they are my men.'[225] Dryden and Davenant provide Antonio with a sense of responsibility, reflecting Restoration attitudes to ancestral control of the estate. Dryden and Davenant connect land to nobility, land ownership, and fertility. Here, the land is directly associated with sexuality with the use of the word 'fertile.' Antonio believes he is being punished by Hell for stealing his brother's land, as he and his crew are visited and chastised by evil Spirits

[223] Ibid., p. 163.
[224] Ibid., pp. 106-107.
[225] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest,* in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. by John Jowett and others*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1221-1243 (II.i.278-279).

followed by Pride, Fraud, Rapine, and Murther. Dryden and Davenant's narrative emphasizes the divine right of nobility to land, an idea that Dryden further reiterates in *Threnodia Augustalis,* where he claims Charles II as 'The Royal Husbandman.'[226] Dryden's poem praises the Restoration of the monarchy with the metaphor of cultivating the land to make it fertile. The monarch's duty in caring for the land, therefore, is sacred. In *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island,* Prospero also had the same right and responsibility to cultivate the land of Milan, as he was the Duke. Antonio violated Prospero's right to be Milan's husbandman, which Dryden and Davenant emphasize in their adaptation with Antonio's regret and punishment on the desert island.

Prospero's final lines in Dryden and Davenant's adaptation reiterate the idea of land prosperity as a result of cultivation. Before the 'Epilogue,' Prospero says:

> Henceforth this Isle to the afflicted be
>
> A place of Refuge as it was to me;
>
> The Promises of blooming Spring live here,
>
> And all the Blessings of the rip'ning year;
>
> On my retreat let Heaven and Nature smile,
>
> And ever flourish the *Enchanted Isle.*[227]

These final lines contrast Prospero's dialogue in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Before Prospero delivers the 'Epilogue,' he states:

> I'll deliver all,
>
> And promise you calm seas, auspicious gales,
>
> And sail so expeditious that shall catch

[226] Dryden, *Threnodia Augustalis: A Funeral-Pindarique Poem Sacred to the Happy Memory of King Charles II*, p. 18.
[227] Davenant and Dryden, *The Enchanted Island,* p. 184.

Your royal fleet far off.[228]

Prospero's lines in Shakespeare's play suggest exploration, encouraging sea voyages with the promise of calm waters. In contrast, Dryden and Davenant's adaptation does not encourage exploration beyond the island, but rather frames the island as 'A place of Refuge,' reflecting feelings about nationalism and the British isle in the late seventeenth century.[229] The island is raised to become a sacred, safe place, and the island only becomes this safe place due to cultivation and control. Dryden and Purcell's song, 'Fairest Isle,' reiterates the importance of the isle (specifically, Britain) as the ideal place to stay: 'Fairest Isle, all Isles excelling | Seat of Pleasures and of Loves; | Venus here will chuse her Dwelling.'[230] Like the island in the adaptation, the isle is a hopeful, promising, and beautiful place. In John Shanahan's discussion of *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island*, he states that, 'As places of exotic wonder and romance, small islands have long been a means of situating utopian elsewheres.'[231] Prospero's final lines in the adaptation present the promise of a fruitful spring as a result of his power over the island. Yes, the island becomes a utopian place, but becomes a utopian place because of Prospero's control over the land. Dryden and Davenant have separated the uncontrollable sea and weather from the land in the play, and this division is represented by structure of the title: *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island.* I argue that *The Enchanted Island* was not simply a 'bud,' but rather a pivotal work that influenced Shakespeare adaptations in the long eighteenth century. Shakespeare's plays continued to be associated with gardens in need of weeding, or dense, wild forests, or mines full of precious gems covered with dirt. Adapters would assume the roles of the

[228] Shakespeare, *The Tempest,* V.i.318-320.
[229] Davenant and Dryden, *The Enchanted Island,* p. 184.
[230] John Dryden and Henry Purcell, *King Arthur; or, Merlin, the British inchanter. A dramatic Opera, as it is performed at the Theatre in Goodman's Fields* (London: 1736), p. 47.
[231] John Shanahan, 'The Dryden-Davenant Tempest, Wonder Production, and the State of Natural Philosophy in 1667,' *The Eighteenth Century*, 54.1 (2013), 91-118 (p. 98).

gardener or husbandman who would refine Shakespeare's plays by removing the unwanted 'Faults.'

Thomas Shadwell's 1674 version of *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island* reframes Dryden and Davenant's alteration with extensive set designs. The tempest itself is a site of ambiguity in both the 1667 and 1674 adaptations of *The Tempest* (in addition to Shakespeare's original play), as the storm is depicted as an uncontrollable force of nature (which therefore, is dangerous), while at the same time being controlled by Prospero's magic. Prospero is both the creator of the wild tempest and the cultivator of the enchanted island. Prospero, as the rightful Duke, is entitled to be the husbandman of his land, but his power goes beyond the expected abilities and duties of a nobleman and breaks the hierarchy of the Great Chain of Being. For *The Tempest* adapters, the weather belongs beyond humanity's control. It is not the weather that needs to be cultivated: it is Prospero. The underlying plot of both the 1667 and 1674 adaptations is to refine Prospero's character and align him with cultivated nature rather than wild storms. In his final lines in both adaptations, Prospero states, 'The Promises of blooming Spring live here, | And all the Blessings of the rip'ning year.'[232] The adapters are suggesting that human nature can be cultivated like the natural world. Both Prospero and his island have been refined for prosperity, but it is in the 1674 adaptation that the stage directions visually reveal how the island has been cultivated into a polished late seventeenth-century garden.

The 1674 play remains the same as Dryden and Davenant's 1667 adaptation, with the exception of two major changes: music and set design. The dialogue and plot remain the same from the 1667 alteration, yet substantial and detailed descriptions of set design have been

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[232] Davenant and Dryden, *The Enchanted Island,* p. 184; Thomas Shadwell, William Davenant, and John Dryden, *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island* (London: 1674), p.81.

included, which is reflective of many operatic plays of the era. Michael Burden, in his discussion of Shakespearean opera, states that *The Tempest* was chosen for an early English opera because 'it is one of the most musical of all Shakespeare plays, with a combination of drama, magic and transformation, all of which offer opportunities for the insertion of music that made it ideal for such operatic experiment.'[233] Shadwell's 'operatic experiment' (to borrow Burden's phrase) includes elaborate set designs, which combine the extravagance of the opera with the age's perception of the natural world. At the start of Act I Scene I, the stage is described:

> The Front of the Stage is open'd, and the Band of *24* Violins, with the Harpsicals and Theorbo's which accompany the Voices, are plac'd between the Pit and the Stage. While the Overture is playing, the Curtain rises, and discovers a new Frontispiece, joyn'd to the great Pylasters, on each side of the Stage. This Frontispiece is a noble Arch, supported by large wreathed Columns of the *Corinthian* Order; the wreathings of the Columns are beautifi'd with Roses wound round them, and several *Cupids* flying about them. On the Cornice, just over the Capitals, sits on either side a Figure, with a Trumpet in one hand, and a Palm in the other, representing *Fame*. A little farther on the same Cornice, on each side of a Compass-pediment, lie a Lion and a Unicorn, the Supporters of the Royal Arms of *England.* In the middle of the Arch are several Angels, holding the Kings Arms, as if they were placing them in the midst of that Compass-pediment. Behind this is the Scene, which represents a thick Cloudy Sky, a very Rocky Coast, and a Tempestuous Sea in Perpetual Agitation. This Tempest (suppos'd to be rais'd by Magick) has many dreadful Objects in it, as several Spirits in horrid shapes flying down amongst the Sailors, then rising and crossing in the Air. And when the Ship is sinking, the whole House is

[233] Michael Burden, 'Shakespeare and opera,' in *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, *ed. by Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 204-224 (p. 209).

> darken'd, and a shower of Fire falls upon 'em. This is accompanied with Lightning, and several Claps of Thunder, to the end of the Storm.[234]

Nature serves English royalism, with the roses shaped into wreaths and the lion and the unicorn referencing the royal coat-of-arms. Shadwell is inviting his audience to view a play that has been refined for the most upper-class of tastes, specifically, those of the royal family. Although the scene is a wild tempest, the frame suggests that nature will be controlled. Indeed, Prospero is controlling nature with his magic, yet the wild nature of the storm is juxtaposed with the symmetrical balance of the Corinthian columns bearing roses. Shadwell does not remove the reference to the tempest in his stage directions as Dryden and Davenant have; instead, he adds the storm as a controlled spectacle (especially in contrast with the frontispiece published in the Rowe edition, which just shows the out-of-control storm). The contrast between the wild storm and the columns in itself creates a balance where the refined art counters the uncontrollable nature. Amanda Eubanks Winkler and Richard Schoch note that, 'The spectacular nature of the production was signalled from the very beginning' with the 'unusually lengthy and detailed stage direction.'[235] The spectacle draws the audience visually in to the set, yet it is because of the classical reference point that the audience is guided to nature. Shadwell's set design shows the late seventeenth-century representation of the natural world on the stage, a new tradition that would continue into adaptations in the next few decades.

Shadwell's framing of the stage in classical art brings the late seventeenth-century garden directly and visually into his adaptation. In Worlidge's 1677 *Systema Horti-culturae: Or, The Art of Gardening*, he explains the significance of God as well as classical history to the garden:

[234] Shadwell, Davenant, and Dryden, *The Enchanted Island*, p.1.
[235] Amanda Eubanks Winkler and Richard Schoch, *Sir William Davenant and the Duke's Company* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021), p. 62.

> The Original of *Gardens* was from a Divine Hand: And they also long since delighted in by the wisest of Kings…. And the Glory and Pride of the Romans in the time of their *Emperours*, was in noting more seen than in their *Gardens*… And gloried more in their Chaplets and Garlands of Curious Greens and Flowers.[236]

The framing of the stage for Shadwell's *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island* reflects Worlidge's passage: the wreathed classical columns flanking the stage emphasize the influence of classical art on both the control of nature and the composition of writing in the late seventeenth century. His language is reminiscent of Francis Bacon's 1625 *Of Gardens*, which begins with: 'GOD almighty first planted a garden.'[237] Both Worlidge and Bacon directly link the origin of gardening with God, thereby presenting gardening as a divine action. Worlidge presents gardening as one of the divine rights of a monarch; this is reflected in set design with Shadwell's reference to the royal coat-of-arms. Shadwell has visually structured his presentation of the adaptation to reflect the structure of his adaptation of *The Tempest*. Wild nature is depicted as less appealing, less valuable than the symmetrical structure of the late seventeenth-century garden which paralleled classical art and agriculture.

The audience's attention is shifted away from the wild nature of the tempest in the first scene by the quick background change for the second scene. The tempest does not last:

> In the midst of the Shower of Fire the Scene changes. The Cloudy Sky, Rocks, and Sea vanish; and when the Lights return, discover that Beautiful part of the Island, which was the habitation of Prospero; 'Tis compos'd of three Walks of Cypress-trees, each Side-walk leaks to a Cave, in one of which *Prospero* keeps his Daughters, in the other

[236] Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae,* pp. 2-3.
[237] Francis Bacon, *Of Gardens* (London: 1625), p. 6.

> *Hippolito*: The Middle-Walk is of a great depth, and leads to an open part of the Island.[238]

Shadwell's set change creates a direct contrast between the wild tempest and Prospero's cultivated part of the island. Wild nature is associated with dysfunction and terror, while in contrast cultivated nature is depicted as peaceful and beautiful because of control. Even Shadwell's specific selection of cypress trees emphasize perfect, aesthetic beauty. Evelyn notes in *Sylva* that the cypress tree had not been much cultivated in England until recently: 'we see it now, in every *Garden*, rising to as goodly a bulk and stature, as most which you shall find even in *Italy* it self.'[239] The cypress tree had become a more popular tree during the Restoration. Worlidge states that 'the *Cypress* is the most beautiful and most celebrated Tree' because it is 'the most uniform, streightest, and most slender of any other, preserving its Verdure throughout the Year.'[240] The cypress trees have been deliberately placed along the walks, further contrasting the wild storm with uniform, aesthetically balanced, nature. The island is divided symmetrically, furthering Dryden and Davenant's division of the island by showing exactly how Prospero separates his daughters from Hippolito. Gender is visually separated on the stage by the walks. Worlidge argues that 'it is convenient to have Walks and Places in your Garden.'[241] Indeed, Prospero uses walks for his own convenience, placing him as the gardener and landscaper in a position of dominance of the island, a position that is his divine right as a Duke.

'And change at my Command, | All shall turn to *Fairy-Land*': Settle's *The Fairy-Queen*

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[238] Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae,* p. 5.
[239] Evelyn, *Sylva,* p. 28.
[240] Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae* pp. 70-71.

[241] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

The divine position of the monarch or nobleman presiding as a gardener or landscaper over their land continues as a late seventeenth-century Shakespeare adaptation theme into Elkanah Settle's musical 1692 adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Fairy-Queen: An Opera* (with music by Henry Purcell). His adaptation shows Titania's power over the land due to her role as a monarch. Settle, like Dryden and Davenant in *The Tempest*, is emphasizing the sacred position of the monarch as the husbandman. Settle's adaptation includes extended set design in the stage directions and Settle positions Titania, the Queen of Fairy-Land, as a magical landscaper over her land. Settle extends Shakespeare's Act II Scene ii to include a full set transformation. In Shakespeare's play, Titania asks her attendants to, 'Sing me now asleep; | Then to your offices, and let me rest.'[242] Before Titania says these lines in Settle's adaptation, she transforms the forest into Fairy-Land by asking her train to:

> Take Hands, and trip it in a round,
>
> While I Consecrate the ground.
>
> And change at my Command,
>
> All shall turn to *Fairy-Land.*[243]

The title of Settle's adaptation is *The Fairy Queen*, which places the focus of the play on Titania. With Titania's lines:

> The Scene changes to a Prospect of Grotto's, Arbors, and delightful Walks: The Arbors are Adorn'd with all variety of Flowers, the Grotto's supported by Terms, these lead to two Arbors on either side of the Scene, of a great length, whose prospect runs toward the

[242] William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. by John Jowett and others*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 401-423 (II.ii.7-8).
[243] Elkanah Settle, *The Fairy-Queen: An Opera* (London: 1692), p. 14.

> two Angles of the House. Between these two Arbors is the great Grotto, which is continued by several Arches, to the farther end of the House.[244]

Fairy-Land is not a fantastical place, but rather a refined garden familiar to the late seventeenth-century audience: an English property. Fairy-Land is what Worlidge describes as 'a Complete *Garden* with its Magnificent *Ornaments*, its Stately *Groves*, and infinite variety of never dying *Objects*.'[245] Nature is cultivated on the stage by the visual change in the setting from 'a Wood' to an English garden. And it is by the Queen's command that the land is changed. Again, a monarch's actions in a late seventeenth-century Shakespeare adaptation, as part of a broader cultural trend exemplified by Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis*. While Titania is not changing the forest into a field to harvest food, she is exercising her divine right to make the land useful for her, which is for the land to become an aesthetically-pleasing garden. Worlidge explains the purpose of arbors, which is 'For cool Recesses in the hottest times,' and grottos, which is 'to repose our selves in the time of our Summer faint heats.'[246] Settle's set design is a response to the weather of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The late seventeenth-century garden must include arbors and/or grottos so that the garden can be enjoyed without the weather impacting that enjoyment. For Titania, her land is for her pleasure, contrasting with Prospero's use of the land for sexual control in Dryden and Davenant's adaptation.

Songs follow the change in setting, which further emphasize Titania's power over the land. The first song precedes Titania asking to be sung to sleep:

> Come all ye Songsters of the Sky,
>
> Wake, and Assemble in this Wood;

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[244] Ibid., p. 14.
[245] Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae,* p. 1.
[246] Ibid., pp. 37, 62.

> …
>
> May the God of Wit inspire,
>
> The Sacred Nine to bear a part;
>
> And Blessed the Heavenly Quire,
>
> Shew the utmost of their Art.
>
> …
>
> Now joyn your Warbling Voices all,
>
> Sing while we trip it on the Green;
>
> But no ill Vapours rise of fall,
>
> Nothing offend our *Fairy* Queen.[247]

'Art' is a complex term in the context of Settle's adaptation. Yes, 'Art' directly refers to the talents of the Muses, but more importantly, Settle is also referencing art's superiority over nature. The Wood has just been transformed on stage into the same idealized version of Arcadia which estates were trying to realize. Burden states that:

> the wood, which does not have explicitly magical properties in the text, but which is understood as a place where strange things happen, provides an overarching framework for the action…. Each masque sequence is conjured up by Titania, using her magic powers to produce the required transformations.[248]

It is important to note that Titania's transformations in the Wood involve landscaping (albeit, extreme magical landscaping) to shape the land to her specific desires, which is of an elegant English garden. The first song places art as the tool to achieve perfection (specifically, Titania's idea of perfection). The song begs for nothing to 'offend' Titania, suggesting that anything

[247] Settle, *The Fairy-Queen,* pp. 15-16.
[248] Burden, 'Shakespeare and opera,' p. 212.

outside of perfection is offensive. Offensiveness is the opposite of perfection, here, and the spell in the song acts as a form of pruning or landscaping to shape the fairies' Arcadian wood. Settle's expansion of Act II changes the audience's perception of *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Set design, music, and the shift in focus to Titania reframe the play as the story of a monarch who is in direct control of the land.

The land changes again at Titania's command in another additional scene expanding her potion-induced romance with Bottom. After Oberon's potion is in her eyes in Shakespeare's play, Titania requests her fairies to:

> Come, wait upon him, lead him to my bower.
>
> The moon, methinks, looks with a wat'ry eye,
>
> And when she weeps, weeps every little flower,
>
> Lamenting some enforcèd chastity.
>
> Tie up my love's tongue; bring him silently.[249]

In Settle's adaptation, Titania asks her elves to:

> Away, my Elves; prepare a Fairy Mask
>
> To entertain my Love; and change this place
>
> To my Enchanted Lake.[250]

Settle shifts the object of Titania's control from Bottom to the land around her. Titania is again shown to have powers over the land and water, which she directly claims belong to her. She commands for her Elves to prepare the land for a mask, revealing that land must not only serve the nobility's essential needs for life (such as food), but also provide the upper class with

[249] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III.iii.189-193.
[250] Settle, *The Fairy-Queen,* p. 29.

entertainment. The Lake is Titania's property, and after her command, the set changes for her property to appear:

> The Scene changes to a great Wood; a long row of large Trees on each side: A River in the middle: Two rows of lesser Trees of different kind just on the side of the River, which meet in the middle, and make so many Arches: Two great Dragons make a Bridge over the River; their Bodies form two Arches, through which two Swans are seen in the River at a great distance.[251]

The layout of the Enchanted Lake is symmetrical, creating a balanced aesthetic version of nature on the stage. Jenny Davidson notes that the stage directions for *The Fairy-Queen*, 'suggest the extent to which this production's popularity must have depended on its use of spectacular stage effects.'[252] Indeed, the stage effects are elaborate and fantastical, but they reflect realistic landscaping concepts. All of the natural world in Fairy-Land is refined, and therefore, the woods of Fairy-Land reflect a perfected, symmetrical view of nature. Settle is using the Enchanted Lake of Fairy-Land to present an ideal version of what the woods of the human world should look like. Magic, then, is used as a force to shape the world like gardening and landscaping. Magic becomes a metaphor for art in Settle's presentation of art as dominant over nature in order to establish land and nature as property belonging to the monarchy.

The visual symmetry of Settle's scene is created by the river. Worlidge argues that rivers are an essential part of the late seventeenth-century garden:

> These Gliding Streams refrigerate the Air in a Summer evening, and render their banks so pleasant, that they become resistless Charms to your Senses by the murmuring

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[251] Ibid., p. 29.
[252] Jenny Davidson, 'Shakespeare adaptation,' in *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 185-203 (p. 194).

> Noise,… the beautiful Swans, and by the pleasant notes of singing Birds, that delight in Groves of the Banks of such Rivulets.[253]

Both Settle and Worlidge are describing idyllic rivers that are aesthetically perfect. Worlidge later suggests that if 'such a Stream… cannot naturally glide through your Garden but near unto it, it's probable that part of it by be raised by some Machine.'[254] Settle and Worlidge both present the creation of artificial rivers, making Settle's use of magic comparable to the late seventeenth-century use of machines. Both Settle and Worlidge place swans on their rivers, suggesting that perfectly cultivated nature will attract the most beautiful of birds. Human involvement is necessary to make nature aesthetically perfect, balanced, and symmetrical. In *The Fairy-Queen*, the beginnings of a new shift in garden design emerge that will impact the editorial and adaptation practices of Shakespeare's plays.

Settle continues to adapt the landscape in *The Fairy-Queen*: after Oberon releases Titania from the spell in Act IV, the set changes again for the Four Seasons to celebrate Oberon's birthday in song. As Titania calls for the music:

> The Scene changes to a Garden of Fountains. A Sonata plays while the Sun rises, it appears red through the Mist, as it ascends it dissipates the Vapours, and is seen in its full Lustre; then the Scene is perfectly discovered, the Fountains enrich'd with gilding, and adorn'd with Statues: The view is terminated by a Walk of Cypress Trees which lead to a delightful Bower. Before the Trees stand rows of Marble Columns, which support many Walks which rise by Stairs to the top of the House; the Stairs are adorn'd with Figures on Pedestals, and Rails and Balasters on each side of 'em. Near the top, vast Quantities of Water break out of the Hills, and fall in mighty Cascade's to the bottom of the Scene, to

[253] Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae,* pp. 47-48.
[254] Ibid., p. 48.

> feed the Fountains which are on each side. In the middle of the Stage is a very large Fountain, where the Water rises about twelve Foot.[255]

The garden has changed throughout the adaptation. Settle has shown a refined English property, an idealized version of the forest, and now a landscape filled with fountains controlling the flow of water. The refined property on the stage reflects the elegant garden and designed woods of Stowe. The transitions in set design reveal how humanity can control different aspects of nature: land, the forest, and water. Nature is depicted as elegant, symmetrical, and aesthetically pleasing. In the set design from Act IV, nature has been cultivated not for the purposes of human sustainment, but for beauty and entertainment. The set designs have transitioned throughout the play to be increasingly excessive with the control of nature, revealing that the prosperity of the monarchy is associated with dominance over nature. The more established the control over the land is, the more humanity can use the abundance of nature to the point of aesthetic excess.

The set design in Act IV is a checklist of late seventeenth-century garden features which match Worlidge's characteristics of the perfect garden. The scene description begins with a reference to fountains, and Worlidge argues that 'Fountains are principal ornaments in a garden.'[256] The water from the largest fountain in Settle's set 'rises about twelve Foot'; for Worlidge's expectations of fountains, 'the great quantity of Water you have, the more pleasant it will appear.'[257] In a garden plan, Worlidge suggests for 'the outermost Walk [to be] adorned with Cypress Trees.'[258] As noted above, Worlidge describes cypress trees as being 'the most beautiful' and 'the most uniform' tree and have been a part of the set design for Shadwell's 1674

[255] Settle, *The Fairy-Queen,* p. 40.
[256] Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae,* p. 50.
[257] Settle, *The Fairy-Queen,* p. 40.
Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae,* p. 51.
[258] Ibid., p. 17.

The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island.[259] The cypress trees further emphasize symmetry. Worlidge encourages gardeners to create Walks in the garden, while warning them to be diligent in the removal of weeds; 'It is not the least part of the pleasures of a Garden, to walk and refresh your self either with your Friends or Acquaintance, or else alone retired from the cares of the world.'[260] Cultivated nature, for Worlidge, impacts human nature. There are no weeds on Settle's perfectly cultivated walks through Titania's 'Garden of Fountains.' The garden does provide an escape for the audience because of its excessive grandeur. While the garden on the stage is a set, it is reflective of late seventeenth-century gardens. Settle's scene also contains statues, which Worlidge emphasizes as a Roman influence, and 'This mode of adorning Gardens with curious workmanship is now become *English*, how many Statues made by excellent Art, are there to be seen in his Majesties Gardens, and in the Gardens of divers of the nobility of *England*?'[261] Titania's 'Garden of Fountains' is reflective of royal and noble English gardens; the excessive, yet perfected, garden parallels the monarch's prosperity. By placing the late seventeenth-century English garden on stage in a Shakespeare adaptation, Settle restructures Shakespeare's work to emphasize the purpose of land ownership and cultivation to not only provide the necessities for survival, but to provide entertainment, personal reflection, and pleasure.

The final set change of *The Fairy-Queen* takes the audience to a Chinoiserie garden. Oberon makes the command for the scene to change:

> While the Scene is darken'd, a single Entry is danced; Then a Symphony is play'd; after that the Scene is suddainly Illuminated, and discovers a transparent Prospect of a *Chinese* Garden, the Architecture, the Trees, the Plants, the Fruit, the Birds, the Beasts, quite

[259] Ibid., pp. 70-71.
[260] Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae,* pp. 31, 35.
[261] Ibid., p. 66.

> different from what we have in this part of the World. It is terminated by an Arch, through which is seen other Arches with close Arbors, and a row of Trees to the end of the View. Over it is a hanging Garden, which rises by several ascents to the top of the House; it is bounded on either side with pleasant Bowers, various Trees, and numbers of strange Birds flying in the Air, on the Top of a Platform is a Fountain, throwing up Water, which falls into a large Basin.[262]

The set changes further during the scene when 'Six Pedestals of *China*-work rise from under the Stage; they support six large Vases of Porcelain, in which are six *China*-Orange-trees.'[263] Settle's Chinoiserie garden presents China as an idyllic land, confusing China with Arcadia. The set is another beautiful garden, but Settle explains that it is a 'different' garden. The set designs parallel the layout of English estates in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Shugborough Estate, which was renovated in the 1740s, includes a Chinese House (1747) and:

> The beautiful monument in the lower end of the garden, does honour to the present age. It was the work of Mr. Schemecher, under the direction of the late Mr. Anson. The scene is laid in Arcadia. Two lovers, expressed in elegant pastoral figures, appear attentive to an antient shepherd, who reads to them an inscription on a tomb,
>
> Et in ARCADIA ego!
>
> … The Chinese house, a little farther on, is a true pattern of the architecture of that nation, taken in the country by the skilful pencil of Sir Percy Brett.[264]

The Shugborough Estate is a fusion of long eighteenth-century gardening influences over a fifty-five year time difference (the classical, Arcadia, the Chinese, and the pastoral), which parallels

[262] Settle, *The Fairy-Queen,* pp. 48-49.
[263] Ibid., p. 51.
[264] Thomas Pennant, *The Journey from Chester to London* (Dublin: 1783), p. 71.

the role of *The Fairy-Queen* as a point of transition in representations of nature in Shakespeare adaptations. Arcadia becomes an area of leisure and is associated with the Chinese. Following the set change in *The Fairy-Queen*, a Chinese woman sings:

> Thus Happy and Free,
>
> Thus treated are we
>
> With Nature's chiefest Delights.
>
> …
>
> We were not made
>
> For Labour and Trade,
>
> Which Fools on each other impose.[265]

Settle's conflation of China with Arcadia carries into the woman's song, which presents the Chinese as people of leisure. This flawed cultural representation is a marker of the Chinoiserie. The labour in the creation of the perfect Arcadian garden is not to be felt by the late seventeenth-century estate owner; the garden is an idyllic escape. By concluding *The Fairy-Queen* with a Chinoiserie garden, Settle reveals that the image of the ideal, idyllic garden was in flux at the turn of the century. Clark argues that late seventeenth-century adapters changed the text of Shakespeare's plays to reflect new, sophisticated, cultural needs.[266] These cultural needs were themselves changing in the transition to the eighteenth century, including gardening and cultivation practices and philosophical thought regarding nature.

Settle's 1692 *The Fairy-Queen* marks the beginning of a new phase in garden history and a transition in representations of nature in Shakespeare adaptations. Marsden argues that the Shakespeare alterations of the Restoration and the eighteenth century are, 'a manifestation of the

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[265] Settle, *The Fairy-Queen*, pp. 49-50.

[266] Clark, 'Introduction,' p. xlii.

period's perception of Shakespeare, and as such they demonstrate an important evolution both in the definition of poetic language and of the idea of what constitutes a literary work.'[267] My study expands on Marsden's point here; Shakespearean adaptation also show an evolution in gardening landscaping, and cultivation practices. The language used by adapters to change Shakespeare's works parallels the language used in garden manuals and in philosophical works regarding nature. Adapters also followed their era's gardening practices on the state in their set designs, as exemplified by the texts I have traced so far, and these practices continued to evolve and influence the alteration of Shakespeare's plays. The set changes in *The Fairy-Queen* both serve political and aesthetic purposes; the power of the monarch over the land is revealed due to Titania's control over the set design. Her magic leads to aesthetically perfect, symmetrical landscapes and gardens. My examination specifically assesses gardening and cultivation as the aesthetic influences behind the alteration of Shakespeare's plays, in addition to the impact of philosophical, cultural, and political ideals on nature.

'Nature's Palace': Adaptations of *As You Like It*

At the start of the eighteenth century, the succession of the monarchy still remained a prevalent part of the English political landscape due to the Act of Settlement in 1701 to keep Protestant monarchs on the English throne and the failing of Jacobite rebellion in 1715. The Act of Union in 1707 to unite Scotland and England as Great Britain brought both nations together, thereby identifying the land as one country under the monarch's power. The early eighteenth-century cultural shift further emphasized land ownership by the monarchy and nobility, which was exemplified by the Hanoverian Government's 1723 Black Act to prevent poaching in the King's

[267] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined* Text, p. 1.

forests. Uncultivated nature, such as the Forest of Arden in *As You Like It*, would be transformed to show the nobility's dominance over land, similarly to Titania's power in Settle's *The Fairy-Queen*; however, unlike the set design in *The Fairy-Queen*, eighteenth-century adaptations of *As You Like It* did not visually change the land to suit the noble characters' needs. Instead, the dialogue was adapted to show ownership of the land. Charles Johnson's 1723 *Love in a Forest* and James Carrington's 1739 *The Modern Receipt: Or, A Cure for Love* adapt *As You Like It* to emphasize the ancestral ownership of the nobility over the land. The Forest of Arden becomes a place to serve the nobility in both plays as a new court or palace. Johnson's *Love in a Forest* is an adaptation fusing together *As You Like It* with the play-within-the-play from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In the 'Prologue,' Shakespeare is both praised and critiqued by metaphors of nature:

> In Honour to his Name, and this learn'd Age,
>
> Once more your much lov'd *SHAKESPEAR* treads the Stage.
>
> Another Work from that great Hand appears,
>
> His Ore's refin'd, but not impar'd by Years.
>
> Those sacred Truths our Sages coldly tell
>
> In languid Prose; as *HE* describes – we feel.
>
> He looks all Nature thro'; strikes at a Heat
>
> Her various Forms, irregularly Great.
>
> …
>
> Now, - *As you like it*, judge the following Play,
>
> And when you view this Work retrieved to Day;
>
> Forgive our modern Author's Honest Zeal,

He hath attempted boldly, if not well:

Believe, he only does with Pain, and Care,

Presume to weed the beautiful Parterre.[268]

Shakespeare's writings are exemplars of uncultivated nature. For Johnson, Shakespeare is a genius whose works are in need of eighteenth-century refinement. Dobson argues that Johnson is inferring that his 'alterations are a part of a natural maturing process' and that 'The natural space of Shakespeare's unadapted work, tellingly, has been promoted from being the untended garden referred to by Flecknoe into something both grander and more cultivated.'[269] Dobson has succinctly identified how Johnson uses the language of cultivation to both argue for the improvement of Shakespeare's play and for Johnson to claim his own space in the long eighteenth-century's adaptation of Shakespeare. My approach builds on Dobson's reading by specifically examining how Johnson is cultivating Shakespeare's work using the language of gardening and by assessing how Johnson alters the original natural setting in the characters' dialogue. Charles Johnson's language here anticipates Samuel Johnson's 1765 description of Shakespeare as 'a mine which contains gold and diamonds in unexhaustible plenty, though clouded by incrustations, debased by impurities, and mingled with a mass of meaner materials.'[270] For Charles Johnson, adaptation polishes the ore found in the mine. Metaphors of polishing and weeding nature become representative of the adaptation process. *Love in a Forest*, like Settle's *The Fairy-Queen*, presents the wild forest as a place in need of transformation by cultivation and landscaping into a place that can serve humanity, in particular, the nobility.

[268] C. Johnson, *Love in a Forest,* n.p.
[269] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 131.
[270] S. Johnson, *Selections from Johnson on Shakespeare,* pp. 31-32.

Johnson's Prologue suggests that he is simply 'weeding' the content of Shakespeare's play. Like Dryden and Davenant, he is using the natural imagery of gardening to downplay the idea of replacement. The focus on 'weeding' poses a metaphor for the removal of ugly, invasive content to allow 'the beautiful Parterre' to stand out. The 'weeds,' for Johnson, are Touchstone and the rustic characters, which are removed in the adaptation. His language suggests that he has adapted the play into its ideal and beautiful form; however, this process replaces the 'weeds' with new material in order to change the presentation of the Forest of Arden. When Duke Senior and his men are outlawed in the forest in *As You Like It*, Amiens comments on the forest:

> I would not change it. Happy is your grace
>
> That can translate the stubbornness of fortune
>
> Into so quiet and so sweet a style.[271]

In Johnson's adaptation, Amiens' comment to the Duke (renamed Duke Alberto) changes:

> – Happy is your Grace
>
> That can translate the Stubbornness of Fortune
>
> Into so quiet and so sweet a Stile:
>
> But, Sir, this Forest will become a City,
>
> Your People quiet the Tyrant's Court, and hither
>
> Resort in Crouds; Mechanics of all Sorts
>
> Petition to delight and serve your Grace;
>
> They will obey you as their King and Father:
>
> A double Tye of Duty.[272]

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[271] William Shakespeare, *As You Like It,* in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. by John Jowett and others*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 655-680 (II.i.18-20).
[272] C. Johnson, *Love in a Forest,* p. 22.

Johnson here has 'meticulously pruned' (to borrow Dobson's phrase) Shakespeare's play by being very selective about the changes and additions to the Duke's passage.[273] He keeps the Duke's comments praising the forest prior to Amiens' response, but the adapted response changes the tone of the scene and the play's presentation of the forest. The forest becomes a space in need of human occupation in order to reclaim the rightful Duke. Like one of the Duke's men or people, the land has a duty to serve the nobility, as Amiens states that the forest will eventually serve the Duke by becoming a new city for him: 'People will quiet the Tyrant's Court, and hither | Resort in Crouds.'[274] Katherine West Scheil argues that Johnson adapted *As You Like It* as a supportive response to the Hanoverian government's 1723 Black Act, which made poaching deer and entering a forest in a blackened face or in disguise illegal, and protected the deer in the King's forests.[275] The forest and the laws governing the forest are shown to be in need of change, particularly in the noble characters, which is further emphasized by a change in stage directions. When Orlando is invited to eat with the Duke in the forest in Shakespeare's play, the stage directions in the First Folio introduce the characters as '*Enter Duke Sen. & Lord, like Out-lawes.*'[276] In Johnson's adaptation, the characters are presented as 'Duke *Alberto, Amiens,* and *Nobles at a Banquet.*'[277] While Shakespeare's play notes that Duke Senior and his noble supporters resemble outlaws, Johnson's adaptation further emphasizes the unjustness of the 'out-lawes' title by removing it from the stage directions. The Forest of Arden has been changed: the forest is not harbouring outlaws, but is rather serving the nobility. It is a space for a refined

[273] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 132.
[274] C. Johnson, *Love in a Forest,* p. 22.
[275] Katherine West Scheil, 'Early Georgian Politics and Shakespeare: The Black Act and Charles Johnson's Love in a Forest (1723),' *Shakespeare Survey*, 51 (1998), 45-56 (p. 51).
[276] William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, in *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, by William Shakespeare* (London: 1623), 185-207, (p. 193).
[277] C. Johnson, *Love in a Forest,* p. 25.

banquet, that will become a new city, which will in turn become the court of the rightful Duke. The dialogue that immediately follows the stage directions remains the same in the adaptation, but the tone of the scene has been changed by the stage directions. Audiences may not have been aware of the textual change in the stage directions, but readers would. Reading Shakespeare and viewing performances of the plays (or adaptations of them) are two different experiences, both of which are relevant to cultural life in the eighteenth century. Several Shakespeare editions were published over the course of the eighteenth century, which placed further emphasis on readership to go alongside with the performances of the plays. Marsden argues that the late eighteenth century saw a shift where adaptations were read more often than they were performed, which 'corresponds to the growing reverence for Shakespeare as Author. His audience in the later eighteenth century was aware that they were seeing – or more and more often reading – Great Poetry.'[278] Johnson's play is an early eighteenth-century alteration, but his attention to the specific change of language in the set directions reveals that he was aware of the readership of his play, or at least the interpretation of the director in how the play was staged. While Johnson's *Love in a Forest* was performed, Carrington's adaptation of *As You Like It* was never intended to be acted, shifting the audience from theatre-goers to readers.

Carrington's 1739 adaptation of *As You Like It*, entitled, *The Modern Receipt: Or, A Cure for Love*, continues further to establish the theme of the land serving the nobility. Succession and the control of family dynasties over land were key parts of the political climate of the late 1730s and early 1740s due to the War of Jenkins' Ear, which would eventually lead into the War of the Austrian Succession. Dobson notes that Carrington's printed play 'can compete solely against printed editions of *As You Like It*' and positions Shakespeare as 'the right class of author.'[279]

[278] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text*, p. 101.
[279] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 133.

Carrington's adaption was not intended to compete with other performances of *As You Like It*, since the alteration was specifically to be read, not performed. Instead, *The Modern Receipt* was positioned to be sold alongside the printed editions of the time (such as Theobald's 1733 edition), shifting the focus for an adaptation's audience from theatre-goers to readers. *The Modern Receipt* extensively (and confusingly) changes the plot and characters of *As You Like It.* Carrington renames Duke Senior as Duke Frederick (which is exceptionally confusing as Duke Frederick is the usurping Duke in *As You Like It*) and changes Duke Frederick's name to Ferdinand. He 'adds' Marcellus (who Carrington states is a new character, even though he takes on Oliver's characteristics) and adds the character of Hillario (who guides the plot of the story as a narrator figure who the characters interact with). In addition, Carrington also changes the names of most of the other characters without providing a reason for the alterations in names. Although the plot and characters of *The Modern Receipt* are confusing, Carrington's emphasis on the significance of the land as subservient to the needs of the nobility is clear. When Duke Senior first speaks in the Forest of Arden in *As You Like It*, he states:

> Now, my co-mates and brothers in exile,
> Hath not old custom made this life more sweet
> Than that of painted pomp? Are not these woods
> More free from peril than the envious court?
> Here feel we not the penalty of Adam,
> The seasons' difference, as the icy fang
> And churlish chiding of the winter's wind,
> Which when it bites and blows upon my body
> Even till I shrink with cold, I smile, and say

‘This is no flattery. These are counsellors

That feeling persuade me what I am.’

Sweet are the uses of adversity

Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,

Wears yet a precious jewel in this head;

And this our life, exempt from public haunt,

Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,

Sermons in stones, and good in everything.[280]

In *The Modern Receipt*, the monologue changes for the Duke (now named Duke Frederick):

Well, my Co-mates, and Partners in Exile,

Hath not old *Custom* made this Life more sweet

Than that of painted Pomp? Are not these Woods,

These Plains enrich’d by bounteous Nature’s Hand,

More free from Trouble, than the envious Court?

In Nature’s Palace fearlessly we feel

The Seasons Difference; and when the icy Phang,

And churlish Chiding of the Winter’s Wind

Blows on my Body, e’en till I shake with Cold,

I smile, and say this is no Flattery:

These, these are Friends indeed, that tell me true,

And kindly teach me how to know myself.

Believe me, Sirs, *Adversity* is not

[280] Shakespeare, *As You Like It,* II.i.1-17.

That Monster, that our Fears wou'd represent her,

And tho' her Tree be bitter, yet her Fruit

Is passing sweet: Weigh by the Advantages

Against its Ills, and you shall see the Scale

Of Profit sink beneath th' unequal Burthen.[281]

The tone of the Duke's monologue has changed to reflect an altered view of nature. Shakespeare's Duke views nature as a counsellor delivering a religious message. Nature is set in contrast with the court; where the court brings artifice and pageantry, nature provides peace, faith, knowledge, and reflection. Carrington's Duke immediately states that the forest is bountiful, which suggests that the forest can provide for the Duke and his company. However, the provisions of Carrington's forest differ from the religious education Duke Senior notes in Shakespeare's play; Duke Frederick describes the forest as a palace, which contrasts with his previous distain of court life with pomp. While Shakespeare's Duke Senior is entitled, Carrington's Duke takes his entitlement further. Since Duke Frederick sees the forest as his palace, then the land must dutifully serve him. The forest provides Duke Frederick and his company with physical resources that, notably, he refers to as 'Profit.' The Duke's monologue directly associates bountiful nature with profit for the nobility, placing the forest as a place of 'Profit.'

In comparison with the passage from Act II Scene i from *As You Like It*, 'Profit' appears to be a metaphorical term Carrington uses to describe the philosophical and moral benefits the Duke and his men would gain from being in the forest; however, Carrington's adaptation does not contain the same religious language from Shakespeare's original lines. The forest

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[281] James Carrington, *The Modern Receipt: Or, A Cure for Love* (London: 1739), pp. 29-30.

(specifically, oak trees) greatly benefited the British economy prior to the eighteenth century as oak trees were used to build ships which led to the global expansion of the empire. Evelyn's *Sylva* emphasizes the importance of the forests to Charles II's '*Royal Navy*, and the glory of His *Kingdoms*' during the Restoration.[282] Richard Bradley's 1717 *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening, Both Philosophical and Practical* examines the position of oak trees at the start of the eighteenth century. Bradley acknowledges:

> the many Advantages this Nation in general has receiv'd from the *Timber* of its own *Growth*, how by its powerful Fleets (The Off-spring of its *Oaks*) *England* has gain'd the Dominion of the Seas, and now enjoys the Benefits of an Universal Commerce.[283]

Even though oak trees have placed Britain in a global position of dominance, Bradley notes that oak has become:

> a Commodity so Valuable and Ornamental, should be so little encouraged now-a-days among us, when our natural *Store* is so near being consumed, that to all appearance in a few Years time we may be forced to seek it in foreign Countries.[284]

By 1717, Bradley has explained how oak has become very valuable due to its limited supply. Carrington's Forest of Arden, then, becomes a haven for the nobility due to its 'bountiful' resources.

The Modern Receipt concludes with the death of the usurping Duke and the return of the land to the older brother: the rightful Duke. Carrington adapted *As You Like It* for mid-eighteenth-century values, placing the forest as a commodity to serve the upper class. In the 'Preface,' Carrington that he 'made Choice of a Play, the most proper for my Design, as being

[282] Ibid., n.p.

[283] Richard Bradley, *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening, Both Philosophical and Practical* (London, 1717), p. 59.

[284] Ibid., p. 50.

chiefly different from the reigning Taste, and least conspicuous for modern Beauties.'[285] Notably, Carrington's focus in his adaptation is 'modern Beauties,' a point which he repeats in the Preface; 'It has been a very common Remark of the Alterers, and Imitators, of *Shakespeare*, that they have grossly neglected his Beauties, and too frequently copied, or reserved his Deformities.'[286] Carrington's Preface reflects Pope's 1725 *The Works of Shakespear*, which labels Shakespeare's 'Beauties and Faults.'[287] Charles Johnson and Carrington's adaptations of *As You Like It* alongside Pope's *The Works of Shakespear* represent a cultural shift in the long eighteenth century's construction of Shakespeare with metaphors of nature; the purpose of the land was to serve the upper classes in both necessity and beauty. The adaptations of *As You Like It* further presented a hierarchy placing the nobility as dominant over the land.

The early eighteenth-century garden and early eighteenth-century Shakespeare adaptation are further connected by ideals of beauty, balance, and human nature. Gardening manuals in the first half of the eighteenth century emphasized the need for beauty in garden in order to impact human nature. Laurence's 1726 *A New System of Agriculture* reflects Pope's gardening philosophies:

> surely the Sight of every Portion of a Countrey drawn out into all the regular Variety of some noble Design, will give Evidence of a Love for *Beauty*. Which is indeed an eternal Proof of a Love for *Humanity:* for none can be greatly transported with Beauty and Regularity amidst Plantations, and the Gracefulness of Order in inanimate Proportion by the must be much more so by the diviner Harmony of a *virtuous Conduct.*[288]

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[285] Carrington, *The Modern Receipt*, p. iii.
[286] Ibid., p. iii.
[287] Pope, 'The Preface of the Editor,' I, ii.
[288] John Laurence, *A New System of Agriculture* (London: 1726), pp. iv-v.

Laurence directly parallels beauty with humanity and indirectly parallels order with virtue. The cultural shift in the early eighteenth century would lead to a reassessment of nature and beauty in the second half of the century, where the pastoral and the sublime would significantly influence Shakespeare adaptations, especially the pastoral in adaptations of *The Winter's Tale*.

'By each other's aid we both shall live': Garrick's Adaptations

Garrick's adaptations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*The Fairies,* 1755), *The Tempest* (1756), and *The Winter's Tale* (*Florizel and Perdita*, 1758) mark the transition into late eighteenth-century views of Shakespeare. Garrick's adaptations use natural settings to convey his agenda in constructing Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' who is in need of improvement, while paradoxically worthy of Britain's praise and the title of 'the Bard.' The prologues to *The Fairies* and *Florizel and Perdita* were written and delivered by Garrick at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, and both prologues praise Shakespeare's mastery and place Garrick as his worthy adapter with metaphors of the natural world. The role of nature, cultivation, and the definition of nature become more complex in Garrick's adaptations, which fuse human nature with the natural world, approve and disapprove of cultivation, and attempt to define Shakespeare's status as 'the poet of nature.' Garrick's choice in adapting Shakespeare's plays reveals that he did see that Shakespeare's works needed improvement; however, Garrick's discourse, in particular in the prologues of *The Fairies* and *Florizel and Perdita*, suggest that he, to some extent, views Shakespeare as perfect. The ambiguity continues in his adaptations, and his vagueness is also prevalent in his stance on the natural world, which is highlighted by the representation of nature in *The Fairies*, his version of *The Tempest*, and *Florizel and Perdita.* I argue that these three adaptations by Garrick reveal how the fusion of Shakespeare with nature became a marker of his

unique, divine talents. These adaptations by Garrick reveal the complex understanding of nature and cultivation juxtaposed with eighteenth-century Shakespearean adaptation practices. Garrick's opinions of Shakespeare and nature overlap between these three plays, which together create a discourse that presents imperfect nature as powerful, yet in need of the refinement of art. *Florizel and Perdita* is key to my examination of role of the pastoral. In addition to the pastoral, the sublime became more prevalent in the later adaptations, particularly in Garrick's *The Fairies.*

The sublime is defined in Edmund Burke's 1757 *A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. He states that, 'sublime objects are vast in their dimensions, beautiful ones comparatively small… the great ought to be dark and gloomy; beauty should be light and delicate; the great ought to be solid, and even massive.'[289] Garrick uses the prologues of *The Fairies* and *Florizel and Perdita* to place Shakespeare in a position of power as a result of the sublime. In the Prologue of Garrick's 1755 adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, entitled *The Fairies. An Opera,* Garrick presents himself as a 'Pupil' who has been 'Struck with the Wonders of his Master's Art.'[290] Garrick delivered the Prologue and directed himself to 'Enter–Interrupting the Band of Music.'[291] He centers the Prologue around himself (including a reference to his own portrayal of Benedict in *Much Ado About Nothing*) and attempts to justify his alteration of the play. The Prologue uses nature to raise Shakespeare as the poet:

> Whose *sacred Dramas* shake and melt the Heart,
>
> Whose Heaven-born Strains the coldest Breast inspire,
>
> Whose *Chorus Thunder* sets the Soul on Fire!

[289] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: 1757), p. 115.
[290] David Garrick, *The Fairies. An Opera* (London: 1755), p. 5.
[291] Ibid., p. 4.

Inflam'd, astonish'd! at those magic Airs,

When *Samson* groans, and frantic *Saul* despairs;

The Pupil wrote–his Work is now before ye,

And waits your Stamp of Infamy, or Glory![292]

Garrick's tone in the Prologue is a dramatic, scripted proclamation of inspiration. For Burke, '*Magnificence* is likewise a source of the sublime…. The starry heaven, though it occurs so very frequent to our view, never fails to excite an idea of grandeur.'[293] Garrick is trying to excite his audience with the grandeur of Shakespeare's 'Thunder.' Shakespeare becomes a sublime figure who is a powerful force of uncontrollable nature yet gains further power as a result of the adaptations of his 'Pupil,' who 'refined' and 'perfected' his plays. Garrick's awe of Shakespeare's skill is shown with natural, sublime imagery throughout the Prologue to *The Fairies.* Shakespeare is depicted as 'magnificent': 'If through the Clouds appear some glimm'ring Rays, | They're Sparks he caught from his great Master's Blaze!'[294] For Burke, the sun is a sublime form of light because it has a 'strong impression' and 'such a light as that of the sun, immediately exerted on the eye, as it overpowers the sense, is a very great idea.'[295] Shakespeare is Garrick's sun; he is a sublime, overwhelming figure of nature. Garrick, however, suggests that he has not been *over*powered by Shakespeare, but rather has been *em*powered by him. Garrick's empowerment (in his opinion) allows him to control Shakespeare. Garrick is not letting his audience see the full play, just its 'glimm'ring Rays.' Does Shakespeare, then, remain as Garrick's 'Master,' or is Shakespeare Garrick's muse? Nature and Shakespeare are sources of

[292] Ibid., p. 5.
[293] Burke, *Sublime and Beautiful*, pp. 60-61.
[294] Garrick, *The Fairies*, p. 5.
[295] Burke, *Sublime and Beautiful*, p. 62.

inspiration, but control lies in adaptation and cultivation, and power shifts from nature and Shakespeare to the adapter.

Garrick's praise and awe of Shakespeare is intended to impress his audience with his language. Burke argues:

> But as to words; they seem to me to affect us in a manner very different from that in which we are affected by natural things, or by painting or architecture; yet words have as considerable share in exciting ideas of beauty and of the sublime as any of these, and sometimes a much greater than any of them.[296]

Garrick's chosen words praising Shakespeare are affective; his words create excitement. The Prologue was spoken before the start of Garrick's adaptation and it conjures up images in language alone rather than with the action alongside the dialogue of the play. The images presented in the language of the Prologue are powerful in their creation of emotion. Burke further argues that the *spoken* word, specifically, can be a powerful force of the sublime:

> If words have all their possible extent of power, three effects arise in the mind of the hearer. The first is, the *sound*; the second, the *picture*, or the representation of the thing signified by the sound; the third is, the *affection* of the soul produced by one or by both of the foregoing.[297]

Several lines from Garrick's Prologue to *The Fairies* have the three effects Burke has listed. When Garrick describes Shakespeare as, 'Whose *Chorus Thunder* sets the Soul on Fire!', the assonance and rhythm of the words makes the line sound instance and dramatic.[298] The words themselves create the picture of a storm and lead to the imagination to conceive of what a 'Soul

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[296] Ibid., p. 168.
[297] Ibid., p. 173.
[298] Garrick, *The Fairies*, p. 5.

on Fire' would look like. The sound of the line and the picture created by the words would lead to an emotional response by Garrick's audience. His Prologue is intended to create a sense of awe in his audience in his elevation of Shakespeare. Garrick is controlling the audience's response to Shakespeare with the use of the sublime in his word choice.

Garrick further emphasizes his control of what the audience will see of Shakespeare's play by repeating the sun and cloud metaphor later in his adaptation. In the forest, Hermia sings:

> Sweet soothing hope, whose magic-art,
>
> Transforms our night to day,
>
> Dispel the clouds, that wrap my heart,
>
> With thy enliv'ning ray:
>
> Thus when the sky, with noxious steams
>
> Has been obscur'd a-while,
>
> The sun darts forth his piercing beams,
>
> And makes all nature smile.[299]

In the sun and cloud metaphor in the Prologue, Garrick is catching Shakespeare's (the sun's) 'glimm'ring Rays' through the clouds. In the metaphor in Hermia's song, the sun is responsible for clearing the clouds. The parallel of the sun's beams between the Prologue and the song stands out; the sun is personified as a male figure in the song, while in the Prologue, Shakespeare is given an attribute of the natural world with the metaphor of the sun. Garrick's fusion of nature with Shakespeare suggests that Garrick sees him as a creator of nature and a creation *of* nature. Hermia, then, is one of Shakespeare's natural creations, and Garrick positions himself as providing the 'magic-art' to Shakespeare's nature.

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[299] Ibid., p. 31.

A significant portion of Garrick's career consisted of pursuing fame using Shakespeare. An anonymous poem was published in the June 1750 edition of the *London Magazine* where Shakespeare's ghost permits Garrick to restore his plays:

> To thee, my great restorer must belong
>
> The task to vindicate my injur'd song,
>
> To place each character in proper light,
>
> To speak my words and do my meaning right
>
> …
>
> So by each other's aid we both shall live,
>
> I, fame to thee, thou, life to me, shalt give.[300]

Dobson notes that the ghost is giving Garrick 'unmediated access to Shakespeare's "meaning."'[301] He argues, 'In that Garrick's own histrionic celebrity was furthering Shakespeare's popularity in the theatre, and Shakespeare was providing Garrick's living, 'fame' and 'life' are interchangeable in this formulation... blurs the separation between Shakespeare's identity and Garrick's.'[302] In the Prologue to *The Fairies*, Garrick states that, 'The Pupil wrote – his Work is now before ye, | And waits your Stamp of Infamy, or Glory!'[303] These lines of the Prologue act as a request for fame which is then answered by Shakespeare's ghost in the final lines of the anonymous *London Magazine* poem. Garrick, of course, wants glory for his alteration of Shakespeare's play, and these two lines pose a request for his audience to admire him as much as they venerate Shakespeare. However, Garrick himself is responsible for creating the religious-like adoration of Shakespeare (in particular, with his 1769 Jubilee). Garrick is

[300] Anon., 'Shakespeare's Ghost,' in *London Magazine* (London: June 1750), 278-279 (p. 279).
[301] Dobson, *The National Poet*, p. 167.
[302] Ibid., p. 167.
[303] Garrick, *The Fairies,* p. 5.

hoping that his adulation of Shakespeare will be mimicked by his audience, not just towards Shakespeare, but towards himself. Garrick's adaptation practices serve both his own tastes and the 'Taste' of his audience. He does have power in his adaptations of Shakespeare's plays (which serves his ego), but he still must cater to his audience. Garrick becomes a metaphorical gardener who must refine the wild, yet majestic, forest that is Shakespeare into his own perfected garden worthy of sharing with an eighteenth-century audience who is expecting refinement.

Garrick's 1756 adaptation of *The Tempest* positions wild nature in contrast with noble, refined nature, especially in how Ferdinand views Miranda. Garrick assigns Ferdinand a song from Ben Jonson's 1640 'A Celebration of Charis: IV. Her Triumph' to describe Miranda:

> Have you seen but a bright lilly grow,
>
> Before rude hands have touch'd it?
>
> Have you mark'd but the fall of the snow,
>
> Before the soil hath smutch'd it?
>
> Have you felt the wool of the beaver?
>
> Or a swan's down ever?
>
> Or have smelt o' the bud o' the briar?
>
> Or the nard i' the fire?
>
> Or have tasted the bag of the bee?
>
> Oh, so white! Oh, so soft! Oh, so sweet is she!'[304]

Garrick is adding Jonson's art to Shakespeare's nature by placing the song in the context of his adaptation of *The Tempest.* The song compares Miranda to nature that is deemed to be aesthetically perfect before human involvement. However, Miranda as a character from

[304] Garrick, *The Tempest. An Opera* (London: 1756), pp. 33-34.

Garrick's perspective is in need of an expansion since he has added Jonson's song to *The Tempest*. Garrick's purpose in his adaptation of *The Tempest* is to emphasize the contrast between wild and noble nature. With the addition of the song, his adaptation stresses that Miranda is an example of noble nature since, like a lily or any flower, she is a beautiful character.

Beauty continues to be a focus for Garrick's adaptation practices, in particular in his 1758 adaptation of *The Winter's Tale.* In the second half of the eighteenth century, *The Winter's Tale* was significantly adapted to place the focus of the play on the pastoral romance between Florizel and Perdita. West, in his 1778 *A Guide to the Lakes*, states that:

> The taste for landscape… in which the genius of Britain rivals ancient Greece and Rome… finished in nature's highest tints, what refined art labours to imitate; the pastoral and rural landscape, varied in all the stiles, the soft, the rude, the romantic, and sublime.[305]

Art's goal, by the late eighteenth century, is to imitate nature, particularly the pastoral. The desire for symmetry and balance is replaced with variation; however, variation was to be achieved by cultivation. Whately's 1770 *Observations on Modern Gardening* argues that:

> the business of a gardener is to select and to apply whatever is great, elegant, or characteristic in any of them; to discover and to shew all the advantages of the place upon which he is employed; to supply its defects, to correct its faults, and to improve its beauties.[306]

While ideas of beauty changed throughout the long eighteenth century, the focus still remained on correcting or removing defects and promoting beauty in the garden. Pastoral landscapes were

[305] West, *A Guide to the Lakes,* pp. 1-2.
[306] Whately, *Observations,* pp. 1-2.

seen as idyllic beauty. The pastoral influenced adaptations of *The Winter's Tale*, leading to singular settings among the adaptations. With the shift in focus to the pastoral, late eighteenth-century Shakespeare adapters removed the court setting from their adaptations and eliminated the sixteen-year long timeframe. The conflict between Leontes and Hermione over the first three acts of the play is removed and instead briefly touched on it as a backstory in the adaptations. Instead, the adaptations solely focus on the fourth and fifth acts and the pastoral romance between Perdita and Florizel.

In Garrick's 1758 *Florizel and Perdita*, the Prologue places art in control of nature due to the cultivation of nature for consumption. Garrick narrows Shakespeare's plot in *The Winter's Tale* as well as the setting and reframes the story as 'a Dramatic Pastoral' focused on the romance between the adaptation's title characters.[307] In the 'Prologue,' which Garrick both wrote and delivered, he briefly explains his reasoning for adapting *The Winter's Tale*:

> The five long Acts, from which our Three are taken,
> Stretch'd out to sixteen Years, lay by, forsaken.
> Lest then this precious Liquor run to waste,
> 'Tis now confin'd and bottled for your Taste.
> 'Tis my chief Wish, my Joy, my only Plan,
> To lose no *Drop* of that immortal Man![308]

Garrick is controlling what the audience will see of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. Instead of an epic sixteen-year long family drama, the audience will be consumers of Garrick's condensed pastoral narrative. For Dobson, the wine metaphor represents Garrick's refinement of Leontes in

[307] Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita* (London: 1758), p. i.
[308] Ibid., p. iii.

response to the family values of his contemporary audience.[309] I view the wine metaphor as a description of Garrick's adaptation practices, where he selected the later portion of the play (after the sixteen-year gap) which is what he wanted to maintain from Shakespeare's play, and then reworked what remained to create his ideal 'bottle' of Shakespeare. His audience is addressed as refined consumers of Shakespeare. The 'wine' metaphor in the Prologue frames nature as food for consumption, and in the metaphor, Shakespeare becomes a consumable product of nature. The irony of Garrick's Prologue is that he does lose a '*Drop* of that immortal Man' in his adaptation: he has removed two acts from the play.[310] Marsden responds to this line from Garrick's Prologue by noting that 'changing Shakespeare's word' was not tolerated during the era of Garrick's adaptations, although 'alterations that involved little meddling with language were tolerated.'[311] Indeed, Garrick is not interested in changing Shakespeare's language: he is more concerned with the plot structure of the play itself. Garrick does not believe that he has lost anything of Shakespeare by condensing the plot. Rather, he feels he has 'bottled' a distilled, perfected version of Shakespeare's play for the audience to consume.

In the removal of the two acts from the play, Garrick controls the setting for his audience. The setting of *Florizel and Perdita* is distinctly divided into indoor and outdoor spaces, placing the pastoral as the central highlight of the play and grounding his alteration in his view of nature. The pastoral middle of the play is flanked by interior scenes at the beginning and end of the play. The first scene begins in 'The court of Bohemia' and the second, fourth, and fifth scenes of Act III are set in '*Paulina's* House' (with the third scene set back in 'the court').[312] The first interior scene briefly refers to Hermione and Leontes' story from *The Winter's Tale*, while the interior

[309] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 189.
[310] Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita,* p. iii.
[311] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text,* p. 152.
[312] Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita,* p. 1, p. 50, p. 55, p. 57, p. 54.

scenes of Act III wrap up the sixteen-year long plot even though Garrick has removed almost all of Hermione and Leontes' conflict from his adaptation. The interiors scenes are, in fact, a few 'drops' Garrick kept from *The Winter's Tale*, while he let sixteen years of the 'precious Liquor run to waste.'[313] What remains of *The Winter's Tale* is Florizel and Perdita's romance, which is set outdoors in various pastoral settings. The second scene of Act I is set as 'The country by the sea-side. A storm. | Enter an *Old Shepherd.*'[314] Of course, the pastoral scenes in Shakespeare's play are set outside, but they do not occur until Act IV. Garrick's second scene in Act I immediately imposes his pastoral focus for *Florizel and Perdita*, which is highlighted with the contrast from indoor to outdoor and from the court to the country. And with the quick shift, the story (as per the alteration's title) becomes about Florizel and Perdita and their pastoral romance.

This romance is depicted as sweet and innocent. Between Florizel's comparison of his monogamy with Perdita to turtles and Polixenes' comment on Perdita's noble behaviour in spite of her low birth, Garrick inserts a song into the play. The song oddly divides the action of the sheep-shearing scene. Perdita and the Old Shepherd leave the stage, and then the song cuts into the plot before Polixenes can speak:

SONG.

I.

Come, come, my good shepherds, our flocks we must shear;

In your holy-day suits, with your lasses appear:

The happiest of folk, are the guiltless and free,

And who are so guiltless, so happy as we?

II.

[313] Ibid., p. iii.
[314] Ibid., p. 7.

We harbour no passions, by luxury taught;

We practice no arts, with hypocrisy fraught;

What we think in our hearts, you may read in our eyes;

For knowing no falsehood, we need no disguise.

III.

By mode and caprice are the city dames led,

But we, as the children of nature are bred;

By her hand alone, we are painted and dress'd;

For the roses will bloom, when there's peace in the breast.

IV.

The giant, ambition, we never can dread;

Our roofs are too low, for so lofty a head;

Content and sweet chearfulness open our door,

They smile with the simple, and feed with the poor.

V.

When love has posses'd us, that love we reveal;

Like the flocks that we feed, are the passions we feel;

So harmless and simple we sport, and we play,

And leave to fine folks to deceive and betray.[315]

While the song does portray the lives of shepherds as moral and the pastoral landscape as an idyllic, almost saintly, environment, the song also stresses the eighteenth-century dichotomy of art versus nature, which is, perhaps, the pinnacle point of debate in eighteenth-century

[315] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

Shakespeare criticism. The song becomes a means for Garrick to take a stance on the relationship and contrast between art and nature. Garrick does seem to be supporting nature over art in the song, but the nature that he is promoting has been perfected for the 'Taste' of his audience. The song acts as Garrick's justification for his adaptation; nature, and the 'poet of nature' are in need of cultivation and art.

Garrick is portraying Shakespeare, to some extent, as one of the 'children of nature.'[316] As Garrick's 1769 Jubilee will show, he does view Shakespeare as the 'poet of nature' and believes that '*Nature* led him by the hand, | Instructed him in all she knew.'[317] However, to Garrick, Shakespeare is not the same kind of 'child of nature' as the shepherds, as there are different versions of nature at play here. The song portrays 'children of nature' as 'simple,' whereas Shakespeare is claimed to be 'immortal' in the 'Prologue.' Yet Shakespeare, like the shepherds, 'practice[s] no arts.'[318] Garrick's construction of Shakespeare is contradictory; he both adapted Shakespeare in order to perfect his plays and celebrated Shakespeare as Britain's immortal Bard (as exemplified by the 1769 Jubilee). Garrick's Shakespeare is a muddle of flawed and flawless, of common and rare. By claiming Shakespeare as a 'child of nature,' Garrick is able to justify adapting his plays, and by stating that 'there's nothing like him!' in the 'Prologue,' Garrick constructs Shakespeare as a rare force of nature.[319]

Garrick's reworking of the final scene of *The Winter's Tale* emphasizes Florizel and Perdita's pastoral romance and challenges the art versus nature debate with the 'statue' of Hermione. While the main plot line remains the same (with the revealing of Hermione as the statue), Garrick rewrote the scene to include dialogue between Florizel and Perdita.

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[316] Ibid., p. 23.
[317] Garrick, *Ode,* p. 1.
[318] Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita*, p. 23.
[319] Ibid., p. iii.

Neither Florizel nor Perdita speak in the final scene of *The Winter's Tale* (although both characters are on stage and Hermione does speak directly to Perdita). The final scene of *Florizel and Perdita* is set in Paulina's house, yet Florizel and Perdita's dialogue carries the pastoral narrative indoors. Florizel calls Perdita 'My princely shepherdess!' and tells her to:

> Be still my queen of *May*, my shepherdess,
>
> Rule in my heart; my wishes be thy subjects,
>
> And harmless as they sheep.[320]

Perdita is presented as both a 'child of nature' and royalty in Garrick's additions to Florizel's dialogue; she is perfection, or rather the figure of eighteenth-century pastoral womanly perfection. Garrick is not only altering Shakespeare's play here with the addition of dialogue; he is drawing the audience's attention to the perfection of Perdita's character. Garrick is praising Shakespeare's work in creating Perdita's character, while at the same time further emphasizing Perdita's qualities, which are described by pastoral metaphors. The final scene of the adaptation aligns perfected human nature with the pastoral and suggests that the influence from the pastoral can be carried indoors and into the royal court.

Hermione's character is also transformed in the final scene of *Florizel and Perdita*. While Hermione does not specifically reference the pastoral, her actions and language suggest that she has been influenced by eighteenth-century sensitivity. After Hermione reveals that she is not a statue in *The Winter's Tale,* she approaches Perdita and states:

> You gods, look down,
>
> And from your sacred vials pour your graces
>
> Upon my daughter's head. –Tell me, mine own,

[320] Ibid., p. 46, p. 48.

Where hast thou been preserved? Where lived? How found

Thy father's court?[321]

Hermione does embrace Leontes, but she does not speak to him; she only speaks to her daughter and to the gods. She asks the gods to 'pour [their] graces' onto her daughter, who is Leontes' heir and is thankful that Perdita has returned to specifically her *father's* court.[322] Hermione's concern of the well-being of her daughter is connected to her concern of succession; the child that Hermione bore is the heir to Leontes' throne. In *Florizel and Perdita*, Hermione kneels before Leontes and forgives him before she speaks to Perdita: 'No more; be all that's past | Forgot'in this enfolding, and forgiven.'[323] In response, Leontes calls Hermione, 'Thou matchless saint! – Thou paragon of virtue!'[324] Ritchie argues that Leontes' 'virtuous repentance of his previous crimes is rewarded when Leontes is reunited with his wife.'[325] Leontes' 'reward' specifically is a result of Garrick's transformation of Hermione into a sensitive figure of eighteenth-century female perfection, like her daughter. For Marsden, 'Garrick's loving patriarch with appropriately deferential wife and child constitute the ideal patriarchal family where lines of authority are hidden behind the rhetoric of sentiment.'[326] Hermione's rhetoric, when she speaks to her daughter, maintains sensitivity:

Thou *Perdita*, my long-lost child, that fill'st

My measure up of bliss – tell me, mine own,

Where hast thou been preserv'd? where liv'd! how found

[321] Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale,* V.iii.122-126.
[322] Ibid., V.iii.123.
[323] Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita*, p. 47.
[324] Ibid., p. 47.
[325] Ritchie, *Women and Shakespeare*, p. 172.
[326] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined* Text, p. 85.

Bohemia's court?[327]

Notably, Garrick has changed 'Thy father's court' to '*Bohemia*'s court.'[328] Leontes' authority is hidden here to emphasize the domestic sentiment as Marsden has argued. However, the change in words does more than hide authority and accentuate emotion. Garrick's pastoral-focused alteration is an escape from the politics of the court, and in the final scene, he removes the political figure ('Thy father') from Hermione's description of the court and replaces the political figure with the country's name. His language positions Bohemia as the possessor of the court, placing the country in the position of power and furthering Garrick's emphasis of the value of land. The ending of *Florizel and Perdita* is not focused on the reunion of mother and daughter, but rather on the relationship standings of the couples. The moral qualities of Hermione and Perdita have notably been identified by their male counterparts, and the women look up to the men for this praise. Even though Hermione is offering Leontes forgiveness, she kneels to him and he provides her with the final assurance that she is a morally good character.

Hermione's disguise as a statue of herself positions her as both an artistic model and characteristic model of eighteenth-century virtue in Garrick's adaptation. Leontes becomes a more sensitive character who 'Weeps' and 'Bursts into tears' at the sight of Hermione's 'statue.'[329] Hermione and Leontes are depicted by Garrick as the perfect sensitive, heteronormative, eighteenth-century couple. Leontes is a sensitive character, but he still maintains the dominant, male position in the relationship as his wife still kneels to him and he assures her of her moral goodness. Leontes describes the 'statue' of Hermione as, 'O master-

[327] Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita*, p. 65.
[328] Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale,* V.iii.126.
Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita*, p. 65.
[329] Ibid., p. 60.

piece of art! nature's deceiv'd | By thy perfection.'[330] In the eighteenth century, art was associated with perfection, but for Leontes, the 'statue' is so perfect it could be nature. Dobson argues that Garrick's additions to the statue scene create 'a full-scale celebration of the sanctified nuclear family… [Leontes] and Hermione, are first and foremost private beings, a long-separated husband and wife rather than a long-heirless king and queen.'[331] Marsden furthers Dobson's claim by emphasizing that the purpose of the alteration was to redefine 'Leontes as a family man' and to create an intensely emotional family reunion in the final scene.[332] In Garrick's view, he has perfected the statue scene in *The Winter's Tale* by bringing in pastoral elements with Florizel and Perdita's dialogue and by adapting Hermione and Leontes into a private, sensitive couple. Garrick's Prologue frames art as in control of nature, which establishes his adaptation mindset for the play. However, Leontes' description of the 'statue' of Hermione suggests that art's master achievement is to imitate nature rather than to perfect it. This contradiction makes Garrick's stance on the art versus nature debate ambiguous in *Florizel and Perdita*. Garrick's ambiguity allows him to both praise Shakespeare for his natural writing talent and justify his adaptation of Shakespeare's plays.

Sheep-Shearing: Other Adaptations of *The Winter's Tale*

The final two adaptations I will be briefly addressing are Macnamara Morgan's *The Sheep Shearing: Or, Florizel and Perdita* (which had been in the Covent Garden repertory since 1754) and George Coleman's 1777 *The Sheep-Shearing: A Dramatic Pastoral*.[333] Both plays are

[330] Ibid., p. 60.
[331] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 192.
[332] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined* Text, pp. 84.
[333] Earlier editions of Morgan's *The Sheep Shearing: Or Florizel and Perdita* (Dublin: 1747 and London: 1762) exist, but due to the pandemic, I only have access to the 1767 edition.

alterations of *The Winter's Tale* and compact the story to the pastoral narrative. Macnamara Morgan's *The Sheep Shearing: Or, Florizel and Perdita* reframes *The Winter's Tale* to emphasize Perdita's character as an innocent princess with the language of nature. In the 'Prologue,' Morgan describes Perdita:

> The clown's coarse jest, the fortunes of a maid,
> Whom nature's simple elegance array'd;
> Princess, a milkmaid, and a prince's bride,
> A subject for his *WINTER'S TALE* supply'd;
> In which, the master-poet has inwove
> The virgin innocence of past'ral love.[334]

Morgan uses the metaphor of unweaving to describe his adaptation process in separating the pastoral narrative (in particular, Perdita's story and character) from the rest of *The Winter's Tale.* He further emphasizes Perdita's position as 'simple' and a 'child of nature' which Garrick had established in *Florizel and Perdita*. In the Prologue to *The Sheep-Shearing*, Morgan directly states that Perdita's innocence and elegance is connected to the pastoral. Similarly, Florizel's final lines in Coleman's *The Sheep-Shearing: A Dramatic Pastoral* emphasize Perdita's innocence:

> Be still my Queen of May, my shepherdess,
> Rule in my heart; my wishes by thy subjects,
> And harmless as thy sheep.[335]

Both Morgan and Coleman's adaptations are set solely in the pastoral: the court, the sixteen-year long time frame, as well as Leontes, Hermione, and Paulina have been removed from the plays.

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[334] Macnamara Morgan, *The Sheep-Shearing: Or, Florizel and Perdita* (Dublin: 1767), p. i.
[335] George Coleman, *The Sheep-Shearing: A Dramatic Pastoral* (London: 1777), p. 38.

Perdita becomes the central figure of innocence and purity in the pastoral descriptions of her character. The pastoral settings are reminiscent of Marie Antoinette's play farm, Hameau de la Reine, where the stables and sheep pen served as a backdrop for Marie Antoinette and her family and guests to walk through. The pastoral in these adaptations is presented as a place of leisure, where wealthy characters walk alongside the pasture for relaxation. Perdita's pastoral identity as a shepherdess is not about labour, but rather her innocence. This representation of pastoral is a reflection of classical traditional pastoral as an urban and courtly form rather than as natural.

Even though Morgan's use of the pastoral is traditional and courtly, he emphasizes that nature is the reason for Shakespeare's talent. Morgan justifies his focus on Perdita for his adaptation by praising Shakespeare for his skill in creating characters in the Prologue:

> To raise the honour of the *British* stage
> And swell the glories of *Eliza's* age,
> Great *SHAKESPEAR* came, indu'd with ev'ry art
> To fire with rage, with pity melt the heart:
> And early contract nature with him seal'd,
> And, to her fav'rite, all her charms reveal'd;
> Alike his skill, to paint the hero's woe,
> Or bid the virgin's softer sorrows flow.
> To draw young *Harry* in the fields of *France*:
> Or *Shepherds* gambols in the rural dance.[336]

Morgan begins the Prologue by stating that while Shakespeare is capable of art, it is nature that is his strength. Nature is personified by Morgan as a partner whom Shakespeare has signed a

[336] Morgan, *The Sheep-Shearing*, p. i.

contract to work with, and for Morgan, the greatest skill Nature gave Shakespeare was his ability to create life-like characters, thereby imitating human nature.

The adaptation of Shakespeare's plays from 1660 to 1780 followed the dominant ideas of landscaping, gardening, and the cultivation of the natural world. The depictions of nature in the plays of 'the poet of nature' were cultivated like a garden. By 1770, Whately claimed that, 'Gardening, in the perfection to which is has been lately brought in England, is entitled to a place of considerable rank among the liberal arts. It is as superior to landskip painting, as a reality to a representation.'[337] Gardening had been fully established as an art designed to correct and perfect the natural world. The ambiguous and evolving idea of nature throughout the long eighteenth century allowed critics to praise Shakespeare for his natural talent, while at the same time provided them with the space to adapt and 'perfect' his works. Garden practices established the aesthetic concepts for adapters to follow in their criticism of Shakespeare and their refinement of his plays and settings. The evolving criticism of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' continued to rely on art to refine his plays throughout the century, although 'art' changed from referring to strict concepts such as symmetry to natural variety by the end of the century. The evolutions of art, nature, and Shakespeare in the long eighteenth century worked together to construct Shakespeare into the complex 'poet of nature.' Contemporary gardens and landscapes were visually depicted on the stage while Shakespeare's text was altered to reflect the values associated with the 'Tastes' of the times. The adapters became metaphorical gardeners who helped shape not only Shakespeare's plays but also his identity. Adaptations in the first half of the eighteenth century included textual changes that emphasized the role of the land in providing for the nobility (in particular, the forests for the navy). By the late eighteenth century, prologues

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[337] Whately, *Observations*, p. 1.

of alterations of Shakespeare's plays (especially those by Garrick) became spaces to praise and elevate Shakespeare due to his association with nature.

Chapter 3: Perfecting the Poet of Nature

In this chapter, I examine the editions of Rowe (1709), Pope (1725), Theobald (1733), Johnson (1765), and Bell (1774) chronologically to show the changing editorial practices applied to Shakespeare's works. I assess how each of the editions relates Shakespeare to nature for different editorial purposes. All of the editions compare Shakespeare to the natural world in order to contrast his talents with refined art, particularly with the use of the word 'genius.' By analyzing these editions, I will compare changing editorial approaches to Shakespeare's works with eighteenth-century gardening and landscaping practices in order to show the connection between editing the poet of nature, cultivating the natural world, and the evolving definition of the word 'genius.'

In the previous chapter, I examined how long eighteenth-century adapters 'perfected' Shakespeare's plays by using language which paralleled gardening practices. Eighteenth-century Shakespeare editors relied on metaphors of cultivation and weeding to justify their editing practices, but unlike adaptation practices, which as I have shown tended to follow gardening trends, editing practices seem in many ways to precede them. Attitudes to editing Shakespeare's plays in the eighteenth century arose from the same atmosphere of ideas that would shape new ways of envisaging the garden. Perceptions of what constituted the ideal natural world changed throughout the eighteenth century from the symmetrical garden to the pastoral country to the dramatic sublime. The works of literary figures and gardeners influenced one another. Switzer, in his 1715 *The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation*, uses Pope's *An Essay on Criticism* to argue that Pope's suggestions for art can be applied to cultivation and gardening.[338] Switzer's writing reveals that garden designers and landscapers read literary philosophical works

[338] Switzer, *Gardener's Recreation*, pp. xv-xvi.

for inspiration for their gardening practices. Eighteenth-century Shakespearean editors did use the language of cultivation in their criticism of the playwright, but their use of this language predated changing gardening trends and adaptation practices. The uncanniness of this anticipation and Switzer's reflection on Pope's writing suggests that literary criticism did not simply follow garden design trends, and that the relationship between criticism and philosophies of nature was more complex, in particular in the language used by Shakespearean editors.

Current scholars have touched on the role of eighteenth-century editors as cultivators of Shakespeare. Walsh examines how eighteenth-century Shakespearean editing followed Biblical interpretation practices in order to create 'an English national Scripture' and identify the true intentions of Shakespeare.[339] Marsden assesses how critics and editors balanced their praise of Shakespeare 'as England's greatest natural genius' alongside their criticisms of his flaws.[340] De Grazia argues that the Tonson editions, by labeling Shakespeare's 'Beauties' and Faults' were designed 'to cultivate Taste and Judgement… because Shakespeare had traditionally been associated with irregular and artless Nature.'[341] My chapter delves much further into De Grazia's statement by examining, for the first time, how the discourse of editing Shakespeare related to gardening and cultivation practices. The selective word choice of the editors provides justification for their editions of Shakespeare's plays, allowing them to 'weed' his works in order to place the focus on the 'Beauties.' Marsden argues that 'Critics from Dryden to Addison, Pope and Theobald regarded Shakespeare as England's greatest natural genius but tempered their praise with judicious references to his flaws.'[342] The concept of Shakespeare as a 'natural genius' needs to be unpacked further, which I do in this chapter by examining the language of cultivation

[339] Walsh, *Literary Editing*, p. 2, p. 51.
[340] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text,* p. 47.
[341] De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, pp. 196-200.
[342] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text,* p. 47.

used by some editors (such as Pope) to analyze his writing. Editors use nature to praise Shakespeare's talent and to criticize his flaws. For Walsh, 'In the textual editing and explication of Shakespeare's writing, principles were contested and methodologies established that have had the most fundamental effects not only on Shakespeare studies, but also on literary studies and beyond.'[343] I am extending Walsh's argument by showing a specific implication of eighteenth-century Shakespeare editing, going 'beyond' literary studies and into the representation and redesign of the natural world.

Alongside the changes in perceptions of the natural world in relation to Shakespeare came the transition in the definition of the word 'genius.' Bate argues that, 'In the course of the seventeenth century, *genius* in the sense of "native endowment" was frequently contrasted with the *art* which could be achieved by study…. The analogy with the spirit of a place strengthened the association.'[344] In this chapter, I dissect the chronology of the changing definition of 'genius' in relation to the critical assessments of Shakespeare in the prefaces of eighteenth-century editions. The various uses of 'genius' contributed to the presentation of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' The earliest definition of 'genius,' I shall show, leads to a lingering association of the word with the natural world.

Rowe's biography of Shakespeare begins to show the shift in the definition of 'genius' by using the word to describe Shakespeare's unique talents: 'his own Great *Genius*.'[345] Pope uses 'Genius' in his edition to refer to Shakespeare's spirit and his talent, hinting towards the classical definition in relation to Shakespeare. Pope's gardening practices were similar to his editorial practices: both gardens and texts need to look 'natural' by the work of the gardener/editor.

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[343] Marcus Walsh, 'Editing and Publishing Shakespeare,' in *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century, ed. by Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 21-40 (p. 21).
[344] Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, p. 163.
[345] Rowe, 'Mr. William Shakespear,' I, iii.

Theobald describes the emergence of Shakespeare's talents as 'the Force of Genius,' defining 'Genius' as an external power influencing Shakespeare.[346] Johnson argues in his Preface that:

> As among the works of nature no man can properly call a river deep or a mountain high, without the knowledge of many mountains and many rivers; so in the productions of genius, nothing can be stiled excellent till it has been compared with other works of the same kind.[347]

While Johnson does not directly use the word 'genius' to describe Shakespeare, he uses it in a general statement at the beginning of his Preface to describe literary works of high merit and talent. Notably, Johnson uses a metaphor of the natural world to explain the knowledge critics need in order to assess the genius of literary works, further showing the lingering definition of 'genius' in association with nature. The classical definition of 'Genius' appears again in Bell's 1774 edition, where, in the Advertisement, he refers to 'the Genius of England,' suggesting that England has its own tutelary deity and 'Genius of the Place.'[348] Francis Gentleman, who wrote the comments in Bell's edition, defines the cauldron scene in *Macbeth* as 'a stronger instance of original genius,' thereby labelling Shakespeare as uniquely and incredibly talented.[349] Throughout these eighteenth-century editions, the word 'genius' emerges as a link between Shakespeare's talent, his identity as 'the poet of nature,' a classical spiritual deity associated with a natural location, and Shakespeare's spirit, a process which would place Shakespeare himself as the genius (in the classical sense of the word) of Stratford-upon-Avon by the end of the eighteenth century. Shakespeare's education (or lack thereof) became one focus for editors to assess the quality of his work, which is revealed in Rowe's biography.

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[346] Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare,* I, xv.
[347] S. Johnson, *Selections,* p. 9.
[348] John Bell, ed., *Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays*, 8 vols (London: 1774), I, n.p.
[349] Francis Gentleman, *Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays*, ed. by John Bell, 8 vols (London: 1774) I, 49.

‘Fire, Impetuosity, and even beautiful Extravagance’: Rowe’s 1709 Edition

Rowe’s 1709 edition of Shakespeare’s plays, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear*, begins with a Dedication to the Duke of Somerset followed by a prefatory biography entitled ‘Some Account of the Life, &c. of Mr. William Shakespear.’ In the Dedication, Rowe notes that the Duke’s own appreciation for nature and the passions is comparable to the content of Shakespeare’s writing:

> I could not take leave of an Art of I have lov’d, without commending the best of our Poets to the Protection of the best Patron. I have sometimes had the Honour to hear Your Grace express the particular Pleasure you have taken in that Greatness of Thought, those natural Images, those Passions finely touch’d, and that beautiful Expression which is every where to be met with in *Shakespear*.[350]

Rowe compliments the Duke as his patron by aligning him with Shakespeare as the ‘best.’ Shakespeare’s greatness is a result of nature, both in his descriptions of the natural world (the ‘natural Images’) and his depiction of human nature in his characters’ emotions (‘those Passions’). Throughout the biography, Rowe continues with the thread of ‘Greatness,’ constructing Shakespeare as a uniquely talented writer.

Rowe’s biography of Shakespeare presents him as a poet with an extravagant imagination whose works are pieces of nature. For Rowe:

> It is without Controversie, that he had no knowledge of the Writings of the Antient Poets…. his Works themselves, where we find no traces of any thing that looks like an Imitation of ’em; the Delicacy of his Taste, and the natural Bent of his own Great *Genius*, equal, of not superior to the best of theirs, would certainly have led him to Read and

[350] Nicholas Rowe, ed. *The Works of Mr. William* Shakespear, 6 vols (London: 1709), I, n.p.

> Study 'em with so much Pleasure, that some of their fine Images would naturally have insinuated themselves into, and been mix'd with his own Writings…. Whether his Ignorance of the Antients were a disadvantage to him or no, may admit of a Dispute: For tho' the knowledge of 'em might have made him more Correct, yet it is not improbable that the Regularity and Deference for them, which would have attended the Correctness, might have restrain'd some of the Fire, Impetuosity, and even beautiful Extravagance which we admire in *Shakespear*.[351]

Rowe's biography was frequently used and referred to throughout the eighteenth century as a source of information about Shakespeare's life. In the biography, Rowe challenges the assumption that Shakespeare's work is flawed due to his lack of education in classical literature. Rowe argues that this education would have hindered Shakespeare's writing in addition to correcting his faults. For Marsden, Rowe sees Shakespeare's lack of education and classical knowledge as 'advantages, for too much learning might have tamed Shakespeare's great "fire" or restrained his luxurious "fancy."'[352] It is specifically Shakespeare's 'genius' that Rowe is pleased was not 'tamed' by education; Rowe ties Shakespeare's 'fire' and 'fancy' specifically to 'the natural Bent of his own Great *Genius*.'[353] For Rowe, it is Shakespeare's wild extravagance that allows him to be his own genius as a result of his talent; Rowe is moving away from the classical definition of 'genius' as 'the Genius of the Place.' Bate argues that by the mid-eighteenth century, the term 'genius' became aligned with the concept of 'original genius' as a positive result of artlessness.[354] Here, in 1709, Rowe is beginning to associate 'genius' with talent, hinting towards the later concept of 'original genius.' Rowe's description of Shakespeare's

[351] Rowe, 'Mr. William Shakespear,' I, iii.
[352] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined* Text, p. 52
[353] Rowe, 'Mr. William Shakespear,' I, iii.
[354] Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, pp. 162-163.

writing talents plays an interesting part in the context of a biography, as it offers a critique of Shakespeare's education within the overall narrative of his life. His works were altered and edited to fit long eighteenth-century values and aesthetic ideals, but here in Rowe's biography, Shakespeare's life becomes subject to eighteenth-century criticism. His education and upbringing became a focal point for critics, editors, and adapters who wanted to find a reason for his abilities as well as his faults. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the focus would narrow to assessing how the environment of Shakespeare's early life in Stratford-upon-Avon inspired his talents and led to his identity as an original genius. Rowe's early argument for Shakespeare as an original genius in the context of the biography begins to fuse Shakespeare's identity as the poet of nature with the concept of being a local, and national, genius.

Rowe continues his argument throughout the biography, specifically addressing the role of nature as a source for Shakespeare's knowledge. He suggests a different way of approaching Shakespeare's writing:

> Perhaps we are not to look for his Beginnings, like those of other Authors, among their least perfect Writings; Art had so little, and Nature so large a Share in what he did, that, for ought I know, the Performances of his Youth, as they were the most vigorous, and had the most fire and strength of Imagination in 'em, were the best. I would not be thought by this to mean, that his Fancy was so loose and extravagant, as to be Independent on the Rule and Government of Judgement; but that what he thought, was so commonly Great, so justly and rightly Conceiv'd in it self, that it wanted little or no Correction, and was immediately approv'd by an impartial Judgement at the first sight.[355]

[355] Rowe, 'Mr. William Shakespear,' I, iv-v.

Shakespeare's youth, Rowe argues, poses a different, unique base for critics, scholars, and editors to examine in comparison with other writers. Shakespeare is not a writer who follows classical writing rules and structure. Rowe encourages people to appreciate the role of nature as the source for Shakespeare's education and inspiration. The definition of 'Nature' here is ambiguous: Rowe may be referring to 'Nature' in terms of natural talent, or perhaps he may be referring to the impact of the natural world on Shakespeare's talents. Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century gardening writers, such as Worlidge and Switzer, noted the impact of the natural world on human nature. These writers show that the natural world must be cultivated to aesthetic perfection in order to properly benefit human nature. For Worlidge, well-designed garden walks provided a space for relaxation.[356] In Switzer's view, classical gardens influenced philosophical thought.[357] The strength of Shakespeare's imagination is a result of nature which led to his works, at the time, not needing significant corrections. Rowe views Shakespeare not as a flawless or perfect writer, but rather as a writer whose imagination, passion, and well-conceived extravagance are markers of a unique, uneducated, and original genius.

Rowe refers to Shakespeare's 'own Great *Genius*' as the source of his imagination throughout the biography, often nodding towards nature as the basis of his talent.[358] Rowe pinpoints *The Tempest, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Macbeth,* and *Hamlet* as specific examples that show 'the greatness of this Author's Genius… where he gives his Imagination an entire Loose, and raises his Fancy to a flight above Mankind and the Limits of the visible World.'[359] The supernatural elements of these plays, for Rowe, are the prime markers of what

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[356] Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae,* pp. 31, 35.

[357] Switzer, *Gardener's Recreation*, pp. ii.
[358] Rowe, 'Mr. William Shakespear,' I, iii.
[359] Ibid., I, xxiii.

makes Shakespeare an original genius, as they show the influence of nature on his writing; Rowe is celebrating Shakespeare's artlessness. He then specifically addresses the tragedies of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*:

> If one understood to examine the greatest part of these by those Rules which are establish'd by *Artistotle*, and taken from the Model of the *Grecian* Stage, it would be no very hard Task to find a great many Faults: But as *Shakespear* liv'd under a kind of mere Light of Nature, and had never been made acquainted with the Regularity of those written Precepts, so it would be hard to judge him by a Law he knew nothing of.[360]

Rowe accepts that there are faults to Shakespeare's writing, but he points out that Shakespeare was unaware of classical writing standards. Marsden argues that Rowe's logic in this passage shows that 'reproaching Shakespeare with his failure to follow the rules is not only irrelevant but improper critical practice.'[361] Rowe is not only pointing out problematic Shakespearean criticism: he is predating the eighteenth-century shift from seeing Shakespeare as in need of significant revision to the later eighteenth-century view of Shakespeare as divine because of nature. Jack Lynch states that, 'Whereas earlier critics sometimes saw Shakespeare's apparent lack of Greek and Latin as a sign of his inadequacy, his putative ignorance eventually became a sign of his brilliance.'[362] Rowe, as an early eighteenth-century Shakespeare critic, is noting Shakespeare's remarkable talent before it was a common practice and pre-empting anticipated neoclassical objections. He poses nature in contrast with traditional writing practices that emphasizes the value of nature's influence. He refers to the influence as a 'Light of Nature.'[363]

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[360] Ibid., I, xxvi.
[361] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined* Text, p. 54.
[362] Jack Lynch, 'Criticism of Shakespeare,' in *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, *ed. by Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 41-59 (p. 52).
[363] Rowe, 'Mr. William Shakespear,' I, xxvi.

While Rowe does praise Shakespeare, he still is in the position of an editor who must justify his editorial practices and the changes he makes to Shakespeare's plays. Rowe's main changes involved adding stage directions, settings, and scene divisions rather than in-depth editing of Shakespeare's plays. Rowe viewed Shakespeare as a genius, but believed that his works need to be handled by an editor in order to fit the tastes of the eighteenth century. By 1725, in Pope's edition, passages from Shakespeare's plays would be categorized to emphasize elements of his writing that were deemed tasteful.

'Beauties and Faults': Pope's Cultivation of Shakespeare

Pope's 1725 *The Works of Shakespeare* highlights Shakespeare's 'Beauties' in his editorial process. Pope refines Shakespeare's plays to his own aesthetic taste by labelling some of Shakespeare's passages as 'Beauties.' In this section, I will uncover how Pope's taste presents some of Shakespeare's 'Beauties' as not only aesthetically pleasing passages, but as consonant with Pope's own eighteenth-century philosophies of gardening and the natural world by examining what Pope deems are Shakespeare's 'shining passages.' Pope constructs Shakespeare as an author capable of representing nature as a complex feature in writing. His selected 'Beauties' which involve metaphors of nature depict the natural world as both aesthetically pleasing and a source for reason, judgement, and structure. My examination of Pope's writings about horticulture and nature as key elements of his critical response to Shakespeare is a new approach. Pope's role as a Shakespearean editor is unique; he is only one of two critics who I address in my study who wrote extensively on both gardening practices and Shakespeare (the other being Thomas Whately). Whately's work specifically examines Shakespeare's characters, who he describes as 'masterly copies from nature' and he praises Shakespeare by stating that 'No

other dramatic writer could ever pretend to so deep and so extensive a knowledge of the human heart.'[364] Whately is primarily interested in Shakespeare's representation of human nature; Pope's focus, on the other hand, is on categorizing Shakespeare's 'Beauties' and 'Faults,' and his rationale for the selection of these passages is based on his view of gardening. Pope's gardening practices involve cultivating nature to make it look perfected, yet untouched by human hands. In my analysis, I uncover how Pope's dual role as both a horticultural and literary critic informs a whole coherent aesthetic system where 'cultivating' and 'editing' become interchangeable terms.

Pope aesthetically refines Shakespeare to his own taste. In the Preface to *The Works of Shakespear*, Pope outlines his editorial practice in identifying Shakespeare's 'Beauties and Faults.'[365] He marks Shakespeare's 'Faults' by an asterisk and then they 'are degraded to the bottom of the page', while 'Some of the most shining passages are distinguish'd by comma's in the margin; and where the beauty lay not in particulars but in the whole, a star is prefix'd to the scene.'[366] Pope's identification of 'Beauties' was not a new practice; 'In Shakespeare's time, quotation marks… directed the reader's eye to passages of special note.'[367] Classifying the 'Beauties and Faults' of writers was a neoclassical tradition involving the refined judgement, taste, and reason of the critic.[368] Pope's editorial process is reflected twenty years later in Eliza Haywood's *Female Spectator,* where she associates Shakespeare's plays with 'fine Gardens full of the most beautiful Flowers, but choaked up with Weeds… Those therefore which have had those weeds plucked up by the skilful Hands of his Successors, are the most elegant

[364] Whately, *Characters of Shakespeare,* p. 7.
[365] Alexander Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear,* 6 vols (London: 1725), I, ii.
[366] Ibid., I, xxii and xxiii.
[367] Margreta De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth, ed. Jean I. Marsden.* (New York: 1991), 57-71 (p. 58).
[368] Ibid., p. 62.

Entertainments.'[369] De Grazia, Walsh, and Murphy argue that Pope edited Shakespeare's plays according to aesthetic tastes that were influenced by eighteenth-century cultural ideals.[370] De Grazia states that Pope '"licentiously" emended, highlighted, and stigmatized Shakespeare according to his own peremptory taste.'[371] For Walsh,

> many of Pope's text-editorial decisions were made for aesthetic reasons, rather than to reconstruct an original text…. [which] was wholly reasonable within his historical context. He conceived his business as the mediation of Shakespeare, the author of a past and less cultivated age, to readers in his own.[372]

In Murphy's opinion, 'The primacy of the aesthetic informed Pope's attitude to textual as well as critical matters, and it was the aesthetic codes of his own contemporary culture that most concerned him rather than those of the Renaissance period.'[373] These 'aesthetic codes,' I argue, were based in gardening and cultivation practices. I reveal how Pope's own gardening practices and philosophies of the natural world are reflected in his criticism of Shakespeare's works.

Pope moved to Twickenham and started gardening there in 1719. His own gardening practices at Twickenham reveal his view that cultivated nature that looks untouched by humans is nature perfected. The visual construction of Pope's edition of Shakespeare's works reflects Pope's gardening philosophy and provides a direct connection between gardening and editorial

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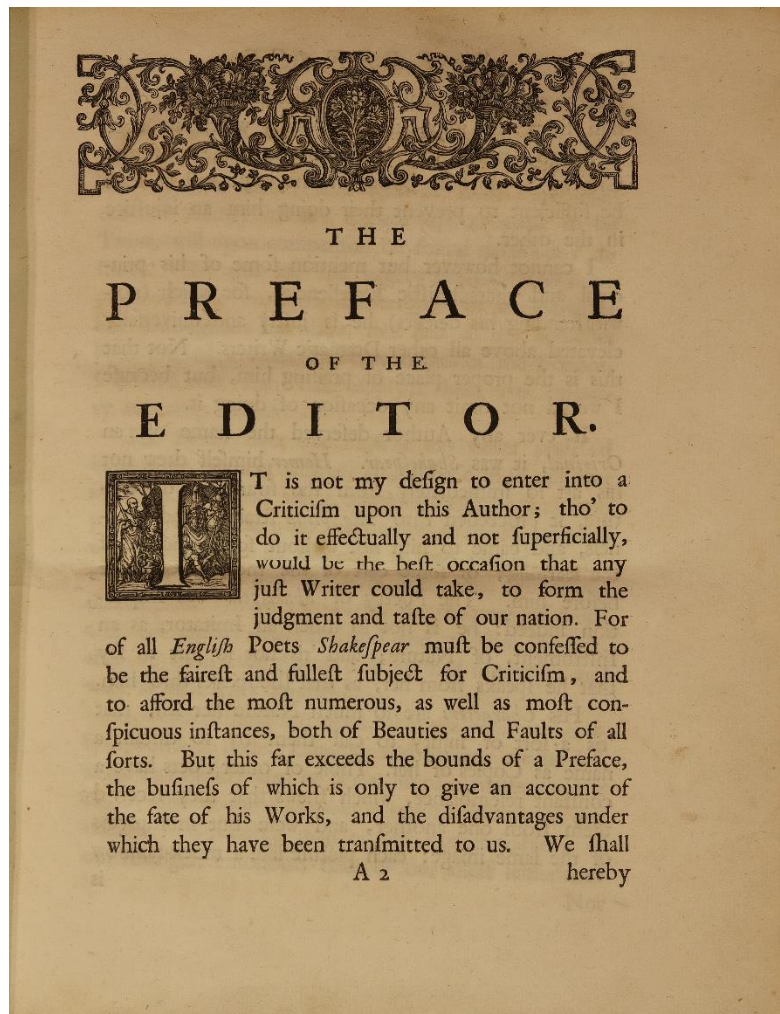
[369] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, II, 91.
[370] De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, p. 128.
Walsh, *Literary Editing,* pp. 130-131.
Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 66.
[371] De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, p. 128.
[372] Walsh, *Literary Editing*, p. 131.
[373] Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, p. 66.

practices. The printers' ornaments in *The Works of Shakespear* depict refined nature for Pope's eighteenth-century readership. Each play in Pope's edition begins with a printer's ornament at



THE

PREFACE

OF THE

EDITOR.

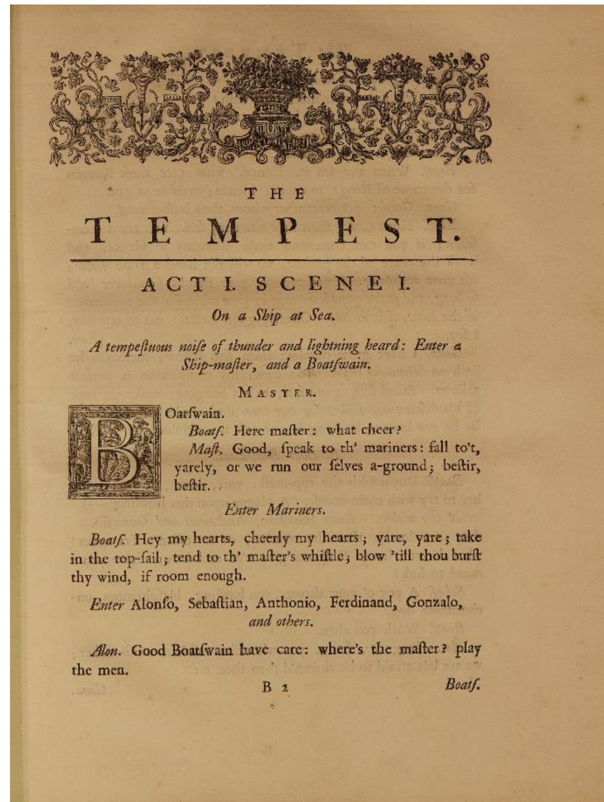
IT is not my deſign to enter into a Criticiſm upon this Author; tho' to do it effectually and not ſuperficially, would be the beſt occaſion that any juſt Writer could take, to form the judgment and taſte of our nation. For of all *Engliſh* Poets *Shakeſpear* muſt be confeſſed to be the faireſt and fulleſt ſubject for Criticiſm, and to afford the moſt numerous, as well as moſt conſpicuous inſtances, both of Beauties and Faults of all ſorts. But this far exceeds the bounds of a Preface, the buſineſs of which is only to give an account of the fate of his Works, and the diſadvantages under which they have been tranſmitted to us. We ſhall

A 2 hereby

Figure 9 - 'The Preface,' The Works of Shakespear, *ed. by Alexander Pope, vol. I, p. i. Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, q PR2752 P6.*

the top of the page as well as a large initial letter at the start of the first line. Each of these decorations in Pope's *The Works of Shakespear* is designed to show nature perfected; the printer's selection of these ornaments is reflective of Pope's editorial practice. The design of the printer's ornament at the top of the page of 'The Preface of the Editor' with the centre medallion and the two curved vases full of flowers flanking the centre image show control over nature. Other than the image in the medallion, the two halves of the printer's ornament are perfect

mirrors of each other. Nature has been artistically designed for aesthetic perfection. The first ‘I’ of the Preface includes a classical scene. The printers’ ornament at the beginning of *The Tempest*, like the printers’ ornament before the Preface, is an image of controlled nature. The printers’ ornament is symmetrical (with the exception of the central sketch with the flowers in



THE

TEMPEST.

ACT I. SCENE I.

On a Ship at Sea.

A tempeſtuous noiſe of thunder and lightning heard: Enter a Ship-maſter, and a Boatſwain.

MASTER.

BOatſwain.

Boatſ. Here maſter: what cheer?

Maſt. Good, ſpeak to th' mariners: fall to't, yarely, or we run our ſelves a-ground; beſtir, beſtir.

Enter Mariners.

Boatſ. Hey my hearts, cheerly my hearts; yare, yare; take in the top-ſail; tend to th' maſter's whiſtle; blow 'till thou burſt thy wind, if room enough.

Enter Alonſo, Sebaſtian, Anthonio, Ferdinand, Gonzalo, *and others.*

Alon. Good Boatſwain have care: where's the maſter? play the men.

B 2 *Boatſ.*

Figure 10 - The Tempest, The Works of Shakespear, ed. by Alexander Pope. Vol. I, p. 3. Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, q PR2752 P6.

the urn), which suggests a balanced harmony where design turns the natural world into art. Pope, in highlighting Shakespeare’s ‘Beauties’ and degrading his ‘Faults,’ is attempting to perfect Shakespeare. Pope’s gardening practices emphasize order, structure, and symmetry, while allowing nature to be the guide, which he notes in *An Essay on Criticism* in connection with literary criticism.

Pope’s Rules for Art: ‘First follow Nature’

Pope's gardening and Shakespeare editorial practices rely on his understanding of the Chain of Being. The Chain of Being is a concept that developed from the middle ages based on Augustine's theory that God made all things unequal in order to create the universe's structure, where all things belong according to their 'grade.'[374] People in the Middle Ages also viewed moral goodness as a scale or a ladder that people could climb to be closer to God.[375] By the eighteenth century, these ideals had been fused together into the Chain of Being, which placed God at the top of the scale of everything in creation, and nothing could be moved from its place in the Chain.[376] Arthur O. Lovejoy explores how 'Next to the word "Nature," "the Great Chain of Being" was the sacred phrase of the eighteenth century.'[377] My examination of Pope's Great Chain of being analyzes how Pope presents nature as a dominant, divine force that provides inspiration for art as well as structure for the order of the universe. Pope states that, 'All are but parts of one stupendous whole, | Whose body Nature is, and God the soul.'[378] The overarching structure of the Chain contains two central forces: Nature and God. Nature is placed as the physical structure of the Chain (the 'body') and God is the spiritual structure ('the soul'). However, Nature and God are not equal forces: 'And Nature tremble to the throne of God.'[379] Nature, although a dominant force in the structure of the Chain, is below God. Pope clearly outlines a hierarchy in the order of each link of the Chain, but he also states that there is a hierarchy in the two forces which provide the general structure of the Chain. Nature serves God, and as the 'body' of the Great Chain of Being, Nature is connected with every link of the Chain

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[374] Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 67.
[375] Ibid., p. 89.
[376] Ibid., p. 183.
[377] Ibid., p. 184.
[378] Alexander Pope, 'Epistle I,' in *An Essay on Man*, *ed. by Maynard Mack* (London: Methuen, 1958), ll. 268-269.
[379] Ibid., l. 256.

at a physical level. In Pope's earlier writing, Nature is seen as a force that provides order, as exemplified by *An Essay on Criticism* (1711):

> In prospects, thus, some objects please our eyes,
>
> Which out of Nature's common order rise,
>
> The shapeless rock, or hanging precipice.[380]

At this point in Pope's career, Nature is not yet presented as a dominant power providing structure to the universe, but Nature is still revealing order. Here, Pope is specifically referring to the order found in the natural world (as he is describing a landscape); however, he is showing how order can be seen in the natural world, which he expands on and develops further twenty-two years later in *An Essay on Man.* For Courtney Weiss Smith, Locke and Pope 'insist that the best societies are formed when individuals subordinate themselves to a suprahuman order encoded–but only ever glimpsed–in nature.'[381] Indeed, in *An Essay on Man*, Pope is stating that the order is encoded in Nature, and it is through Nature that humanity can see God's divine plan, which was useful for Pope as it circumvents his problematic status as a Catholic. Therefore, Nature as the 'body' of the Chain acts as the connection between the physical world of humanity and God.

Throughout *An Essay on Man*, Pope emphasizes the connection between God and Nature as the key structures framing the Great Chain of Being. Pope outlines how Man can learn from Nature in Epistle III and argues, 'Thus God and Nature link'd the gen'ral frame.'[382] Although Pope does state that Nature is beneath God, he reiterates the divine connection between God and Nature as the two main forces behind the Chain in order to emphasize the value of Nature as

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[380] Pope, *An Essay on Criticism*, ll. 158-160.

[381] Courtney Weiss Smith, 'Political Individuals and Providential Nature in Locke and Pope', *Studies in English Literature*, 52.3 (2012), 609-629 (p. 610).

[382] Pope, 'Epistle III,' in *An Essay on Man*, l. 317.

associated with God: 'The state of Nature was the reign of God.'[383] Nature, although subservient to God, is the reason for God's reign over humankind. Nature, for Pope, is not the highest divine force, but Nature is both a divine and physical force that allows humankind to see God and see the structure (the 'body') of the Great Chain of Being. Nature is the physical window to the spiritual (God); 'But looks thro' Nature, up to Nature's God; | Pursues that Chain which links th'immense design, | Joins heav'n and earth, and mortal and divine.'[384] Nature, for Pope, is the ultimate physical connection between humankind and the divine, which therefore situates Nature in eighteenth-century philosophy as a power worthy for people to follow. Pope's statement that Shakespeare was 'an Instrument, of Nature' in the Preface to *The Works of Shakespeare* places Shakespeare in a powerful role that echoes his philosophy of following Nature's instructions in *An Essay on Man.*[385] I will continue to dissect the significance of Pope's identification of Shakespeare as 'an Instrument, of Nature' in this section in order to show how the Preface and *An Essay on Man* work together to construct Shakespeare, due to Pope's philosophies of Nature, as a poet divinely inspired by Nature.[386]

In 'Epistle III' on *An Essay on Man*, Nature is given a voice and speaks to Man. By creating the voice of Nature, Pope does not need to draw on the Church or Scripture, thereby shifting the attention away from his status as a Catholic in a Protestant country. Pope is suggesting that the voice of Nature is giving Man instructions from God. Nature tells Man to:

> 'Go, from the Creatures thy instructions take:
>
> 'Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield;
>
> 'Learn from the beasts the physic of the field;

[383] Ibid., l. 148.
[384] Pope, 'Epistle IV,' in *An Essay on Man*, ll. 332-334.
[385] Shakespeare, *The Works of Shakespear, ed. by Alexander Pope*, I, ii.
[386] Ibid., I, ii.

‘Thy arts of building from the bee receive;

‘Learn of the mole to plow, the worm to weave;

‘Learn of the little Nautilus to sail,

‘Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.[387]

Smith argues that Nature’s monologue reveals God’s plan for society; however, not only is Man learning God’s plan through Nature, Man is being taught how to control the natural world.[388] Each creature provides Man with one specific lesson, and since Man is above animals and insects in the Great Chain, Man is able to do the actions of multiple creatures. For Smith, ‘Pope’s story runs from a state of nature’ where he ‘[narrates] the origins of civil society.’[389] I am expanding Smith’s conclusion by arguing that Pope is using Nature as a divine voice not simply to describe the beginning of civil society, but to reveal the divine purpose of cultivation and the control of the natural world. Pope is particularly interested in examining how animals and Nature reveal lessons to humanity, which is shown in his selection of Shakespeare’s ‘Beauties.’

In *An Essay on Criticism*, Pope further emphasizes the importance for artists to follow Nature. Nature is presented as a divine order with a structure and limitations that provides a guide for artists and critics to follow:

First follow Nature, and your judgement frame

By her just standard, which is still the same;

Unerring Nature, still divinely bright,

One clear, unchanged, and universal light,

Life, force, and beauty, must to all impart,

[387] Pope, ‘Epistle III,’ in *An Essay on Man,* ll. 172-178.
[388] Smith, ‘Locke and Pope’, p. 618.
[389] Ibid., p. 611.

At once the source, and end, and test of art.[390]

Nature is positioned in a place of power by Pope, as Nature provides a consistent standard for people to follow and becomes the ultimate 'test of art.'[391] Art is judged by Nature's standard, since nature is connected to life and beauty. Pope's aesthetic ideals are based in Nature. While *An Essay on Criticism* is about criticism, it also reveals Pope's own philosophy of nature. Nature is presented as a divine, constant force, which Pope is insisting poets and critics follow, as nature both inspires art ('the source) and 'tests' art. Judgement is directly associated with nature, which reveals the value Pope places on Nature as a source for logic, structure, and reason. Nature is not simply an aesthetic source for inspiration; Nature also provides an order to the world that comes from the divine, echoing the Great Chain of Being. Shakespeare, as 'an Instrument, of Nature,' directly follows the divine guidance of Nature in his writing. His characters (in particular, in Pope's selected 'Beauties') demonstrate logic and reason with references to nature.[392]

A poet of genius, for Pope, is able to see the order of the world through Nature, and through Nature, the poet is able to glimpse the divine. For Pope, 'In poets as true genius is but rare, | True taste as seldom is the critic's share; | Both must alike from Heav'n derive their light.'[393] As genius is a rare gift in poets, so too is 'true taste' for a critic. Pope's lines are ambiguous, yet in both instances, the true genius and critic have divine talents. Poets who lack the ability to understand Nature do not have the divine gift:

Poets, like painters, thus unskilled to trace

The naked Nature and the living grace,

With gold and jewels cover ev'ry part,

[390] Pope, *An Essay on Criticism*, ll. 68-72.
[391] Ibid., l. 72.
[392] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear,* I, ii.
[393] Pope, *Criticism*, ll. 11-13.

And hide with ornaments their want of art.[394]

Unskilled poets cannot copy Nature; they use ‘ornaments’ instead of truly representing art. Pope’s description of the unskilled poet counters his description of Shakespeare. Shakespeare does not simply ‘trace’ Nature; Shakespeare is presented as Nature’s instrument, and as a genius, in Pope’s Preface to his edition of Shakespeare’s works. Pope contrasts nature with artifice to show how ‘ornaments’ cover up the true order of the world, which is revealed in nature: ‘Nature to all things fixed the limits fit, | And wisely curbed proud man’s pretending wit.’[395] Throughout *An Essay on Criticism,* Pope associates nature with writing; he uses metaphors of the natural world to describe the qualities of skillful writing. Unskillful writing uses words in excess: ‘Words are like leaves; and where they are most abound, | Much fruit of sense is rarely found.’[396] Pope is metaphorically comparing writing with the cultivation of fruit; too many words, like too many leaves, ruin the quality of what is produced. These excess words, for Pope, are the ‘ornaments’ which prevent nature from coming through in skillful writing. In contrast, ‘But true expression, like th’ unchanging sun, | Clears and improves whate’er it shines upon, | It gilds all objects, but it alters none.’[397] Skillful writers are like the sun: they shine light on nature. For Pope, the metaphor of sunlight presents writers as improvers. Pope is using the word ‘gild’ to metaphorically describe how the natural world is more beautiful in sunlight; however, ‘gild’ also suggests a golden coating. Although Pope is stating that writers should not alter nature, he is suggesting that writers need to express nature at its best in their descriptions of natural scenes, which several of Shakespeare’s ‘Beauties’ do accomplish.

[394] Ibid., ll. 293-296.
[395] Ibid., ll. 52-53.
[396] Ibid., ll. 109-110.
[397] Ibid., ll. 315-317.

Pope's metaphors of the natural world reveal a connection between the natural world and writing that was prevalent in the long eighteenth century. In line 724, Pope quotes John Sheffield's 1682 *Essay Upon Poetry*: 'Nature's chief Master-piece is writing well.'[398] By quoting Sheffield, Pope directly connects writing and Nature; nature is presented as an artist, and skillful writing is depicted as Nature's most significant artistic creation. Pope extends the metaphor of Nature as artist and writing as masterpiece into his Preface to *The Works of Shakespear* by claiming that Shakespeare is 'an Instrument, of Nature.'[399] Nature is the artist, excellent writing is the masterpiece, and Shakespeare is the instrument by which Nature composes the masterpiece. These positions are not always consistent: they are in flux, whereby Shakespeare can also be the artist and Nature's masterpiece. *An Essay on Man*, *An Essay in Criticism*, and the Preface to *The Works of Shakespear* present a discussion on nature, poetry, and Shakespeare. Pope elevates nature to a divine position as the 'body' of the Great Chain of Being. Writers are encouraged to 'First follow Nature' and Shakespeare is claimed to be Nature's Instrument.[400] These three works were published over a twenty-two-year period: *An Essay on Criticism* (1711), *The Works of Shakespear* (1725), and *An Essay on Man* (1733). In *An Essay on Criticism*, Pope reveals that Nature provides an order for artists and poets to follow. In *The Works of Shakespear*, Pope highlights 'Beauties' where characters follow the guidance of the natural world. And in *An Essay on Man*, Pope reveals how Nature provides a full structure (the 'body') of the Great Chain of Being. Pope's view that Nature provided order remained consistent, yet over the twenty-two-year period, he develops and expands on exactly what he means by this order. Pope's philosophies of nature and his discussion of Shakespeare provide a base for the later eighteenth-

[398] John Sheffield, *Essay upon Poetry* (London: 1682), l. 2.
[399] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, I, ii.
[400] Pope, *Criticism*, l. 68.

century's criticism of Shakespeare and adaptations of his works. By referring to Sheffield's 1682 poem, Pope is revealing that eighteenth-century philosophies surrounding nature were a collaborative process. Pope's role in eighteenth-century Shakespearean reception goes beyond his edition of Shakespeare's works. His philosophies and elevation of nature provide key evidence of the eighteenth-century association of the natural world with writing, which became critical features of later eighteenth-century Shakespeare criticism.

Pope's Shakespeare: An 'Instrument' of Nature

In *An Essay on Man*, Pope states that 'All Nature is but art, unknown to thee.'[401] Nature's design has order and structure, as Nature is divinely connected to God in the Great Chain of Being. Like God, some elements of Nature remain beyond human knowledge; Nature's design is both visible and invisible. For Pope, nature is *the* source for artists and poets to imitate. Nature is God's creation and art. In *An Essay on Criticism,* Pope claims:

> Those Rules of old discovered, not devised,
> Are Nature still, but Nature methodized;
> Nature, like liberty, is but restrained
> By the same laws which first herself ordained.
> Hear how learn'd Greece her useful rules indites,
> When to repress, and when indulge our flights
> …
> Learn hence for ancient rules a just esteem;
> To copy nature is to copy them.[402]

[401] Pope, 'Epistle I,' in *An Essay on Man*, l. 289.
[402] Pope, *Criticism*, ll. 88-93, 139-140.

Pope is sketching out how classical literary rules came to exist in nature and showing how these rules can still be followed by copying nature. He defines nature as 'restrained' rather than 'wild' or 'uncontrollable.' Nature, for Pope, is associated with order. Pope is stating that Nature taught classical writers the Unities ('her useful rules'), which also relays an underlying message that nature is *the* source for artistic imitation. Classical writers methodized nature and were able to represent nature in their writing. Nature has laws and rules to guide and restrain writers. Nature, for Pope, provides the best lesson for writers. In his Preface to *The Works of Shakespear*, Pope defends Shakespeare for not following the classical Unities and instead presents Shakespeare as a genius and 'an Instrument, of Nature.'[403] Pope is revealing that Shakespeare, in following nature, does not need to imitate classical writers since he is going to *the* source for divine, artistic inspiration.

Pope's 1725 Preface to *The Works of Shakespear* both praises and criticizes Shakespeare's writing. The word 'nature' enables him, like other critics, to navigate these opposing views. It at once lets him celebrate Shakespeare's many beauties and justify the removal of his 'Faults' as a gardener would weed a garden. Pope frames his dual tone of praise and criticism at the beginning of the Preface by stating that '…of all *English* Poets *Shakespear* must be confessed to be the fairest and fullest subject for Criticism, and to afford the more numerous, as well as most conspicuous instances, both of Beauties and Faults of all sorts.'[404] Pope's goal is to highlight both Shakespeare's 'Beauties and Faults' in his edition of Shakespeare's works in order to present Shakespeare as a writer both deserving of praise and critique. Shakespeare, for Pope, 'is justly and universally elevated above all other Dramatic Writers' but 'It must be own'd that with all these great excellencies, he has almost as great

[403] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, I, ii.
[404] Ibid., I, i.

defects.'[405] Pope's presentation of Shakespeare as an 'elevated' writer almost contradicts his later statement that he has 'defects.' Shakespeare's 'defects' are not solely his fault. According to Pope, Shakespeare's early editors committed 'blunders and illiteracies' and 'almost innumerable Errors.'[406] Pope states if '*Shakespear* published his works himself… we should not only be certain which are genuine; but should find in those that are, the errors lessened by some thousands.'[407] For Pope, the transmission of Shakespeare's plays to print in the years following his death created flawed versions of his works, leading to thousands of 'defects.' Pope constructs Shakespeare as a complex figure; he is an excellent writer, but he is not perfect. Pope's examination of Shakespeare's imperfections and the faults of the editors does not counter his praise of Shakespeare's 'Beauties.' Instead, Pope provides a nuanced critique of Shakespeare's writing that, at times, smoothly transitions between criticism and praise.

Candido argues that the critical tone of Pope's Preface was intended to align with the views of the upper-class subscribers of *The Works of Shakespear*; therefore, Pope is revealing that he, like Shakespeare, is conscious of his audience.[408] Pope's criticisms of Shakespeare's faults were in agreement with his upper-class audience, but he also provides excuses for the faults, including an excuse to justify Shakespeare's failure to follow the classical Unities:

> To judge therefore of *Shakespear* by *Aristotle*'s rules, is like trying a man by the Laws of one Country, who acted under those of another. He writ to the *People*; and writ at first without patronage from the better sort, and therefore without aims of pleasing them: without assistance or advice from the Learned, as without the advantage of education or

[405] Ibid., I, ii and iv.
[406] Ibid., I, xiv.
[407] Ibid., I, xx.
[408] Joseph Candido, 'Prefatory Matter(s) in the Shakespeare Editions of Nicholas Rowe and Alexander Pope', *Studies in Philology,* 97.2 (2000), 210-228 (p. 213).

> acquaintance among them: without that knowledge of the best models, the Ancients, to inspire him with an emulation of them.[409]

Pope is arguing that Shakespeare cannot be criticized for not following the classical Unities. Since Shakespeare was not properly educated in the works of the classical writers (which is emphasized in Nicholas Rowe's biography of Shakespeare in *The Works of Shakespear*) or supported by wealthy patrons during the early years of his writing career, he did not write for an educated audience. There is also some self-identification from Pope in this passage, as he did not have wealthy patrons in his own early career. Shakespeare's audience is emphasized by Pope as 'the *People,*' referring to the lower class, distancing them from the upper-class subscribers of his edition of Shakespeare's works. Pope's own bad experiences with actors led him to be even harder on Shakespeare's actors than Shakespeare's audiences. Maynard Mack states that although Pope 'uses the authority of his Preface to remind contemporaries' of Shakespeare's faults, Shakespeare is still presented as a genius.'[410] While Pope is assessing Shakespeare and his works, he is also presenting a subtle commentary on his own audience. Since Pope does provide excuses for Shakespeare's faults and offers his own assessment of Shakespeare's genius as a poet for the common people, he is subtly presenting an argument against the views of his upper-class readers. Yes, Pope does openly criticize Shakespeare, but he does counter the criticism. Even though Shakespeare lacked 'art,' he was still a genius for following nature. The dual tone of the Preface provides insight into Pope's understanding of his audience of upper-class subscribers which contrast with Shakespeare's lower-class audience.

Pope's Preface presents an historical narrative of the audience of Shakespeare's plays. First, Pope notes the 'meaner' audience, then Pope shows how Shakespeare was supported by the

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[409] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, I, vi-vii.
[410] Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1986), p. 419.

court in his later years. Candido argues that Pope views 'Shakespeare as an artist significantly directed by cultural forces,' which is evident in the Preface; however, Pope's view of Shakespeare is directed by the specific cultural force of his *audience*.[411] The cultural forces which influenced Shakespeare's writing were not the same forces behind Pope's edition of Shakespeare's plays. Pope was editing Shakespeare for an upper-class culture who were interested in a refined version of Shakespeare, not the plays that were written for a 'meaner' audience. Dobson notes that the goal of Pope's edition is to 'rescue Shakespeare from the theatre in the interests of print culture.'[412] Indeed, Pope does so by appealing to his upper-class readers by noting improvements in Shakespeare's writing that were a result of a new, higher-class audience: 'when [Shakespeare's] performances had merited the protection of his Prince, and when the encouragement of the Court and succeeded to that of the Town; the works of his riper years are manifestly raised above those of his former.'[413] Here, Pope uses the word 'riper' to metaphorically connect the improvement of Shakespeare's work with the improvement of the taste of fruit by ripening. Pope's metaphor of the process of ripening suggests that as the natural world can be improved over time, so too can art over time in the right circumstances with the right support from the highest class. In his commentary on *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* Pope notes: 'It is observable… that the stile of this comedy is less figurative, and more natural and unaffected than the greater part of this author's, tho' supposed to be one of the first he wrote.'[414] Pope has identified a transition in Shakespeare's writing; Shakespeare's later writing became more natural (which was an improvement). However, Pope is also noting that *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* reveal an inconsistency in the transition of Shakespeare's writing; the early

[411] Candido, 'Prefatory Matter(s),' p. 220.
[412] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 129.
[413] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, I, vii.
[414] S. Johnson, *Selections,* p. 72.

comedy is more reflective of Shakespeare's later, more natural, writing. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was not 'ripened' by the highest class of people. This anomaly highlights Pope's binary criticism/praise of Shakespeare and suggests that Shakespeare, as a writer, was complex for Pope to analyse. Pope is also continuing the historical narrative of the audience of Shakespeare's plays in his own edition of Shakespeare's plays, moving the audience from theatre spectators to readers. As Walsh argues, '[Pope] conceived his business as the mediation of Shakespeare, the author of a past and less cultivated age, to readers in his own.'[415] Pope's place in the narrative of Shakespeare's audience takes Shakespeare's works and revises them for his own audience of upper-class subscribers.

Pope emphasizes that Shakespeare did not follow the models of the classical writers and instead was inspired by something else: nature. Pope was not the first person to associate Shakespeare with nature. He is extending and modifying an existing critical trope in order to 'perfect' Shakespeare. The Preface presents an intimate association of Shakespeare with nature, stating that, 'The Poetry of *Shakespear* was Inspiration indeed: he is not so much an Imitator, as an Instrument, of Nature; and 'tis not so just to say that he speaks from her, as that she speaks thro' him.'[416] Shakespeare is not an 'Imitator' (of nature or of classical writers), but rather a means for nature's communication. For Pope, Shakespeare's skill in presenting human nature in his characters is, perhaps, his most valuable talent:

> His *Characters* as so much Nature her self, that 'tis a sort of injury to call them by so distant a name as Copies of her…. But every single character in *Shakespear* is as much an Individual, as those in Life itself.[417]

[415] Walsh, *Literary Editing,* p. 131.
[416] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, I, ii.
[417] Ibid., I, ii-iii.

Again, Pope emphasizes that Shakespeare is not an 'Imitator'; his characters are not 'Copies' of Nature. Shakespeare's characters are 'so persuasive as expressions of human reality' that they are compared to living people by Pope to highlight the value of Shakespeare's inspiration by Nature, which is a comparison continued into the late eighteenth century by Garrick who refers to Shakespeare's characters as 'beings' at the Jubilee.[418]

Pope's 'Beauties' of Shakespeare

Pope identifies one hundred and ninety-three 'Beauties' in his edition of Shakespeare's plays. Of these 'Beauties,' ninety-three refer to the natural world. In some instances, this connection resides in a single word, such as 'bud' in Viola's simile from *Twelfth Night* 'A blank, my Lord, she never told her love, | But let concealment, like a worm i'th' bud, | Feed on her damask cheek.'[419] However, the majority of the passages refer to extensive natural descriptions or metaphors, such as explanations of weather or comparisons of female characters with flowers. If most of Pope's 'Beauties' of Shakespeare involve the natural world, Pope's philosophies of nature are significant to consider when analysing his editorial process in selecting Shakespeare's 'shining passages.' Pope's Preface to *The Works of Shakespear* emphasizes Shakespeare's talents in creating natural, realistic characters. In identifying the 'Beauties' of Shakespeare, Pope highlights scenes that show Shakespeare's ability to associate nature with human characteristics and relationships. Pope selects a portion of Helena's dialogue to Hermia as a 'Beauty' in *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Helena states, 'So we grew together, | Like to a double cherry, seeming parted, | But yet an union in partition.'[420] Helena's language describes their friendship

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[418] Mack, *Alexander Pope,* p. 419.
[419] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, II, 498.
[420] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, I, 120.

as a union that grew together like two cherries connected by a stem. Shakespeare, in this passage, is 'following Nature' (to borrow Pope's phrase from *An Essay on Criticism*). The 'double cherry' provides a structure which Shakespeare uses to describe Helena and Hermia's friendship. Pope's eager response labelling this horticultural analogy as a 'Beauty' suggests that he sees this passage as an example of Shakespeare's skill 'to trace | The naked Nature and the living grace.'[421] The cherry simile shows Shakespeare tracing nature to reflect the grace of Helena and Hermia's human nature in their friendship.

In *Cymbeline,* Belarius uses metaphors of nature to describe the characteristics of Guiderius and Arviragus' valour, which Pope labels as a 'Beauty' of Shakespeare. In this passage, Belarius describes the two brothers:

> In these two princely boys? they are as gentle
> As Zephyrs blowing below the violet,
> Not wagging his sweet head; and yet as rough,
> (Their royal blood enchas'd,) as the rude wind,
> That by the top doth take the mountain pine,
> And make him stoop to th' vale. 'Tis wonderful
> That an invisible instinct should frame them
> To royalty unlearn'd, honour untaught,
> Civility not seen from other; valour,
> That wildly grows in them, but yields a crop
> As if it had been sow'd.[422]

[421] Pope, *Criticism*, ll. 293-296.
[422] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, VI, 202.

Guiderius and Arviragus are princes unaware of their royal blood, and Belarius is noting that the princely quality of valour is growing in them like a wild crop that grows into something cultivated. Shakespeare, in the character of Belarius, is describing ideal human nature in metaphors of the natural world. Shakespeare's natural imagery in this passage is reflective of Pope's claim that Shakespeare is 'an Instrument, of Nature.'[423] The brothers were not taught how to be royal, but rather their qualities and behaviour developed naturally. Critics in the eighteenth century framed Shakespeare as 'untaught' in classical art, and suggest that he instead learned writing from nature and instinct, like the brothers in *Cymbeline.* Since Shakespeare is Nature's instrument, he is able to show how nature influences human attributes and talents in his own characters.

Pope's selection of Duke Senior's monologue from Act II, Scene i of *As You Like It*, reflects two of his philosophies in *An Essay on Criticism*: the contrast between artifice and art, and the lesson for artists to follow nature. The scene is set in a forest, which provides a direct reference to the natural imagery Duke Senior describes in his monologue:

> Hath not old custom made this life more sweet
> Than that of painted pomp? are not these woods
> More free from peril than the envious court?
> …
> And this our life exempt from publick haunt,
> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in every thing.[424]

[423] Ibid., I, ii.
[424] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, II, 202.

The first part of Duke Senior's monologue contrasts the 'painted pomp' of the court with the freedom of the woods, which is comparable with Pope's description of unskilled poets in *An Essay on Criticism*:

> Poets, like painters, thus unskilled to trace
>
> The naked Nature and the living grace,
>
> With gold and jewels cover ev'ry part,
>
> And hide with ornaments their want of art.[425]

Both the 'pomp' of the court and the 'gold and jewels' of unskilled poets are presented as flaws that detract from nature. Shakespeare is using the natural world to reveal the contrast between the natural world and artifice. The second half of the monologue shows that Duke Senior is following nature, which directly connects to Pope's instruction for poets and critics to 'First follow Nature.'[426] Here, Pope relates to what Shakespeare has written. Duke Senior's life has been separated from the artifice of the court, and in that separation, he has been able to learn from nature. By labeling this monologue as a 'Beauty,' Pope is emphasizing Shakespeare's talent in creating characters who are 'so much Nature her self.'[427] Pope is revealing that not only does Shakespeare understand nature, but Shakespeare's characters also understand nature.

Three of the passages Pope identifies as 'Beauties' in Shakespeare's plays reflect Nature's request in *An Essay on Man* for people to '"Go, from the Creatures thy instructions take."'[428] In *Troilus and Cressida*, Troilus describes his love and faithfulness to Cressida 'As true as steel, as planets to the moon, | As sun to day, as turtle to her mate, | As ir'on to adamant,

[425] Pope, *Criticism*, ll. 293-296.
[426] Ibid., l. 68.
[427] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, I, ii.
[428] Pope, 'Epistle III,' in *An Essay on Man*, l. 172.

as earth to th' center.'[429] Troilus' multiple similes present nature as a guide to how to be a faithful lover, just as Pope uses the natural world to provide instruction to humankind: '"Learn from the beasts the physic of the field."'[430] In *Romeo and Juliet*, Pope highlights Romeo and Juliet's dialogue following their wedding night. The scene is set in 'The Garden.'[431] This set instruction is an addition made by Pope that was not in Shakespeare's original text. Romeo and Juliet are in a window above the garden, talking:

> *Jul.* Wilt thou be gone? it is not yet near day:
> It was the Nightingale, and not the Lark,
> That pierc'd the fearful hollow of thine ear;
> Nightly she sings on yond pomegranate tree:
> Believe me love, it was the nightingale.
> *Rom.* It was the Lark, the herald of the morn,
> No Nightingale. Look, love, what envious streaks
> Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east:
> Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
> Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops.
> I must be gone and live, or stay and dye.
> *Jul.* Yon light is not day-light, I know it well:
> It is some meteor that the sun exhales,
> To be to thee this night a torch-bearer,
> And light thee on thy way to *Mantua*;

[429] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, VI, 62.
[430] Pope, 'Epistle III,' in *An Essay on Man*, l. 174.
[431] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, VI, 306.

Then stay a while, thou shalt not go so soon.[432]

The stage directions simply set the location of the scene in the garden, yet Romeo and Juliet are describing a complex natural setting that includes the close details of the garden as well as a view of the distant mountains. For the lovers, the birds represent how much time they have together, but the birds also represent the role of nature in structuring the day. In *An Essay on Man*, Pope explains how nature can reveal structure to humankind, including the instruction to '"Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield."'[433] Pope's selection of Romeo and Juliet's dialogue reveals the importance of nature as a guide for a daily structure and because of nature, the Great Chain of Being is revealed. Romeo and Juliet begin by discussing the birds, but then Juliet addresses larger features of the universe (a 'meteor' and 'the sun'), which stresses the larger picture of existence and the balance set by God in the Great Chain of Being. Juliet is deliberately being incorrect about the light outside in order to make Romeo stay longer. She is aware of how nature structures the day. This 'Beauty' is aesthetically pleasing, aligning with Pope's own tastes.

Pope's selection of Shakespeare's 'Beauties' in describing the natural world in *Cymbeline* surrounds the relationship between Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus. These three characters use metaphors of nature to describe how they relate to each other. Guiderius states that 'Out of your proof you speak; we poor unfledg'd | Have never wing'd from view o'th' nest; nor know | What air's from home' and Arviragus follows his brother, stating:

We're beastly; subtle as the fox for prey,

Like warlike as the wolf, for what we eat:

Our valour is to chase what flies; our cage

[432] Ibid., VI, 306-307.

[433] Pope, 'Epistle III,' in *An Essay on Man*, l. 173.

We make a choir, as doth the prison'd bird,

And sing our bondage freely.[434]

Both brothers compare themselves to birds. For Guiderius, they have been kept by Belarius like unfledged birds still in the safety of the nest, but for Arviragus, they are like birds trapped in a cage. The passages also emphasize the boys' natural upbringing in the wild and characterizes them. By selecting these passages as 'Beauties,' Pope is emphasizing the lessons humans can learn from the natural world. In *An Essay on Man*, Nature tells man to '"Go, from the Creatures thy instructions take: | Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield."'[435] In the passages from *Cymbeline*, Pope is highlighting another lesson humans can learn from birds; as birds let their young leave the nest, humans need to allow young people to explore the world. Arviragus also compares himself and his brother to foxes and wolves who want to hunt, emphasizing their 'valour.' Pope is showing how Shakespeare uses nature to represent reason and structure in order to emphasize his own philosophies of cultivation and refinement.

Nature, as represented in Pope's selected 'Beauties' of Shakespeare, is both aesthetically pleasing and a source for people to learn judgement and reason. Several of the passages Pope labels as 'Beauties' involve metaphors comparing various features of water with logic. In *Julius Caesar*, Pope identifies part of Brutus' dialogue as a 'Beauty':

There is a tide in the affairs of men,

Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;

Omitted, all the voyage of their life

Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.

On such a full sea are we now a-float;

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[434] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, VI, 173.
[435] Pope, 'Epistle III,' in *An Essay on Man*, ll. 172-173.

And we must take the current when it serves,

Or lose our ventures.[436]

The metaphor in this passage compares the uncontrollable tide and sea with politics and is reflective of Brutus' character. Nature and politics are presented as powerful forces which people cannot control, but rather must follow. Here, Brutus' lines reveal that he can see the 'current' of politics as a structure to follow. As the tide waxes and wanes, so does politics, which leads to particular moments that can provide a person with an advantage. By noting this passage as a 'Beauty,' Pope is highlighting the connection between nature and logic.

Pope also identifies another 'Beauty' involving the tide in *Titus Andronicus*. After discovering that Lavinia's tongue and hands have been cut off, Titus states:

For now I stand, as one upon a rock,

Environ'd with a wilderness of sea,

Who marks the waxing tide grow wave by wave,

Expecting every when some envious surge

Will in his brinish bowels swallow him.[437]

The tide in this passage is a dangerous, dominant, and uncontrollable force that does not wane; Titus is expecting a powerful 'surge' to eventually destroy him. This passage counters Brutus' view of high tide as symbolic of 'fortune' in *Julius Caesar*. However, both metaphors involving the tide represents the characters' outlooks: Brutus is waiting for a political advantage while Titus feels overwhelmed. In *Titus Andronicus*, the tide, as a force of nature, does not metaphorically represent a structure. Instead, the tide symbolizes Titus' negative emotions. Unlike Brutus, Titus does not see the tide as a force that waxes and wanes; he only sees the

[436] Pope, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, VI, 287.
[437] Ibid., V, 467.

waxing tide. In highlighting this passage as a ‘Beauty,’ Pope is noting Shakespeare’s skill in representing human nature, particularly in metaphors of the natural world.

For Pope, Shakespeare’s usage of the natural world to represent intangible concepts such as glory is a key strength of his writing. In *The First Part of Henry the Sixth*, Joan la Pucelle (Joan of Arc) states that, ‘Glory is like a circle in the water; | Which never ceaseth to enlarge it self, | ’Till by broad spreading it disperse to nought.’[438] Pope has identified these lines as ‘Beauties’; however, Joan’s lines continue to state, ‘With *Henry*’s death the *English* circle ends,’ which are not noted as a ‘Beauty’ by Pope.[439] Pope is very selective about which lines of Shakespeare are ‘Beauties’ and which are not, as the passage here moves into a specific reference rather than an abstract comparison, and his preference is for Shakespeare’s simile. He deliberately omits the reference to a desire for English failure. He breaks apart complete sentences based on his opinion. In *Henry VIII*, Pope selects a large portion of Cardinal Wolsey’s monologue as one of Shakespeare’s ‘Beauties.’ Wolsey is about to be replaced with Sir Thomas More, and his monologue expresses his fall from power with natural imagery:

> Farewel, a long farewell to all my greatness!
> This is the state of man; to-day he puts forth
> The tender leaves of hopes, to-morrow blossoms,
> And bears his blushing honours thick upon him:
> The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,
> And when he thinks, good easie man, full surely
> His greatness is a ripening, nips his root,
> And then he fall, as I do. I have ventur’d,

[438] Ibid., IV, 15.
[439] Ibid., IV, 16.

Like the little wanton boys that swim on bladders,

These many summers in a sea of glory:

But far beyond my depth: my high-blown pride

At length broke under me, and now has left me

Weary, and old with service, to the mercy

Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me.[440]

Wolsey's monologue uses nature to metaphorically describe how his own 'greatness' has come to an end. His language is reflective as he compares his rise to power with 'ripening' that leads to a blossom that will eventually die in the frost, which emphasizes the cycle of life. As with *The First Part of Henry the Sixth*, Pope is also noting a passage that compares glory with water (the 'sea of glory'), which, like the ripple in the water, eventually leads to a downfall. The passage from *Henry VIII* is similar to Brutus' lines in *Julius Caesar*, which compares the tide with politics. By selecting these passages as 'Beauties,' Pope is reflecting on his claim in the Preface, that Shakespeare 'is not so much an Imitator, as an Instrument, of Nature; and 'tis not so just to say that he speaks from her, as that she speaks thro' him.'[441] The passages from *Henry VIII* and *Julius Caesar* show Shakespeare's talent in using nature to explain abstract intangible concepts such as greatness, logic, and glory, which are, in Pope's view, 'Beauties.'

Pope's goal in *The Works of Shakespear* is to refine Shakespeare by 'degrading' his 'Faults' 'to the bottom of the page,' as he would remove weeds and cultivate the natural world to create his ideal, perfect garden.[442] In *An Essay on Man,* Pope describes God's order to the world:

God, in the nature of each being, founds

[440] Ibid., IV, 510.
[441] Ibid., I, ii.
[442] Ibid., I, xxii and xxiii.

Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds:

But as he fram'd a Whole, the Whole to bless,

On mutual Wants built mutual Happiness:

So from the first eternal ORDER ran,

And creature link'd to creature, man to man.[443]

Pope's version of perfecting Shakespeare involved 'weeding' out Shakespeare's 'Faults' while drawing attention to his 'Beauties' to frame Shakespeare's writing as a perfected 'Whole.' This is how Pope sees his task as an editor of Shakespeare; as God framed the 'Whole' perfectly ordered world, so must Pope set 'proper bounds' to Shakespeare's writing. I have shown the parts of Pope's aesthetic system in criticizing, editing, and cultivating Shakespeare.

Pope's editing of Shakespeare parallels his cultivation of the natural world. The two sides of Pope's work as a cultural critic create a whole coherent aesthetic system, which has order based on Pope's ideals of perfection. Pope is cultivating Shakespeare to be the poet of refined, perfected nature, which is a process that continued throughout the eighteenth century. Eighteenth-century philosophies of nature played a key role in constructing Shakespeare as the Bard. The connection between the natural world and writing led to the editing and adaptation of Shakespeare's plays for eighteenth-century aesthetic perfection. Just eight years later, another editor would publish another Shakespeare edition: Lewis Theobald. Theobald's editorial work contrasts that of Pope and instead reflects and expands on the language in Rowe's 1709 biography.

'Grand Touches of Nature': Theobald's 1733 Edition

[443] Pope, 'Epistle III,' in *An Essay on Man*, ll. 110-114.

While Theobald's 1733 *The Works of Shakespeare: In Seven Volumes* followed Pope's edition eight years later, his presentation of Shakespeare in the Preface parallels and expands on Rowe's biography. In particular, Theobald further emphasizes and labels Shakespeare as a genius because of nature. Theobald fully aligns Shakespeare with nature in the Preface, stating that Shakespeare's works are full of, 'grand Touches of Nature,' but he does not contrast nature with art.[444] Nature is a force that can reshape and regulate itself, yet humans are responsible for maintaining its beauty. The role of the Shakespeare editor, then is not to perfect Shakespeare's works, but to discover their original form and maintain them:

> His genuine Text is religiously adher'd to, and the numerous Faults and Blemishes, purely his own, are left as they were found. Nothing is alter'd, but what by the clearest Reasoning can be proved a Corruption of the true Text; and the Alteration, a real Restoration of the genuine Reading.[445]

Theobald's editorial practices does not involve correcting or altering Shakespeare's works. His purpose is to find Shakespeare's 'genuine' texts with scholarship, contrasting Pope's approach of editing Shakespeare's works to his own taste. Walsh argues that throughout the eighteenth century, 'the texts of Shakespeare are insistently figured as sacred, reverend, scriptural, worthy of the pious respect that a scripture demands.'[446] Theobald, in particular, saw the Folio edition as an error-filled playhouse copy 'in which the authority of the author had been damaged' and he believed:

[444] Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare*, I, xx.
[445] Ibid., I, xl.
[446] Walsh, *Literary Editing,* p. 117.

> that sacred authority is not located in the surviving printed texts, which were known or thought to be corrupted, but in the 'genuine text', the 'true reading' which was to be found in a now lost original and must be restored.[447]

Indeed, the goal of Theobald's edition is to piously uncover Shakespeare's plays in their original form as if maintaining scripture, as Walsh has argued.[448] Theobald's view of Shakespeare's texts is a religious viewpoint that conflates with the lens of nature, which influenced his editorial practices.

Theobald's Preface indirectly addresses Rowe's assessment of Shakespeare's education. Rowe noted that Shakespeare's lack of knowledge of classical writing 'might have restrain'd some of the Fire, Impetuosity, and even beautiful Extravagance which we admire in *Shakespear*.'[449] Theobald, although he does not specifically refer to Rowe, alludes to this statement in his own assessment of Shakespeare's education:

> His Education, we find, was at best but begun: and he started early into a Science from the Force of Genius, unequally assisted by acquir'd Improvements. His Fire, Spirit, and Exuberance of Imagination gave an Impetuosity to his Pen: His Ideas flow'd from him in a Stream rapid, but not turbulent; copious, but not ever overbearing its Shores.[450]

Theobald's language parallels Rowe's and he expands the description of Shakespeare's 'Impetuosity' by providing natural metaphor comparing Shakespeare's imagination with a rapid stream. For Rowe, Shakespeare was able to judge his own work. Here, Theobald's metaphor provides a description of Shakespeare's judgement by stating that although Shakespeare's imagination is 'rapid' it is 'not turbulent' nor is it 'overbearing.' Nature, therefore, provides a

[447] Ibid., pp. 118-120.
[448] Ibid., pp. 117-118.
[449] Rowe, 'Mr. William Shakespear,' I, iii.
[450] Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare,* I, xv-xvi.

structure that Shakespeare's imagination follows. This structure, however, is different from Pope's orderly view of the natural world. Shakespeare's wild imagination is not out of control, but rather is worthy of awe.

Theobald brushes over Shakespeare's education by encouraging readers to be attentive to Shakespeare's talent. He refers to Shakespeare's characters as 'Draughts of Nature!', which specifically intertwines Shakespeare's genius with nature.[451] Nature, for Theobald, not only replaces a classical education, but provides a more powerful, awe-inspiring source for inspiration:

> I have not thought it out of my Province, whenever Occasion offer'd, to take notice of some of our Poet's grand Touches of Nature: Some, that do not appear superficially such, but in which he seems the most deeply instructed and to which, no doubt, he has so much ow'd that happy Preservation of his *Characters*, for which he is justly celebrated. If he was not acquainted with the Rule as deliver'd by *Horace*, his own admirable Genius pierc'd into the Necessity of such a Rule.[452]

Theobald is alluding to Ulysses' line from *Troilus and Cressida*: 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin' in which Ulysses suggests that the display of emotions or vulnerability can show how connected all humans are in their shared nature.[453] He changes the word 'touch' from singular to plural in order to emphasis the range of Shakespeare's talent and his ability to capture humanity in his creation of characters. Shakespeare is a gifted poet for his 'grand Touches of

[451] Ibid., I, iii.
[452] Ibid., I, xx-xxi.
[453] William Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida,* in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works,* ed. by John Jowett and others, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 743-776 (III.iii.169).

Nature.'[454] Theobald notes some of these instances throughout his editions. In his notes on *The Tempest*, Theobald praises the character of Caliban:

> The part of *Caliban* has been esteem'd a signal Instance of the Copiousness of *Shakespeare*'s Invention; and that he had shewn an Extent of Genius, in creating a Person which was not in Nature. And for this, as well as his other *magical* and *ideal* Characters, a just Admiration has been paid him.[455]

Caliban, for Theobald, is a prime example of Shakespeare's 'exuberant' imagination. Caliban is a native of the island who is described by Prospero as 'A freckled whelp, hag-born – not honoured with | A human shape.'[456] In Theobald's edition, Caliban is described in the character list as '*a Salvage, and deformed Slave*.'[457] Theobald's comment aligns with Prospero's in identifying Caliban as unnatural; however, for Theobald, Caliban's uniqueness is worthy of praise. Caliban's deformity is a marker of Shakespeare's invention. In highlighting Caliban's character, Theobald aligns himself with other critics who see Caliban (and Shakespeare's other characters) as worthy of eighteenth-century praise. Theobald's Preface presents Shakespeare's characters as a base for his admiration, since they were praised by other critics. From this point, Theobald then branches out to extend his appreciation to Shakespeare's writing as a whole.

The language of Theobald's Preface encourages his readers to have the same appreciation for Shakespeare's works. Theobald continues to brush past Shakespeare's education and frames his edition for his readers to admire Shakespeare's 'grand Touches of Nature':

> In how many Points of Light must we be oblig'd to gaze at this great Poet! In how many Branches of Excellence to consider, and admire him! Whether we view him on the side

[454] Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare,* I, xx.
[455] Ibid., I, 44.
[456] Shakespeare, *The Tempest,* I.ii.284-285.
[457] Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare*, I, 2.

> of Art or Nature, he ought equally engage our Attention: Whether we respect the Force and Greatness of his Genius, the Extent of his Knowledge and Reading, the Power and Address with which he throws out and applies either Nature, or Learning, there is ample Scope both for our Wonder and Pleasure.[458]

For Theobald, art and nature do not fall into contrasting binaries that categorize Shakespeare's 'Faults' or 'Beauties,' but rather provide different lenses for admiring Shakespeare. Theobald is skeptical of critics who degrade Shakespeare for his lack of education (and therefore, lack of art): 'It has been allow'd on all hands, how far our Author was indebted to *Nature*; it is not so well agreed, how much he ow'd to *Languages* and acquir'd *Learning*.'[459] In Theobald's view, nature does not only act as a substitute for Shakespeare's lack of education; nature overwhelms the need for a typical education and aids the development of genius. Theobald describes Shakespeare using the language of the sublime by depicting him as a force who is powerful, great, and awe-inspiring.

Theobald uses his Preface to frame Shakespeare as a natural genius who was not necessarily in direct contrast with art. His work predates and challenges Bate's theory of the use of 'genius' and 'original genius' as positive results of artlessness in the mid-eighteenth century.[460] For Theobald, Shakespeare's genius is related to his association with nature, but he does not lack art, as exemplified by a note on *King Henry VIII*, where Theobald refers to the dialogue referencing Queen Elizabeth and Anne Boleyn as the Poet's 'many artful Strokes of Address.'[461] In addition, Theobald comments in a note on the lack of dialogue surrounding Jessica during the delivery of the letter in *The Merchant of Venice* that, 'The Poet has shewn a

[458] Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare,* I, xx and I, ii.
[459] Ibid., I, xxvii.
[460] Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, pp. 162-163.
[461] Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare,* V, 39.

singular Art here, in his Conduct with Relation to Jessica. As the Audience were already appriz'd of her Story the opening it here to *Portia* would have been a superfluous Repetition.'[462] Theobald's use of art in these notes specifically pinpoint moments where Shakespeare shows taught talent with his writing, in particular in his comment on the structure of plot in relation to character backstory in *The Merchant of Venice*. While Theobald's Preface does argue that Shakespeare is not artless, his more dominant argument is that Shakespeare's genius comes from nature. In comparing Shakespeare to Ben Jonson, he points out that '*Shakespear*, indebted more largely to Nature, than the Other to acquired Talents, in his most negligent Hours could never so totally divest himself of his Genius, but that it would frequently break out with astonishing Force and Splendor.'[463] Bate argues that 'genius' was given a new meaning with Romanticism in the 1770s; 'Once the split between nature and art was established, a fresh term was needed for the kind of poet who was supposed to work from artless inspiration alone.'[464] Both art and nature, for Theobald, lead to Shakespeare's identity as a genius. Rowe's Preface predates Bate's argument for the use of the term 'original genius' to describe Shakespeare, and here, Theobald is presenting a slightly different variation on the definition of 'genius,' where the poet is not artless. Theobald emphasizes the significance of nature to Shakespeare, but it would take another thirty-two years for another editor to directly claim Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.'

The Forest and the Mine: Johnson's 1765 Edition

Johnson's 1765 *The Plays of William Shakespeare* firmly and directly identifies Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.'[465] He claims in the Preface that 'Shakespeare is above all writers, at least

[462] Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare,* II, 50-51.
[463] Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare,* I, xxxiv.
[464] Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, p. 162.
[465] S. Johnson, *Selections,* p. 10.

above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirrour of manners and of life.'[466] Bronson argues that, for Johnson, the poet of nature is 'the poet of *human* nature… his characters are convincingly true to nature, to such a degree that they commonly give us the illusion of reality like our own.'[467] In general, when Johnson uses the word 'nature,' he is referring to human nature. However, he does refer to the natural world in a few occasional metaphors and descriptions that compare Shakespeare with the wild, and at times, sublime, natural world. Johnson's Preface takes the slipperiness of nature's multiple definitions in the eighteenth century and clearly defines them as separate aspects in relation to Shakespeare, which is not surprising as he had published his dictionary ten years before his edition. Johnson is very clear when he associates Shakespeare with human nature, just as he is direct when he compares Shakespeare to the natural world. Yes, Shakespeare is the poet of human nature, as Bronson has argued, but at times, Johnson presents Shakespeare as the poet of the natural world, which is a key part of the eighteenth-century's construction of Shakespeare that deserves further examination.

Johnson describes Shakespeare's works with two metaphors of the natural world: a forest and a mine. He states that:

> The work of a correct and regular writer is a garden accurately formed and diligently planted, varied with shades, and scented with flowers; the composition of Shakespeare is a forest, in which oaks extend their branches, and pines tower in the air, interspersed sometimes with weeds and brambles, and sometimes giving shelter to myrtles and to roses; filling the eye with awful pomp, and gratifying the mind with endless diversity.

[466] Ibid., p. 10.
[467] Bronson, 'Introduction', p. xxii.

> Other poets display cabinets of precious rarities, minutely finished, wrought into shape, and polished unto brightness. Shakespeare opens a mine which contains gold and diamonds in unexhaustible plenty, though clouded by incrustations, debased by impurities, and mingled with a mass of meaner materials.[468]

Johnson uses the metaphors of the forest and the mine to claim that Shakespeare is superior to these polished but limited writers. The exceptional qualities of Shakespeare's writing are described as abundant quantities of 'oaks,' 'pines,' 'gold,' and 'diamonds.' Yet, Johnson notes that Shakespeare also has faults which are likewise described using natural imagery; his flaws are 'weeds and brambles,' 'incrustations,' and 'impurities.' These flaws, however, do not take away from Shakespeare's strengths in Johnson's view. Johnson uses these metaphors of the natural world to contrast Shakespeare with other writers: where other writers have small, cultivated gardens, Shakespeare offers a forest full of towering oak and pine trees, and where other writers have cabinets of polished gems, Shakespeare has a mine that is excessively full of diamonds and gold. Shakespeare's nature is shown by Johnson to be abundant.

Johnson, like other editors and critics before him, examines Shakespeare's education. He poses that 'It has been much disputed, whether Shakespeare owed his excellence to his own native force, or whether he had the common helps of scholastick education, the precepts of critical science, and the examples of ancient authours.'[469] In response to this debate, Johnson provides his own answer:

> But the power of nature is only the power of using to any certain purpose the materials which diligence procures, or opportunity supplies. Nature gives no man knowledge, and when images are collected by study and experience, can only assist in combining or

[468] S. Johnson, *Selections,* pp. 31-32.
[469] S. Johnson, *Selections*, p. 32.

> applying them. Shakespeare, however favoured by nature, could impart only what he had learned; and as he must increase his ideas, like other mortals, by gradual acquisition, he, like them, grew wiser as he grew older, could display life better, as he knew it more, and instruct with more efficacy, as he was himself more amply instructed.[470]

Johnson here is praising Shakespeare's education by experience and is explaining how he learned more over time. Human nature assisted Shakespeare in this process by helping him apply what he had learned by observation. Observation is another key ability Johnson praises of Shakespeare:

> There is a vigilance of observation and accuracy of distinction which books and precepts cannot confer; from this almost all original and native excellence proceeds. Shakespeare must have looked upon mankind with perspicacity, in the highest degree curious and attentive…. for except the characters of Chaucer, to whom I think he is not much indebted, there were no writers in English, and perhaps not many in other modern languages, which shewed life in its native colours.[471]

Here, Johnson expands on how observation led to Shakespeare being 'the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirrour of manners and of life.'[472] Johnson is praising Shakespeare for his ability to observe humankind and accurate depict human nature in writing. Experience, observation, and Shakespeare's natural talent are his key abilities which make up for his lack of a formal education. His characters are among his greatest strengths, which are likely what Johnson was thinking about when he praised Shakespeare's raw and abundant writing as a forest full of impressive oak trees and as a mine full of gold and diamonds.

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[470] Ibid., pp. 34-35.
[471] Ibid., p. 35.
[472] Ibid., p. 10.

Johnson's view of Shakespeare's characters is reflective of the metaphors of the forest and the mine. He uses two other metaphors of the natural world to praise Shakespeare's dialogue and characters. For Johnson:

> Shakespeare's familiar dialogue is affirmed to be smooth and clear, yet not wholly without ruggedness or difficulty; as a country may be eminently fruitful, though it has spots unfit for cultivation: His characters are praised as natural, though their sentiments are sometimes forced and their actions improbable; as the earth upon the whole is spherical, though its surface is varied with protuberances and cavities.[473]

The first metaphor is reflective of Johnson's comparison of Shakespeare's writing with the forest and the mine. Yes, there are good ('fruitful') features of Shakespeare's dialogue, but there are flaws. In the second metaphor, Johnson compares Shakespeare's characters to the natural surface of the planet. This comparison reveals that for Johnson, Shakespeare's characters are generally good, but, like nature, are not always smooth and correct, which is comparable with the metaphors of the forest and the mine, which are bountiful, yet have some small faults such as weeds and impurities.

Johnson's editorial notes emphasize Shakespeare's natural talent over the need for a formal education. He continues to praise Shakespeare's ability to depict human nature as exemplified in his comment on *The Tempest*:

> But whatever might be Shakespeare's intention in forming or adopting the plot, he has made it instrumental to the production of many characters, diversified with boundless invention, and preserved with profound skill in nature, extensive knowledge of opinions,

[473] Ibid., p. 18.

> and accurate observation of life. In a single drama are here exhibited princes, courtiers, and sailors, all speaking in their real characters.[474]

Nature fulfills Shakespeare's creation of characters. Here, Shakespeare's characters are reflective of the diversity of humanity, and their dialogue and behaviours are accurate to human nature. 'Diversity' and variations of this word often come up when Johnson praises Shakespeare: he uses it to describe the abundance of Shakespeare in the forest metaphor. Even when Johnson does not specifically use the word 'diversity,' his praise often uses other synonyms which suggest variety. Shakespeare's ability to showcase the variety of human nature is a key strength which Johnson identifies in his edition. Johnson uses the natural imagery of the forest and the mine metaphors to visually describe Shakespeare's diversity.

Cultivating the Gardener: Reviewing Shakespeare Editing Practices

William Kenrick echoes the association of Shakespeare as the poet of nature in his scathing 1765 *Review of Doctor Johnson's New Edition of Shakespeare: In Which the Ignorance, or Inattention, of That Editor is Exposed, and the Poet Defended from the Persecution of His Commentators*. In his review, Kenrick defends Shakespeare from Johnson's editing:

> that incomparable bard was, as thou sayest, the poet of nature, and drew his characters from life: and nature had not produced in that age so arrogant, and at the same time so dull an animal, as the present commentator on Shakespeare.[475]

Kenrick certainly does not restrain himself from expressing exactly how he feels about Johnson. He agrees that Shakespeare is the poet of nature (in terms of human nature and the ability to

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[474] Ibid., pp. 65-66.

[475] William Kenrick, *A Review of Doctor Johnson's New Edition of Shakespeare: In Which the Ignorance, or Inattention, of That Editor is Exposed, and the Poet Defended from the Persecution of His Commentators* (London, 1765), p. 88.

create characters), but then he quickly shifts his tone to use a feature of the natural world to insult Johnson, and states that 'A modern editor of Shakespeare is… a fungus attached to an oak.'[476] Kenrick's double metaphor here places Johnson as a parasite living off and ruining Shakespeare. Notably, Shakespeare is compared to an oak tree, grounding him as a proud symbol of English nature, which had been a symbol of the English monarchy since the time of the Stuarts. He refers to Shakespeare as 'that incomparable bard,' which sets Shakespeare aside as unique in comparison with other writers.[477]

Other eighteenth-century critics also used gardening metaphors to describe the work of Shakespearean editors and adapters. In 1745, in *The Female Spectator*, Haywood associates Shakespeare's plays with 'fine Gardens full of the most beautiful Flowers, but choaked up with Weeds… Those therefore which have had those weeds plucked up by the skilful Hands of his Successors, are the most elegant Entertainments.'[478] There are flaws in Shakespeare's writing, similar to a beautiful garden ruined by weeds, and Haywood praises eighteenth-century adapters for removing the weeds. Haywood acknowledges the role of adaptation in cultivating Shakespeare's plays for eighteenth-century tastes, which is why she uses the garden metaphor to encourage the 'weeding' process.[479]

By contrast, Richard Farmer, in his 1767 *An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*, is critical of the 'weeding' process. In the beginning of the essay, he states:

> "Shakespeare, says a Brother of the *Craft*, is a vast garden of criticism:" and certainly no one can be favoured with more weeders *gratis*.

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[476] Ibid., p. 88.
[477] Ibid., p. 88.
[478] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, II, 91.
[479] Emily Seitz, 'The "Blest genius of the isle": Garrick, Nature, Divinity, and the Bard' (unpublished master's capstone, Simon Fraser University, 2016), p. 10. This paragraph extends a comment I made in my MA capstone regarding Haywood's quotation.

> But how often, my dear Sir, are weeds and flowers torn up indiscriminately? – the ravaged spot is re-planted in a moment, and a profusion of critical thorns thrown over it for security.
>
> "A prudent man therefore would not venture his fingers amongst them."
>
> Be however in little pain for your friend, who regards himself sufficiently to be cautious: yet he asserts with confidence, that no improvement can be expected, whilst the natural soil is mistaken for a hot-bed, and the Natives of the banks of *Avon* are scientifically choked with the culture of exoticks.[480]

Farmer specifically refers to Shakespeare's works as the native plants growing on the banks of the Avon, which grounds Shakespeare as the poet of British nature. Editors, critics, and adapters, with the 'weeding' process, are not perfecting Shakespeare, but rather destroying Shakespeare's natural, English-born talent. Both Haywood and Farmer refer to Shakespeare's works as 'choked.' For Haywood, Shakespeare's flaws are weeds which 'choaked' the potentially aesthetically perfect garden, while for Farmer, the work of eighteenth-century editors and adapters 'choked' the natural beauty of Shakespeare's work. The discourse of cultivation is used to criticize editors. For Kenrick, Johnson is a 'fungus': a negative addition to Shakespeare's works. For Farmer, editors are removing Shakespeare's 'flowers' alongside his 'weeds.' Editors, as metaphorical gardeners, were subject to the same criticism they used on Shakespeare. Critics such Farmer did not view Shakespeare editions as perfectly cultivated gardens, but rather as nature destroyed by over-weeding. The negative reviews did not hinder the production of Shakespeare editions, which continued in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1774,

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[480] Richard Farmer, *An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare: Addressed to Joseph Cradock, Esq;* (Cambridge: 1767), pp. 1-2.

Bell's publication of Shakespeare's plays printed the text of the plays as they were performed. Alongside the theatrical text of the plays are comments by Francis Gentleman.

'Beauties' and 'Blemishes' in Bell's Publication: Illustrating Shakespeare's Plays

Editors continued to revise Shakespeare's plays to fit the aesthetic ideals of the time. Nature is displayed visually in Bell's 1774 publication of Shakespeare's plays. His edition includes an illustration of a key scene for each of the plays, twenty-four of which present an element of the natural world (either the scene itself is set outdoors or if the scene is indoors, a tree or other natural object is visible out a window). The cauldron scene from *Macbeth* is one of the illustrations, and for Bell, the scene is not only one of Shakespeare's 'beauties.' Rather, it is the prime example of his 'original genius' due to Shakespeare description of the dark, 'baleful ingredients' of the cauldron.[481] The scene itself is sublime, and the illustration reflects Burke's description of the sublime as 'dark and gloomy.'[482] Shakespeare's 'original genius' for Bell is found in his language in describing the cauldron scene; for Burke, 'words have as considerable share in exciting ideas… of the sublime.'[483] It is interesting that Bell describes this sublime scene as one of Shakespeare's 'beauties,' since the beautiful was seen as the polar opposite of the sublime, since 'beauty should be light and delicate.'[484] 'Beauties' is used as a label to categorize Shakespeare's strongest pieces, even if the scene itself does not fit in with the late eighteenth-century definition of 'beautiful.' Bell's labelling of Shakespeare's as an 'original genius' presents Shakespeare as a poet who transcends categorization; Shakespeare is unique and his works showcase various aesthetic ideals.

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[481] Bell, ed., *Shakespeare's Plays*, I, 49.
[482] Burke, *Sublime and Beautiful*, p. 115.
[483] Ibid., p. 168.
[484] Ibid., p. 115.

Bell's publication is an acting edition, and as such, actors and other theatre professionals are the intended readership. Acting suggestions are included in the notes to the plays. In the Advertisement, Bell states that 'In justification of ourselves also, we take this opportunity of declaring, that to expect any thing more of this work, than as *a companion to the theatre*, is to mistake the purpose of the editors.'[485] Bell's publication, therefore, differs from previous eighteenth-century Shakespeare editions, as there is a performative angle rather than a scholarly one in commentary on the plays. The publication is for theatre practitioners and possibly as a companion for theatregoers. He states that 'the THEATRES, especially of late, have been generally right in their omissions, of this author particularly, we have printed our *text* after their regulations.'[486] For Bell, modern theatre practitioners have improved Shakespeare's plays, which provides a different point of view in comparison with Pope's argument that Elizabethan theatres ruined the plays. The comments in Bell's publication are influenced by the works of editors, in particular, Pope's selection of Shakespeare's 'Beauties and Faults': 'We have… pointed out the leading beauties, as they occur, who descanting so much as to anticipate the reader's conception and investigation; we have shewn, with a becoming impartiality, what appear to us to be blemishes and imperfections.'[487] While Bell's publication does not have the same clear categorizing system as Pope's edition in determining Shakespeare's 'beauties' and 'blemishes,' there are notes stating admiration or criticism of certain passages:

> it has been our peculiar endeavour to render what we call the essence of Shakespeare, more instructive and intelligible; especially to the ladies and to youth; glaring indecencies being removed, and intricate passages explained; and lastly, we have striven

[485] Bell, ed., *Shakespeare's Plays*, I, 8.
[486] Ibid., I, 6-7.
[487] Ibid., I, 9.

to supply plainer ideas of criticism, both in public and private, than we hitherto met with.[488]

Bell's labelling of 'the essence of Shakespeare' is reminiscent of Garrick's Prologue to *Florizel and Perdita*, where he states that he has 'confin'd and bottled for your Taste' the 'precious Liquor' of 'that immortal Man.'[489] Bell's publication goal is to present a condensed, more 'decent' version of Shakespeare's plays. He also states that the publication will make Shakespeare criticism more accessible for his audience with 'plainer' language. Bell's publication is a balance between appealing to his theatre-going audience while at the same time engaging with upper-class readership.

Despite the theatrical focus of Bell's publication, the illustrations of the scenes are not of the theatre; they are set in realistic settings. Consequently, many of these illustrations evoke nature. The illustrations provide a visual scene to each of the major works and a sketch of an actor in character for each play. Bell also published all of these prints separately in *The Continuation* (1773-1776). *The Continuation* was published at roughly the same time as Bell's Shakespeare, which suggests that he had the two for one in mind as a publishing strategy. Bell provides thirty-seven illustrated scenes (including two scenes depicting the poem *Venus and Adonis*) which were all drawn by Edward Edwards. Of these scenes, eighteen have a significant natural background (either the scenes are set in a forest, under a stormy sky, or the characters are gathered under a large tree). Six additional scenes include smaller references to nature (such as a tree out of the window in the background or birds in the sky above a city scene). In total, twenty-four of Bell's thirty-seven scenes, nearly two-thirds of the illustrations, involve representations of the natural world. The images in Bell's publication are meant to inspire theatrical productions,

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[488] Ibid., I, 9-10.
[489] Ibid., I, 9; Garrick, *Florizel and Perdita,* p. iii.

rather than as pictures simply for the reader. Curiously, although the publication is for theatrical purposes, all of the scene images show the scenes in realistic settings; they are not depictions of the play being performed on the stage. I will focus on the images for *Macbeth, King Lear, The Tempest,* and *The Winter's Tale* as well as Gentleman's notes on each of these plays in order to examine how the sublime is represented in the publication, noting a shift from the sublime to the pastoral in the illustration for *The Winter's Tale*.

Several of the scenes drawn by Edwards commissioned for Bell's publication are set against a very dark, gloomy, and dramatic background, thereby instantly positioning the scenes within sublime settings, which was a late eighteenth-century aesthetic ideal. The illustration for

Figure 11 - Macbeth consults the three witches; an apparition appears of a bloody child, who calls Macbeth's name three times. Engraving by W. Byrne, 1773, after E. Edwards. Wellcome Collection. Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0).

Macbeth is from Act IV, when the Witches warn Macbeth of Macduff and show him a vision of

Banquo's descendants as kings. The illustration pinpoints a very specific moment from the scene: the Second Apparition. Immediately after the Witches warn Macbeth of Macduff, the scene is set with:

> *Thunder. Second Apparition: a bloody child*
>
> SECOND APPARITION Macbeth, Macbeth, Macbeth.
>
> MACBETH Had I three ears I'd hear thee.
>
> SECOND APPARITION
>
> Be bloody, bold, and resolute. Laugh to scorn
>
> The power of man, for none of woman born
>
> Shall harm Macbeth.[490]

The Second Apparition's warning seems to be positive for Macbeth, but as Macduff later says before he kills Macbeth, 'Tell thee Macduff was from his mother's womb | Untimely ripped.'[491] The selection of this moment as the illustration for *Macbeth* pinpoints the sublime atmosphere of the play. Macbeth leans away in horror from the child in the bottom left corner. The light from the cauldron illuminates the child and shows Macbeth's fear, as the light on Macbeth's face contrast with the darkness of the rest of his body. The cauldron's light fades away into the smoke and darkness above. Human nature is brought into the natural setting in this illustration; human qualities are amplified in the natural world. The natural image contrasts the theatrical process, visually placing the story of *Macbeth* in the realistic natural world. The characters are small compared to the dark, massive background. The gloomy illustration reveals that the warning

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[490] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. by John Jowett and others*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 969-993 (IV.i.93-97).
[491] Ibid., V.x.15-16.

from the Witches and the Second Apparition predicts Macbeth's doom, furthering the emotion created by the sublime setting.

The cauldron scene is possibly Gentleman's favourite out of all of Shakespeare's scenes, which is interesting to note, since the modern Oxford Shakespeare editors have claimed that Thomas Middleton added the scenes involving Hecate.[492] Nevertheless, the scene, for Gentleman, is one of Shakespeare's 'beauties'; 'Amidst the multiplicity of our author's beauties, there is not, in our view, a stronger instance of original genius, than the ceremony of the cauldron and its baleful ingredients.'[493] Here, Bate's argument of the eighteenth century's presentation of Shakespeare as an 'original genius' is clear, as Gentleman is showing 'original genius' to be a positive result of artlessness.[494] I am taking the argument a step further from Bate; 'original genius' has become specifically aligned with Shakespeare's 'beauties.' The cauldron scene is not an artful, aesthetically perfect scene, as he notes that 'the witches, though admirably written, are an insult on common sense.'[495] The scene is an artless, sublime 'beauty.' Macbeth's response to the witches' warnings is also praise-worthy for Gentleman: '*Macbeth*'s resolution to prevent even possibility, is well suited to the desperate state of his mind. Every one of the prophecies are characteristically dubious, and *Macbeth*'s favourable explanation of them, natural.'[496] The state of Macbeth's mind is shown in the sublime illustration for the play; he leans back in horror and fear in the darkness that is only illuminated by the cauldron. Macbeth's dialogue is praised as 'natural,' which acknowledges Shakespeare's talent in creating characters, particularly those with desperate minds.

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[492] William Shakespeare, *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. by John Jowett and others*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 969.
[493] Gentleman, *Bell's Edition,* I, 49.
[494] Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, pp. 162-163.
[495] Gentleman, *Bell's Edition,* I, 3.
[496] Ibid., I, 49.

Gentleman praises Shakespeare's representation of human nature in *King Lear,* in particular, Shakespeare's presentation of Lear and his state of mind, which is depicted in the illustration for the play. Burke's description of the sublime applies to the illustrations for *King Lear* and *The Tempest* in Bell's publication. The image for *King Lear* is the storm scene with

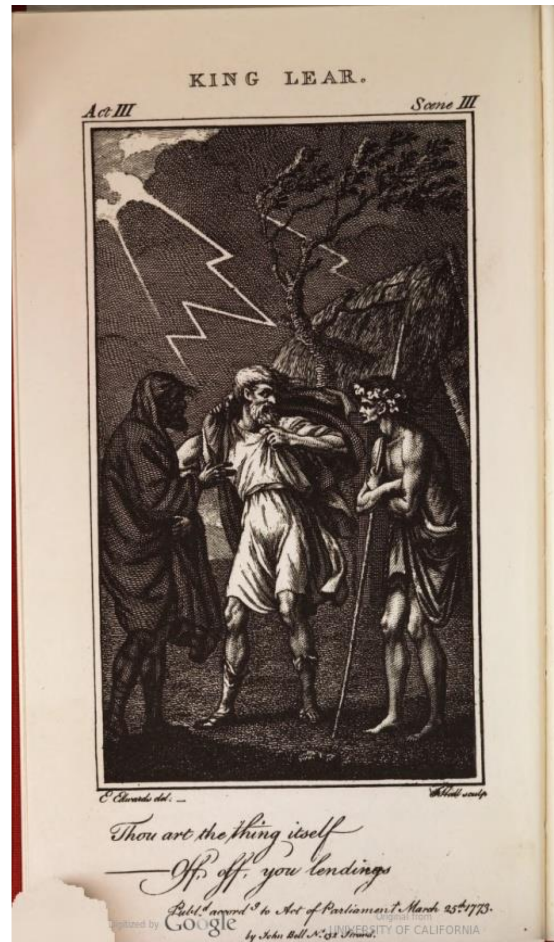

Figure 12, King Lear*, from Bell's Edition, vol. 2, courtesy of HathiTrust, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b3548570&view=1up&seq=18.*

Edgar (disguised as a beggar) and the Fool. The lightning from the upper left corner is angled diagonally across the scene, towards Lear, who is standing in the middle of the lower half of the page. Lear's clothes, body, and hair are lighter than the rest of the scene, as if the lightning is providing a spotlight on his character. Above Lear is a tree bent by the wind against the dark sky, paralleling Lear's clothes which are also billowing in the wind. The movement in this scene is

created as a result of nature (due to the wind), which reflects Lear's state of mind, as shown by him pulling away from Edgar and the fool. The image is dramatic, revealing Lear's emotions framed by nature:

> This tempest in my mind
>
> Doth from my senses take all feeling else
>
> Save what beats there…
>
> O, that way madness lies.[497]

Nature and human nature are depicted as sublime, wild, and uncontrollable. Lear relates the storm he is standing in to the state of his mind; neither can be controlled. The strokes of lightning are drawn with precise, rigid lines that stand out in contrast with the dark cloudy sky, showing the chiaroscuro of the storm in parallel with Lear's mind. Both the sky and Lear's mind are dark, yet there are random bolts of lightning and madness.

In the Introduction to the play as well as the notes, Gentleman compliments Lear's character and Shakespeare's representation of human nature. The play is a blend of Tate's adaptation and Shakespeare's original play. In the Introduction to *King Lear*, Gentleman states that it is

> a work of great praise. In this light we view *King Lear*; and rejoice that the subject fell to *Shakespeare*'s lot: not only because it opened an ample field for his muse of fire, but also because that genius afforded opportunities, and excellent ones, for the exertion of such acting merit, in Mr. *Garrick*'s performance.[498]

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[497] William Shakespeare, *King Lear,* in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. by John Jowett and others*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 909-941 (III.iv.12-14, 21).

[498] Gentleman, *Bell's Edition,* II, 3.

Shakespeare's literary talent, for Gentleman, extends beyond the play's text to opportunities for actors to show their own skill in imitating human nature on the stage. Bell dedicated his edition to Garrick, and in the Dedication, he refers to Garrick as 'the best illustrator of, and the best *living comment* on, Shakespeare, that has ever appeared, or possibly ever will grace the British stage.'[499] Bell and Gentleman are impressed by Garrick's ability to act 'naturally' on the stage in his performance as Lear, which parallels the praise of the play and the character of Lear. In a note on the storm scene, Gentleman states that:

> Through the whole of this scene there is a most masterly and affecting contrast, between real and feigned madness; the latter posts helter-skelter through a laboured variety of incoherent images; the former chiefly adverts to the great cause of his frenzy.[500]

Gentleman's note aligns with the 'frenzy' shown in the image for the play; Lear's body language and the lightning above him shows disorder and madness with the natural world and human nature. The selection of the storm scene as the image for *King Lear* aligns with Gentleman's praise of the scene, Lear's character, and Garrick's acting ability in the role of Lear. Lear's madness and Macbeth's desperation are set against natural backgrounds that reflect their states of mind.

Tempests are markers of the sublime in Bell's publication, showing a wildness to an expansive, dark background. The illustration by Edwards for *The Tempest*, then, continues to show nature as a sublime, uncontrollable, force. Unruly nature is celebrated, contrasting the rigid garden management of the early part of the century. The images in Bell's publication showcase wild nature as awe-inspiring and as worthy of illustration alongside Shakespeare's plays. The tempest itself takes up more of the page than illustration of the storm for *King Lear*. In the scene

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[499] Bell, ed., *Shakespeare's Plays*, I, iii.
[500] Gentleman, *Bell's Edition,* II, 43.

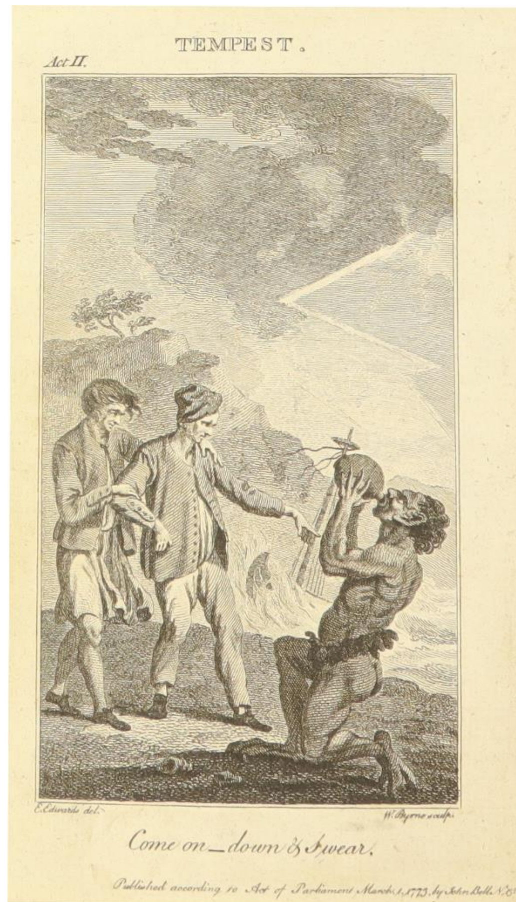

Figure 13 - The Tempest, from Bell's Edition, vol. 3. Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, d PR2752.B3.

from *King Lear*, the characters' heads are positioned in the middle of the drawing. In the scene from *The Tempest*, the characters are in the bottom half of the illustration, leaving the upper part to showcase the storm. The lightning aims downwards, towards Caliban and the shipwreck behind him. Stefano and Trinculo's body language differs slightly from the attitude shown by their dialogue in the play. In the play, they are arrogant and intimidating over Caliban as they manipulate him. In the illustration, some of their arrogance still remains as Stefano is pointing downwards for Caliban to, 'Come on then; down, and swear.'[501] Yet, the illustration depicts them as fearful of Caliban as they are leaning back and Trinculo seems to be hiding behind

[501] Shakespeare, *The Tempest,* II.ii.151.

Stefano. They are also leaning away from the lightning by the way they are positioned on the page, suggesting that they are also scared of the still raging tempest. The sky above the characters is full of movement, with the clouds and the tree bent to the wind and the waves behind Caliban pushing the ship against the rocks. Nature here is massive, dark, and gloomy, but it is also dangerous. The selection of this scene as the main image for *The Tempest* in Bell's publication is interesting, as is it does not directly show Prospero using his power over the weather, but rather uses Prospero's storm as a setting for Stefano, Trinculo, and Caliban's pact. For Dobson, 'Prospero here serves as a living emblem of the proper jurisdiction of Englishmen over not only women and the incipiently mutinous lower classes… but also over the subject races newly compelled to pledge allegiance to the Empire.'[502] The storm is an overwhelming force showing Prospero's power over lower classes and other races. Prospero's control over nature is the emblem of his power. The scene places the natural world as a force more powerful than human nature. The storm is dominant in the scene, which creates a sense of awe, as Bell intends for the reader to feel in response to Shakespeare's ability to create a plot-driving storm.

The illustrations for Bell's publication use storms to emphasize massive, powerful nature as forces connected to human nature. The illustration for *The Winter's Tale* depicts the moment the Old Shepherd and the Clown discover baby Perdita. The scene is set by the seaside with dark clouds overhead, as the Mariner notes to Antigonus as he leaves the boat with Perdita:

> Ay, my lord, and fear
>
> We have landed in ill time. The skies look grimly
>
> And threaten present blusters. In my conscience,
>
> The heavens with that we have in hand are angry,

[502] Michael Dobson, '"Remember/First to Possess His Books": The Appropriation of *The Tempest*, 1700-1800,' *Shakespeare Survey*, 43 (1991), 99-108 (p. 105).

And frown upon's.[503]

Again, the illustrations of Bell's publication are influenced by stormy scenes from the plays. Yet,

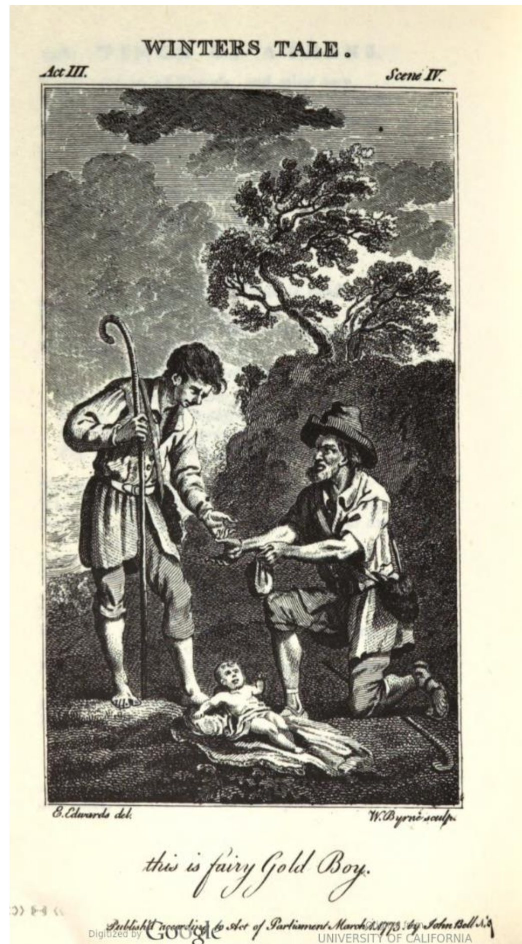

Figure 14, The Winter's Tale, *from Bell's Edition, vol. 5, courtesy of HathiTrust, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b3548572&view=1up&seq=158.*

in this sketch of *The Winter's Tale*, there is a shift from the powerful, sublime storm, to the pastoral, marking the transition from Act III to Act IV and the passing of sixteen years. The grim skies and rocky waters are positioned in the upper left corner, and the leaning of the tree to the left suggests that the wind is blowing that way, pushing the storm away from the scene. The rest

[503] Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale,* III.iii.2-6.

of the scene marks the shift to the pastoral, paralleling the pastoral acts to follow in the play. There are two shepherd's crooks in the image: one is held by the Clown and the other is on the ground under the Old Shepherd. The crooks, of course, symbolize shepherds, which are a key feature of the pastoral. As the setting changes, moving the plot sixteen years into the future, Perdita's social status has also changed: 'To speak of Perdita, now grown in grace | …A shepherd's daughter.'[504] The selection of the moment baby Perdita is discovered is an interesting choice for the single, main illustration of *The Winter's Tale*, as it marks the scene that leads into the sixteen-year time shift, which is the main problem eighteenth-century critics and adapters identified in the play. Garrick's 1758 adaptation of *The Winter's Tale*, *Florizel and Perdita*, removes the sixteen-year long conflict and focuses instead on the pastoral romance between the two titular characters. Morgan's *The Sheep Shearing: Or, Florizel and Perdita* and Coleman's *The Sheep-Shearing: A Dramatic Pastoral* also compact the play to just the pastoral narrative; none of these three adaptations include the scene where baby Perdita is discovered.

In the Introduction for *The Winter's Tale*, Gentleman praises Garrick's adaptation of the play. *The Winter's Tale,* for Gentleman, has:

> many beautifies even in the wilderness; it is a parterre of poetical flowers sadly choked with weeds. Mr. *Garrick* has furnished a very good alteration, which we had no right to offer as *Shakespeare*'s; the present copy has been studiously prun'd and regulated, by the ingenious Mr. *Hull*, of *Covent-Garden*, who has certainly made it much more bearable than the author left it.[505]

There are several metaphors of cultivation used to describe editing and adapting in this passage from the Introduction. Again, the idea of Shakespeare's works as being 'choked with weeds' is

[504] Ibid., IV.i.24, 27.
[505] Gentleman, *Bell's Edition,* V, 151.

stated: as Flecknoe mentioned of Shakespeare's works in 1678, 'that 'twas a fine Garden, but it wanted weeding.'[506] The metaphor of Shakespeare's works as a weedy garden has been continued over nearly one hundred years; although concepts of ideal gardens changed over the period, weeds were still seen as flaws, from Restoration symmetry to Pastoral elegance. *The Winter's Tale* in Bell's publication has been 'prun'd', suggesting that content has been cut from the play that would be easily discernable from the edition. One of the notes identifies a key moment that has been cut from Bell's edition: the bear chasing away Antigonus after he leaves Perdita. The note states, '*Shakespeare* had here introduced a bear – a most fit… for pantomines or puppet-shows; but blushing criticism has excluded the rough gentleman.'[507] The removal of the bear cuts away the action of Antigonus fleeing from the animal and shifts the scene right to the Old Shepherd and Clown's discovery of Perdita, as depicted in the image for the play. The bear, for Gentleman, is one of the 'weeds' in Shakespeare's play, and removing the bear allows the 'parterre of poetical flowers' (the discovery of Perdita) to be the main focus of the scene.[508]

The image for *The Winter's Tale* as well as the notes and Introduction present Bell's publication of the play as beautiful. A note on Florizel and Perdita's first scene together states that:

> There is a vein of poetical pastoral beauty runs through the whole scene, where *Florizel* and *Perdita* are concerned, not to be surpassed. Their figures should be delicately fine, and their expression, to do the charming picturesque sentiments they have furnished

[506] Ibid., V, 151.
Flecknoe, 'The English Stage,' n.p.
[507] Gentleman, *Bell's Edition,* V. 185.
[508] Ibid., V, 151.

> justice, should be meltingly harmonious: their ideas would thaw the breast of frozen age; and their style, without a tincture of inflation, suits their high birth.[509]

Again, Bell's publication fuses the natural world with human nature, although for *The Winter's Tale*, it is not the sublime in relation to desperation and madness (as in *Macbeth* and *King Lear*), but rather the pastoral and the picturesque paralleling the beauty of royal youths. Harmony is key to the representation of characters and nature in Bell's publication; the qualities of the characters must be visible in the visual of the actors and be further shown in the natural setting around them.

Bell and Gentleman praised Garrick's adaptation of *The Winter's Tale*. The first sentence of the dedication raises Garrick up to be a figure of merit paralleled with Shakespeare:

> It is a matter of great doubt whether any dedicatory address was every freer from taint of flattery, than the present; if we pronounce you the best illustrator of, and the best *living comment* on, Shakespeare, that ever has appeared, or possibly ever will grace the British state, it is merely echoing the public voice, and concurring with that unparalleled unanimity of praise, which, during so long a course of years, hath attended your incomparable merit.[510]

Bell begins his edition by claiming Garrick as 'the best *living comment* on … Shakespeare.'[511] Garrick becomes more than just a Shakespearean critic: Bell emphasizes that he is a living being, a part of nature who has kept Shakespeare alive as well. Eighteenth-century Shakespeare editors used nature in different ways to justify their editorial practices, but by the late century, Shakespeare's association with nature became synonymous with his newly claimed identity as

[509] Ibid., V, 193.
[510] Bell, ed., *Shakespeare's Plays*, I, iii.
[511] Ibid., I, iii.

the immortal Bard: a divine figure showcased at Garrick's 1769 Jubilee. Bell's dedication to Garrick marks the significance of the Jubilee for Shakespeare publications and attempts to echo the public celebration of the Bard on the page.

Eighteenth-century Shakespeare editions attempted to cultivate Shakespeare into the tastes of their various decades. Rowe's edition hints towards seeing Shakespeare as the 'original genius' in his use of the discourse of nature. Pope's edition uses the language of cultivation to 'prune' and 'weed' Shakespeare's works to bring Shakespeare's 'Beauties' to the forefront and to degrade his 'Faults' to the bottom of the page. Pope heavily intertwines Shakespeare with nature, providing a base for later critics, editors, and adapters to claim Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' Eight years later, Theobald shifts away from Pope's orderly structure to instead praise Shakespeare for his wild imagination and connects Shakespeare's talent with nature. Johnson's 1765 edition directly claims Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature,' setting him aside from other poets. He uses metaphors of the natural world to praise the abundance of Shakespeare's talent while at the same time showing that there are 'meaner materials' mixed in with the 'Beauties.' [512] By the time of Bell's 1774 theatrical publication, Garrick had claimed Shakespeare as the divine Bard using the language of nature at his 1769 Jubilee. Bell's acting edition uses nature in the illustrations to position Shakespeare's plays within the natural world, presenting Shakespeare as awe-inspiring with the visual of the sublime.

These editions worked chronologically and cumulatively to construct Shakespeare into an original genius due to his affiliation with nature by the end of the eighteenth century. Each edition builds on the work of the previous editor by providing a new lens to assess Shakespeare's works and talents as 'the poet of nature.' However, the concept of 'Beauties' and 'Faults' to

[512] S. Johnson, *Selections,* p. 32.

criticize Shakespeare remains an underlying thread during this progression of editorial comments. The language of cultivation, even though it is presented in metaphors of different gardening trends, is still maintained in order for the editors to justify revising Shakespeare's plays. Garrick also used metaphors of cultivation to justify his own adaptations of Shakespeare's plays, yet in the Jubilee festival, Garrick shifts his tone to use nature purely as a way to elevate Shakespeare and identify everything that he created as something even beyond a 'Beauty.' As gardeners and landscapers saw the natural world as something that could be reshaped, so too could editors restyle their own usage of nature to criticize or praise Shakespeare. Bell has noted that Garrick's Jubilee 'echo[es] the public voice, and concur[es] with that unparalleled unanimity of praise.'[513] For Bell, Garrick has spoken on behalf of the public and their praise of Shakespeare is consistently unanimous. The usage of the discourse of nature shifted at the Jubilee to be a way to praise Shakespeare without any remnant of criticism. In the following chapter, I will examine the development of this praise leading up to the Jubilee in order to assess how the festival turned 'the poet of nature' into the divine poet of British nature.

[513] Bell, ed., *Shakespeare's Plays*, I, iii.

Chapter 4: Nature as Divine, Shakespeare as Divine

Literary critics had slowly begun seeing Shakespeare and/or his works as immortal or divine in some way throughout the long eighteenth century. In this chapter, I assess claims that Shakespeare was 'the poet of nature' in relation to the late eighteenth-century perception of nature as a substitute for God or a deity as a spiritual source. Before 1769, critics had assessed Shakespeare's relationship with nature, typically using nature in contrast with Shakespeare's lack of a formal education. In the latter half of the century, critics had begun to praise Shakespeare as a genius, which was linked to Shakespeare's connection with nature. Garrick's 1769 Jubilee was the key event that positioned Shakespeare as the divine 'poet of nature.' The connection between nature and divinity existed prior to 1769, but it was Garrick who philosophically fused the two together in relation to Shakespeare at the Jubilee.

In this chapter, I examine how nature at the Jubilee, both metaphorically in Garrick's language and physically in the setting of Stratford, was used to construct Shakespeare as a divine figure. Previous scholars, such as Dobson and Marsden, have addressed the nationalist angle to Garrick's Jubilee, which has been the main examination of the festival. My study, for the first time, specifically explores the role of nature at the Jubilee. The framework of nature deserves an in-depth assessment, as the entire Jubilee festival was positioned as an event that elevated Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' using the natural setting of Stratford to construct the story of how nature influenced Shakespeare during his early life. In the first part of this chapter, I explore how these concepts emerged prior to the Jubilee. At the Jubilee, these various praises of Shakespeare had merged to label Shakespeare as the immortal Bard using the natural setting of Stratford to praise Shakespeare as a genius.

In both the *Ode* and *The Jubilee*, Garrick presents a new understanding of nature as a divine, yet national quality to create the figure of the national poet. Garrick speaks both *to* Shakespeare and *for* Shakespeare. His language shifts to captivate his audience by both addressing Shakespeare as a divine being and creating his own story of how nature inspired Shakespeare to write.[514] A statue of Shakespeare was erected during the Jubilee, placing Shakespeare in a much larger setting than a garden. The Jubilee turned Stratford, Shakespeare's birthplace, into a literary paradise and promised land by declaring that the day is 'a holiday' on the land where 'Nature nurs'd her darling boy | … Now, now, we tread enchanted ground, | Here Shakespeare walk'd, and sung!'[515] Garrick used nature, in both the setting and language of the Jubilee, to present and construct Shakespeare as the divine figure of the Bard and to claim Stratford as the holy location which inspired him. The two existing discourses of divinity and nature combined at the Jubilee to construct Shakespeare as the divine poet of British nature

Over the long eighteenth century, the definition of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' was fluid, shifting between a general reference to reality, a supernatural spirit, human nature, and the physical natural world. Garrick's 1769 Jubilee would solidify the definition of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' by fusing together previous definitions to claim Shakespeare as the divine poet of England's nature who was so apt at depicting human nature that his characters became 'beings.' In this chapter, I focus on the events surrounding Garrick's Jubilee in order to assess how the celebration raised Shakespeare to be a divine figure by using the language of nature. My study examines how events and writings in the decades prior to the Jubilee provided a base for Garrick to claim Shakespeare as a divine, natural figure. Garrick followed and went beyond the work of eighteenth-century editors who assessed to what extent Shakespeare, as 'the poet of

[514] Seitz, 'The "Blest genius of the isle"', p. 11.
[515] Garrick, *The Jubilee*, III.i.1, 9-10.

nature' could be a poet of genius. Garrick (and other later eighteenth-century critics) positioned Shakespeare as a divine figure and as a 'Genius,' or 'a guardian spirit … associated with a place' in relation to Stratford-upon-Avon.[516]

Garrick's Jubilee led to a cultish enthusiasm for Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' Rumbold examines the 'convergence of different languages of praise at the Jubilee, from sacred reverence to pagan celebration, as well as the discourses of patriotism, fashion and commerce.'[517] I am expanding Rumbold's study to examine how Garrick used nature to elevate Shakespeare at the Jubilee. Garrick textually and physically wove nature into the events of the Jubilee, including *The Ode* and other written pieces and the location of the event itself: on the banks of the Avon. Bate argues that during Garrick's Jubilee, 'through the very process of shaping the word "genius", Shakespeare forced it back to its oldest sense, that of a tutelar deity.'[518] For Bate, Shakespeare, 'the genius goes to a natural source [for knowledge]–the Castalian spring, the banks of Avon.'[519] Shakespeare therefore becomes 'the national poet… "the Genius of our Isle."'[520] I examine specifically how Shakespeare was constructed as the tutelary deity of Stratford with the natural language and location of the Jubilee. My study has already examined how the idea of Shakespeare as an 'original genius' predates Bate's assessment. In this chapter, I evaluate how the discourse of nature claimed Shakespeare as a divine genius at the Jubilee.

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516 'genius, *n.* and *adj.*', in *OED.*
517 Rumbold, 'Stratford Jubilee,' p. 254.
518 Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, p. 185.
519 Ibid., p. 162.
520 Ibid., p. 184.

My study expands on current scholarship and examines nature alongside the use of religious language at the Jubilee. Dobson argues that the Jubilee is 'the culmination of Shakespeare's canonization.'[521] He notes that Shakespeare at the Jubilee is:

> Now for the first time being praised as the 'man of all men', directly inspired by Nature to voice the universal truths of humanity, and hymned throughout Garrick's proceedings as self-evidently the supreme writer in world literature, the timeless and transcendent Bard must none the less be claimed as specifically and uniquely English.[522]

For Dobson, the Jubilee claims Shakespeare as 'Britain's national deity.'[523] My study delves further into Dobson's point that at the Jubilee Shakespeare was shown to be 'directly inspired by Nature.'[524] While I do assess the role of 'Nature' as a personified spiritual being, my analysis of the Jubilee examines the role of nature at the Jubilee as a spiritual source for Shakespeare's inspiration and as the physical environment of Shakespeare's life and as the setting for the festivities. As 'the poet of nature' in the early eighteenth century, Shakespeare's works were seen as in need of revision, like the natural world which was viewed as in need of refinement to be cultivated into the perfect garden. The garden, in the eighteenth-century, was a pivotal feature of culture. The garden served both an aesthetic purpose (for beauty) and a survival purpose (for food), and these purposes were examined in depth in philosophical writing. Controlling the beauty of the natural world in the garden provided a visual, pleasing balance that could inspire good behaviour.

The Divine Purpose of Gardening

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[521] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 214.
[522] Ibid., p. 219.
[523] Ibid., p. 15.
[524] Ibid., p. 214.

Shakespeare was seen as a divine figure of English literature by the time of David Garrick's 1769 Jubilee; however, I will argue that metaphors of nature were used alongside language that claimed Shakespeare as divine throughout the eighteenth century to praise Shakespeare. The mindset of eighteenth-century Shakespeare editors and adapters extends from ideals of gardening and the improvement of nature. In 1707, abbé de Vallemont presented the Book of Genesis as sacred history in his *Curiosities of Nature and Art in Husbandry and Gardening*. His work emphasizes how, in the eighteenth century, the history of gardening was framed as beginning at the Biblical creation.[525] The Garden of Eden is the centre point for the Biblical creation of humankind, and in the eighteenth century, Eden became the idealized inspiration behind gardening practices. Max F. Schulz argues that eighteenth century landscape gardens became a symbol of God's 'divine order.'[526] The aristocracy 'retired to the country comfortable in the belief that they could reach the promised land by improving on nature.'[527] The process of 'improving' Shakespeare with editing and adaptation benefited English culture (both literary and otherwise); Shakespeare became an English cultural phenomenon. Shakespeare rose to the status of the Bard, England's national poet, in the eighteenth century.[528] The association of nature with divinity, as exemplified in Vallemont's writing, positions nature in a powerful role in throughout the eighteenth century. In 1774, a 'Gentleman of Cambridge' published *Mirth, a Poem in answer to Warton's Pleasures of Melancholy*, which claims, 'Where Nature, yielding to the nicest art, | Thy garden forms; as groves of Eden fair.'[529] Gardens and gardening practices were still

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[525] abbé de Vallemont, *Curiousities of Nature and Art in Husbandry and Gardening* (London: 1707), p. 3.
[526] Max F. Schulz, *Paradise Preserved: Recreations of Eden in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 3.
[527] Ibid., p. 4.
[528] Dobson, *The National Poet*, p. 5.
[529] A Gentleman of Cambridge, *Mirth, a Poem in Answer to Warton's Pleasures of Melancholy* (Cambridge: 1774), ll. 303-304.

associated with the Garden of Eden in the late eighteenth century, which reveals that concepts of gardening and cultivation were still seen through the same Biblical lens. Cultivation became an art, and art stood in contrast with the natural world. Eighteenth-century philosophers and writers understood that art could take the natural world and turn it into the perfect, divine garden.

Reviving Shakespeare: 'The Secret Root'

Shakespeare was associated with nature prior to being claimed as divine. In the following sections, I assess how critics, editors, and adapters of Shakespeare began to fuse the language of divinity with nature prior to Garrick's Jubilee. These writers provided the base for Garrick to celebrate Shakespeare as the divine, immortal Bard, as their discourse – although often critical – suggests that there is something unique to Shakespeare's works.. The long eighteenth century slowly constructed Shakespeare into an immortal genius by the time of the Jubilee, using the discourse of nature to elevate him into the Bard. I begin by addressing Dryden's assessment of the natural world in relation to Britain. Dryden's use of metaphors of cultivating the natural world to showcase the desire to refine Britain during the seventeenth century progressed into the eighteenth century, where writers continued to use similar metaphors of controlling the wild, natural world to describe editing perceived flaws within Shakespeare's works. Numerous writers in the Restoration, such as Evelyn, Cowley, and Dryden, connected Charles II with the cultivation of forests, which set a new perception for understanding both the natural world and criticism of human nature, literature, and culture; the natural needed to be cultivated for perfection. Dryden's metaphor of cultivation in *Threnodia Augustalis* is key to the 'purest' Britain, and his discourse encourages the 'obedient' citizens to continue maintaining Britain to the highest standards, which Charles II cultivated. The king's actions, therefore, became a

standard for citizens to imitate; as the natural world needed cultivation, so too did human nature in order to create an ideal Britain. And if Shakespeare is associated with the natural, then his works are also in need of cultivation, a process that would continue throughout the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century, until Shakespeare became a divine figure of nature at Garrick's Jubilee.

In the late seventeenth century, critics and adapters of Shakespeare began associating nature with divinity in their writing, constructing Shakespeare as a sacred figure using metaphors of nature. In the Prologue to *Aurenge-Zebe, A Tragedy* (1676), Dryden (referring to himself) states 'But spite of all his Pride, a secret Shame | Invades his Breast at *Shakespear's* Sacred Name.'[530] Dryden is presenting Shakespeare as a divine figure, placing Shakespeare in a position above other writers. Similarly, in the Prologue to his 1667 adaptation of *The Tempest: Or, the Enchanted Island* (co-written with Davenant), Dryden and Davenant state that, '*Shakespear's* Pow'r is sacred as a King's.'[531] Shakespeare's role as a divine figure is further specified six years later, when Shakespeare is associated with a monarch's divine right to rule. Dryden and Davenant's description of Shakespeare's power continues:

> As when a Tree's cut down the secret root
>
> Lives under ground, and thence new Branches shoot;
>
> So, from old *Shakespear's* honour'd dust, this day
>
> Springs up and buds a new reviving Play.
>
> *Shakespear*, who (taught by none) did first impart
>
> To *Fletcher* Wit, to labouring *Johnson* Art.

[530] John Dryden, *Aurenge-Zebe, A Tragedy* (London: 1685), n.p.
The original edition of *Aurenge-Zebe* was published in 1676, but due to the pandemic, the earliest edition I can access is from 1685.
[531] Davenant and Dryden, *The Enchanted Island,* p. 7.

He Monarch-like gave those his Subjects law,

And is that Nature which they paint and draw.[532]

By 1667, Dryden and Davenant had presented Shakespeare as a sacred, monarchal figure associated with nature as well as rebirth and revival. The significance of the metaphor comparing Shakespeare's rebirth to a bud from an old tree extends beyond Dryden and Davenant's revival of *The Tempest*; the metaphor is also reflective of the process of reviving Shakespeare throughout the long eighteenth century. Dryden and Davenant's adaptation is only the start (like a bud) of the extensive process which would transform Shakespeare into the Bard by Garrick's 1769 Jubilee.

The fusion of the discourses of divinity and nature would continue throughout the late seventeenth century, slowly constructing Shakespeare as the Bard. This natural, growth-based imagery that was present during the era seems to connote a preordained process; however, the process itself is maintained by cultivation, as exemplified by Dryden and Davenant's Preface. This growth is only possible due to the work of adapters who cut down and remove the old tree to let the new bud grow. The bud's growth is then maintained by the adapters. Dryden and Davenant's metaphor of the tree provides a justification for their adaptation. Tate likewise uses a metaphor of cultivation to justify altering *King Lear* in his Prologue, except he specifically uses the metaphor to argue for order within Shakespeare's play. Tate describes his work:

Yet hopes, since in rich *Shakespear'*s soil it grew

'Twill relish yet, with those whose Tasts are true,

And his Ambition is to please a Few

If then his Heap of Flow'rs shall chance to wear

[532] Ibid., p. 7.

Fresh beauty in the Order they now bear,

Even this *Shakespeare's* Praise; each rustic knows

'Mongst plenteous Flow'rs a Garland to Compose

Which strung by this Course Hand may fairer show,

But 'twas a Power Divine first made 'em grow.[533]

Tate's discourse brings Shakespeare into the late seventeenth century by referring to his adaptation as a way to make Shakespeare's work more aesthetically pleasing as a result of 'Order,' a practice which would continue into the eighteenth century. Tate's Prologue appears to continue Dryden and Davenant's metaphor of the bud; Tate compares Shakespeare's talents to flowers, which suggests growth. Indeed, there had been growth in the late seventeenth century's construction of Shakespeare; Shakespeare's talents had been directly labeled as 'Divine.' Tate's reference to the 'Garland' reflects the control late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century critics, adapters, and editors would have over critiquing and adapting Shakespeare's works. By Garrick's Jubilee, the garland would became a crown for 'the poet of nature.'

Immortal Shakespeare: Resurrecting the Bard

Shakespeare has shifted from being a divine monarch to an immortal being in the second decade of the eighteenth century, as adapters, editors, and critics claimed Shakespeare as immortal. Rowe's Prologue to his 1714 *The Tragedy of Jane Shore: Written in Imitation of Shakespear's Style* describes Shakespeare's writing style:

In such as Age, Immortal *Shakespear* wrote,

By no quaint Rules, nor Hampering Criticks taught;

[533] Nahum Tate, *The History of King Lear* (London: 1702), p. 54.

With rough, majestic Force he mov'd the Heart,

And Strength, and Nature made amends for Art.[534]

Rowe's direct reference to Shakespeare as immortal also includes a comment associating Shakespeare with nature over art. Rowe's claim of Shakespeare as immortal makes him become beyond human: he becomes a supernatural figure. Since Shakespeare is immortal, he can then become the tutelar deity of Stratford. The Dedication of Theobald's 1715 poem, *The Cave of Poverty*, also references 'the Immortal *Shakespeare.*'[535] Hill also refers to Shakespeare as immortal in the Preface to the Reader for his 1723 *King Henry the Fifth: Or, the Conquest of France, by the English*, which is based on Shakespeare's play. Hill presents Shakespeare as 'The inimitable, and immortal, *Shakespear*' and in the Prologue, refers to him as the 'tow'ring *Genius* of the *Stage.*'[536] Hill's language here positions Shakespeare as the guardian spirit of the theatre. He has claimed Shakespeare as immortal and then follows that claim by labeling him as the Genius. Rowe, Theobald, and Hill's discourse marks a major transition of Shakespeare criticism in the eighteenth century, where Shakespeare is no longer just a divine monarch, but an immortal being. The repetition of different critics stating that Shakespeare is immortal creates a trend that would impact the rest of the eighteenth-century's view of Shakespeare. Shakespeare had been depicted as a divine figure, a monarch, and as immortal from 1667 to 1723, and each of these discourses surrounding Shakespeare are related to nature in the critics' assessments of his writing style.

Immortal Shakespeare was brought onto the stage. Hill's Prologue to *King Henry the Fifth* directly speaks to Shakespeare, '*Shakespear!* – the Sound bids charm'd Attention wake: |

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[534] Nicholas Rowe, *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* (London: 1714), p. 3.
[535] Lewis Theobald, *The Cave of Poverty* (London: 1715), p. iv.
[536] Aaron Hill, *King Henry the Fifth: Or, the Conquest of France, by the English* (London: 1723), n.p.

And our aw'd Scenes, with conscious Reve'rence, *Shake!*'[537] The Prologue is attempting to resurrect Shakespeare, paralleling Hill's 'resurrection' of *King Henry the Fifth*. Shakespeare, therefore, is only immortal because of the work of eighteenth-century critics, adapters, and editors who are making Shakespeare's works popular once again. The Prologue to Dryden's 1679 *Troilus and Cressida: Or, Truth Found Too Late* is delivered by Mr. Betterton, who is 'Representing the Ghost of *Shakespear*.'[538] For the first time, Shakespeare appears posthumously on the stage, and in this posthumous appearance, Shakespeare authorizes Dryden's adaptation of his play (although he is using Dryden's words).[539] Dryden is using a visual of Shakespeare's ghost to give himself permission for the adaptation and persuade his audience that he is worthy of adapting Shakespeare's play. Later eighteenth-century Shakespeare adapters, such as Garrick, would also use Shakespeare's ghost to support their adaptations. Immortal Shakespeare is controlled by long eighteenth-century adapters, editors, and critics who state their values using Shakespeare's voice. Dryden's ghost of Shakespeare states: 'On Foreign Trade I needed not rely, | Like fruitful *Britain*, rich without Supply.'[540] Dryden is, of course, making a political point in emphasizing the significance of the restoration of Charles II and the focus on nationalism. Dryden is excusing Shakespeare for not following the rules of classical writers, since he instead had the rich nature of Britain for inspiration, which frames him as the poet of Britain. Dryden's discourse changed Shakespeare from being 'the poet of nature' to the poet of *Britain's* nature. Nature and nationalism were beginning to be fused together in the construction of the Bard.

John Gilbert Cooper's 1755 *The Tomb of Shakespear* is a fantastical presentation of Shakespeare as the poet of Britain's nature. While Shakespeare does not appear as a ghost, he is

[537] Ibid., p. viii.
[538] John Dryden, *Troilus and Cressida: Or, Truth Found Too Late* (London: 1679), n.p.
[539] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 74.
[540] Ibid., p. 38.

depicted as a supernatural force of nature. Cooper describes the setting of the poem by stating, 'I sit on Avon's banks, whose streams appear | To wind with eddies fond round Shakespear's tomb.'[541] Nature is directly connected with Shakespeare's life and literary afterlife in this passage. Similarly, Mark Akenside's 1744 *The Pleasure of Imagination. A Poem in Three Books* associates Shakespeare's grave with the river Avon:

> Indulgent FANCY! from the tuneful banks
> Of Avon, whence thy rosy fingers cull
> Fresh flow'rs and dews to sprinkle on the turf
> Where Shakespeare lies.[542]

Cooper and Akenside remove the walls around Holy Trinity Church and place Shakespeare's grave right on the Avon. Cooper and Akenside's language becomes a precursor for natural religion by removing the physical presence of the church. Hume's 1779 phrase, 'the author of nature,' offers a reflective angle to view Cooper's 1755 *The Tomb of Shakespear.*[543] Cooper's narrator is sitting where Shakespeare lived, which becomes a source of the supernatural in the poem, as Fancy appears and provides the narrator with five visions of Shakespeare's plays. All five of the visions involve nature: Ariel's power in controlling the waves and sky in *The Tempest*, Nature forming Caliban from *The Tempest*, the ancient forests of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the witches of *Macbeth* on the rough rock by the sea, and all of the ghosts from *Macbeth, Richard the II*, and other plays bursting up through the surface of the earth. Cooper is suggesting that Shakespeare, 'the poet of nature,' has become an 'author of nature.' For Cooper and Akenside, Shakespeare's body is a part of the nature of Stratford, and the river itself pays

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[541] John Gilbert Cooper, *The Tomb of Shakespear. A Poetical Vision* (London: 1755), p. 4.
[542] Mark Akenside, *The Pleasures of Imagination. A Poem in Three Books* (London: 1744), ll. 10-13.
[543] Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, p. 19.

homage to Shakespeare by placing flowers on the grave. Shakespeare himself, in addition to his writing, became intertwined with nature.

The Jubilee

The ultimate celebration of Shakespeare's immortality was Garrick's 1769 Jubilee. The Jubilee perfected Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' The Jubilee was the culmination of the work of eighteenth-century (and late seventeenth-century) critics, adapters, and editors who constructed Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' who was both in need of editing and an immortal, divine figure. The Jubilee lasted for several days in Stratford in early September 1769, and the whole event framed Shakespeare as the immortal Bard, using the nature of Britain to elevate him. Stratford was decorated for the event and Garrick had a rotunda built by the Avon. In Garrick's *Ode* and *The Jubilee*, not only is Shakespeare praised as the 'poet of nature,' but nature is presented as a dominating force. Nature physically became a dominant force during the Jubilee, when the rain was so heavy on September ninth, that it stopped Garrick from staging his 'pageant' of Shakespeare's characters. Garrick did write *The Jubilee*, an afterpiece which contains the 'pageant' that he could not stage.

Shakespeare's 'Nativity': The Holiday Begins

The August 1769 edition of *The London Magazine* described Stratford as 'the place of [Shakespeare's] nativity' prior to the Jubilee.[544] Shakespeare's birthplace was one of the main sites for Garrick's Jubilee, and while *The London Magazine*'s description does not necessarily

[544] Anon., 'The British Theatre,' in *The London Magazine. Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (London: August 1769), p. 407.

have religious overtones, the language of the Jubilee would position Shakespeare's birthplace as a sacred place. In *The Jubilee*, Garrick proclaims that:

> This is the day, a holiday! a holiday!
>
> Drive spleen and rancor far away,
>
> This is the day, a holiday! a holiday!
>
> Drive care and sorrow far away.
>
> Here Nature nurs'd her darling boy,
>
> From whom all care, and sorrow fly,
>
> Whose harp the muses strung:
>
> From heart to heart let joy rebound,
>
> Now, now, we tread enchanted ground,
>
> Here Shakespeare walk'd, and sung![545]

These lines were to be sung in front of Shakespeare's birthplace which positions his house as a religious site. This 'holiday', or 'holy day', connotes religious observance. Holland examines how critics viewed the Jubilee as blasphemous due to Garrick's claims of Shakespeare as a demigod.[546] Indeed, the event did not so much celebrate Shakespeare's works, as worship Shakespeare himself as an immortal demigod worthy of a holiday. Shakespeare's plays are not being performed: instead, participants 'tread enchanted ground | Here Shakespeare walked and sung.'[547] The word 'enchanted' adds a magical element to Garrick's presentation of Shakespeare's early life; his birthplace is both a sacred place and a location that inspired Shakespeare's 'Fancy' and imagination. If the Jubilee is a holiday/holy day, then Stratford itself

[545] Garrick, *The Jubilee*, III.i.1-10.
[546] Holland, 'David Garrick: saints, temples and jubilees,' pp. 15-37.
[547] Ibid., III.i.9-10.

is a holy place, making Garrick's audience pilgrims in addition to spectators. Garrick took Shakespeare back to his birthplace and then right up to the Avon, showing exactly where Nature 'nurs'd' Shakespeare.

In the Jubilee *Ode*, Garrick describes the moment Shakespeare acquired his talents as: '*When Nature, smiling, hail'd his birth | To him unbounded pow'r was given*.'[548] Garrick positions Shakespeare as, 'sitting on his magic throne, | … the subject Passions round him wait.'[549] George Romney's c.1791-92 painting, *The Infant Shakespeare Attended by Nature and the Passions*, visualizes these lines from the *Ode*, showing the Passions attending Shakespeare and Nature giving Shakespeare his talents (as depicted by the flute). Romney depicts

Figure 15 – George Romney, The Infant Shakespeare Attended by Nature and the Passions*, c. 1791-92, Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.*

[548] Garrick, *Ode,* p. 4.
[549] Ibid., p. 5.

Shakespeare's mystical/magical nativity. Shakespeare is held by Joy while Sorrow is the figure in blue leaning over him. Tucked together on the left side of the painting are Hatred, Jealousy, and Love, while on the right side of the painting, above Sorrow, are Anger, Envy, and Fear. Sillars notes that the purpose of this painting is to show 'the perfection with which Shakespeare's art can express each [Passion].'[550] While the personified human emotions in the painting do represent Shakespeare's ability to depict the full range of human nature, Nature also serves a main purpose in the painting's narrative. The glowing ethereal figure above Shakespeare is Nature, and a golden light descends from the sky through Nature onto Shakespeare, which suggests a divine blessing. All of the figures are looking at Shakespeare, while Shakespeare is staring directly at the viewer. Shakespeare is the focus of the painting, and from Shakespeare, it as if the viewer's eyes are then drawn to Nature and the personified human emotions. The passions influence human nature. Shakespeare is shown to be inspired and taught by Nature and human nature, while at the same time, Shakespeare's readers are led to Nature and human nature through Shakespeare.

Romney's painting reflects Garrick's description of Shakespeare's birth and early inspiration in the *Ode*. Shakespeare and Joy are both holding onto opposite ends of a flute, signifying Shakespeare's artistic talents and theatrical connection. Garrick, in the *Ode*, refers to Shakespeare as the:

> *Sweetest bard that* ever *sung*,
>
> Nature's *glory*, Fancy's *child*;
>
> *Never sure aid witching tongue,*
>
> *Warble forth such wood-notes wild!*[551]

[550] Sillars, *Painting Shakespeare,* p. 139.
[551] Ibid., p. 3.

In turn borrowing Milton's words about Shakespeare, Garrick shows that Shakespeare is 'Nature's *glory*' with music. The flute represents music in Romney's painting. Romney's painting, while created approximately twenty-two years after the Jubilee, visually reflects the language of the Jubilee in presenting Shakespeare's birth as a divine yet magical moment, where Shakespeare is 'nurs'd' by Nature. The Jubilee attendees could visualize the literal and imaginative stories of Shakespeare's birth; by physically being at Shakespeare's house, the attendees could see where Shakespeare was born. Garrick's language provided a metaphorical version of Shakespeare's birth, posing Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' right from his birth.

Garrick places Shakespeare and his audience in the physical, natural surroundings of Shakespeare's life; however, Garrick controlled how the audience viewed the nature of Shakespeare's birthplace. James Solas Dodd explains that, prior to the Jubilee,

> The noble owners Bamstead Mead, generously permitted above an hundred trees to be cut down, by which a delightful view of the river Avon, and its fine bridge of fourteen arches, was opened to the town, which till then had been totally obstructed.[552]

The environment of Stratford was adapted to fit in with Garrick's needs for the Jubilee. Garrick controlled his audience's view of the Avon, which James Boswell notes in the September 1769 *The London Magazine. Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*: 'The amphitheatre was a wooden building, erected just on the brink of the Avon, in the form of an octagon, with eight pillars supporting the roof.'[553] Garrick's language emphasized the significance of the Avon in the *Ode* while his audience's eyes were focused on the Avon:

> (Like that kind bounteous hand,

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[552] James Solas Dodd, 'A Detail of the Whole Diversions of the Jubilee at *Stratford Upon Avon*, in the Country of *Warwick,*' in *Essays and Poems, Satirical, Moral, Political, and Entertaining* (Corke: 1770), pp. 249-250.

[553] James Boswell, 'A Letter from James Boswell, Esq; on Shakespeare's Jubilee at Stratford-upon-Avon,' in *The London Magazine. Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (London: September 1769), p. 451.

Which lately gave the ravish'd eyes

Of Stratford swains

A rich command,

Of widen'd river, lengthen'd plains,

And opening skies)

Nor *Greek,* nor *Roman* streams would flow along,

More sweetly clear, or more sublimely strong.[554]

Garrick is creating a sense of superiority between homegrown inspiration over classical sources.[555] In a footnote in the *Ode*, Garrick notes that 'the opening skies' was due to, 'The D– of D–, with the concurrence of Mr. B–y, most generously ordered a great number of Trees to be cut down, to open the river *Avon* for the Jubilee.'[556] Garrick directly thanks the people responsible for the removal of the trees and draws the attendees' attention to the new view they now have of the Avon. His literal and figurative cultivation of Stratford differs from eighteenth-century gardening practices which attempted to recreate the paradise of Eden with classical influences; instead, Garrick is claiming Stratford as a paradise. The paradise of Stratford takes a different Biblical direction: Garrick is celebrating the site of Shakespeare's birth, much like the nativity. Garrick heralds Stratford as Shakespeare's birthplace and sets the site as a significant British location right from the start of the *Ode* when he refers to Shakespeare as the 'blest genius of the isle.'[557] Garrick's version of the divine is specifically English. Garrick is presenting a new, English nativity, posing Shakespeare's birthplace as a site for pilgrimage.

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[554] Garrick, *Ode*, p. 12.
[555] Seitz, 'The "Blest genius of the isle"', p. 15.
[556] Garrick, *Ode*, p. 12.
[557] Ibid., p. 1.

Garrick leads the audience along this pilgrimage. Richard Jago, in his 'Roundelay, For the Jubilee,' notes that, 'By *Garrick* led, the grateful band, | Haste to their Poet's native land.'[558] The Jubilee directly shifts literary attention away from classical writers and positions the focus of literature in Britain, specifically in Stratford. The 'native land' is framed at the Jubilee as the site of Shakespeare's nativity, both in terms of his actual birth and the metaphorical birth of his dominance in world literature. Garrick pushes classical literature aside in the song 'Warwickshire':

> Our SHAKESPEARE compar'd is to no man,
> Nor *Frenchman,* nor *Grecian,* nor *Roman*,
> Their swans are all geese, to the *Avon*'s sweet swan,
> And the man of all men, was a *Warwickshire* man,
>   *Warwickshire* man,
>   *Avon*'s swan,
> And the man of all men, was a *Warwickshire* man.[559]

The song uses nature to degrade classical writers (as well as the French) in comparison with Shakespeare. Writing that was previously deemed brilliant no longer holds the same glory in comparison with Shakespeare's work. In this portion of the song, Shakespeare is given three labels: '*Avon*'s sweet swan,' 'a *Warwickshire* man,' and 'the man of all men.'[560] Shakespeare's identity is both localized and global. He was born in Warwickshire and is metaphorically the

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[558] Richard Jago, 'Roundelay, For the Jubilee, in Honour of SHAKESPEARE' in *Shakespeare's Garland, Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads, Roundelays, Catches, Glees, Comic-Serenatas, &c. Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford Upon Avon, ed. by David Garrick* (London: 1769), p. 10.

[559] David Garrick, 'Warwickshire' in *Shakespeare's Garland, Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads, Roundelays, Catches, Glees, Comic-Serenatas, &c. Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford Upon Avon, ed. by David Garrick.* (London: 1769), p. 3.

[560] Ibid., p. 3.

swan of the Avon, but he is also above all men: a title that is not restricted by location. In the song 'Sweet Willy O,' Garrick claims that, 'The laurel was won by the sweet *Willy* O.'[561] The Jubilee crowns Shakespeare with nature in the natural setting of his birthplace, positioning him as a global figure of literature.

The Mulberry Tree: Worship, Relics, and Celebration

Garrick claims that Shakespeare won the laurel in 'Sweet Willy O,' but Garrick moves on from the laurel and replaces the classical natural symbol with another plant during the Jubilee's festivities: the Mulberry Tree. According to legend, Shakespeare planted the Mulberry Tree in his garden at New Place, Stratford around 1609 and it was still alive in the mid-eighteenth century. Lynch stresses that Shakespeare's planting of the tree is an unconfirmed story.[562] Garrick joins in with the legendary story of the tree. In Part I, Scene iii of the afterpiece, the line, 'All shall yield to the Mulberry Tree' is repeated nine times.[563] This repetition in the afterpiece brings the song 'Shakespeare's Mulberry-Tree' to the London stage, thereby continuing the legend beyond the festival itself. The language, in addition to the repetition of the line, shows Garrick's adoration of the tree as a natural, sacred object. In the song 'Shakespeare's Mulberry-Tree,' Garrick claims that 'Our tree shall surpass both the Laurel and Vine. | All shall yield to the Mulberry-tree.'[564] The song worships Shakespeare and the tree he planted. Multiple objects were made from the tree, and Garrick encouraged the festival attendees to 'Each take a relick of this hallow'd tree, | From folly and fashion a charm let it be.'[565] Garrick directly refers to the objects

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[561] Garrick, 'Sweet Willy O', p. 6.
[562] Jack Lynch, 'All Shall Yield to the Mulberry Tree: Of Toothpick Cases, Punch Ladles, Tobacco Stoppers, Inkstands, Nutmeg Graters, and the Legend of Shakespeare.' *Lumen,* 29 (2010), 21-42 (p. 23).
[563] Garrick, *The Jubilee*, I.iii.130.
[564] Garrick, 'Shakespeare's Mulberry-Tree', p. 9.
[565] Ibid., p. 9.

as relics, thereby identifying them as religious symbols. The relics also serve a moral role to ward off 'fashion' and 'folly,' which suggests that the objects themselves have powers similar to religious medallions. The Mulberry Tree became a centre focus of the Jubilee as a result of the song and the relics.

Garrick used four Mulberry Tree objects over the course of the Jubilee festival: the box, the medal, the steward's wand, and the goblet. Garrick is staging a performance of ritual, and these objects assist Garrick in carrying out that ritual. The first object, the Mulberry Tree box, was given to Garrick on May 11, 1769 by the mayor of Stratford, when he became 'an Honorary Burgess of Stratford and [was presented] with a testimonial in a box made from Shakespeare's mulberry tree.'[566] The testimonial identified Garrick as the Steward of the Jubilee. The town of

Figure 16 - The Garrick Casket 1769, © The Trustees of the British Museum

Stratford 'inaugurated Garrick as Steward, presenting him with a steward's wand and a medal (with a small relief, set in gold, of Shakespeare's bust), both made of the (reputedly) authentic

[566] Johanne M. Stochholm, *Garrick's Folly: The Shakespeare Jubilee of 1796 at Stratford and Drury Lane* (London: Methuen, 1964), p. 6.

mulberry tree.'[567] Stratford, "'the town, that glories in giving birth to the immortal Shakespeare'" gave Garrick its blessing to be the Steward of the Jubilee with the wand, the medal, and the box.[568] On the front of the box, there is a carving of a bust of Shakespeare held by Fame and adorned by the three Graces with bay leaves.[569] The opposing sides of the box separately depict the figures of tragedy and comedy.[570] On the back of the box is a carving of Garrick playing King Lear in the storm scene and further motifs from Shakespeare's plays decorate the edges and the top of the box.[571] The wand, the medal, and the box are 'relics' of Shakespeare, and these 'relics' are intrinsically connected to the nature of his life. The carvings on the box intertwine Shakespeare and his plays with nature.[572]

The Mulberry Tree goblet is the most prominent object Garrick uses during the festival. He refers to the goblet in 'The Mulberry-Tree' song and in the afterpiece of *The Jubilee*, telling his audience to

> Behold this fair goblet, 'twas carved from the tree
> Which O my sweet Shakespear, was planted by thee.
> As a relic I kiss it and bow at the shrine,
> What comes from thy hand must be ever divine![573]

The goblet itself had religious significance, as the Jubilee attendees drank from the goblet, imitating the drinking of the wine, the Eucharistic blood of Christ. Dávidházi describes this action as an imitation of 'a Christian liturgy within the quasi-religious context of a literary cult'

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[567] Ibid., p. 39.
[568] Ibid., p. 38.
[569] Péter Dávidházi, *The Romantic Cult of Shakespeare* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 38.
[570] Ibid., p. 38.
[571] Ibid., p. 38.
[572] Seitz, 'The "Blest genius of the isle"', p. 23. This paragraph revises my examination of the Mulberry Tree box in my Master's capstone in order to fit in with the argument of my thesis.
[573] Garrick, *The Jubilee*, I.ii.126-129.

by ‘the barely secularized version of the Eucharist.’[574] Dávidházi has noted the cult-like interpretation by Garrick of the goblet; however, his argument does not contextualize this action within the late eighteenth-century movement to claim nature as an alternative for the divine. The festival attendees are not simply drinking from a cup; they are consuming mulberry juice out of a

Figure 17 - Mulberry Tree Goblet, © Shakespeare Birthplace Trust

goblet made from Shakespeare’s Mulberry Tree. Garrick is using a natural relic (notably, a relic made from a tree Shakespeare supposedly planted) to imitate the Eucharist.[575]

Garrick defines Shakespeare as ‘the poet of nature’ with the relics of the Mulberry Tree. Shakespeare, ‘the poet of nature’ supposedly planted the tree, which places these relics in high significance to Garrick and the Jubilee attendees. Lynch notes that:

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[574] Dávidházi, *Romantic Cult*, pp. 42, 16.

[575] Seitz, ‘The “Blest genius of the isle”’, p. 24. This paragraph revises my examination of the Mulberry Tree goblet in my Master’s capstone in order to fit in with the argument of my thesis.

> Other Shakespearean locations and artifacts survived, and they received their share of adoration, but the mulberry tree became the center of eighteenth-century Bardolatry. It is no coincidence that it was organic – a tree, rather than a rock or a building – because late eighteenth-century conceptions of genius turned increasingly toward organic metaphors to explain the way a poet's mind worked.[576]

The connection Lynch has identified here between organic nature and poetic production in the late eighteenth century highlights the significance of the Mulberry Tree objects. I emphasize the significance of nature in how Shakespeare was constructed in the eighteenth century. The Mulberry Tree is more than an 'organic metaphor,' but rather a symbol of Shakespeare, 'the poet of nature.' The treatment of the objects made from the Mulberry Tree as relics make 'the poet of nature' divine and emphasize the view of nature as divine in the late eighteenth century.[577] The relationship of the Mulberry Tree with Shakespeare acts as an analogy with the Boscobel Oak tree and Charles II. The Royal Oak tree became a symbol for Charles II (since he hid in the Boscobel Oak to hide from Cromwell's soldiers); the Mulberry Tree, then, becomes a symbol of Shakespeare. The analogy aligns Shakespeare with Stuart politics; as the monarchy was restored, so too would Garrick 'restore' Shakespeare to his rightful position as the Bard.

The Mulberry Tree objects themselves reflect Garrick's emphasis on Shakespeare's immortality. By the pieces of the Mulberry Tree being made into objects, the Mulberry Tree is made to last beyond its lifespan, paralleling Garrick's verbal process of making Shakespeare last beyond his lifespan: 'his Name, | And undiminish'd fame, | Shall never, never pass away.'[578] Nicola J. Watson states that each object:

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[576] Dávidházi, *Romantic Cult*, p. 28.

[577] Seitz, 'The "Blest genius of the isle"', pp. 25-26. This paragraph revises my examination of the Mulberry Tree objects in my Master's capstone in order to fit in with the argument of my thesis.

[578] Garrick, *Ode,* p. 16.

> argues for the possibility of encounter with Shakespeare through the organic continuity of the tree that he supposedly planted with his own hand, and each argues for the ability of possessors to incorporate the Shakespearean within the domestic routines of their own embodied lives.[579]

I extend Watson's argument by showing how the encounters with the Mulberry Tree objects are spiritual encounters. Garrick's use of the goblet centers the Mulberry Tree around divinity. Prior to the Jubilee, George Keate was given a Mulberry Tree standish by the Mayor and Burgesses of Stratford. On June 1, 1769, *The Cambridge Magazine* describes the gifting of the standish 'to the gentleman whom they have enriched with a relic so truly valuable; as it shews their desire to reward literary as well as scenic merit, where they find it connected with the cause of Shakespeare.'[580] The magazine labels the standish as a 'relic,' which suggests that people (other than just Garrick) viewed the Mulberry Tree objects as sacred and cherished them. Garrick's Jubilee, I posit, makes 'the poet of nature' immortal due to the presentation and praise of Shakespeare as a divine, national figure. The Mulberry Tree relics are natural, divine symbols of Garrick's words.

'Sacred Genius': The Uniquely Talented Tutelar Deity

Garrick, like many eighteenth-century critics, adapters, and editors, associates Shakespeare with the concept of 'Genius.' In the song 'Shakespeare's Mulberry-Tree,' Garrick claims that:

> The Genius of SHAKESPEARE out-shines the bright day,
>
> More rapture than wine to the heart can convey,

[579] Nicola J. Watson, *The Author's Effects: On Writer's House Museums* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 223-224.

[580] A Society of Gentlemen, of the University of Cambridge, *The Cambridge Magazine: Or, Universal Repository of Arts, Sciences, and the Belles Lettres* (London: 1769), p. 234.

So the tree which he planted, but making his own,

Has Laurel, and Bays, and the Vines all in one.[581]

At first glance, Garrick seems to be defining 'genius' in terms of unique talent; however, his language throughout the Jubilee has claimed Shakespeare as 'immortal' and a 'demi-god.' Bate argues that in the *Ode*, 'through the very process of shaping a new sense for the word 'genius,' Shakespeare forced it back to its oldest sense, that of a tutelary deity.'[582] While the classical definition has been brought back at the Jubilee, the old definition has not replaced the new. I argue that Garrick presents Shakespeare as both a unique talent and as a tutelar deity, fusing the new definition of 'genius' with the classical meaning. Shakespeare only becomes a tutelar deity because of his talent, and his talent was taught to him by nature. Nature provided Shakespeare with inspiration, replacing (and overtaking) the need for a classical education. The Mulberry Tree is a symbol of Garrick's association of Shakespeare with classical writing and influence; the tree has classical features (such as the 'Laurel'), but it is distinctly '[Shakespeare's] own.'

[581] Garrick, 'Shakespeare's Mulberry-Tree', p. 9.
[582] Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, p. 185.

Figure 18 - Garrick's Mulberry Tree Medallion, © Shakespeare Birthplace Trust

The Mulberry Tree medallion that Garrick wore around his neck included a multicoloured ribbon, and the ribbon was also available to the Jubilee attendees in various forms such as sashes and rosettes. Mr Jackson of Coventry, the Jubilee ribbon maker, stated that the ribbon, 'is in imitation of the Rainbow, which, uniting the Colours of all Parties, is likewise an emblem of the great Variety of his Genius.'[583] For Fernie, 'Thus did every lapel in Stratford gorgeously proclaim that Shakespeare's inclusive genius really was for each and all.'[584] Fernie's argument focuses on the definition of 'genius' as 'talent,' but, as I have shown and as Dobson

[583] Christian Deelman, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee* (Viking Press: New York, 1964), p. 184.
[584] Ewan Fernie, *Shakespeare for Freedom: Why the Plays Matter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 119.

Figure 19 - Jubilee Medallion and Rosette, © Shakespeare Birthplace Trust

has argued, the Jubilee also presents Shakespeare as a genius. Since the Jubilee attendees wore the rainbow ribbon, symbolizing Shakespeare's genius, they were connected to Garrick's narrative. Shakespeare is worshipped for his talent and for being the spirit of Stratford. The ribbon itself was made of silk, which is a natural and luxurious fibre that, when dyed, yields a bolder colour than other less valuable natural fibres such as cotton or wool. The ribbon itself is symbolic of the elevated representation of Shakespeare as a poet of genius at the Jubilee.

Shakespeare's identity as a genius is presented as sacred and holy. Bickerstaff, in the 'Chorus for the Pageant at Stratford,' states, 'Our pageant grace our pomp survey, | Whom love of sacred genius brings.'[585] Shakespeare's identity as a 'genius' (in both definitions of the word) is specifically sacred; his unique talent is divine. Garrick begins the *Ode* by referring to Shakespeare as the 'blest genius of the isle.'[586] For Dobson, this line adores Shakespeare's

[585] Isaac Bickerstaff, 'Chorus for the Pageant at Stratford' in *Shakespeare's Garland, Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads, Roundelays, Catches, Glees, Comic-Serenatas, &c. Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford Upon Avon, ed. by David Garrick* (London: 1769), p. 17.
[586] Garrick, *Ode*, p. 1.

unique talents and claims him as a 'literary deity.'[587] Dobson's claim here challenges Bate's argument; the definition of 'genius' has not been wholly 'forced… back to its oldest sense.'[588] My study delves further along the lines of Dobson's claim; nature is what claims Shakespeare as a genius both in terms of his talent and positioning as a literary and tutelar deity. In 'The Morning Address,' Garrick encourages his audience to adore Shakespeare with nature:

> Let Beauty with the sun arise,
>
> To SHAKESPEARE tribute pay,
>
> With heavenly smiles and sparkling eyes;
>
> Give grace and lustre to the day;
>
> Each smile she gives protects his name,
>
> What face shall dare to frown?
>
> Nor Envy's self can blast the fame,
>
> Which Beauty deigns to crown.[589]

In the first stanza of 'The Morning Address,' Garrick positions Shakespeare within an adoring description which praises the start of a sunny day. Nature is given a specific personification as 'Beauty': a figure that protects Shakespeare. Notably, nature is no longer wild or full of weeds; nature is now only what is beautiful. Shakespeare, likewise at the Jubilee, is no longer in need of 'weeding'; he is seen as aesthetically perfect and is crowned by Beauty. Beauty, as nature in its most perfect form, permits Shakespeare to be worthy of 'tribute' and positions him as the spirit

[587] Dobson, *The National Poet,* pp. 226-227.
[588] Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, p. 185.
[589] David Garrick, 'The Morning Address' in *Shakespeare's Garland, Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads, Roundelays, Catches, Glees, Comic-Serenatas, &c. Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford Upon Avon, ed. by David Garrick* (London: 1769), p. 1.

of Stratford. Shakespeare's talent is also just as sacred, as he is claimed to be, '*heaven's most favor'd creature, | Truest copier of Nature*.'[590] Shakespeare becomes the literary spirit or deity of Stratford and a divinely talented writer because of nature. These dual aspects of 'genius' are key to the Jubilee's presentation of Shakespeare's most divine ability: to create lifelike characters.

Garrick is portraying the English natural surroundings of Shakespeare's life as a powerful influence on his writing. In *The Jubilee* afterpiece, nature is depicted as generous and bountiful: 'Be proud of the charms of your country, | where nature has lavished her bounty… For the Bard of all bards was a Warwickshire bard.'[591] Garrick is indirectly stating that Shakespeare, the 'Warwickshire bard,' has benefited from nature's generosity and bounty. With the claiming of Shakespeare as a 'Warwickshire bard,' there is a movement from Johnson's framing of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' to Garrick centering Shakespeare as the poet of specifically England's nature. Garrick positions Shakespeare as *the* Bard, and with this shift in emphasis, we can begin to appreciate how Garrick's works contributed to the rise of Bardolatry in England, by presenting Shakespeare as a divine figure taught by the nature of England.

By claiming Shakespeare as the Bard, Garrick is using the word 'bard' as a term of elevated status rather than an acknowledgement of the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh cultural history of bardic poetry. Garrick defines what it means to be *the* Bard in the *Ode*, which he begins by labelling Shakespeare as the 'blest genius of the isle.'[592] Garrick identifies Shakespeare as a blessed genius, presenting him as a talented and divine being, who represents England, 'the isle.'[593] Garrick then grounds Shakespeare within the landscape of his hometown by describing him walking 'Avon's flow'ry margin… Where *Nature* led him by the hand, | Instructed him in

[590] Bickerstaff, 'Queen Mab', p. 22.
[591] Garrick, *The Jubilee*, I.ii.93-96.
[592] Garrick, *Ode*, p. 1.
[593] Ibid., p. 1.

all she knew, | And gave him absolute command!'[594] The Bard, for Garrick, has 'absolute command,' which suggests that Shakespeare commands the literary scene in addition to his divine, religious power due to his identity as a genius. Shakespeare was instructed by Nature in how to use this power, and he wielded it to create characters who became 'beings.' For Rumbold, the unintentional convergence of discourses at the Jubilee (in particular, the fusion of patriotism, sacred reverence, and commerce), inadvertently led to Shakespeare's elevation.[595] Garrick deliberately weaves together the languages of nature, nationalism, and divinity in the *Ode* in order to present Shakespeare as the Bard, whom he defines as a sacred genius.

'Beings of his Own': Shakespeare as Creator

Johnson claimed Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature.' Garrick furthers the association of Shakespeare's talent with nature. In the beginning of Johnson's Prologue for the opening of the Drury Lane Theatre in 1747, Johnson described Shakespeare's relationship with nature: 'First rear'd the Stage, immortal Shakespear rose; | Each Change of many-colour'd Life he drew, | Exhausted Worlds, and then imagin'd new.'[596] Johnson depicted Shakespeare as an immortal creator by connecting him with the stage and nature. Although the words were written by Johnson, Garrick delivered the Prologue on the stage. Garrick, in the *Ode*, states that 'Rais'd other worlds, and beings of his own!'[597] This passage not only echoes Johnson's language in describing Shakespeare as an immortal creator, but it *furthers* Johnson's claim of Shakespeare as

[594] Ibid., p. 1.
[595] Rumbold, 'Stratford Jubilee,' p. 254.
[596] Samuel Johnson, 'Prologue and epilogue, spoken at the opening of the Theatre in Drury-Lane 1747' (London: 1747), p. 3.
[597] Garrick, *Ode,* p. 4.

creator, as Garrick states that Shakespeare created 'beings.'[598] In the *Ode*, Garrick provides a natural setting for the place where Shakespeare imagined his characters and stories:

> *Thou soft-flowing* Avon, *by thy silver stream,*
>
> *Of things more then mortal, sweet* Shakespear *would dream*,
>
> *The fairies by moonlight dance round his green bed,*
>
> *For hallow'd the turf is which pillow'd his head.*[599]

Shakespeare is fully envisioned as 'the poet of nature' in the *Ode*. The imagery in this passage presents a nighttime scene that contains natural beauty, magic, and holy ground, all of which are key to Shakespeare unique talents. Shakespeare is able to create realistic characters because of the inspiration from the Avon. Shakespeare's bed is the turf by the Avon; the turf beneath his head is specifically claimed as sacred since Shakespeare's mind rests on that patch of land. The line '*For hallow'd the turf is which pillow'd his head*' is repeated four times in the *Ode* to reiterate the sacredness of the land and nature of the Avon in relation to Shakespeare's talent.[600] Shakespeare's mind, for Garrick, is key to his creation of 'beings.' Garrick's presentation of Shakespeare's inspiration and creation of 'beings' shifts throughout the Jubilee. Here, Shakespeare is depicted as being passively inspired by his surroundings to create characters. In other moments, Shakespeare becomes a more active participant in his relationship with nature.

Garrick describes the creation of one of Shakespeare's 'beings' in the *Ode*: Falstaff. The moment Shakespeare 'conceives' Falstaff:

> His brows with roses bind;
>
> While *Fancy*, *Wit*, and *Humour* spread

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[598] Seitz, 'The "Blest genius of the isle"', p. 12.
[599] Garrick, *Ode,* p. 12.
[600] Ibid., p. 12.

Their wings, and hover round his head,

Impregnating his mind.

Which teeming soon, as soon brought forth,

Not a tiny spurious birth,

But out a mountain came,

A mountain of delight!

LAUGHTER roar'd out to see the sight,

And FALSTAFF was his name!

With sword and shield he, puffing strides

The joyous revel-rout

Receive him with a shout,

And modest *Nature* holds her sides:

No single pow'r the deed had done,

But great and small,

Wit, *Fancy*, *Humour, Whim*, and *Jest*,

The huge, mishapen heap impress'd;

And lo – SIR JOHN!

A compound of 'em all,

A comic world in ONE.[601]

Garrick describes the creation of Falstaff as a conception between Shakespeare and the Passions of Fancy, Wit, and Humour. Nature also plays a part, as Shakespeare's brow is described as bound with roses while he thinks of the character and Falstaff is compared to a mountain.

[601] Garrick, *Ode*, pp. 9-10.

Garrick's description of Falstaff as a mountain aligns with Amanda Cockburn's argument that Falstaff was seen as a sublime character in the second half of the eighteenth century.[602] She notes that due to 'character criticism of the mid-eighteenth century and after, Falstaff could no longer be read as simply representing vice or virtue. Rather, all of his qualities were to be considered in order to judge his behavior and actions.'[603] Garrick judges Falstaff not on his moral qualities, but rather on the complexity of his character as a marker of Shakespeare's talent and the influence of Nature on his creative process. Nature cannot contain her laughter at the sight of Falstaff, as she 'holds her sides.'[604] Shakespeare has made Nature laugh; his ability to create complex life-like 'beings' is so impressive and surprisingly unique that he can draw emotions out of Nature. Again, Shakespeare is depicted as a passive participant in the inspiration process with Nature, as he is presented here as a dreamy figure who is 'impregnated' by ideas from Fancy, Wit, and Humour. Falstaff is the only character Garrick extensively describes the creation of in the *Ode*. Garrick's presentation of Falstaff showcases his earlier claim in the *Ode* that, 'And to our spell-bound minds impart | Some faint idea of his magic art.'[605] Garrick is attempting to show to Shakespeare's 'magic art' of creating characters to his 'spell-bound' audience. Falstaff is a distinctly comedic character who appears in more than one of Shakespeare's plays. Garrick's selection of Falstaff to be the character whose birth/creation is explored emphasizes the celebration of Shakespeare's ability to create 'beings' across the different genres of his writing, and Falstaff is included in two of the genres: comedy and history.

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[602] Amanda Cockburn, 'Awful Pomp and Endless Diversity: The Sublime Sir John Falstaff,' in *Shakespeare and the Eighteenth Century, ed. by Peter Sabor and Paul Yachnin* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 137-150.
[603] Ibid., p. 145.
[604] Garric, *Ode*, p. 10.
[605] Ibid., p. 2.

In the song ‘Warwickshire,’ Garrick describes how Shakespeare achieved the ability to create ‘beings’ due to his relationship with Nature. He states that:

> There was never seen such a creature,
>
> Of all she was worth, he robb’d Nature;
>
> He took all her smiles, and he took all her grief,
>
> And the thief of all thieves, was a *Warwickshire* thief,
>
> *Warwickshire* thief,
>
> He’s the chief,
>
> For the thief of all thieves, was a *Warwickshire* thief.[606]

Garrick explicitly labels Shakespeare as a thief who stole Nature’s talents in presenting human nature and emotion in his writing. Here, Shakespeare becomes an active agent in the inspiration process; he’s a thief. Shakespeare continues to be an active agent in the song ‘Sweet Willy O,’ but his relationship with Nature is different:

> All Nature obey’d him, this sweet *Willy* O,
>
> Wherever he came,
>
> Whate’er had a name,
>
> Whenever he sung follow’d sweet *Willy* O.[607]

In this passage, Shakespeare is depicted as a master over Nature; Nature is obedient to Shakespeare. These two songs present differing views of Shakespeare and Nature; Shakespeare is presented as a thief and then as a master while Nature is depicted as a victim of robbery and then as a submissive servant. In both songs, Shakespeare is in the dominant position in contrast with the more passive descriptions in the *Ode*; he takes what he wants from Nature or Nature

[606] Garrick, ‘Warwickshire’, p. 4.
[607] Garrick, ‘Sweet Willy O’, p. 5

readily obeys him. Both songs also present Nature as the source for Shakespeare's inspiration. As Isaac Bickerstaff notes in the song 'Queen Mab', '*In thy scenes we shall exist, | Sure as if Nature gave us being*.'[608] Not only are Shakespeare's characters 'beings,' but his scenes are brought to life by the influence of Nature. For Garrick and the other Jubilee song writers, nature makes Shakespeare divine due to his creation of life. Garrick presents Shakespeare's role in his relationship with Nature is unstable as he transitions between being a passive and an active agent. This instability allows Garrick to shape Shakespeare by Nature while at the same time letting Shakespeare steal from or be the master of Nature. Both Shakespeare and Nature have moments where they are the dominant force, and this unstable, shifting balance of power reveals a complex dynamic that makes Shakespeare and Nature inseparable.

'Join'd By Everlasting Tyes': Immortalizing Shakespeare with Nature

The Jubilee used nature to present Shakespeare as not only a divine being, but an immortal being. Garrick presents Shakespeare's death as a temporary introduction at the Jubilee. While Shakespeare's death is mentioned in songs like Bickerstaff's 'Queen Mab' and Garrick's 'Sweet Willy O,' Garrick and the Jubilee swiftly move past this temporary state. Bickerstaff's song brings the Jubilee attendees to a specific location: '*Mab*, to her loving subjects – A decree, | At Shakespeare's tomb to hold a Jubilee.'[609] Shakespeare's tomb is a site for celebration and positioned by Bickerstaff as a starting point for the Jubilee. Shakespeare's tomb still is a site for celebration. For around the past two hundred years, the Shakespeare Birthday Procession has placed flowers on Shakespeare's grave at Holy Trinity Church on 23rd April (or on the closest

[608] Isaac Bickerstaff, 'Queen Mab. A Cantata' in *Shakespeare's Garland, Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads, Roundelays, Catches, Glees, Comic-Serenatas, &c. Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford Upon Avon, ed. by David Garrick* (London: 1769), p. 23.
[609] Bickerstaff, 'Queen Mab,' p. 21.

Saturday to his birthday). Recently, the Procession has also replaced the quill in the hand of Shakespeare's bust. Watson argues that:

> birth marks incarnation, and the remains of that incarnated body lie in a specified place. The death of the poet marks a birth into 'immortality'; the markers of that mortality thus act not as memento mori but as paradoxical guarantors of perpetual life, which explains that regularly renewed quill.[610]

Watson's assessment of the Shakespeare Birthday Procession can be applied to the Jubilee; Garrick begins the process of immortalizing Shakespeare by starting the celebration at his tomb. While the Jubilee was not held on Shakespeare's birthday, the act of the attendees gathering at his tomb at the start of the festival still marks a rebirth. The Mulberry Tree objects used throughout the Jubilee act as symbols of Shakespeare's immortality; however, unlike the flowers and the quill used during the current Shakespeare Birthday Processions, they were not placed on his grave nor perishable. Instead, the attendees could take the objects with them as lasting mementos of the event, carrying Shakespeare's immortality into various homes.

Shakespeare's death becomes a moment of deep sadness for Nature. In 'Sweet Willy O,' Garrick presents this moment:

> He charm'd 'em when living, the sweet *Willy* O,
> And when *Willy* dy'd,
> 'Twas Nature that sighed,
> To part with her all in her sweet *Willy* O.[611]

Nature gave Shakespeare 'her all,' which suggests that all of Nature's inspiration (including the ability to create lifelike characters) had been fully passed on to Shakespeare. Rumbold examines

[610] Watson, *The Author's Effects*, p. 24.
[611] Garrick, 'Sweet Willy O', p. 6.

how the procession in front of Shakespeare's birthplace positions 'Shakespeare and Nature… in a… maternal relationship… with overtones of both fairy enchantment and a humble Christian birthplace.'[612] Shakespeare and Nature's relationship changes throughout the discourse of the Jubilee as, 'Shakespeare shifts between being Nature's passive progeny, and actively outstretching her.'[613] The relationship changes at Shakespeare's tomb; at the tomb, Shakespeare is reborn into an immortal figure. Shakespeare's tomb is marked by both fairy enchantment by Queen Mab's decree and as a holy place of Christian interment, similarly to Rumbold's assessment of his birthplace. The language of the Jubilee at the tomb, however, intertwines Shakespeare and Nature and turns his death into only a temporary moment, like the death of Christ. From Shakespeare's tomb, the attendees would then move to hear other songs, poems, and the *Ode*, which would 'resurrect' Shakespeare by claiming him as immortal.

Garrick's 'To the Immortal Memory of Shakespeare' is one of many pieces at the Jubilee which claimed Shakespeare as immortal, although it is the only piece that directly refers to Shakespeare as immortal in the title. The short song fully frames Shakespeare as immortal because of Nature:

IMMORTAL be his name,

His memory, his fame!

Nature and her works we see,

Matchless SHAKESPEARE full in thee!

Join'd by everlasting tyes,

SHAKESPEARE but with Nature dies.

Immortal be his Name,

[612] Rumbold, 'Stratford Jubilee,' p. 258.
[613] Ibid., p. 259.

His memory, his fame![614]

The key line of this song is: 'SHAKESPEARE but with Nature dies.'[615] Shakespeare can only die when Nature dies; therefore, Shakespeare, like Nature, is immortal. Garrick directly 'tyes' Shakespeare with Nature. Garrick begins and ends the song by calling for Shakespeare's name, memory, and fame to be immortal. The purpose of the repetition of these lines is to make sure that the attendees leave the Jubilee with that specific message in their minds, which acts as a means to continue Shakespeare's immortality beyond the Jubilee and into the lives of the attendees. While Garrick's Jubilee was a three-day event, the language he used throughout the festival was memorable, leading to parodies and multiple newspaper articles, and that memorability leads to literary immortality.

Garrick's *Ode* is the key feature of the Jubilee which claimed Shakespeare as divine using the language of the natural surroundings of Stratford. The *Ode* was read by Garrick in honour of the statue of Shakespeare sculpted for the Jubilee. The *Ode* begins with the lines, 'To what blest genius of the isle, | Shall Gratitude her tribute pay' and later states, of Shakespeare,

[614] David Garrick, 'To the Immortal Memory of Shakespeare' in *Shakespeare's Garland, Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads, Roundelays, Catches, Glees, Comic-Serenatas, &c. Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford Upon Avon, ed.* by David Garrick (London: 1769), p. 15.
[615] Ibid., p. 15.

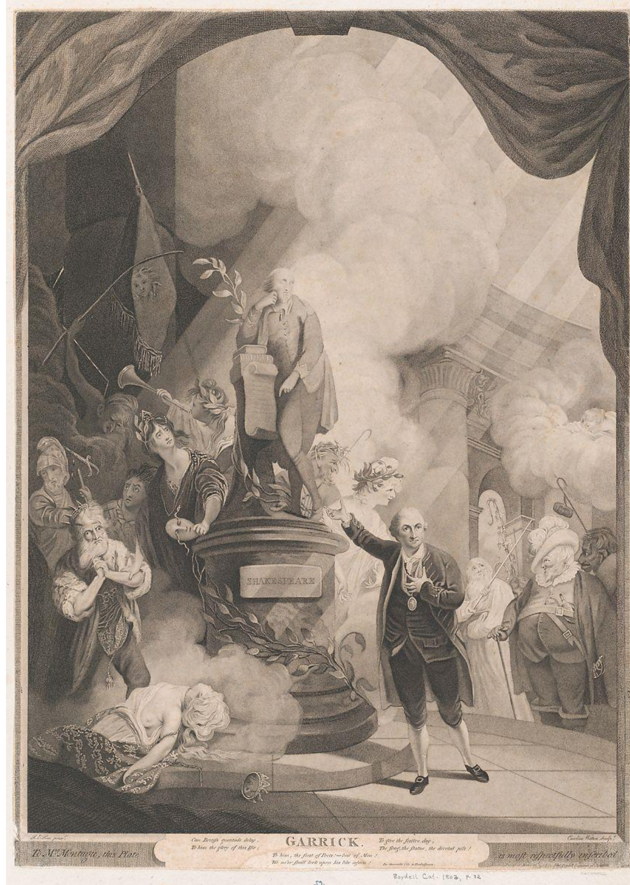

Figure 20 - Garrick Speaking the Jubilee Ode *(1784). Engraving by Caroline Watson after Robert Edge Pine. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953. www.metmuseum.org*

that, 'He merits all our wonder, all our praise!'[616] These lines have a prayer-like quality to them, as they denote praise and worship to Shakespeare in front of his statue, which furthers the construction of Shakespeare as divine by presenting the statue as a religious icon. As Robert Sawyer states, the entire Jubilee 'was surely intended by the planners to… elevate, if not deify, Shakespeare beyond his mortal status as poet and playwright.'[617] Garrick intended to push Shakespeare beyond an elevated literary status; the revealing of the statue was a strong visual means to present Shakespeare as immortal.

[616] Garrick, *Ode*, p. 1 and p. 2.
[617] Robert Sawyer, 'From Jubilee to Gala: Remembrance and Ritual Commemoration,' *Critical Survey,* 22.2 (1967), 25-38 (p. 29).

The objects Garrick uses and refers to during the Jubilee (the statue and the Mulberry Tree relics) aid his religious presentation of Shakespeare, but Garrick's words are what construct Shakespeare as immortal. At the end of the *Ode*, Garrick proclaims:

> Sing immortal *Shakespeare*'s praise!
>
> The song will cease, the stone decay,
>
> But his Name,
>
> And undiminish'd fame,
>
> Shall never, never pass away.[618]

Paul E. Yachnin states that the final lines of the *Ode* are reflective of Shakespeare's 'Sonnet 55.'[619] The similar lines from 'Sonnet 55' are: 'Not marble, nor the gilded monuments | Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme.'[620] Both the *Ode* and 'Sonnet 55' discuss immortality; however, Garrick specifies that it is fame that makes both literature and the writer immortal. Garrick, in his language throughout the Jubilee festival, is hoping to claim part of Shakespeare's immortal standing. Garrick's statue of Shakespeare remedies Switzer's 1715 concern that England lacked public statues celebrating great Englishmen.[621] Philip Connell argues that literary commemorations (in particular, statues in Westminster Abbey) during the second half of the eighteenth century became tourist attractions that emphasized national identity and national literature.[622] Garrick's presentation of his statue of Shakespeare alongside the language of the

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[618] Garrick, *Ode*, p. 16.
[619] Paul E. Yachnin, *Shakespeare's World of Words* (New York: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2015), p. 4.
[620] William Shakespeare, 'Sonnet 55' in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. by John Jowett and others*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 785 (ll. 1-2).
[621] Switzer, *Gardener's Recreation*, pp. 238-239.
[622] Philip Connell, 'Death and the Author: Westminster Abbey and the Meanings of the Literary Monument,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38.4 (2005), 557-585 (pp. 558-559).

Ode depicts Shakespeare as the national literary icon alongside the cultivated nature of Stratford, mirroring the cultivation of his own garden with his personal statue of Shakespeare.

Garrick raises Shakespeare to be the figure of the Bard throughout the Jubilee, a prominent figure like the English monarch who rules both the empire and the Anglican Church. In the *Ode*, Garrick claims that Shakespeare is 'the Monarch of th' inchanted land!'[623] Dobson argues 'That Shakespeare was declared to rule world literature at the same time that Britannia was declared to rule the waves may, indeed, be more than a coincidence.'[624] In *The Jubilee,* Garrick states that, 'the Will of all Wills was a Warwickshire Will; | Warwickshire Will, | Matchless still!'[625] Shakespeare, like Britain, is 'matchless.' Like the coronation of the monarch to rule the empire, Shakespeare is crowned to rule literature. Garrick is constructing Shakespeare as a nationalist figure by referencing the divine right of the English monarchy which is symbolized in the act of coronation. Frequently in the *Ode* and *The Jubilee*, Garrick presents the coronation of Shakespeare:

> Tho' bards with envy-aching eyes
>
> Behold a tow'ring eagle rise,
>
> And would his flight retard;
>
> Yet each to *Shakespeare*'s genius bows,
>
> Each weaves a garland for his brows,
>
> To crown th' heaven-distinguish'd Bard.
>
> Nature had form'd him on her noblest plan,
>
> And to the genius join'd the feeling man.[626]

[623] Garrick, *Ode*, p. 8.
[624] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 7.
[625] Garrick, *The Jubilee*, I.ii.103-105.
[626] Garrick, *Ode*, p. 13

Shakespeare is distinguished by heaven during the coronation. Garrick is suggesting that Shakespeare's genius is enough to make his contemporaries not only bow before him, but to crown him with garlands. Garrick is crowning 'the poet of nature' *with* nature. Shakespeare is praised during the Jubilee, which Marsden argues leads to Shakespeare being canonized as 'England's first literary saint.'[627] Garrick's language, suggests a coming together of nationalism and religion under the one head figure of the Bard, which Marsden claims, but Garrick is also crowning Shakespeare as a monarchial figure in addition to canonizing him as a saint by using the discourse of nature.[628]

The Flood: Nature's Response to the Jubilee

'The Morning Address' suggests that the weather was exceptionally nice during the Jubilee. However, as Vanessa Cunningham has noted, 'The Ode… was performed in a temporary rotunda beside the rain-swollen Avon to a crowded and fashionable, if damp, audience at noon on 7 September 1769.'[629] On the ninth of September, when Garrick was planning to stage his 'pageant' of Shakespeare's characters, the rain was so heavy that the procession could not be staged due to fear that the water would ruin the costumes. Eventually, the Avon flooded Stratford. More than one hundred trees had been cut down so that the Jubilee spectators could have a view of the river Avon from the rotunda while Garrick delivered the *Ode*. Pieces of the Mulberry Tree had been shaped into different objects and sold at the Jubilee. Garrick stated that,

[627] Marsden, *Re-Imagined Text*, p. 6.
[628] Seitz, 'The "Blest genius of the isle"', p. 18. This paragraph expands on my analysis of the quotation from the *Ode* in order to connect the quotation to the main argument of my thesis.
[629] Vanessa Cunningham, *Shakespeare and Garrick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 107.

‘The pride of all nature was sweet *Willy* O.’[630] The natural environment had been controlled by Garrick and other festival organizers. Garrick’s language framed Stratford as, ‘The garden of SHAKESPEARE all fancies will suit, | With the sweetest flowers, and fairest of fruit.’[631] Stratford, like the English garden, had been perfected for aesthetic beauty, and so had Shakespeare as a result of Garrick’s language. Nature had been planned to be under Garrick’s control. The irony of the river flooding Stratford during the Jubilee, seems too coincidental (and, admittedly, comical) to be true. The flood is a complex and interesting event for interpretation. The flood is not a literary choice used by an author for irony, yet the flood’s perfect coincidental occurrence seems to almost beg for literary interpretation. The rain contrasted Garrick’s descriptions of the idealised sunny beauty of nature. The audience did have a view of the Avon since the trees had been removed, but the Avon was swollen. While the flood did ruin Garrick’s Jubilee celebrations, it did not hinder the legacy of the Jubilee. Garrick, since he could not hold his pageant, decided to take the pageant to the stage.

The Jubilee **Afterpiece: Perfecting the Festival for the Stage**

Garrick’s language during the Jubilee perfected Shakespeare as ‘the poet of nature’; however, the festival itself was not perfect, as it was ruined by the weather and the flood which cancelled the character pageant. Garrick then composed *The Jubilee*, an afterpiece which included the pageant, songs from the festival, and a short play set in Stratford during the festival. *The Jubilee* was popular; as Dobson notes, ‘*The Jubilee*… offers a half-satirical, half-idealized version of the

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[630] David Garrick, ‘Sweet Willy O’ in *Shakespeare’s Garland, Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads, Roundelays, Catches, Glees, Comic-Serenatas, &c. Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford Upon Avon,* ed. by David Garrick (London: 1769), p. 5.

[631] David Garrick, ‘Shakespeare’s Mulberry-Tree’ in *Shakespeare’s Garland, Being a Collection of New Songs, Ballads, Roundelays, Catches, Glees, Comic-Serenatas, &c. Performed at the Jubilee at Stratford Upon Avon,* ed. by David Garrick (London: 1769), p. 8.

recent doings at Stratford for London consumption, right down to restoring the cancelled procession. (Its lasting popularity amply recouped the financial losses Garrick had sustained during the Jubilee itself.)'[632] Garrick controlled the language of the Jubilee festival, guiding the attendees to his view of Shakespeare. *The Jubilee* afterpiece presents a controlled view of the festival itself. Garrick established how he wanted his Shakespeare festival (and himself) to be remembered. The Irishman is the only character who ends up wet at the festival in the afterpiece, as he declares in his final speech: 'I must return back in the rain.'[633] Garrick does not fully eliminate the bad weather, but rather, significantly scales it down and selects a single victim for comedic purposes (for English nationalist humour over the Irish). The Irishman is evidence that Garrick wanted an outsider to be the object of his joke. Garrick used the flood to his advantage. Yes, the flood ruined the festival and was likely at least partially responsible for his financial losses, but the flood led to Garrick figuring out a new way for the pageant to occur.

The Jubilee afterpiece received many positive reviews, which reflected its popularity. In 'The Theatrical Register: Or, A Complete List of every Performance at the different Theatres, for the Year 1769,' the October 15th performance of *The Jubilee* is reviewed:

> Mr. *Garrick*, ever ready to exercise his ingenuity and contribute to its amusement, has not only presented the town with a display of this *Pageant*, but has endeavoured to give a general idea of the most remarkable occurrences at *Stratford* during the time of the festival: to this end, he found it necessary to form the whole into a regular plan, in order to render it fit for representation on the stage; in which he has shown great invention and

[632] Dobson, *The National Poet,* p. 219.
[633] Garrick, *The Jubilee*, II.ii.21.

> taste; and how well this undertaking has been received and encouraged by the public need not now be told.[634]

The language of the review evokes editorial and gardening practices; the entire festival has been shaped 'into a regular plan' for the stage.[635] Switzer, in his 1715 description of gardens as paradise argues for gardens to follow a 'regular Distribution.'[636] *The Jubilee* afterpiece, then, is the more polished version of the Jubilee festival, and this perfected version exists on the London stage. Fernie argues that Garrick at the Jubilee 'took Shakespeare to the people; he took Shakespeare out of the institutions of the theatre and scholarship and, quite literally, to the streets.'[637] The flood led to a reversal of this process; *The Jubilee* afterpiece took the Jubilee from the streets and onto the stage to continue the celebration as a performance for the people. Garrick, by taking the festival onto the stage, could further revise and perfect the festival for his audience, adapting the events for the taste of the London spectators.

The Jubilee visually reconstructed the Jubilee festival on the stage. 'The Theatrical Register' provides a brief description of the performance:

> Upon the whole, this entertainment is admirably designed to give pleasure, and to delight the eye by the splendor of the show. The view of *Stratford* church and the ringing of the bells had a happy effect. In short, when we consider the ingenuity of bringing such an exhibition to perfection, in which so many persons are employed, and which must have been attended with an inconceivable expence, we think it reflects great honour on Mr.

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[634] Anon., 'The Theatrical Register: Or, A Complete List of every Performance at the different Theatres, for the Year 1769,' in *The Historical, Political, and Literary Register* (Dublin: 1770), pp. 31-32.
[635] Ibid., p. 31.
[636] Switzer, *Gardener's Recreation*, p. ii.
[637] Ewan Fernie, *Shakespeare for Freedom: Why the Plays Matter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 119.

> *Garrick*; and though the attempt has been crowned with uncommon success from the public, it is highly deserving of it.[638]

Stratford was visually and audibly brought onto the stage with the image of the church and the sound of the bells. The Jubilee is perfected by being placed on the stage. The set design at the start of the Second Part of *The Jubilee* is for 'a street in Stratford.'[639] The actual natural setting of Stratford was gone; instead, the audience's the understanding of the nature of Stratford was mediated by Garrick's words and whatever was visually shown in the set design. The audience could not walk along the river Avon or visit Shakespeare's birthplace or tomb and be guided by Garrick's words in the actual physical locations. *The Jubilee* was a perfected replica of the festival, where the nature of Shakespeare's birthplace was fully controlled by Garrick's words and was not at risk of any uncontrollable natural surprises, such as flooding.

The multiple performances of *The Jubilee* afterpiece led to the Jubilee metaphorically continuing beyond the three days of the September 1769 festival. In Benjamin Victor's 1771 *The History of the Theatres of London, From the Year 1769 to the present Time*, he describes the impact of *The Jubilee* afterpiece:

> The Principal Characters in all Shakespear's Tragedies, and Comedies… were intended for a grand Pageant through the great Streets of Stratford, to the Amphitheatre… but the Weather proving remarkably rainy, this very pompous Spectacle was obstructed: Mr. *Garrick*… when he had determined to introduce it on the Stage… gave Life and Spirit to the most magnificent Spectacle that ever was exhibited on any Theatre! And as a Proof of

[638] Anon., 'The Theatrical Register,' pp. 34-35.
[639] Garrick, *The Jubilee*, p. 122.

> its Success with the Public, it was performed ninety-two Nights that Season, to crouded Houses.[640]

Victor's overview moves from the failed pageant to the success of *The Jubilee* on the stage and he positions *The Jubilee*'s success as a rebirth as a result of Garrick's determination. The shift from failure to success is key to Victor's description; the weather is stated to be the reason for the failure, whereas the theatre becomes the means for success. Victor also emphasizes audience; the full theatre (for ninety-two nights) counters the unattended cancelled pageant. The flood led to Garrick producing what Victor states was, 'the most magnificent Spectacle that ever was exhibited on any Theatre!'[641] Garrick had fully taken his festival off the streets and into the theatre, repositioning Shakespeare back in the theatre.

Garrick's reputation was not ruined by the flood, but instead elevated by the post-festival life Garrick created in *The Jubilee* afterpiece. Late eighteenth-century theatrical reviews show the popularity of *The Jubilee*, and with that popularity, the festival metaphorically continued, moving off the streets and into the theatre. The festival positioned Shakespeare as the divine 'poet of nature,' and the theatrical afterpiece reiterated and maintained his immortality as a result of the multiple full house performances. Rumbold argues that the telling of the story of the Jubilee 'rather than in the event itself, that the Jubilee becomes a turning point in Shakespeare's status.'[642] *The Jubilee* acts as one of the retellings as do the various reviews of the festival.[643] In an anonymous letter from September 11, 1769 that was published in *The Cambridge Magazine*, the festival is described as:

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[640] Benjamin Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London, From the Year 1760 to the present Time* (London: 1771), pp. 155-157.
[641] Ibid., p. 157.
[642] Rumbold, 'Stratford Jubilee,' p. 265.
[643] Ibid., pp. 268-273.

> Upon the whole, it is concluded, in these times of *distress*, what with travelling expenses and the money circulated in the town of Stratford, the Jubilee has cost fifty thousand pounds – The Amphitheatre, which is now above a foot deep in water, from the heavy rains, and its low situation on the border of the Avon will be useless, as there is no expectation of ever seeing another Jubilee at the place; but the fine statue of Shakespeare, which was cast solely for the occasion, is to be fixed in the Town Hall, and will remain among the other Monuments to his memory.[644]

This letter, which was composed only a few days after the festival, provides an immediate follow-up review of the Jubilee. The anonymous author came to three conclusions from the festival: it was expensive, the flood ruined the amphitheatre, and the statue of Shakespeare remains a marker of Shakespeare's memory. This review does mention the failings of the Jubilee, but it overall stresses the impact of the festival on Shakespeare. The statue was a key part of the festival for this Jubilee attendee and becomes a symbol that outlasted the festival. This Jubilee retelling does elevate Shakespeare's position by highlighting the statue as a monument that continues the language of immortality presented by Garrick in the festival itself.

Curiously, Paul Hiffernan, an Irish writer, was inspired by the Jubilee to consider building a Shakespeare temple, which he outlines in his book, *Dramatic Genius. In Five Books*. The Irish connection to the Jubilee is interesting; the afterpiece includes an Irishman as a character, which suggests that people likely travelled from Ireland to attend the Jubilee. Hiffernan's book is dedicated to Garrick, and he states that: 'A votive Monument, and Tribute due | To Nature, Genius, SHAKESPEARE, Art, and YOU.'[645] In this dedication, Hiffernan links

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[644] Anon., 'A Narrative of the Jubilee at Stratford-upon-Avon, in a Letter from a Gentleman,' in *The Cambridge Magazine: Or, Universal Repository of Arts, Sciences, and the Belles Lettres* (London: 1769), p. 352.
[645] Paul Hiffernan, *Dramatic Genius. In Five Books* (London: 1770), p. viii.

together Garrick and Shakespeare alongside art, genius, and nature. The fusion of these words in one sentence summarizes Garrick's message during the Jubilee; Shakespeare, 'the poet of nature' is a genius. Hiffernan states that he, the author, was 'encouraged… on his hearing of the intended institution of a commemorative Jubilee in the honour of *Shakespeare*, to set about delineating the plan of a permanent Temple.'[646] Garrick inadvertently encouraged Hiffernan to present Shakespeare as a divine, immortal figure. In the plan, Hiffernan states that, 'When entered into the Temple, the first object for the curious spectator's attention, is the great Poet; over whom is to be a sun, rising in all his glory.'[647] Hiffernan's language in planning the temple (and in his dedication to Garrick) reflects the language used by Garrick at the Jubilee; the sun rising above the figure of Shakespeare parallels the scene Garrick set in 'The Morning Address,' where Garrick states, 'Let Beauty with the sun arise, | To SHAKESPEARE tribute pay.'[648] 'The Morning Address' was the first piece delivered to the Jubilee spectators; likewise, the image of Shakespeare in the sun in the first image for people to see in Hiffernan's temple. Hiffernan's plan includes twelve images from Shakespeare's plays: on the right side of Shakespeare, six paintings from the tragic plays, and on the left, six paintings of the comedies. The even balance of tragedy and comic reveals Hiffernan's belief of Shakespeare as a master of both genres of writing, which Garrick emphasized during the Jubilee festival.

Shakespeare was indeed part of the discussion following the festival. In particular, reviewers and attendees were inspired by the idea of memorializing Shakespeare in both public and private monuments. Even though these discussions focused on Shakespeare, Garrick remained a lingering part of the conversation, as Shakespeare's ghost states in the anonymous

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[646] Ibid., p. 3.
[647] Ibid., p. 4.
[648] Garrick, 'The Morning Address,' p. 1.

1750 *London Magazine* poem: 'I, fame to thee, thou, life to me, shalt give.'[649] The popularity of *The Jubilee* afterpiece made the discussion of memorializing Shakespeare continue beyond the festival. The afterpiece was revived for the two hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's death in 1816 and in the early 1770s, an Irish edition of the Jubilee was staged, moving Shakespeare's connection with nature beyond English soil.[650] The festival and its afterpiece had a long-lasting lifespan. *The Jubilee* afterpiece connected the nature of Shakespeare's birthplace with the theatrical setting of his later life and career. Garrick claimed 'the poet of nature' as the poet of Britain's nature on the stage. The fusion of nature and theatre suggests a further form of cultivation, whereby an actual event set in a distinct, natural setting, is then refined and reconstructed (both textually and physically) for the stage. Stratford is cultivated for the London audience. *The Jubilee* afterpiece reiterated the message of the festival: that Shakespeare was the divine poet of British nature. The afterpiece also expanded Garrick's message by connecting Shakespeare's status as a divine poet with the stage. Garrick's *The Jubilee* cements Shakespeare's immortality in the theatre, but the language and the set of afterpiece reminds the audience that Shakespeare is intertwined with nature. Garrick elevated Shakespeare by presenting him as a divine genius because of nature: '*When Nature, smiling, hail'd his birth, | To him unbounded pow'r was given.*'[651]

[649] Anon., 'Shakespeare's Ghost,' p. 279.
[650] David Garrick, *The Jubilee in Honour of Shakespeare. A Musical Entertainment. As Performed at the Theatre in Waterford. With Additions* (Waterford: 1773).
[651] Garrick, *Ode*, p. 4.

Conclusion

The Jubilee was the culmination of the work of critics, adapters, and editors who assessed Shakespeare using metaphors of the natural world throughout the long eighteenth century. Garrick constructed Shakespeare as the divine poet of British nature at the Jubilee festival. *The Jubilee* afterpiece showcased Garrick's depiction of Shakespeare on the London stage, repeatedly re-establishing Shakespeare's identity as an iconic, immortal figure because of the nature of his birthplace. The rain and flood may have ruined the festival, but it led to Garrick's creativity in staging an afterpiece that expanded his audience beyond the festival attendees and connected the birthplace of 'the poet of nature' with the London stage: the location of Shakespeare's career. Shakespeare was seen as a genius in every sense: he was viewed as both a talented writer and as the tutelary deity of Stratford-upon-Avon. Garrick's actions and language at the Jubilee commercialized Shakespeare; the festival attendees could purchase an item from the tree supposedly planted by 'the poet of nature.' For Dobson, 'The fully developed Bardolatry proclaimed at the Jubilee, declaring Shakespeare the blest Genius of the Isle, expresses a remarkably enduring version of cultural nationalism unimaginable in the time of Heminges and Condell.'[652] While Heminges and Condell may not have imagined the rise of Bardolatry, their language in the First Folio does provide the beginnings for the labelling of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature,' since they referred to him as 'a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it.'[653] Heminges and Condell's description of Shakespeare is not the bold claim of Shakespeare as the 'blest genius of the isle' that would arise in the latter half of the eighteenth century.[654] This beginning was a catalyst for later critics to assess, critique, adapt,

[652] Dobson, *The National Poet*, p. 226.
[653] Heminges and Condell, 'To the great Variety of Readers,' n.p.
[654] Garrick, *Ode*, p. 1.

and edit Shakespeare, ultimately shaping him into the divine poet of British nature. The portrayal of Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' occludes his work as a commercial playwright by positioning him as a country figure, in particular in the second half of the eighteenth century, when his talent was associated with the natural setting of Stratford.

The process of cultivating the Bard into the divine poet of British nature changed from 1660 until the end of the eighteenth century. As each decade progressed, and as different forms of involvement with Shakespeare's plays emerged, the language used by critics, editors, and adapters reflected, informed, and participated in discourses of gardening and cultivation. Shakespeare was seen as 'a fine Garden, but it wanted weeding.'[655] Over time, views of how to 'weed' Shakespeare's garden changed based on evolving aesthetics of what the perfected natural world should look like. These ever-changing aesthetic ideals influenced how Shakespeare was constructed as 'the poet of nature' in the long eighteenth century. Marsden notes that adapters thought that Shakespeare's

> genius lay instead in his ability to represent general nature, to portray universal characters, and to move an audience; these virtues, it was felt, would not be altered if the poetry were rewritten in a more modern idiom, or if the offensive puns and quibbles were quietly edited out.[656]

The method behind the rewriting and editing of Shakespeare's plays was based in concepts of cultivation. The 'modern idiom' was influenced by perceptions of what constituted aesthetically perfect nature. Shakespeare's 'Beauties' or 'roses' or 'diamonds' were the natural metaphors for what critics approved of in his plays; what was offensive were his 'Faults' or 'weeds' that 'choked' the 'Beauties,' and these were seen as 'want[ing] weeding.' My ecocritical approach

[655] Flecknoe, 'the English Stage,' n.p.
[656] Marsden, *The Re-Imagined* Text, p. 151.

has examined the ways in which critics, adapters, and editors have used the language of the natural world to assess Shakespeare. Shakespeare was seen metaphorically as a garden or another natural location in need of cultivation. Critics used the language of weeding and cultivation as a framework to apply art in contrast with Shakespeare's nature.

Perceptions of what constituted perfect art evolved from 1660 to 1799, changing from strict adherence to symmetry and order at the beginning of the era to natural variety by the end of the eighteenth century. These changing views are evident in garden design, as exemplified by the structured Restoration garden and the picturesque landscape at the end of the eighteenth century. Even though these aesthetic concepts kept evolving, the one main goal was consistent: perfection. The purpose of art was to create perfection out of the natural world. This practice was reflected in the work of Shakespearean editors, adapters, and critics: to perfect 'the poet of nature.' Art was the central argument behind their reasoning for criticizing Shakespeare and altering his texts; with art, perfection could be achieved. The tension between Shakespeare's nature and the art of long eighteenth-century literary figures is resolved by the metaphors of cultivation used to describe him. Critics were able to both praise Shakespeare's natural talent and criticize him in the same text due to the evolving and ambiguous definition of nature. The discourse of cultivation allowed critics to find a balance between praise and justification for adaptation and editing.

My study reveals the chronological process of how editors, adapters, and critics constructed Shakespeare as 'the poet of nature' in the long eighteenth century. The process was influenced by philosophical and scientific views of the natural world, which shaped concepts of cultivation, gardening, and aesthetic perfection. Aesthetic ideals and gardening practices changed during the era, and as these changed, so too did Shakespearean adaptation and editorial practices.

In the beginning of the era, Shakespeare's works were seen as in need of significant revision and alteration as shown with the work of Dryden and Davenant. The changing views of nature over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was influenced by the shifting political landscape. During the Restoration, Charles II was presented by writers such as Dryden, Cowley, and Evelyn as a restorer of gardening and the propagation of trees in the forests. This political connection influenced the work of Restoration adaptations which emphasized the importance of the nobility's ancestral control of land. The politics of land ownership carried into Shakespeare alterations in the early and mid eighteenth century, where adaptations of *As You Like It* presented the Forest of Arden as a place to serve the nobility. By the time of Garrick's Jubilee, Shakespeare was seen as a genius and a figure worthy of idolatry. The analysis of metaphors of cultivation from a literal angle has highlighted the relationship between the assessment of Shakespeare's works and gardening practices. The richness of the connection between the discourses of gardening and cultivation and the work of critics, adapters, and editors have revealed the association between literary criticism and philosophies of the natural world. My study shows the depth of the story of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century by assessing how Shakespeare was depicted as 'the poet of nature.' The narrative explores how Shakespeare and his works were treated like the natural world and seen as in need of improvement to highlight the 'Beauties' and 'weed' out the 'Faults' in order to turn Shakespeare into aesthetically perfect long eighteenth-century gardens.

Shakespeare is still associated with the natural world and placed in the garden today in locations around the world. Numerous Shakespeare in the Park festivals are held globally, such as Shakespeare in Yosemite, a festival which adapts Shakespeare's plays to be more ecologically focused. In Canada, my local Bard on the Beach Shakespeare festival is held under tents in

Vanier Park/Seṅáḵw, in Vancouver, British Columbia. The back of the Main Stage tent is open and is a giant window that showcases English Bay and Vancouver, so while people are watching productions of Shakespeare's plays, they see the natural surroundings of Vancouver. The wind flows in off the water through the tent, adding the scent of the sea to the Shakespeare experience. Shakespeare in the Park festivals such as Bard on the Beach reveal that the connection between Shakespeare and nature is still present today and remains a key part behind communal celebrations of the poet, much like Garrick's Jubilee. Other scholars such as Evelyn O'Malley, Rosemary Gaby, and Dobson in *Shakespeare and Amateur Performance: A Cultural History* have explored outdoor Shakespeare performances from all over the world. Unlike the Jubilee, Bard on the Beach and most other Shakespeare in the Park festivals are not held in locations associated with Shakespeare's life, but rather in natural settings around the globe. The poet of Britain's nature has been taken to be celebrated in natural settings he never visited.

In addition to festivals, Shakespeare continues to be placed in the garden. 'The Temple of British Worthies' can still be visited today, and the upkeep of this garden maintains eighteenth-century gardening ideals for visitors. The Shakespeare Institute building in Stratford-upon-Avon had been the private home of English novelist Marie Corelli before the Institute took over in 1951, and the home had a Shakespeare garden. Dobson and Watson are currently working towards redeveloping the Shakespeare garden at the Institute, which now includes a bust of Shakespeare. Watson, in 'Gardening with Shakespeare,' explores the history of the Shakespeare garden including its emergence in America in locations such as Northwestern University in Chicago.[657] I would like to address the role of the Shakespeare garden in Canada, with a specific focus on the University of the Fraser Valley's (UFV) Shakespeare Reconciliation Garden. I

[657] Nicola J. Watson, 'Gardening with Shakespeare,' in *Celebrating Shakespeare: Commemoration and Cultural Memory, ed. by Clara Calvo and Coppélia Kahn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 301–329.

currently work as a Sessional Instructor in the English Department at UFV and I completed my undergraduate degree there. As I was working on my conclusion for this project, I received an email about new changes with the garden. The Shakespeare Garden was originally located at the Chilliwack North campus, but when most of the campus' operations moved to a new Chilliwack location (Canada Education Park) in 2012, a decision had yet to be made about the garden.[658]

In 2017, UFV decided to build a garden on the new campus, with the focus to be Reconciliation as it is situated on the traditional territories of the Stó:lō people.[659] The garden underwent a renovation in June 2021:

> The new garden features indigenous plants as well as cultivars from other parts of the world, growing together in S'ólh Téméxw (the name for the territory of the Stó:lō people. In English, it can be translated as 'our world' or 'our land').
>
> Some of the plants are there because they are mentioned in Shakespeare's plays. Others are there because they have significance in Stó:lō culture.
>
> …
>
> The new garden also features rows of orange flowers planted to honour the tragic discoveries of approximately 200 bodies found in unmarked graves on the Kamloops residential school site this year.
>
> …
>
> The garden is still in the first phase. The design includes bulbs that will be planted throughout the upcoming fall and spring, as well as one or two additional structures. The

[658] Gerald Narciso, "After a decade, the beloved Shakespeare Garden returns to UFV with an expanded purpose," (2021) < https://blogs.ufv.ca/blog/2021/07/after-a-decade-the-beloved-shakespeare-garden-returns-to-campus-with-an-expanded-purpose/> [accessed 3 August 2021].
[659] Ibid.

Shakespeare Reconciliation Garden blends past glory with a future ambition to create a more unified community.[660]

The revival of the former Shakespeare Garden brings Indigenous culture into the space. The

Figure 21 - UFV's Shakespeare Reconciliation Garden, photo by Alan Reid.

renovation of the garden is a part of the Reconciliation movement in Canada to bring Indigenous knowledge, culture, and ways of learning to the forefront. The 'new garden features indigenous plants,' grounding Shakespeare in an Indigenous Canadian natural setting.[661] Watson argues that American Shakespeare gardens were 'generally motivated by a desire to claim the Bard as a true American and Americans as the true heirs to a Shakespearean England.'[662] She also poses a question about these gardens: 'was it more that a Shakespeare garden was designed to evoke a more generalised Elizabethan Englishness understood as American prehistory?'[663] UFV's Shakespeare Reconciliation Shakespeare Garden consists of both plants from Shakespeare's

[660] Ibid.
[661] Ibid.
[662] Watson, 'Gardening with Shakespeare,' pp. 318-319.
[663] Ibid., p. 322.

Figure 22 - Echinacea Kismet Intense Orange, UFV's Shakespeare Reconciliation Garden, photo by Christine Jones.

plays and those that are important to Stó:lō culture. The echinacea kismet intense orange are one of six species of orange flowers that were planted in honour of the two hundred and fifteen unmarked graves discovered at a former residential school in Kamloops.[664] The echinacea were selected due to their orange colour (as part of the Reconciliation movement) and their daisy-like appearance, which connects to references of daisies in Shakespeare's plays such as *Love's Labours Lost* and *Hamlet*.[665] The fusion of the flowers from Shakespeare's plays alongside Indigenous ones in a single garden makes 'the poet of nature' a part of Reconciliation. Shakespeare is not a symbol of Elizabethan Englishness as Canadian prehistory nor claimed as a true Canadian. The 'nature' part of Shakespeare allows him to transcend country and cultural divisions, shifting to be a part of a decolonizing project. The Shakespeare Reconciliation Garden contrasts the link between cultivating and colonialism in the long eighteenth century.

[664] Melissa Walter, 'Shakespeare garden announcement' (email to Emily Seitz, 11 August 2021).
[665] Ibid.

Shakespeare is now seen as the global ‘poet of nature.’ The emergence of Shakespeare as this universal figure of nature is due to the work of eighteenth-century Shakespearean critics. For Watson:

> The longevity of the Shakespearean garden in America suggests how successfully it has solved the problem of the relation between the native soil of genius and the trans-global portability of genius’s printed works…. It brings Shakespeare home to somewhere he never knew.[666]

Adapters, critics, and editors in the long eighteenth century brought Shakespeare into an era that he never knew. Shakespeare was shaped into ‘the poet of nature’ based on the values, aesthetic principles, and concepts of the natural world that dominated the one hundred and forty year period. To this day, Shakespeare remains associated with the natural world due to the work of editors, adapters, and critics in the long eighteenth century. Shakespeare’s relationship with nature continues to change, as he is now associated with land beyond English borders. The Canadian examples of Bard on the Beach and UFV’s Shakespeare Reconciliation Garden position Shakespeare and his works in settings that he never knew; Vanier Park/Seṅáḵw, English Bay, and the indigenous plants in Chilliwack present a new way of viewing Shakespeare with the lens of Canadian nature. Current Canadian gardening practices and environmental appreciation are a continuous part of the construction of Shakespeare as ‘the poet of nature’ which began during the long eighteenth century. Shakespeare is still placed in the garden (although in much different gardens than in eighteenth-century England). He was shaped into the divine poet of Britain’s nature by the time of the Jubilee. Today, Shakespeare is ‘the poet of nature’ across the globe.

[666] Watson, ‘Gardening with Shakespeare,’ p. 329.

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