

after appearing at an exhibition at the Royal Academy, were ready to be introduced to the two northern plinths in the overgrown parterre of the Privy Garden. They were made by Robert Jackson in marble and were also known as *Flora* and *Adonis*. (figs. 21 & 22) In 1933, as we have heard, the bronze statues of Venus de Medici and Cleopatra were re-introduced into the Privy Garden around 300 years after they had made their first appearance here. In fact, with two bronze figures and two marble figures, one of whom was Adonis, standing in the four quarters of the garden, the statuary recalled what had been there in the mid seventeenth century. In 1946, the National Art Collections Fund purchased the figure of *Abundance* by Derwent Wood for display in the Privy Garden and it was placed to the west of the fountain. However, the three figures of *Spring*, *Summer* and *Abundance* are now features of the Rose Garden at Hampton Court, and following the restoration in 1995, all the elements of the Privy Garden now correspond with those of William III's garden of 1702.

One would imagine that statuary, combining as it does the difficult attributes of being mostly angular and generally cumbersome, considerably weighty and at the same time immensely fragile, and then - to be properly seen - requiring to be lifted onto plinths, would tend once in position to stay put. But, as we have seen from the foregoing, this is not necessarily the case. Statuary in the 1700 period was shipped from Whitehall by barge along the Thames to Hampton Court where a crane was in use at the wharf. The 1829 move to Windsor in ordnance wagons with so little mishap is either a miracle, or more likely, evidence that a great deal of thought, planning and care went into the removal, for which we now have only a list of the statuary removed. Even today, with modern equipment, moving statuary is never an easy or straightforward procedure. In all events, the continual movement of statuary in the Privy Garden at Hampton Court is, I think, a recognition of the importance given to such ornamentation in the garden setting, not only in terms of classical iconography but in sequential fashions in gardening, and also of the value of statuary in its own right as a reflection of the status and

taste of the progression of the monarchs who formed the succession of Privy Gardens at Hampton Court.

As always there are many unanswered questions. What were, and what became of, the two marble figures of *Apollo* and *Adonis* of Charles I's Privy Garden? What was Nost's lost figure of *Victory*? What is the exact provenance of William III's garden statues? We could be edging towards some tenuous resolution of that question.³⁴ But were the marble figures imported by Balle what William III envisaged for his personal garden? He hesitated to give his approval; had he lived, would he, like Queen Anne, have wanted them sent back to their owner? Unless an amazing new piece of archival evidence is found, that is something we shall never know. . .

I would like to thank Juliet West at English Heritage for so generously sharing with me her own research into statuary at Hampton Court many years ago and fuelling my own enthusiasm for this subject.

DAVID GARRICK: HIS GARDEN at HAMPTON and the 'CULT of SHAKESPEARE'

By Susannah Fleming

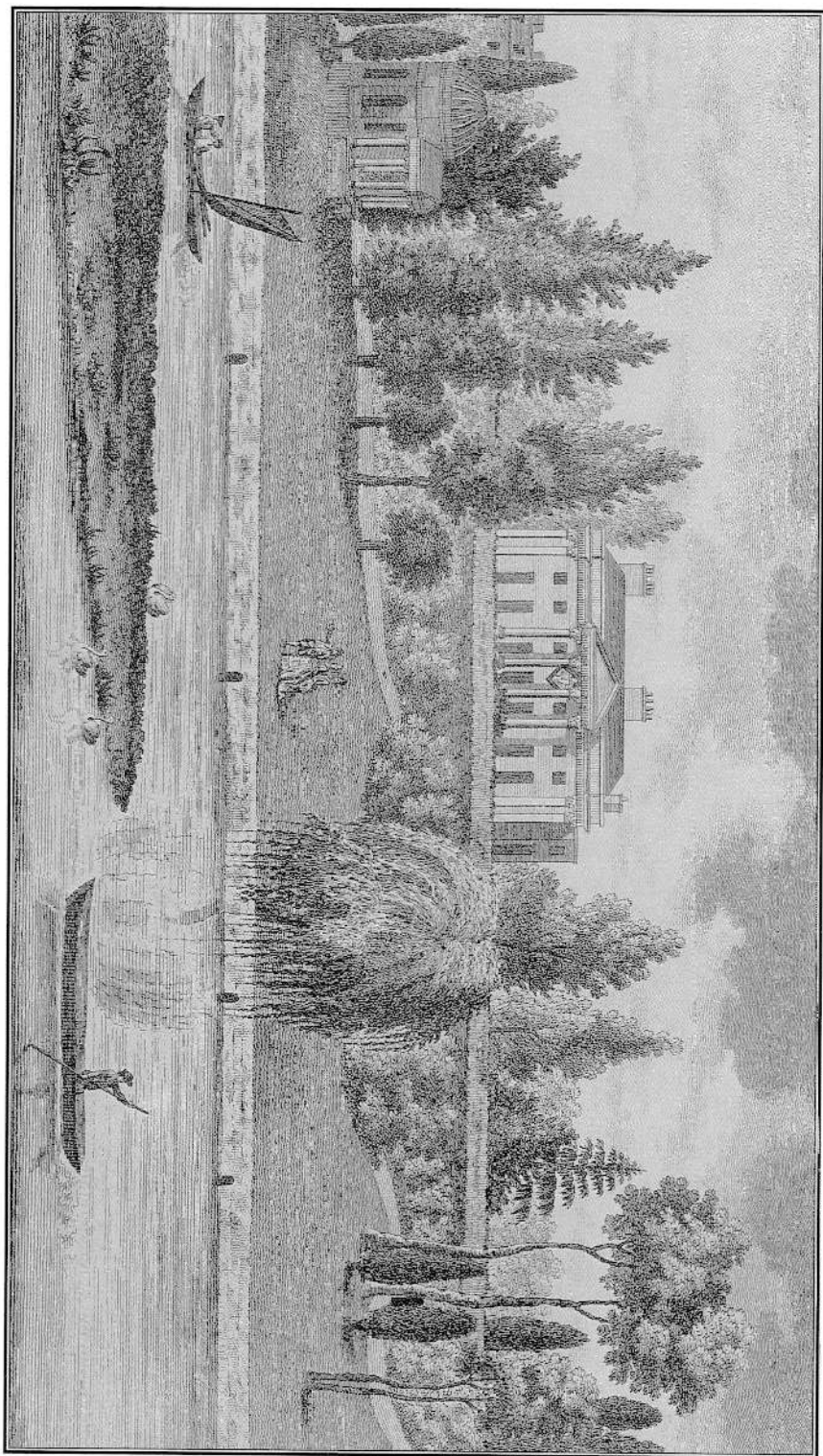
*'What needs my Shakespear for his
honour'd Bones,
The labour of an age in piled Stones...'*¹

The beautiful 'Shakespeare Temple' on the riverside at Hampton was built for David Garrick (1717-79) in 1755. For those visitors who came to pay homage at this monument, and even for those who merely passed by on the river, the message was clear: this marked the spot where the most celebrated actor/manager England ever produced chose to commemorate the 'god of his idolatry'... William Shakespeare.² As might be expected, the arrangement of Garrick's garden, with its Temple of Shakespeare positioned near the bank of the Thames and the Villa in the background, suggested a sort of permanent theatrical stage set.

1. John Milton's sonnet, 1632, 2nd Shakespeare Folio.

2. David Piper, *O Sweet Mr Shakespeare I'll have his Picture* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1964), p. 30.

34. Carlo Milano is at present working on this subject.



23. *A View of the Seat of the Late David Garrick Esq., with the Temple of Shakespeare*
FROM *The Modern Universal Traveller*, 1779
(COURTESY THE TEMPLE TRUST)

This aspect may only have been apparent to the casual observer whilst gliding gently by in a boat, or sitting out on the bank opposite. It is certainly a characteristic discernible in several of the contemporary topographical engravings. (fig. 23) The stage-like quality of the scene would have been especially pronounced during a summer's evening in 1774 when one of the London journals reported that the Garricks had given a 'splendid entertainment, or Fete Champetre ... The company included a great number of the Nobility and Gentry', who enjoyed 'a concert and an elegant firework display. The gardens, the grotto-tunnel, and the Temple of Shakespeare were illuminated with 6000 lamps'.³ This must have had an enchanting and highly theatrical effect. For some of the same guests, it must also have been ample compensation for the exceptionally bad weather that had spoiled Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee at Statford-upon-Avon five years before.⁴

The atmosphere of the Hampton scene was one of informality. This was immortalised in two exquisite conversation pieces by Johann Zoffany, painted in the summers of 1762 and 1764. (figs. 24 & 25) Each painting captures a tranquil moment in the garden; one shows David and Eva Maria Garrick relaxing by the Shakespeare Temple with the Roubiliac statue of Shakespeare visible through the open door, and in the other the couple are shown seated on the Temple lawn taking tea with family and friends. Two additional smaller paintings by Zoffany each show different parts of the garden and Villa. One of these depicts Garrick writing while crouched under the shade of a large tree, whilst his gardener, Bowden, rolls the turf. In the other, Garrick's two nieces are at play in front of the grotto-tunnel. All four intimate scenes once hung in the dining room of their London house in the Adelphi.⁵ They are perhaps most remarkable for having just exactly the right touch of the theatrical about them.

Although we know that Garrick mused, wrote, rehearsed and entertained friends here, there is no evidence that he performed here, at

least not as such. Ostensibly, the Villa at Hampton and its garden were intended to provide a peaceful retreat for the Garricks - well away from their hectic social life in town and the rigorous demands of the London stage. Yet, when we look at the Zoffany's or some of the other later topographical engravings, we could easily imagine that a contemporary visitor to this garden must have felt a pervading sense of being on a stage, as if wandering into an impromptu performance in a play already in progress. Like any good stage set, the appropriate props were essential to setting the scene here. The focal point of the riverside lawn was, of course, the octagonal Temple with its marble statue of Shakespeare inside. The Ionic order of the portico identified this as a Temple of Wisdom.⁶ More importantly, it proclaimed Shakespeare to be in the ranks of the classical poets - an idea John Dryden had initiated a hundred years before by referring to him as the 'Homer of the British poets'.⁷ The Italian cypresses near the building would almost certainly have conveyed the potent message of Shakespeare's immortality, and perhaps by extension also recall Shakespeare's own words in *Twelfth Night*: 'Come away, come away, death; and in sad cypress let me be laid' (Act 2, Scene 4).

Similarly, the emblematic character of the weeping willows at the river's edge and their association with the 137th Psalm - 'by the streams of Babel' etc. - would consciously intermingle with the memory of Desdemona's famous 'Willow Song' from *Othello* (Act 4, Scene 3). Perhaps an even more direct association was intended here by the careful juxtaposition of the cypresses with the willows - recognizably drawn from Dryden's assessment of Shakespeare: '...he is always great when some great occasion is presented to him; no man can say he ever had a fit subject for his wit, and did not then raise himself as high above the rest of the poets - *quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi* [as cypresses often do among bending osiers].'⁸

The River Thames itself at Hampton, with its ever-present swans, would inevitably evoke the famous reference to Shakespeare as 'the Swan of Avon'. And for the *initiates* of a

3. Helen R Smith, *The Story of Garrick and his life at Hampton*

(London: The Temple Trust, 1998), p. 5.

4. See, for example: Christian Deelman, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee* (London: Michael Joseph, 1964).

5. See 'Inventory of articles belonging to the estate of David Garrick on Mrs Garrick's death' from: *The Papers of the Reverend Thomas Rickett as Executor to Mrs Garrick*, Hereford City Museum and Art Gallery.

6. Douglas Chambers, *The Planters of the English Landscape Garden* (New Haven & London: Yale, 1993), p. 55.

7. Phipps, *op. cit.* p. 14.

8. Deelman, *op. cit.* p. 30.

far more famous garden at Stowe, the Thames could easily conflate with the River Styx, The Temple Lawn with the Elysian Fields, and the Shakespeare Temple with Lord Cobham's *Temple of British Worthies*, in which Shakespeare shared the Pantheon of national merit – a proud assemblage devised to emphasize the Patriot agenda of the 1730s. Yet, at Hampton there was a different message to convey. Unlike Stowe, here there could be only one British Worthy, and that was Shakespeare.

From the moment David Garrick made his astonishing official stage debut in the title role of *Richard III* in 1741 up until his retirement in 1776, he was the dominant figure on the English stage.⁹ Moreover, his unique professional stature was such that he rapidly rose to pre-eminence in the social and artistic life of eighteenth-century London. There is no doubt that he was the leading Shakespearean actor of his day. Always uncannily anticipating public taste, he revolutionised acting technique by bringing it far closer to nature – a significant preoccupation common to both garden-making and the theatre in this period. As the central figure in the eighteenth-century revival of Shakespeare on the English stage, it may seem fitting that he chose to erect such a monument in his garden in the 1750s. And hardly out of place are contemporary testimonials to Garrick's talent: 'Garrick was born to speak what Shakespeare wrote'¹⁰ or:

To relish Shakespear, read him o'er and o'er

See Garrick play him, and he'll charm you more.¹¹

However, when we read that he was sometimes referred to as 'Shakespeare's Priest'¹² or even occasionally simply as 'Shakespeare',¹³ we begin to suspect that something in excess of a mere revival was underway – something midway between a reincarnation and an apotheosis!

In order to understand Garrick's garden monument in the context in which it was conceived, it is important to first carefully examine the background of Shakespeare idolatry and its iconography. Modern scholarship has shown that Garrick was not the originator of the increased interest in Shakespeare and his

plays, or even of the so-called 'cult of Shakespeare'. Rather interestingly, it has been noted that by the time he made his famous stage debut in 1741, the trend was already well on its way.¹⁴ On closer examination of the evidence, it emerges that he was not even the first to build a garden temple solely devoted to Shakespeare!¹⁵ Thus, we can safely say that Garrick inherited the legacy of Bard-worship from previous generations of devotees.

Through Garrick's tremendous fame and influence, he managed to bring Shakespeare firmly into the mainstream of public consciousness. As his own star rose in the theatrical stakes, so did the reputation of his adopted idol. (fig. 26) In his persistent promotion of Shakespeare as the National Poet, with an emphasis on idolatry and patriotism, Garrick took the 'cult' into a whole new sphere, never before imagined. The resulting phenomenon is perhaps best explained when we remember what Shakespeare's own friend and fellow playwright Ben Jonson had said: he honoured Shakespeare's memory 'on this side idolatry'; Garrick seized a propitious moment in history and took Shakespeare to 'the other side of idolatry'.¹⁶ The culmination of this process took place at his Shakespeare Jubilee at Stratford in 1769. In short, a sort of apotheosis took place – first for Shakespeare at the Jubilee and later for Garrick shortly after his own passing.¹⁷

The beginnings of the 'cult of Shakespeare' could be said to have begun during the months immediately following the Bard's death in 1616. There was some talk of removing his remains from the small Stratford-upon-Avon church and placing them in Westminster Abbey, but this idea never came to fruition. On this topic, William Basse composed an elegiac sonnet. Remembering the recent death of Francis Beaumont earlier that same year and his subsequent burial in Westminster Abbey, near to Chaucer and Spenser, Basse wrote:

Renow'd Spencer, lye a thought more nye

To learn'd Chaucer, and rare Beaumont lye

9. See, for example: Helen R Smith, *David Garrick 1717 – 1770* (London: The British Library, 1979).

10. *Letters of David Garrick*, ed. D. Little & G. Kahrl, 3 vols. (London, 1963), no. 23.

11. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 23 June 1753, p. 287.

12. Tessa Murdoch, 'Huguenot Artists, Designers, and Craftsmen in Great Britain and Ireland 1680-1760' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1982), sec: n.45.

13. Deelman, *op.cit.*, p. 95.

14. Deelman, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

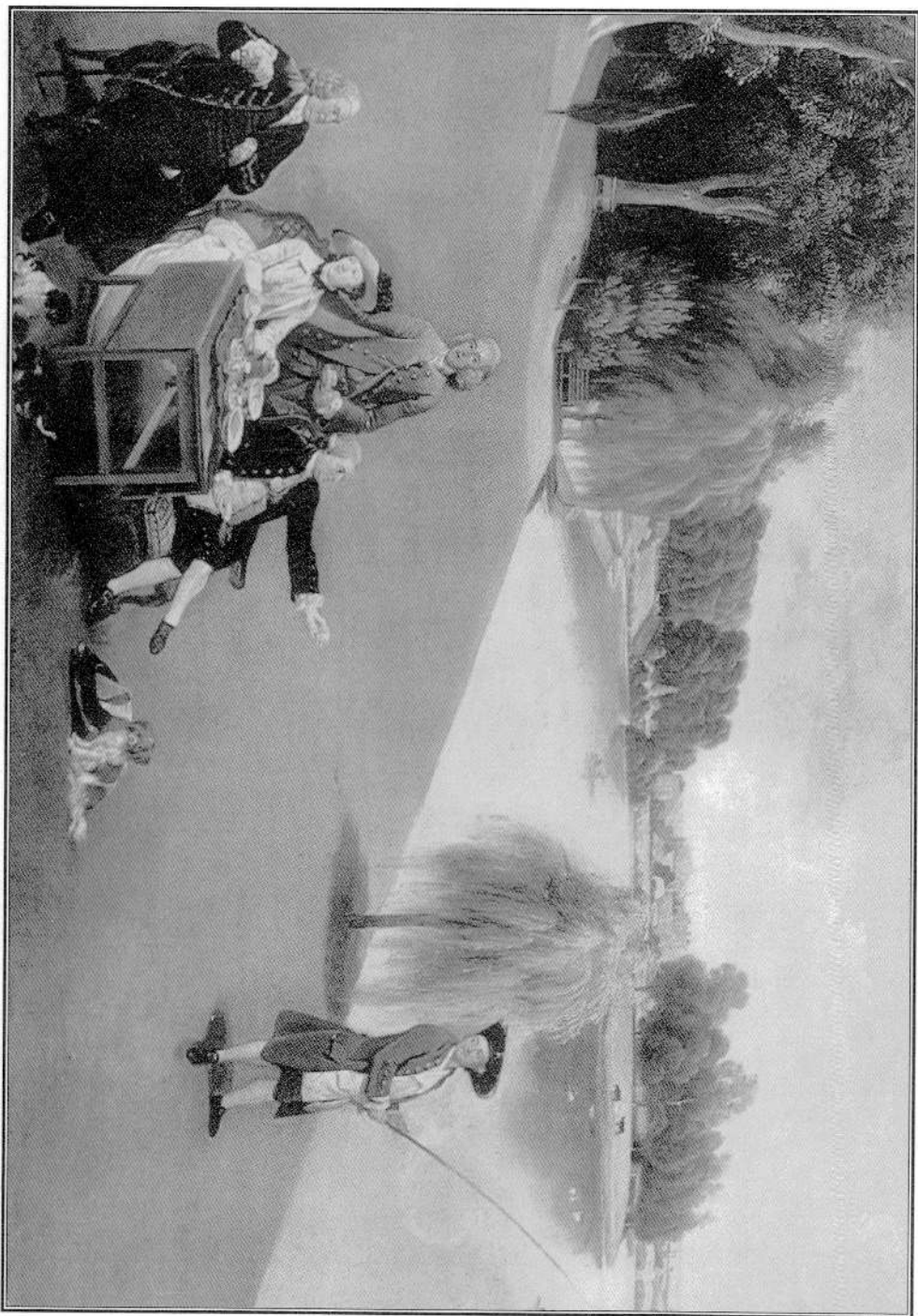
15. *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820*, ed. by J Dixon Hunt & Peter Willis (London: MIT, 5th ed., 2000), p. 265.

16. Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 22.

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



24. *Mr and Mrs Garrick by the Shakespeare Temple, Hampton* by Johann Zoffany, 1762
(COLLECTION OF LORD LAMBTON)



25. *The Tea Party* by Johann Zoffany, 1762
(COLLECTION OF LORD LAMBTON)

A little neerer Spenser to make roome
For Shakespeare in your threefold
sowerfold Tombe.

Basse then ends with the prophesy: 'rare Tragoedian Shakespear slept alone'.¹⁸

In answer to Basse, Ben Jonson wrote with considerable indignation: 'My Shakespeare, rise! I will not lodge thee by Chaucer or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lye a little further to make thee roome.'¹⁹ When the first Folio of Shakespeare's works finally appeared in 1623, Jonson's prefatory elegy was resolute in its conviction: 'Thou art a Monument, without a Tomb, and art alive still, while thy Booke doth live, and we have wits to read, and praise to give'.²⁰

The Shakespeare 'cult' was kept alive on the stage later in the seventeenth century by men such as Davenant and Betterton, but principally by their collaborator John Dryden whose immensely authoritative criticism referred to 'our reverence for Shakespeare' and 'the venerable shade of Shakespeare'.²¹ By 1726 there were signs that the movement to commemorate Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey was about to resume in earnest. In this year John Rich, the manager of the Covent Garden theatre, proposed just such a monument (although it seems ironic, since Rich was regarded as the leading pantomimist of his age),²² and Lewis Theobald observed that 'there is scarce a poet that our English tongue boasts of, who is more the subject of the Ladies' reading'.²³ The 'Ladies' he spoke of turned out to be a formidable group of women - mainly aristocratic and thoroughly intellectual - who became especially active in the late 1730s. Generally, their particular patronage was identified on playbills as: 'at the desire of several Ladies of Quality'.²⁴ Ostensibly, their efforts were focused on the promotion of Shakespeare's plays, although running through all of the contemporary material relating to the group can be detected a very strong anti-Walpole theme, and in particular such Whig-opposition coalition catchwords as 'liberty' and 'patriot' are in evidence. Calling themselves the Shakespeare Ladies Club, their first

aim was to convince the managers of the two London patent theatres to focus on 'legitimate' drama and particularly to begin staging more of Shakespeare's plays, in preference to the more popular pantomime and opera - entertainments that the Ladies perceived as 'foreign' and therefore corrupting influences. Then, to further establish the pre-eminence of their adopted idol, and in a politically-charged bid to elevate Shakespeare to the status of Britain's national poet, the Ladies endeavoured to have his monument erected in Westminster Abbey. Through a sort of public subscription involving various benefit performances, they accomplished all their aims in full, especially with the erection of the Shakespeare monument in 1741. (fig. 27) If Sir Robert Walpole's downfall in the following year had anything whatsoever to do with their efforts, then we might say they accomplished that too!

In 1739, in the lead-up to the Westminster Abbey monument campaign, one of the Ladies, Elizabeth Boyd, published a satirical piece entitled *Don Sancho: or, the Students Whim: A Ballad Opera of Two Acts, with Minerva's Triumph, a Masque*.²⁵ Significantly, this is set in the Oxford Botanical Garden at midnight, where three rather bored undergraduates attempt to call forth the ghosts of Shakespeare and Dryden. Tellingly, the piece opens with one of the students singing a little song: 'For Liberty the soldier fights; For Liberty the poet writes...etc.' The trio attempt their strange deed with the help of a mysterious necromancer named Don Sancho (actually the assumed name of a 'Nobleman of real Merit ...generous Baron Worthy...ruined by Party Spleen and Boundless Bounty'). After several ritualistic chants, producing ample smoke and commotion, the bewildered and somewhat indignant ghosts materialize momentarily, but speak disdainfully of the students' folly. The apparitions then 'rise as in Glory to a soft sweet symphony'. When the smoke clears the students find, lo and behold, that Minerva's Temple has arisen in the garden - the 'Altar-piece richly adorn'd with the Statues of all the most celebrated ancient and modern Poets'. At this point, Minerva and Apollo descend from the heavens to preside jointly over the scene,

18. Deelman, *op.cit.*, pp. 2, 3.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

21. Bate, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

22. Morris R. Brownell, *Alexander Pope and the arts of Georgian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 354.

23. Dobson, *op.cit.*, p. 147.

24. Bate, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

25. Elizabeth Boyd, *Don Sancho, or the Students Whim* (London: G Parker, 1739), BL: 161.g.56.

assisted in their ritual by Mercury. With even more noise and shaking, monuments of Shakespeare and Dryden emerge, as Mercury proclaims:

See, oh see the rising bust
Shakespeare's Tomb, the Good, the Just
To his country's endless Praise
See the Bard from Lethe raise
Joining worthy Dryden's Urn,
Social pair see they return.

The chorus then concludes:

Once again, Britannia's Fame
Lettered Gold their Worth proclaim
Once again, etc.

With this, all the Gods return to Elysium, Minerva's Temple sinks steadily back into the earth in a great rumble. The students proceed to gather round the two remaining monuments of Shakespeare and Dryden; they observe that Shakespeare is here revealed as Homer to Dryden's Virgil. Attempting to decipher the inscriptions, they find Shakespeare's is poorly inscribed in Greek, which they translate obliquely as:

Six score years; after Death upreared I stand
The Wonder, as the Glory of the Land
William Shakespeare.

Dryden's, being clearly inscribed in Latin, is more easily translated:

As Shakespeare's Friend, I here erect my Throne
The grateful Burden of unfeeling Stone
John Dryden.

Elizabeth Boyd's prologue was addressed to Alexander Pope, who is cited for his role in giving a voice to the neglected poets of England. In 1735, Frederick, Prince of Wales, whom the so-called 'Patriots' were inclined to pin their hopes on to,²⁶ had presented Pope with a gift of four marble busts for his library - these were Spenser, Milton, Dryden and of course, Shakespeare - all were sculpted by Peter Scheemakers. Before 1743 Francis Hayman had painted two large scenes from Shakespeare's plays for The Prince's Pavilion at the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens, the paintings inspired by Garrick's naturalistic style of acting and the Prince of Wales himself is reported to have taken a great interest in the rapid rise of Garrick's career.²⁷

Until this point, images of the poets

were allocated space mainly in private libraries such as that of Alexander Pope at Twickenham and in Lord Chesterfield's house in Mayfair, Shakespeare took centre stage in the library.²⁸ During this period, an actual Temple of Shakespeare was erected in the garden at Wimborne St Giles in Dorset, the seat of the 4th Earl of Shaftesbury. Unfortunately, we have no illustration of this structure, but it was described as a round thatched building positioned in a mound containing glass bookcases for Shakespeare's works and a small Statue of the Bard²⁹ - somewhat in the manner of Queen Caroline's emblematic Merlin's Cave at Richmond.³⁰ Intriguingly, the title page of a published prologue in Shakespeare's honour - written by Samuel Johnson and spoken by Garrick in 1747 at the opening of the Drury Lane Theatre - featured an image that was clearly Merlin's Cave. (fig. 28) The 'Shakespeare House' at Wimborne St Giles was obviously meant as a garden/library specifically dedicated to Shakespeare. It was built for Susanna, Countess of Shaftesbury, who was founder of the Shakespeare Ladies Club. Until recently, the very existence of the Ladies Club had virtually been erased from the historical record, and the names of its members lay completely unrecognized by scholars until the last few years.³¹ Lady Shaftesbury's work in the cause of Shakespeare, and especially her central role in establishing the Bard as pre-eminent, was in fact commemorated in 1743 in *An Epistle to the Right Honourable, the Countess of Shaftesbury with a prologue* [spoken by Mr. Garrick] and *epilogue* [spoken by Mrs. Woffington], on *Shakespeare and his writings*:

Fair Patroness of long departed Worth
O! Thou, who lately called our genius forth
Who, like a Guardian Angel, didst inspire
Thousands, and taught them what they
should admire
O! Thou whose Spirit wak'd a drowsy age
To pay a due regard to Shakespeare's page...
The Poets Bays around thy Temples twine
And the fair Wreath of constant
Love is thine...etc.³²

28. Piper, 1982, p. 78.

29. *The Genius of the Place*, op.cit., p. 265.

30. Ray Desmond, *Kew* (London: Harvill Press, 1995), pp. 16-19.

31. See, for example: Dobson, op.cit., pp. 146-58.

32. Thomas Cooke, *An Epistle to the Right Honourable, The Countess of Shaftesbury with a prologue and epilogue on Shakespeare and his Writings* (London: T. Cooper, 1743), pp. 3-4, B1.: 1347.m.20.

26. Chambers, p. 59.

27. David Piper, *The Image of the Poets* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 78; also: Brownell, p. 355; Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman* (New Haven & London: Yale, 1987), pp. 16, 17.



26. *Garrick with a Bust of Shakespeare* after Thomas Gainsborough,
mezzotint by Valentine Green, 1769
(COURTESY THE TEMPLE TRUST)



27. The Shakespeare Monument in Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey, designed by William Kent, sculpted by Peter Scheemakers, completed 1741 (COURTESY THE DEAN AND CHAPTER, WESTMINSTER ABBEY)

The same author had earlier likened her to both the Venetian and the Roman Portias.³³ Even earlier, Robert Dodsley had cited her for her grace combined with intelligence in *Beauty, or the Art of Charming* (1735).³⁴

The Countess of Shaftesbury was the daughter of Baptiste Noel, the Earl of Gainsborough. She was related directly to Lord Burlington through his mother, who was born Juliana Noel.³⁵ From the evidence, Burlington's own role in helping the Ladies to erect Shakespeare's monument in Westminster Abbey was significant, and has more recently led some to dub it the 'Burlington Abbey Project'.³⁶ It is interesting that both the Burlingtons and the Shaftesburys are generally shown in a rather benign light, as great patrons of opera - one of the 'foreign' influences opposed by the Ladies Club. Both families were patrons of Handel, and Burlington and Kent had come under direct attack by William Hogarth as early as 1724 in a satirical engraving entitled *The Taste of the Town, or Masquerades and Operas* in which Shakespeare's and Dryden's works are being carted away as wastepaper. As to whether Lady Shaftesbury had in fact recruited her cousin Lord Burlington to the cause, or the other way around, is not entirely clear. However, what is certain is that in the spring of 1737 both Burlington and Pope were the leading figures on the committee to raise the Abbey monument. Other committee members included Benjamin Martyn (author of the anti-Walpole play *Timoleon* in 1730), Dr Richard Mead, and Charles Fleetwood, the manager of the Drury Lane Theatre. Together, these men were the recognized 'trustees' of the Fund, and they had 'the sole Direction of the Monument'.³⁷ The main emphasis of the Ladies Club / Burlington Committee campaign was that Shakespeare would now be erected in the national pantheon (Westminster Abbey) entirely by public subscription. The supposed public-spiritedness of this enterprise was meant to be in contra-distinction to the suspect practices of private patronage associated with Walpole's government. Thus, the entire

project was conceived as a sort of affirmation of the national poet's resistance to ministerial corruption - in precisely the same way that Shakespeare had been shown in Cobham's Temple of British Worthies at Stowe. We may perceive the Abbey scheme to be somewhat of a continuation of Lord Cobham's politically-charged programme in his garden at Stowe, begun in 1734. Burlington's commissioning of the same designer, William Kent, and one of the same sculptors, Peter Scheemakers, implies at least some connection. Also, both projects are characterised by an explicit claiming of Shakespeare as 'both a foe to tyranny and a genuinely patriotic national hero, above the reach of bribery and invidious patronage'.³⁸ Indeed, the Lords Burlington and Cobham were each members of great Whig dynastic families, and each had gone into opposition during The Excise Crisis of 1733.³⁹ The Shaftesburys were believed to have been secretly connected with opposition writers as early as 1729, supposedly identified as the praiseworthy uni-sex couple 'Florio and Clara' in *The Female Faction: or, the Gay Subscribers*, and among the patrons supporting the publication of John Gay's *Polly* - banned from the stage by Sir Robert Walpole. Certainly, Lord Shaftesbury was politically active as an opponent of Walpole's government over the question of war with Spain in 1739 - an issue also frequently associated with the Shakespeare Ladies Club.⁴⁰ On this, The Hon James Noel (another blood relative of both Lord Burlington and Lady Shaftesbury) wrote an epilogue for the first Abbey Monument benefit performance of *Julius Caesar* on 28 April 1737:

When Portia weeps, all gentle breasts
must mourn
When Brutus arms, all gen'rous bosoms burn
When Rome's firm Patriots on the stage
are shown
With pride we trace the Patriots of our own.⁴¹

The overall presentation of the monument would have been partially influenced by Alexander Pope. The iconography shown in relief on the pedestal featured Elizabeth I, Henry V and Richard III, identifying Shakespeare as the creator of the histories and the tragedies. The presence of Elizabeth I

33. Thomas Cook, *A Demonstration of the Will of God by the Light of Nature* (London, 1742), 'The Dedication', pp. v-vi, BL: 1253.e

34. Robert Dodsley, *Beauty, or The Art of Charming: A Poem* (London: E. Cook, 1735), p. 27, BL: 1486.c.23.

35. Dobson, *op.cit.*, p. 149; also see: John Harris, *The Palladian Revival* (New Haven & London: Yale, 1994), p. 35.

36. Dobson, *op.cit.*, p. 139, n. 9.

37. *Ibid.* p. 138.

38. *Ibid.* p. 138.

39. *Ibid.* p. 138.

40. *Ibid.* p. 149.

41. *Ibid.* p. 138.

recalled not only the lost days of royal patronage, which Shakespeare and all other epic poets had previously enjoyed, but also, more specifically, her role in seeing off the Spanish threat. Overall, Shakespeare was being claimed as the *British Worthly* who immortalised his nation's heroic golden age.⁴² Pope's role also seems to have revolved around the proposed inscription to fill the scroll that Shakespeare points to insistently. The public was invited to submit their proposals to the Burlington Committee for consideration, in much the same way as the *Gentleman's Magazine* had earlier sponsored a competition (in 1732 and 1733) for the best poems acclaiming Queen Caroline's Hermitage at Richmond. Reflecting his own conviction that the nation's poets had long been neglected, he circulated one such epigram paraphrasing Elizabeth Boyd's inscription in *Don Sanchos*:

After an hundred and thirty years nap

Enter Shakespear with a loud clap.⁴³

His eventual proposals involved a Latin inscription to hang over Shakespeare's head: 'Amor Pvblicvs Posvit' to affirm the public subscription, along with an epigram to fill the scroll:

Thus Britain lov'd me, and preserv'd my fame

Clear from Barber's or a Benson's name.

The 'Barber' and 'Benson' mentioned here were the names of two patrons loyal to Walpole's government, who had already appropriated the nearby busts of Samuel Butler and John Milton respectively, thus tainting the reputations of these poets and glorifying their own names instead. Curiously, when the Shakespeare statue was finally unveiled in February 1741 the scroll was left blank. Had the Dean and Chapter of the Abbey refused the proposed epigram? Or was this an intentional ploy by the Burlington Committee? The absurdity of the situation - of Shakespeare pointing to a blank page - led to a tremendous controversy. The Dean was accused in some London journals of being afraid to incur the wrath of the Prime Minister. The implication was that Shakespeare was also now the victim of censorship. Realising he had to defuse a delicate situation, the Dean ordered the blank scroll to

be filled with some bland misquoted lines from *The Tempest* instead. This hasty, botched piece of work apparently infuriated Pope, who in his notes to the 1743 revision of the *Dunciad* calls it 'that Specimen of an Edition ... which indeed Shakespeare has great reason to point at'.⁴⁴ Through it all, Burlington maintained an air of mild disinterest in the activities he clearly presided over.

Censored or not, edited or not, Shakespeare entered the national pantheon as an opposition poet. As the only full-length portrait in Poets Corner, he was now proclaimed as the Bard of all Bards - the King of all British Poets, so to speak. In this sense, perhaps Shakespeare also came to embody the idea of the 'Patriot King', at least for the so-called 'Patriots'. The monument drew such large crowds to the Abbey that special railings had to be erected to protect it.

Early in 1741, shortly after the monument was unveiled but before his official stage debut, Garrick appeared in a masked mime role as Harlequin for two or three scenes when the actor Richard Yates suddenly fell ill. The play was entitled *Harlequin Student; or, The Fall of Pantomime, with the Restoration of the Drama* and typically featured a copy of the Westminster Abbey statue. Its title directly mimicked the illicit fairground play entitled *The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth, with the Restauration of the Protestant Religion; or, The Downfall of the Pope* (published in 1680).⁴⁵ The theme of the play was by now a familiar one, certainly as a result of the Shakespeare Ladies Club: *Pantomime* invades the province of legitimate drama. Yet now Harlequin and his minions are vanquished by the presence of the Shakespeare statue in a final apotheosis scene. It was staged at the Goodman's Fields by Henry Giffard, who operated his theatre in open defiance of Walpole's Licensing Act of 1737. Within months, Garrick made his official debut at Goodman's Fields in the role of Richard III, which was reportedly so powerfully naturalistic that it soon set the town 'horn mad'. He wrote to his brother Peter in Lichfield with news that Pitt and Lyttelton, among other 'Cobhamites', wished to have supper with him and: 'the Prince has heard so great a Character of me that we are in daily

42. *Ibid.* p. 143.

43. *Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, ed. by Lady Lilanover (London: R. Bentley, 1862), vol. ii, p. 139 [21st December, 1740]

44. Dobson, *op.cit.*, p. 146.

45. *Ibid.* p. 162.

Expectations of his coming to see Me'.⁴⁶ In the same way as Shakespeare had entered the Abbey as an opposition poet, Garrick entered the Theatre as an opposition actor. Of Walpole's imminent fall from politics, Garrick wrote excitedly to his brother: 'Sir Robert is in a very bad hole & I believe He can't find a Rope strong enough not even in ye Treasury to draw him out of it'.⁴⁷

In the following year, Garrick paid homage to his adopted idol by visiting Stratford-upon-Avon. He was accompanied on this pilgrimage by Charles Macklin, fellow collaborator in the new revolutionary style of naturalistic acting. The actors duly visited Holy Trinity Church to see the earlier monument to the Bard, containing an effigy of Shakespeare in painted limestone, which had been paid for by his own descendants a few years after his death. George Vertue had been here in 1721 to make design drawings for the title-page of Alexander Pope's edition of Shakespeare's works, and again in 1737 when he made a drawing showing a devotee before the Stratford shrine. (fig. 29).⁴⁸ Garrick and Macklin also visited New Place, the last home of Shakespeare and the house in which he had died. Here they were shown the legendary mulberry tree in the garden, reputedly planted by Shakespeare himself in 1609. Years later, when Garrick was creating his Villa garden, he apparently returned to Stratford specifically to take a slip from the sacred old tree with the intention of planting this in his own Shakespeare garden at Hampton. This time in his company was his lifelong friend and erstwhile tutor Samuel Johnson. Both Johnson and Garrick became acquainted with the new owner of New Place, Revd Francis Gastrell, through mutual connections in their hometown of Lichfield. Whether or not the request for a cutting of the tree was granted willingly, we can only guess. However, from the fact that many years later Mrs Garrick would often proudly show visitors the mulberry tree in the Hampton garden as being 'grown from a slip of Shakespeare's tree at Stratford', we can assume that some arrangement had been made for securing the cutting. Of this, an extremely comical episode is recalled in an allegorical poem written by one of Garrick's Hampton

neighbours, Edward Lovibond, entitled *The Mulberry Tree*. It tells of a thoroughly drunken Garrick trying to reach the upper branches of the old tree at Stratford by standing on the shoulders of an equally drunken Johnson. When Garrick can't get quite high enough to reach the top, he stands on Johnson's head, and then climbs onto a rotten bough. This in turn brings the whole tree crashing to the ground, accompanied by a hail of expletives from Johnson. If any part of this tale is true, it may help to explain why later that year the Revd Gastrell chose to rid himself of the burden of stewarding the tree, with all the increased attention it brought, by having it chopped down and the wood sold to make relics! The poem ends:

Yet mistake me not rabble, this tree's
a good tree
Does honour, Dame Nature, to Britain
and thee!
And the fruit at the top, take its merits in brief
Makes a noble dessert, where the dinner's
roast beef.⁴⁹

In the summer of 1756, Garrick's proud Temple of Shakespeare had reached completion on the bank of the Thames at Hampton. It was conspicuous not only for its dramatic riverside setting, but also its striking resemblance to Lord Burlington's much earlier Ionic Temple at Chiswick. The Burlington connection is perhaps quite important, for in 1749 Garrick had married Lord and Lady Burlington's young protégé, Eva Maria Veigel, the beautiful Viennese dancer sometimes known by her stage name *La Violette* or *Violetti*. Since coming to England in 1746, she had lived with the Burlingtons at Chiswick and at Burlington House, and was by all accounts treated as if she were their own daughter. The close domestic arrangement had even led some to suppose that she was actually the illegitimate daughter of Lord Burlington from one of his earlier Grand Tour exploits, a rumour that was never quite substantiated.⁵⁰ Garrick himself eventually became a trusted member of the Burlington circle, and the newly-wed couple spent part of their honeymoon at Chiswick. By the time he came to erect his Temple of Shakespeare, Garrick's

46. *Letters*, no. 18.

47. *Letters*, no. 21.

48. Deelman, *op.cit.*, p. 35; Piper, 1964, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

49. Edward Lovibond, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1785), 'The Mulberry Tree' [c.1760], BL: 11643.aa.54.(1.).

50. Iain McIntyre, *Garrick* (London: Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1999), p. 155.

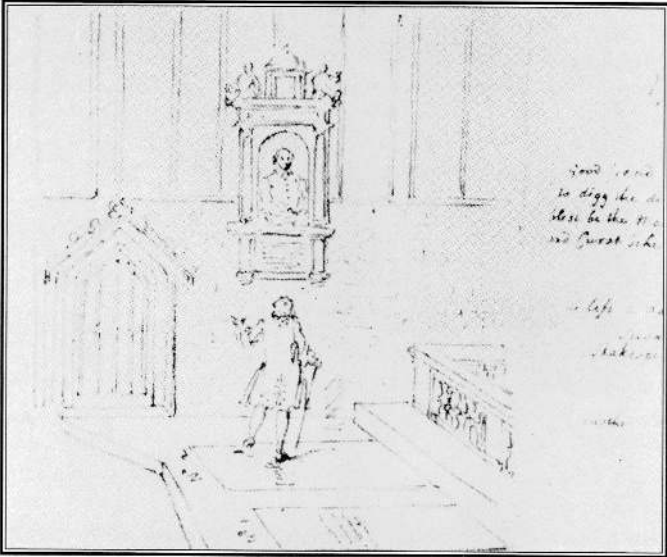


PROLOGUE

SPOKEN BY

Mr GARRICK.

HEN Learning's Triumph o'er her bar-
b'rous Foes
First rear'd the Stage, immortal SHAKE-
SPEAR rose ;
Each Change of many-colour'd Life he drew,
Exhausted Worlds, and then imagin'd new :
Exi-



28. Title page of the *Prologue* written by Samuel Johnson, spoken by David Garrick at the opening of the 1747 season of The Drury Lane Theatre under Garrick's management (COURTESY BRITISH LIBRARY)

29. *The Earl of Oxford paying homage to the Shakespeare monument at Stratford-upon-Avon* by George Vertue, 1737 (COURTESY BRITISH LIBRARY)

career was already inextricably bound up in the public mind with the contemporary revival of interest in Shakespeare and his plays.⁵¹ Garrick would have fully recognized Lord Burlington's central role in the Westminster Abbey project, and may well have participated by supporting the benefit performances alongside him. It seems entirely plausible, and more than a little appropriate, that when he decided to build a Temple in honour of Shakespeare, he chose Burlington's Ionic Temple as architectural model.

Horace Walpole, Garrick's neighbour at Strawberry Hill, had watched the building of the Temple with considerable interest. In 1755 he wrote to a friend: 'I have contracted a sort of intimacy with Garrick, who is my neighbour. He affects to study my taste.' Although having earlier consciously resisted Garrick's legendary social charms and elan, by October 1756 Walpole was finally showing signs of succumbing:

John and I are just going to Garrick's with a grove of cypresses in our hands, like the Kentish men at the Conquest. He has built a grateful Temple to his master Shakespeare and I am going to adorn the outside since his modesty would not let me decorate within.⁵²

In fact, the interior decoration Walpole had in mind, and which Garrick had somehow managed to diplomatically resist, was a Latin inscription and its expanded English translation:

Quod spiro, et placeo, si placeo, tuum est

That I spirit have and nature

That sense breathes in every feature

That I please, if please I do

Shakespeare, all I owe to you.⁵³

Precisely how or why Garrick had refused Walpole's inscriptions is not recorded. However, we may assume that he indeed accepted the cypresses, as they appear in contemporary illustrations of the garden.

Garrick commissioned a full-length statue of Shakespeare from his fellow Huguenot, Louis Francois Roubiliac, to preside over the interior of the Temple. (fig. 30) Work to the proposed figure began in earnest in the summer of 1757, and it was finally finished and installed in its niche in the Temple at Hampton during the following summer.⁵⁴ Reputedly, the pose was struck by Garrick himself, showing Shakespeare at the precise

moment of inspiration. The expressiveness of the characterisation - 'the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling' - reflected the naturalistic idiom of Garrick's own revolutionary mode of acting, for which he had become renowned,⁵⁵ especially in his astonishing debut as Richard III at Goodman's Fields. Some of his power in the role was famously captured in 1745 in a life-size painting by William Hogarth.⁵⁶ We may even suspect, as has often been supposed, that the Roubiliac statue for Garrick's Temple was in fact a portrait of Garrick himself, in the role of Shakespeare.⁵⁷ Undoubtedly, Roubiliac's distinctive style shines through in the piece. The 'dazzling range of incidental un-statuesque textures' are displayed in the figure: the vast 'drooping parchment, quill pen, the elaborate drapery of the moving cloak, the knee-frills of the breeches, the delicate lace of the cuffs, the crumpled shirt exposed by the casually gaping waistcoat, and, most showy of all, the soft leather of the right slipper folded under the poet's heel at the back through his neglect of a shoehorn'.⁵⁸ This final detail was particularly reminiscent of Roubiliac's treatment of the figure of Handel for the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens (now in the Victoria & Albert Museum).

Roubiliac's statue of Shakespeare may also be seen as a sort of loose rococo translation of the Westminster Abbey figure. The emblematic devices of the Abbey pedestal are absent, as well as all inscriptions. Roubiliac has signed and dated his work discreetly, but it is otherwise free of fuss or distractions. Instead of Shakespeare leaning forward to point at a scroll, he lifts his left forefinger to his chin in a thoroughly convincing unconscious gesture. Like the Abbey statue, this is a portrait of the national poet as a venerable figure, but it also presents Shakespeare as a working playwright, preparing to write and looking in the skyward horizon for inspiration, in much the same way as Garrick saw himself as an actor/manager who wrote for the stage. Similar to the Abbey figure, Shakespeare's dress is neither correctly Elizabethan, nor even Georgian, but rather it belongs to a romantic nether-period - a hybrid mix of the two eras - infused with the drama of a Van Dyke painting.⁵⁹ Moreover, the sim-

51. Smith, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

52. *Blest Retreats* (London: L. B. of Richmond, 1984), p. 11.

53. Deelman, *op.cit.*, p. 98.

54. Dobson, *op.cit.*, p. 179.

55. David Bindman and Malcolm Baker, *Roubiliac and the 18th century monument* (New Haven & London: Yale 1995), p. 77.

56. David Bindman, *Hogarth* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), pp. 108-9.

57. Piper, 1964, *op.cit.*, p. 28; Dobson, *op.cit.*, pp. 179-80.

58. Dobson, *op.cit.*, p. 180.

plified Garrick/Roubiliac tableau seems to call forth, quite directly, John Dryden's 'venerable Shakespeare' of the previous century:

Shakespeare (thy gift) I place before my sight
With awe I ask his blessing as I write
With reverence look on his majestic face
Proud to be less, but of his god-like race.⁵⁹

Hence, the scroll is expanded into 'an immense Bard-size blank vellum page' inviting infinite possibilities for inspiration.⁶⁰ This goes some way towards explaining the prescribed ritual that visitors to Garrick's Temple were encouraged to follow, whereby written tributes in honour of the Bard were solemnly placed at the base of the statue. In effect, Garrick was continuing the tradition of public subscription initiated during the Abbey project.⁶¹ Could this be the reason behind his firm but polite rejection of Walpole's permanent inscription? Indeed, of those visitors who obliged their host's request, some may have been amused to find their tributes published anonymously in the London journals, part of an ingenious tactic for keeping the so-called 'cult of Shakespeare' alive in the public mind.

Shortly after the arrival of the statue of Shakespeare, one such tribute appeared in the *London Magazine* entitled 'Lines dropt in Mr. Garrick's Temple of Shakespeare, Hampton'.⁶² Here Garrick:

Invokes the animated stone
To make the poets mind his own
Unnoticed long thy Shakespeare lay
To dullness and to time a prey
But lo! I rise, I breathe, I live
In you, my representative.⁶³

In this, we witness Garrick proclaimed not only as Shakespeare's greatest interpreter on stage, but more, his living representative on Earth! Garrick thus emerges as the embodiment of Shakespeare. Remote though this may seem to us today, contemporary audiences were witness to Garrick's extraordinarily expressive technique. There was certainly a strong contemporary perception that Garrick's 'speaking Eye' was the key to his genius as an actor, and that it was the central organ in conveying Shakespeare's meaning.⁶⁴

As might be expected, the perpetuation of the 'cult of Shakespeare' at Hampton did not proceed without a fair bit of criticism. Samuel Foote published a pamphlet in 1760 in which he said:

[Garrick] has dedicated a Temple to a certain Divinity called Shakespeare [here printed in Greek] before whose shrine frequent libations are made, and on whose altar the fat of venison, a viand grateful to the Deity, is seen often to smook... this must be considered a mere personal superstition, for which the Man, and not the Profession is accountable.⁶⁵

Foote and many other critics and satirists were increasingly outraged by the idolatry that Garrick promoted on behalf of Shakespeare, and this was particularly apparent in the lead-up to the Shakespeare Jubilee at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1769. Dr Johnson, one of the leading Shakespearean scholars of the day, was obviously prepared to tolerate his friend's private tribute in the garden at Hampton, and when first shown the garden improvements is reported to have said: 'Ah David, it is the leaving of such places that makes a deathbed terrible'. When Johnson famously wrote: 'Shakespeare may now assume the dignity of an ancient',⁶⁶ we may be forgiven for wondering if he was thinking of Garrick's Temple! In fact, Johnson's conspicuous absence from the Jubilee at Stratford would indicate he thought Garrick had gone too far. However, Garrick was adequately skilled at disarming even his worst critics, and at bringing some others around to his side of the argument.

When the Frenchman Voltaire launched an attack on Shakespeare's writing, it had the effect of rallying the whole British nation behind Garrick - especially useful to him at the Jubilee.⁶⁷ Something of this was noted when Johnson explained to Boswell his reason for withholding any mention of Garrick in the Preface to his Shakespeare edition: 'Garrick has been liberally paid, sir, for anything he has done for Shakespeare. If I should praise him, I should much more praise the nation who paid him'.⁶⁸ Mrs Elizabeth Montagu, the wealthy bluestocking, wrote an influential essay in 1769 in response to Voltaire's attack, just in time for Garrick's Jubilee. In this she defended both Garrick and Shakespeare, and was obviously

59. *Ibid.* p. 16.

60. Piper, 1964, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

61. Dobson, *op.cit.*, p. 180.

62. *Ibid.* pp. 139-46.

63. *London Magazine*, November 1758, p. 539.

64. Dobson, *op.cit.*, p. 182.

65. Cecil Price, *Theatre in the Age of Garrick* (Oxford: Basil

Blackwell, 1973), p. 18; also see: Bindman and Baker, *op.cit.*, pp. 77-9.

66. Ashton and Mackintosh, *The Georgian Playhouse* (London: The Arts Council, 1975), cat. no. 84.

67. Piper, 1982, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

68. Deelman, *op.cit.*, pp. 228-30.

69. *Ibid.* p. 96.



30. Statue of Shakespeare by Louis François Roubiliac, 1753
(COURTESY BRITISH MUSEUM)

31. Garrick unveiling a term of Shakespeare and the Ephesian Diana by Cipriani. c.1770
(BY PERMISSION OF THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY, WASHINGTON D.C.)



32. Garrick's Temple following restoration, 2000.

The cypresses (above) which were planted in the newly-restored garden were donated by the London Historic Parks and Gardens Trust. (see *London Gardener*, vol. v, p. 63)

(PHOTOGRAPH: SALLY WILLIAMS)

aware that in the popular mind, Voltaire, like the French nation itself, was to be seen as the arch enemy of all things Shakespearean and British.⁷⁰ Garrick knew the value of tapping into the national feelings of patriotism, and in 1759 he had written the lyrics to the song *Heart of Oak*, first performed in his Christmas entertainment entitled *Harlequin Invasion*, yet another version of *Harlequin Student* in which a statue of Shakespeare triumphs over the foreign invasion.⁷¹ As we might expect of the son of an army recruiting officer, and being of good humble French Protestant stock, Garrick would have understood, almost by instinct, the importance of inspiring patriotic feelings, even if he sometimes got it completely wrong, such as the time he hired French dancers for *The Chinese Festival* in 1755, leading to riots in Drury Lane, and the windows of his town-house being broken.⁷²

Garrick had acquired his Villa at Hampton in 1754, not simply as a retreat but as a visible symbol of his astonishing rise to fame and fortune. His quest for the perfect property had begun in the previous year. He had dispatched his brothers Peter and George to scout out the estate market in various parts of the country. In a letter to Peter he set out his chief requirements: 'I own I love a good Situation prodigiously & I think the four great Requisites to make one are, Wood, Water, Extent & inequality of Ground'.⁷³ Why he settled on the Hampton property is not recorded precisely, but it seems that it answered many of his specific requirements. From a practical standpoint, Hampton was close enough to London, and to the Drury Lane, to make a convenient escape, but also far enough away to be considered sufficiently rural. Perhaps Garrick was cognizant of Alexander Pope's words:

Blest Thames shores the brightest beauties yield
Feed here my lambs, I'll seek no distant field.⁷⁴

In homage, Garrick may well have taken cuttings from Pope's legendary weeping willows at Twickenham in much the same way as he had taken a slip from Shakespeare's mulberry tree at Stratford around this time.⁷⁵ Still rare in England, he planted these willow slips right up to the bank, so that as they grew the

boughs would cascade down into the Thames.

Traditionally, it has been assumed that Robert Adam was the architect of the Shakespeare Temple. However, we know that he was on the Grand Tour in Italy between 1754 and 1758, and the Adam involvement only came in 1765, and again in 1775, when Garrick commissioned alterations to the Villa. John Adams, who visited in 1759, thought the Temple was 'much too large for this small piece of ground, and is not elegant either outside or inside, though the prospect to the river is most delightful...'.⁷⁶ *Capability Brown* and even *Roubiliac* have been suggested as the architects of the Temple, yet we have no specific supporting documentation. We may just as easily consider that this is not an architect's building at all, but a builder's building - the sort of structure that was based on the Burlington model at Chiswick, and translated for Garrick by a competent builder. One such candidate, with whom Garrick had dealings in the early 1750s, was Thomas Rosoman, the actor/manager of Sadler's Wells. In addition to Rosoman's theatrical career he had been a very successful and ambitious builder/developer, particularly in the Islington area. He eventually retired to Hampton in the early 1770s, and lived in Jessamine House. Johann Zoffany painted him with his family on Taggs Island with the Shakespeare Temple shown prominently in the background.⁷⁷

Early on in his career, *Capability Brown* advised Garrick in laying out the grounds, but the extent to which he was responsible for implementing the works is uncertain.⁷⁸ Reputedly, he gave the actor the idea of creating the grotto-tunnel (a '*Posillipio*') under the road to connect the Villa garden to the Temple lawn. Garrick had originally envisaged a bridge over the road, but when he told Dr Johnson of Brown's advice, Johnson exclaimed 'Davey, Davey, what can't be over-done must be under-done!'.⁷⁹ This feature was complete by 1759. Earlier, when Horace Walpole had written that Garrick 'affects to study my taste', it is likely that Garrick was interested in his

70. *Ibid.* p. 135.

71. Smith, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

72. McIntyre, *op.cit.*, pp. 235-56.

73. Letters, I, no. 126.

74. Mavis Batey, *Arcadian Thames* (London: Barn Elms, 1994), p. 67.

75. Mark Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden* (Pennsylvania: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 158, 403 n. 76, 77, 78.

76. See: Murdoch, *op.cit.*

77. Auction catalogue: *Important English Pictures*, Christie's, Friday 24th, 1987, Lot 105, pp. 160-2.

78. Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown* (London: Country Life Ltd., 1950), pp. 97-8.

79. *Ibid.* p. 60.

gardening activities at Strawberry Hill, and more specifically, Walpole's 'serpentine wood of all kinds of trees and flowering shrubs'.⁸⁰ Perhaps one bit of advice that Walpole may have conveyed was his belief that 'the possessor, if he has any taste, must be the best designer of his own improvements'.⁸¹ David and Eva Maria Garrick certainly took great pride in planting many of the trees in the garden themselves. Contemporary engravings show an *undulating* lawn with many fine trees and a serpentine path bordered by flowering shrubs and evergreens. The trees included Cedar of Lebanon, fir, chestnut, elm, oak, yew, and a tulip tree.⁸² There were, of course, the famous mulberry, weeping willows, and cypresses. As late as the 1770s, Henrietta Pye, a local resident and writer, described Garrick's garden as being 'laid out in the modern taste'.⁸³ In the early 1750s, this layout would have been regarded as absolutely cutting edge, and a very fashionable addition to the Twickenham / Hampton riverscape.

In 1757 Garrick introduced a new comic character, Lord Chalkstone, into his play *Lethe, or Aesop in the Shades*, first produced in 1740.⁸⁴ The character of Chalkstone, often played by Garrick himself, was a sort of amalgam of the various old aristocratic 'Patriots' of the previous generation - the Cobhams and Burlingtons who both Garrick and Capability Brown would have encountered at the start of their careers - but freshly animated by the spirit of the new generation of landowner/gardeners. In the play, the gout-stricken peer complains as he waits to cross the River Styx into the Elysian Fields that it is laid out without taste and should have been given a 'serpentine sweep' to improve its 'capabilities' ... 'You should clear the wood to the left, and clump the trees to the right: in short, the whole wants variety, extent, contrast, and inequality'. As he advances to the edge of the stage, he peers down into the orchestra pit: 'Upon my word, here's a fine ha-ha! ...and a most curious collection of evergreens and flowering shrubs'. As both a physical and comic model for Chalkstone, Garrick possibly had to look no

further than his friend Colonel George Bodens, formerly of the Coldstream Guards,⁸⁵ who is identified as the large elderly gentleman with a cane seated with the Garricks in Zoffany's painting entitled *The Tea Party* (fig. 25). Someone with the initials 'G'B' was recruited to compile an extensive list of available trees and shrubs for the Hampton garden and just such a document exists amongst the Garrick estate papers at the Hereford City Museum. Evidently written by an intimate friend, it ends: 'But for the Violetta, you are so happy to have that already, the finest in the world, the Beauty of your garden. *Supereminet omnes*'.⁸⁶ Only three clear candidates emerge for the authorship of this precious list: Grosvenor Bedford, Giuseppe Baretta, and George Bodens.

Another of Garrick's friends, William Hogarth, would have provided an extremely important theoretical influence in the making of the Hampton garden, as well as several other new gardens in the area. His long-awaited *Analysis of Beauty* was published in 1753, yet as early as 1745 Hogarth introduced into his famous self-portrait the mysterious 'Line of Beauty and Grace'. In the painting, the serpentine line was shown as a relaxed S-curve. However, rather than being a mere two-dimensional squiggle, it was painted with a shadow; therefore, Hogarth intended it to have form and substance. Moreover, it was seen to *undulate*. Interestingly, in the composition of the painting, Hogarth's portrait rests on volumes of Swift, Milton and Shakespeare. Clearly his intended message was that his art, like the work of the British poets, and even the 'Line of Beauty' itself, were all of indigenous origin and inspiration.⁸⁷

Sometime after 1757, William Hogarth designed alterations to an already elaborate chair intended to form the interior decoration of the Shakespeare Temple. These alterations included an oval relief of Shakespeare (supposedly carved from the wood of his mulberry tree) set into its backrest. The back of the chair was also then surmounted by a dramatic theatrical trophy.⁸⁸ It was referred to as 'The

80. Batey, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

81. *Ibid.* p. 60.

82. Michael Symes, 'David Garrick and landscape gardening', *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 6, no. 1, p. 41.

83. *Blest Retreats, op.cit.*, p. 10.

84. David Garrick, *Lethe, or: Aesop in the Shades* (London, 1757), 5th ed., BL: T.1609.(5).

85. *Thraliana*, ed. K.C. Balderston, I, 1942, pp. 4, 330; see also 'Descriptive Inventory of the household furniture and fixtures belonging to the late David Garrick, Esq., 18th February 1779', Victoria & Albert Museum.

86. Hereford City Museum, document no: 1992-24/39c/g

87. Bindman, *op.cit.*, p. 151.

88. See *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England* (London: V&A, 1984), p. 67, cat. no. E7.

President of the Shakespeare Club chair', and on May Day each year Garrick would distribute money, cake, and wine to the poor children of Hampton whilst seated in the Temple next to the Roubiliac statue of Shakespeare.⁸⁹ Over the years, various interesting Elizabethan and Jacobean relics were introduced to the contents of the Temple, such as a glove, a salt-cellar, and a signet ring with the initials 'W.S.'.⁹⁰ Garrick believed these to have once belonged to Shakespeare himself. To the display were eventually added a number of elaborately carved modern artifacts – mostly made of mulberry wood and associated with the Shakespeare Jubilee at Stratford in 1769.⁹¹ The Temple thus became a sort of *cabinet of curiosities* for the Shakespeare /Garrick 'cult'.

As Michael Symes has written in his article on Garrick and his garden:

The Temple at Hampton served both as a celebration of Shakespeare and also a symbol of the inspiration and cause of Garrick's success as an actor. The conflation of garden and theatre is therefore at its most potent and apparent at this point.⁹²

Along similar lines, a critic had proclaimed in 1757 that Garrick had rejuvenated the English stage by establishing 'Nature, Shakespeare, and himself'.⁹³ This idea was provided a bizarre visual interpretation by Cipriani in 1776: (fig. 31) a painting in the Folger Shakespeare Library shows Garrick unveiling a Homeric term of Shakespeare paired with an Ephesian Diana (goddess of Nature).

The restoration of this historic site in 1998–2000, including the *Life of Garrick* exhibition and a copy of Roubiliac's Shakespeare statue mounted permanently within the Temple, provides a fitting memorial to Britain's greatest actor-manager. The layout and plantings of the garden have been based on both the George Bodens' list of trees and shrubs, and on eighteenth-century illustrations. Here, in a beautifully re-created garden setting is displayed a visual record not only of Garrick's illustrious career, his image, his garden, and his life at Hampton, but also evidence of how, by his talent, he made Shakespeare central to the British theatrical tradition. (fig. 32)

Garrick's Temple of Shakespeare is open on Sunday afternoons 2–5pm from April through to September.

NEWINGTON GREEN

By Sally Williams

These notes have been triggered by the discovery of four early black and white photographs showing Newington Green soon after it had been laid out as a public amenity by Islington Borough Council, which had acquired the land in 1874. (figs. 33, 34, 35 & 36) Who took these photographs and for what purpose is not known, but they show young trees recently planted and virgin footpaths, and were perhaps taken before the gardens had been publicly opened. Indeed, the dating of these photographs has been established by comparison with an image of c.1878 which shows the same scene with the trees a little more grown, the path now flanked by benches and with a small picturesque central kiosk, which in later picture postcards became shaded by well-grown trees. Both the 1878 image and the slightly earlier one illustrated here (see fig. 33) feature a large white building on the left, by then a bank and the former residence of Samuel Rogers, of whom more later, a building which is known to have been pulled down in late 1881. Adjacent to this house and overlooking the Green is an important surviving brick terrace built in 1658 – Nos. 52–55 Newington Green – among the oldest terraced housing in London and listed Grade I, which along with other buildings around the Green provides clues to the historical interest of this area, which straddles the modern boroughs of Islington and Hackney.¹

*Newwyngtongrene*² is recorded in 1480 as the green of a tiny hamlet on the edge of Stoke Newington, which itself had existed as a village by the time of the Domesday Survey and was a clearing in the formerly extensive oak Forest of Middlesex that once covered this area. In Tudor times it became a favourite royal hunting park and consequently there

89. Blett *Retreats*, op.cit., p. 11; see also J. Norris Brewer, *Histrionic Topography* (London: J Cole, 1818), p. 10.

90. Smith, 1998, op.cit., pp. 4–5.

91. *Ibid.* p. 4.

92. Symes, op.cit., p. 39.

93. Piper, 1982, op.cit., p. 88.

1. For fuller history, see *The Changing Face of Newington Green* (London: The Factory, 1977).

2. See A D Mills, *A Dictionary of London Place Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).