

## Explanatory Notes to the Text

References to the New Rehearsal are, in all cases, to both the text and the notes. For the abbreviations used, see the Foreword.

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### Some REMARKS on the Tragedy of the Lady JANE GRAY

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Page 3. 4. Applause of the Town. Gildon was conscious of the town throughout the playwriting phase of his career. Factions, not the whole "unjudging town," are blamed for the failure of the Younger Brother (1696) (Preface); the undesirable elements of the town are satirized in the Prologue to the Roman Bride's Revenge (1697) and, fearing the town, Gildon pleads that it is his maiden effort; he prepares for an unfavorable reception for Phaeton by arguing that it is difficult to understand a play not in the vogue and he hopes that the audience will like the simplicity of his plot (Preface); in Love's Victim (1701) Gildon admits to a compromise; he has tried to make the play regular enough to conform to the rules and varied enough to please a modern audience; in adapting Lee's Lucius Junius Brutus Gildon pares the fine language to the bone, but weakens finally and retains a simile against his judgment because it is sure to please "the corrupt Judgment of the Audience" (Sig. A4r. See also Sig. A5v and p.87).

Page 3. 13. we have either ignorantly, etc. Shakespeare can be partially excused for his defects because he reflects the ignorance of his age ("On the Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," pp.iii-iv). Learning would have protected him from his errors and his genius caused him to be great despite these errors (ibid. p.iv-v). Dryden's faults are less excusable (especially those of his dramatic works) (Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets, p.40). His own contemporaries Gildon saw sinking deeper and deeper into error, except for Dennis, whose Invader of his Country Gildon said was "exactly regular" (ibid., p.38). Curiously, Gildon uses the word "novelty" in connection with the characters of the play.

Page 3. 19. no competent Judge, etc. The state as censor and controller of dramatic production is one of Gildon's ideals, modeled on what he knows of the Athenian drama festivals. "Tragedy indeed had a very advantageous Rise in Greece, falling immediately under the Inspection of the Magistrate, being founded on Religion; and this carried it to soon to Perfection; to which it wou'd never have arriv'd, had it been in the Hands of Private Persons, and mercenary Players" ("Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," p.lxi). The authoritarian nature of Gildon's ideas on the subject of regulation of the stage is not to be found in his rebuttal to Collier but in his elaborate plans for a

British Academy which would permit no play to appear which did not measure up to the rules (Post-Man Robb'd of his Mail [1719], Book II, Letters 1-5).

Page 3. 25. Profit. Worldly success is the ideal of the modern playwright, who pleases the town by doing what the Rehearsal satirized (see below, pp.93-94). Money is the bane of English plays (Laws of Poetry, pp.226-227).

Page 4. 3. paucis Lectoribus.

Saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint  
scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores  
contentus paucis lectoribus. Horace, Satires, I,  
x, 70-74.

Fairclough translates: "Often you must turn your pencil to erase, if you hope to write something worth a second reading, and you must not strive to catch the wonder of the crowd, but be content with the few as your readers."

(Horace, Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939 [Loeb Classical Library], pp.121, 123.

Page 5. 1. I have been told, etc. This apparently was coffee house rumor. There is no evidence that Rowe defended himself in print against Gildon's charges in 1714-15.

Page 5. 19. forming his Fable. Gildon believes that the story of the Lady Jane Grey cannot be made into a tragedy because it is impossible to entirely sympathize with her (see "Remarks", p.8, below). The fable is the most important part of the tragedy; all of Rowe's and most of the

tragedies of Gildon's own day he believes are deficient most in fable (see below, "Remarks," pp.7-8; New Rehearsal, pp.38-39; on p.93 Bays discourses on plot). Rowe's reference to "forming his fable" is most casual. "Mr. Smith of Oxford" is, of course, Edmund Smith, the author of Phaedra and Hippolitus (1707). He died in 1710 and his Works, with a memoir by Oldisworth, appeared in 1714.

Page 6. 5. Mr. Rowe is too good a scholar. Rowe's version of Dacier's Life of Pythagoras...and the Golden Verses translated from the Greek had appeared in 1707. Ozell's rendering of Boileau's Le Lutrin had appeared the following year with an account of Boileau's writings by Rowe. The edition of Shakespeare (1709) had added greatly to Rowe's prestige.

Page 6. 18. Aristotle expressly condemns those poems, etc. "Unity of plot does not, as some persons think, consist in the unity of the hero. For infinitely various are the incidents in one man's life which cannot be reduced to unity; and so, too, there are many actions of one man out of which we cannot make one action. Hence the error, as it appears, of all poets who have composed a Heracleid, a Thesid, or other poems of the kind. They imagine that as Heracles was one man, the story of Heracles must also be a unity." Poetics, VIII, 1-2 (trans. by Butcher in Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, London:

Macmillan, 1923, p.33). Aristotle goes on to praise the plots of the Iliad and Odyssey. Since Aristotle applies this principle to the epic, which is a looser form generally than the tragedy, Gildon feels free to apply it rigidly to tragedy and it is the basis of his attacks on historical tragedy (see "Remarks," pp.6-7, above). Gildon twice makes an analogy with painting to illustrate the point that the whole life of the hero should not be depicted ("Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," p.xxix; Laws of Poetry, p.171).

Page 6. 21. Lucan. Tickell was at Oxford at the end of 1713 working on his translation of Lucan. If Gildon's attack on Rowe and Pope were thoroughly partisan, he might have omitted this reference to a work on which Pope's competitor was spending his energies.

Page 6. 24. Reason and Nature. See p.91ff, below.

Page 6. 26. one action. See Introduction, pp.ccxxxi-ccxxxiv. and pp.38-39, below. Unity of action is the single most important factor in the success of a tragedy.

There is a great deal of difference between the breach of the unities of action, and those of time and place. The unity of action is an essential, without which the fable cannot exist; for there never was, nor even can be a fable of any kind, whether dramatic or epic, or any other sort, that has more than one action; but the unity of time is not an essential of fable in general, but added to Tragedy for the sake of verisimilitude, or probability only; and a

breach of it destroys not the tragic fable, but loads it with improbable absurdities; ...a sin against time is not so obvious, and, if nicely managed, not so shocking, as that against the unity of place....

(Laws of Poetry, pp.201-202). The fable must be the representation of one action only (Laws of Poetry, p.149; Complete Art of Poetry, I, 234f). "Not to observe these unities is to destroy the fable, which cannot subsist without them; but whoever destroys the fable destroys the very essence of Tragedy." (Laws of Poetry, p.168). In the "Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage" Gildon quotes at length from Buckinghamshire's Essay upon Poetry on the unities, especially unity of action ("Art, Rise and Progress," pp.xxvi-xxix). Aristotle, we are told elsewhere, admits the possibility of a poet being defective in language but satisfactory because of an observance of the rules necessary to create a good fable (Laws of Poetry, p.218; Poetics, VI, 12). (See also, on the unities, "Art, Rise and Progress, : xxxi-ii, xxxviii-xl; Laws of Poetry, pp.172-174). Dennis in a letter to Walter Moyle (1695) sums up the matter of the unities, emphasizing the importance of unity of action, in a manner that Gildon would have approved of (Hooker, II, 386).

Page 7. 6. Julius Caesar. In the 1710 "Remarks on the Plays of Shakespear" (p.377), Gildon says:

This Play or History is call'd Julius Caesar tho' it ought rather to be call'd Marcus

Brutus; Caesar is the shortest and most inconsiderable Part in it, and he is kill'd in the beginning of the third Act. But Brutus is plainly, the shining, and darling Character of the Poet; and is at the End of the Play the most considerable Person. If it had been properly call'd Julius Caesar it ought to have ended at his Death, and then it had been much more regular, natural, and beautiful.

Gildon is citing here a specific case which reveals his general attitude toward historical tragedy. History does not happen according to the rules of art ordinarily and hence must be altered and regularized for the stage.

Page 8. 6. Fear, or Compassion. Gildon does not recognize clearly the difficulty of measuring fear or pity in other than moral terms; he nowhere bothers to define the terms in anything but the most conventional way, apparently considering their meaning obvious. He will admit of no degree of right and wrong, but he is not arguing, of course, that "mixed" situations do not come up in life, only that they should not be used in tragedy. Gildon discusses why pity and terror and not other emotions (like love and admiration) are suitable for tragedy in Complete Art of Poetry, (I, 199-201).

Page 8. 24. Act of Parliament...general Voice of People. It is possible to see a reference to the political situation of the early part of 1714 here, especially when the passage is considered in conjunction with the praise of King William (p.66-67, below).

Page 9. 4-5. should be founded on such Morals as may affect the General Audience. The drama of his own time, Gildon feels, instead of pointing the moral that we should regulate our passions, makes a capricious Fortune the providence behind the action [Preface to Phaeton, sig. (b)3v] . Historical and semi-historical plays especially are apt to neglect this general moral for the particular details of the hero's life (see below, pp.65-66).

Page 9. 11. Nor must the yielding to the Passions, etc. (On very evil characters in tragedy see below p.79). Gildon is here simply reciting the rules; this does not apply nearly as much to Jane Gray as to Rowe's other plays. In fact, one of the defects in Jane Gray is that no one seems wicked enough to justify the tragedy.

Page 9. 18. Old Baily and Bridwell. See Introduction, pp.ccxxx-ccxxxiii and below, p.42.

Page 9. 22. Mr. Banks. John Banks, The Innocent Usurper, or The Death of the Lady Jane Gray (1694). It is hard to see why Gildon did not find as much wrong with Banks' play as he does with Rowe's, but it is possible that he remembered the play with sympathy because, like his Patriot, it was prohibited.

Page 9. 23. nearer to Nature. Gildon means that the fable is better and the characters more natural. That Banks' play is closer to history than Rowe's would not have



impressed Gildon.

Page 9. 27. From the Depth of Despair and Guilt, etc. Gildon rightly puts a finger on a disturbing element in the play. Rowe's dependence on his language, one suspects, made him neglect details like this.

Page 10. 2. Connubial Love. This is the only kind of love that Gildon accepts, in his later criticism, in tragedy. In "An Essay at a Vindication of Love in Tragedies" (Miscellaneous Essays, 1694, pp.145-171) Gildon is willing to accept any kind of love provided it is noble and worthy of the characters in a tragedy. But his views changed. Love, or rather the revenge motivated by a thwarted love, is the moving force in Phaeton but the characters are man and wife. Love as depicted in most of the plays of his own time Gildon regarded as either immoral and hence unfit for tragedy or too trivial for tragedy. Courtship scenes, he said, were especially ridiculous in a serious drama. But the married love of Belvidera and Jaffair in Venice Preserv'd was admirable (Complete art of Poetry, I, 199-201).

Page 10. 12. Guilford's Friendship, etc. The noble sentiments expressed by the two rivals in love with the same woman show Rowe's dramatic talent at its best. Gildon is too much of a realist to accept the situation as probable, but the criticism is not valid. Rowe takes great pains to paint Guilford's character so that we are ready

for this divided loyalty.

Page 10. 20. Ben Johnson's Sponge.

Nothing in our Age, I have observ'd, is more preposterous, than the running Judgements upon Poetry, and the Poets; when wee shall heare those things commended, and cry'd up for the best writings, which a man would scarce vouchsafe, to wrap any wholesome drug in; hee would never light his Tobacco with them. And those men almost nam'd for Miracles, who are yet so vile, that if a man should goe about, to examine, and correct them, hee must make all they have done, but one blot. Their good is so ingentled with their bad, es forcibly one must draw on the others death with it. A Sponge dipt in Inke will doe all:

-----Comitetur punica librum  
Spongia.

Et paulo post,  
Non possunt...multae, una litura potest.

(Timber, or Discoveries. Jonson, Works, edited by C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947, VIII, 581-582). Gildon could have gone on and suggested that the book be sent on a rainy day to let nature do the washing (Martial, III, c). (This is repeated on pp.70 & 75 below.)

Page 10. 23-24. the Whore found more Favour with the Town, than the Saint. The depravity of Rowe's characters comes in for much satirical comment below, pp.89-92. But Gildon here implies that both the whore and the saint are by their natures characters unfit for tragedy.

Page 10. 24. the constant Similes upon Surprizes.  
See pp.87-88, below.

Page 10. 26. strange out-of-the-way Thoughts and Expressions. A natural result of the desire to write fine descriptions. Gildon attacks several expressions of Rowe's specifically, below, pp.84-85.

Page 11. 1. Mr. Young's Poem. The Force of Religion was published in 1714. There is no evidence that Rowe used this poem.

Preface

Page 12. 12. a rigorous Execution of the Laws.  
Gildon would like to have the critic exercise magisterial powers (See "Remarks," p.3, above). Both Bays (pp.88-89, below) and Dapper (pp.56-57, below) are not very enthusiastic about critics. Gildon sees the critic's mission as almost as important as the poet's. But criticism in England has languished: Sidney, Jonson, Roscommon, Dryden, Rymer and Dennis are named in the Laws of Poetry (pp.61-62) and Buckinghamshire is held up as the greatest of the English critics. While it is true that there are some critics who seek to find only faults or only beauties, this is not true criticism (Complete Art of Poetry, I, 146-147). True criticism is a noble art and is resented only by libertines who want no rules, who delight in a "Mess of Madness, that is most plausibly cook'd up by the Players, and goes best down with the MOB" ("Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," p.xii). Gildon attacks the Tatler's frequent jibes at critics by observing that the whole Tatler is a criticism of life and letters (Complete Art of Poetry, I, 114). For a discussion of the defenders and detractors of critics see Green, p.59ff.

Page 12. 23. After "in Defense of it" Gildon quotes Shaftesbury's Characteristicks, London, 1732, III, 164-165.

Page 13. 6. Gildon omits the word "Performers" after "Authors."

Page 13. 13. After "Woods" [sic] Gildon begins to quote from Shaftesbury's Characteristicks, III, 272-282. The quotation continues to p.20, omitting Shaftesbury's footnotes.

Page 19. 4. The 1732 edition of Shaftesbury does not separate "Dionysius Halicarnassus" into two names.

Page 19. 21. The brackets are Gildon's; Shaftesbury has a footnote (III, 281).

Page 20. 11. after "expressed" Shaftesbury has "in these volumes" and a footnote reference.

Page 20. 17. The quotation from Shaftesbury ends after the word "Poet."

Page 20. 24. A quotation from Shaftesbury (Characteristicks, I, 232-236) begins with "Odi Prophanum" and continues to p.23.

Page 23. 23. Shaftesbury's quotation ends with "ever."

Page 24. 1. A new quotation from Shaftesbury (Characteristicks, I, 264-265) begins with "Our modern authors" and continues to p.25.

Page 25. 4. The Shaftesbury quotation ends with the word "traffic."

Page 25. 19. Dialogue. Gildon had tried dialogue

before, with little success, in his Life of Betterton (1710) and tried it again, with even less success, in the Complete Art of Poetry (1710).

Page 25. 27. Si Natura nequit. Juvenal, Satire I, 79. G. G. Ramsay (Juvenal and Persius, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940 [Loeb Classical Library], p.8) translates: "Though nature say me nay, indignation will prompt my verse."

A New REHEARSAL, OR, Bays the Younger.

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ACT I.

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Facing page 27. Freeman and Truewit are not any easier to tell apart in the dialogue than they are in Gildon's description of the characters here. Truewit displays as much learning as Freeman and Freeman as much wit as Truewit. The others are sharply characterized, however, and agree with Gildon's dramatis personae.

Pages 27 & 28. Gildon directly imitates the Rehearsal only in the first two pages of the dialogue.

Page 27. 4-5. disenza'd from all the Impertinence, etc. In the Rehearsal (ed. Montague Summers, Stratford-on-Avon, 1914, p.1) Smith has just returned from the country and Johnson wants to tell him about "the impertinent, dull, fantastical things, we are tir'd out with here."

Page 27. 15. grave Sot.

Johns. I love to please myself as much, and to trouble others as little as I can: and therefore do naturally avoid the company of those solemn Fops; who, being incapable of Reason, and insensible of Wit and Pleasure, are always looking grave, and troubling one another, in hopes of being thought men of Business.

Sm. Indeed, I have ever observed, that your grave lookers are the dullest of men. (Rehearsal, p.2.)

Page 28. 17. such a Race of Poets, etc. Gildon does not specifically apply this criticism to the new group

at Button's, but this passage occurring so soon after the reference to Button's serves to indicate further that Gildon was not interested in ingratiating himself with that group, however Whiggish he was and however interested in Addison's good opinion.

Page 29. 4. chiming Faculty of a Language. See below, p.59.

Page 29. 5. Wit and Fancy. Gildon opposes "wit" and "fancy" and also "genius" with "judgment." (See p.33, below).

Page 29. 21. Capricious and Odd. On novelty, see below p.57.

Page 29. 23. Nature. See pp.91-92, below.

Page 29. 25. Grotesque Painters. The droll pieces of the Dutch follow "nature," using that word in the loosest possible sense ("Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," p.ix).

Page 30. 4-5.

What Things are these who would be, Poets thought,  
By Nature not inspir'd, nor Learning taught?

(An Essay on Poetry, by the Right Honourable the Earl of  
Mulgrove, London, Printed and Sold by H. Hills, 1709,  
p.11). In the Laws of Poetry (pp.222-223) Gildon comments  
on these lines:

What THINGS are these? may seem a very severe  
criticism to our taking poetasters; yet it is  
extremely just, and expresses a judicious in-



dignation against the impudent presumption of those worthless scribblers, who have so many years pestered our stage with their unnatural compositions, and yet would needs be thought poets, tho' they are not inspir'd by nature, nor taught by art. Nay, tho' they know not so much as the meaning of the very name they aspire to; for if they did that, they would plainly see how unqualified they were to pretend to it. If they knew that, they must be sensible that to be a smooth versifier, a tolerable grammerien, and a cabbler in tropes and figures, could never make them poets.

Page 30. 2. Sublime. In attempting to achieve sublimity by means of fine language the modern poet, Gildon feels, is apt to fail worse than at anything else. Instead of being natural and noble, the poet will become loud and unnatural and will forget that the language must be in proportion to the emotion. A "puffy, tumid" style is the result. [Preface to Phaeton, sig. (b)4v; Complete Art of Poetry I, 289.] As an example of the false sublime, Gildon cites Statius, who is full of sound and monstrous figures, while Virgil, though great and grand, is also easy and natural in expression (Preface to Phaeton, ibid.)

Page 30. 11. so plentifully stor'd with Opium. Ironically, in the 1694 Miscellaneous Essays (p.68) Gildon uses this phrase to describe the effect of Rymer's Edgar on himself. Gildon's opinion of Rymer was to go full circle.

Page 30. 13-16.

Our King return'd, and banish'd Peace restor'd,  
The Muse ran mad; to see her exil'd Lord;  
On the cracked Stage the Bedlam Heroes roar'd,  
And scarce cou'd speak one reasonable word:

(George Granville, Baron Lansdowne, Poems upon Several Occasions, London: Printed for J. Tonson, MDCCXII, p.176). This is from Lansdowne's "An Essay upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry" which Gildon reprints with commentary in the Laws of Poetry (p.305).

Page 30. 17. Almanzor. In Dryden's Conquest of Granada.

Page 30. 17-18. Maximins. In Dryden's Tyrannic Love. Gildon, as has been noted, is an admirer of Dryden but is not uncritical, especially of his plays.

Page 30. 19. Topicks, Reflections and Lines. A minor value of description is that moral reflections are sometimes contained in the sentiments expressed. This however does not justify prolonged descriptions. Shakespeare was good at "Topicks or Common Places" ("Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," p.v).

Page 31. 3-4. A Man of Letters. See Introduction, p.ccxiv.

Page 33. 3. The Ladies, etc. The ladies Gildon regarded as deficient both in education and natural talent to judge works of art. Also he felt that they exercised an unreasonable influence on the popularity of plays (see below, p.95). The theatre is a perfect instrument for the education of the ladies because fable is easier for them to understand than intellectual argument (Complete Art of

Poetry, I, 31). The ladies admire Bays (p.34, below) and Sawny advises the would-be poet to dedicate his poem to the ladies (p.60, below). For tears as an important factor in the success of a tragedy, see Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama. Cambridge: University Press, 1929, pp.24-25. Gildon had years before, in the History of the Athenian Society (1692), defended the ladies and discoursed at length on the learning that women were capable of (pp.26ff). Laudon, in the Complete Art of Poetry (I, 223) says to one of the female members of the symposium that he is not surprised to hear a lady say that she likes fine language, implying that women like fine language the way they like fine clothes.

Page 33. 8. Genius. Gildon devotes a considerable amount of space in the Complete Art of Poetry (I, 117ff) to refuting Sir William Temple's notion that there is something too "libertine" about genius to require that it follow literally the rules. Since all the value of poetry comes through its artistic nature, and since the rules are the means by which the art is created, it follows necessarily that a poem is successful in proportion to how closely it follows the rules. But, genius is a kind of "God" within the poet: "Without this warmth, verses are flat and insipid, and even the images, tolerably drawn, flat and untouching." (Laws of Poetry, p.76; see pp.73-76). Genius must be severely regulated, however; Gildon quotes Buckinghamshire's

lines:

As all is dullness when the fancy's bad;  
So without judgment, fancy is but mad:

(Laws of Poetry, p.77; Mulgrave [i.e., Buckinghamshire ],  
Essay on Poetry, op.cit., p.5).

Page 33. 16-24. Natura fieret, etc. Roscommon's version of the ars poetica appeared in 1680. Fairclough translates: "Often it is asked whether a praiseworthy poem be due to nature or to art. For my part, I do not see of what avail is either study when not enriched by Nature's vein, or native wit, if untrained; so truly does each claim the other's aid, and make with it a friendly league."

(Horace, Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica, Cambridge, 1936, p.485, [Loeb Classical Library] lines 408ff.)

Page 33. 29-30. if the obtaining these Perfections were troublesome to me. Gildon must have often wondered why the writer of his own time kept so busy at writing and produced so little of value while some of the older ones, like Etherege (whom Gildon admired) of the "noble laziness of mind," seemed to reach perfection with much less effort.

Page 34. 8-9. must none but civit-cats, etc.

What tho the Excrements of my dull Brain,  
Flow in a harsh insipid strain;  
While your rich head, eases it self of Wit.  
Must none but Civit Cats have leave to shit?

(Rochester's Poems, ed. James Thorpe, Princeton: University Press, 1950, p.4. This is from "An Epistolary Essay from

M. G. to O. B. Upon their Mutual Poems.")

Page 34. 13. What Plays have taken more, etc. Gildon is presumably thinking of Jane Shore mostly. By the date of the writing of the New Rehearsal, only Tamurlane and Jane Shore had had many performances (Nicoll, pp.351-352).

Page 37. 3. there may be Improvements, etc. One of the improvements which Gildon felt that the modern playwright had made was the introduction of love in tragedy (Miscellaneous Essays, p.160ff) but he later modified this view. The reason that the rules promulgated by Aristotle are fundamental is that they are based on nature and also on good models. The ancients based their principles on the tragedy of their time and the audience itself was learned and critical (Laws of Poetry, p.23). Gildon discusses the worth of the Greek poets in "For the Modern Poets against the Ancients" (Miscellaneous Essays, p.220ff), at which time he was still critical of Aristotle and the rules, and in the Preface to Phaeton, sig. (b)3v. See also Laws of Poetry, pp.9-11, 255-271, and on the Greek poets generally pp.23-30.

Page 37. 26-27. Their Statues is one Proof, etc. Gildon is fond of analogies with the other arts. Music and paintings are discussed in the Complete Art of Poetry, I, 26-28, and Greek sculpture and music in the Laws of Poetry, pp.24-25.

Page 38. 26. Fable. On the importance of the fable, see Introduction, pp.ccxxxiv-ccxxxvi. Gildon had worried a good deal about the importance of the fable in his Phaeton, and discusses his application of the rules in the Preface. The Preface to Libertas Triumphans (see Introduction, p.xci) justifies the design of the poem. The use of fable in the Bible is discussed in Complete Art of Poetry, I, 35-36, and in teaching women, p.31. The fullest discussion of the subject by Gildon is in the Complete Art of Poetry, I, 223-228; see also Laws of Poetry, p.236. In the "Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage" Gildon says that it is easier to succeed in language than in fable (p.xxxiii). The types of fable, simple and complex, and "discoveries" are discussed in "Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," pp.xliii-xlv. Gildon outlines Aristotle's Poetics (VI, 7ff) on the parts of tragedy as he does here in "Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," pp.xxx-lxiv.

Page 38. 26-27. any Play that is defective greatly in that, etc. All of Rowe's plays are, as Gildon indicates sufficiently in his discussions of them below. On the other hand, a play might be defective in some minor aspect, such as diction, and still be adequate (see "Remarks," p.6, above).

Page 39. 1. Manners. Gildon discusses the manners at length in the Complete Art of Poetry, I, 247-260. The

proper manners for the type of character represented is the most important point; once this is determined, the character must be kept consistent ("equal," as Gildon calls it). Probability is an important factor.

Page 39. 2-3. Good, that is, Well-mark'd, Convenient, Like, Equal and Necessary. Gildon repeats this list in "Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," p.xlix. Butcher translates the terms of Aristotle as good, proper, true to life, consistent and probable (Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, pp.53-54).

Page 39. 7. Sentiments. "Thus a Person of a given character should speak or act in a given way, but the rule either of necessity or probability; just as this event should follow that by necessary or probable sequence." (Poetics, XV.6. Butcher, op.cit., p.55).

Page 39. 11-12. of the least Consequence is the Diction. See Introduction, pp.ccxxxix. On description and simile, see pp.87-88, below. On rhyme and versification, see p.59, below.

Page 39. 17. Aristotle. See note, p.6, "Remarks."

Page 39. 22. recommending his Play to the Town. Fine language is liked most by the ignorant and the ladies (Complete Art of Poetry, I, 223). Bays (p.93) says that he builds his plays around the descriptions and (p.94) by reciting the most attractive descriptions prepares the way

for the play's success before the opening night. Gildon had detected this tendency to fine language in Lee's Lucius Junius Brutus (cf. Preface to the Patriot), and attempted to compromise in his adaptation of that play.

Page 40. 4. the End and Aim of Tragedy, etc. This is the exclusive function of tragedy. Gildon rejects the argument that such a limitation would deprive the dramatist of many good scenes (Complete Art of Poetry, I, 230). If anything else is excited save fear and compassion, the tragedy is at fault. Admiration, an emotion much argued about as suitable for tragedy, will not do, as Corneille found out in France (ibid., p.237). Other emotions, of course, enter into the action but only to ultimately move pity and fear. Admiration is too weak for a tragedy ("Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," p.xiii). A second object for a tragedy would hopelessly divide the attention of the audience and would cause confusion, just as the precepts of philosophy transplanted to mathematics would result in chaos (Laws of Poetry, p.169). See Introduction, p.ccxiii, and "Remarks," p.8.

Page 40. 10. Common or General Life of Man. History is interested in the particular; tragedy, in the general. This is a basic difference between poetry and other forms of writing, verse or prose being much less of a distinction (Complete Art of Poetry, I, 234-236).



Page 40. 16. not to stand upon Trifles. This is sarcasm and refers back to Sir Indolent Easie's remark on p.38, line 23.

Page 41. 5. Mistress or Wife Amestris. Artaxerxes and Amestris are not married at the beginning of the play and she is certainly not his mistress.

Page 41. 10-11. they might have seiz'd them by the king's Authority. Gildon may be right in suggesting that it was not necessary to seize Artaxerxes and Memnon in the temple, a sacrilegious act, but Rowe makes it clear that the Queen and her conspirators could not have seized them openly since a religious holiday with a general amnesty was in progress. Also the temple is quiet and secluded making it a better place for an unobtrusive act.

Page 41. 16-17. the Old Fellow at that odd Time, etc. Gildon's comment that Mirze does not bargain with Amestris on the basis of her husband's safety is just. Rowe's choice of a time for this intended rape seems even stranger when we note that he does not exploit the sadism of Mirza attempting to seduce a woman who thinks he has just killed her husband. This is the kind of structural defect that Rowe frequently falls into.

Page 41. 20-21. she by good luck finds a Dagger by his side. While the dagger is truly at hand "to help out every Bungler" (p.53, below), there is no reason why an

intriguer and conspirator, or for that reason any oriental official, would not carry one.

Page 42. 11. takes a streak to set them at Liberty. As an ambitious prince, Artaban is not very perceptive concerning the political state of Persia, but Rowe has made him strong in his desire to be honorable and this is not inconsistent with his character at all.

Page 42. 22-23. only to his own Public Conduct. This is of course true. Rowe's play fails dismally to be general, rather than particular, in its moral, if its moral can be determined.

Page 42. 25-26. Mirza's Lust, etc. This is true and Mirza (III, 3) admits that his lust for Amestris is a "foreign warmth." Rowe's intention, of course, is to add more to his villainy, but Rowe is least defensible on matters of plot.

Page 42. 27. had not Orchanes, contrary to the Honour of a Soldier and a Man, etc. Orchanes commits a senseless crime because it is certainly apparent that Mirza is dying and that his cause is lost. Perhaps Rowe is trying to show the blind obedience of the oriental soldier, but, if this is the case, it ought to be made clearer to the audience. Gildon discusses "senseless villainies" in "Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," p.xliv. The argument against this type of villain (Gildon considers Iago in this category) is not that their punishment does not

satisfy the audience but that they do not produce fear and pity (Dennis, Remarks upon Cato, Hooker, II, 53). See Introduction, p.ccxlv.

Page 43. 13-14. manak'd like a Fool. This is very true, though one suspects that the audience looked for the horrors and was not concerned with the poor plot.

Page 44. 10. Orchanes is not punish'd at all. This is probably the worst fault of the plot. Amestris has plenty of time to reveal the role of Orchanes in the affair but doesn't and Orchanes is not mentioned at the end of the play.

Page 44. 15-16. if the Poet had follow'd the Holy History more closely. The Old Testament story is by no means clear as to the succession to the throne of David. Adonijah is a popular choice, and though Bathsheba reminds the old king that he had promised the throne to Solomon, she does not defend this view as if it were a hereditary matter. Rowe is at least as clear about the events in Persia. In the Old Testament version Solomon is Bathsheba's son just as Artaxerxes is the son of the king by a former queen in Rowe's play. It is obvious that Rowe intended to embroider the story in transferring it to Persia and to the stage.

Page 44. 19. the first Book of Kings. Gildon uses the Authorized Version.

Page 49. 10. noble simplicity of the Narration.

Gildon admired Biblical literature and comments on it frequently in his various accounts of the rise of poetry ("Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," p.xx; Laws of Poetry, pp.14-15; Complete Art of Poetry, I, 31). Although he does not say so specifically, Gildon seems to believe that the rise of dramatic poetry and the higher forms generally in Greece came about because of the degeneration of society, which made corrective measures necessary, and presumably the Hebrew, having degenerated less, had the lesser need for more complicated literary forms.

Page 49. 13. same Revolution effected. It is true that there are no villains in the Bible story but there is more confusion about motivation and results. We do not know whether Adonijah is guilty of an attempt to usurn the throne of David or not.

Page 49. 22. since he has Translated the Scene, etc. Gildon here touches on a problem which he never faces boldly in the various discussions of historical material in the drama. If the playwright alters the history a great deal to make the action conform to the rules of art, the actual events of the hero's life may war in the audience's mind with the stage events and create a distraction. What Gildon means here is that Rowe has altered the play sufficiently that the audience will not be reminded of the

original story and that, having done this, he ought to have ignored the original story entirely and made the characters and action conform to the rules.

Page 49. 27. When Heroes knock their knotty Heads together.

When Heroes knock their knotty heads together,  
And fall by one another.

(Act I, Scene 1; 1701 ed., p.7).

Page 50. 5. Those open and unsuspecting Fools.  
"nothing gulls / These open, unsuspecting Fools, like  
Friendship; / Dull, heavy Things!" (I, 1).

Page 50. 13. professes himself a Knave, etc.  
Gildon exaggerates, as usual, but Mirza does shock the priest Magas unnecessarily by his cavalier attitude to religion (II, 2). Magas' chief concern, however, is not with the gods but with public opinion.

Page 50. 14. Rochfacaut. Gildon seems to refer to "A Blockhead has not Stuff enough in him to be good for anything." (Moral Reflections and Maxims, Written by the late Duke de la Rochefoucauld, London: Printed for D. Leach, 1706, p.158 (No. CCCLXXXVII ).

Page 50. 21. made his Priest so too. This seems a pointless criticism; the villain needs confederates.

Page 50. 24. The Devil a Barrel and better Herring. The word "devil" here is curious. The proverb should be "Neither" or "Never a Barrel better herring" (Morris P.

Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950, p.39). The idea is that it is difficult to make up your mind if all the barrels seem the same.

Page 50. 25. The queen's first Speech. See Introduction, p.ccxlvii. This character of the queen is supported later by her speech to Artaban in Act IV, Scene 1.

Page 51. 3. The concluding lines of the first Act.

Our glorious Sun, the source of Light and Heat,  
Whose Influence cheers the World he did create,  
Shall smile on thee from his Meridian Skies,  
And own the kindred Beauties of thy Eyes;  
Thy Eyes, which, could his own fair Beams decay,  
Might shine for him, and bless the World with Day.

These are the last lines of Act I, Scene 11. While these lines might be considered sacrilegious for a Persian who presumably worships the sun and stars, they are not "boyish" and might even be taken for oriental. They call to mind the fifth ghazal of Hafiz in which the poet says the mole on his mistress's cheek is worth more than Samarcand and Bokhara.

Page 51. 6. he talks of Memnon's having recourse to Arms, etc. This does not seem to be a valid criticism; Memnon presumably would take retainers with him into exile.

Page 51. 10. the queen and Artaxerxes call Names very handsomely, etc. See Introduction, pp.ccxlvii-ccxlviii.

Page 51. 14. let them take a Touch together pres-

ently. The lines Gildon refers to are:

Now let us start, and give a loose to Love,  
Feast ev'ry Sense with most luxurious Pleasure,  
Improve our Minutes, make 'em more than Years,  
Than Ages, and ev'n live the Life of Gods:  
If after this, Death or ill Fortune comes,  
It cannot injure us, since we already  
Have liv'd, and been beforehand with our Fate.

(III, 11). Just before this speech, Artaxerxes had called their love "virtuous" and immediately after he says:

The bands which hold our Love are knit by Fate,  
Nor shall decaying Time or Nature loose 'em.  
Beyond the limits of the silent Grave  
Love shall survive, immortal as our Beings;  
And when at once we climb yon azure Skies,  
We shall be shown to all the blest above,  
For the most constant Pair that e'er deserv'd  
To mingle with their Stars.

As usual, Rowe's lines are a mixture of the sensual and the spiritual, but they hardly deserve Gildon's censure here.

Page 51. 20. she tells him, asking pardon of her

Modesty. Amestris' lines are:

Oh let me sink upon thy gentle Bosom,  
And blushing tell how greatly I am blest.  
Forgive me, Modesty, if here I vow  
That all the Pleasures of the Virgin State  
Were poor and trifling to the present Rapture.  
A gentle warmth invades my glowing Breast,  
And while I fondly gaze upon thy Face,  
Ev'n Thought is lost in exquisite Delight.

Artaxerxes replies to this:

The Vernal bloom and fragrancy of Spices  
Wafted by gentle Winds, are not like thee.  
From thee, as from the Cyprian Queen of Love,  
Ambrosial Odours flow...

(III, 11). These sentiments, though pleasant, must have seemed modest and respectable by early eighteenth century

standards and it is not likely that Gildon's criticism was shared by many in the audience.

Page 51. 23. A noble Author to be encourag'd, etc. Gildon makes the point frequently that much of the literature of his own time is unsuited to Christian society and especially the society of virtuous ladies. The first twenty pages of the Complete Art of Poetry (volume I) is devoted to an attack on poetry in terms of Christianity. Gildon then goes on to show that only the abuses of the poet's art invite Christian censure and that poetry is an admirable way to inculcate Christian ideals in the young and in the ignorant (including all women). But the ladies do throng to the theatre to support bad plays (ibid, I, 31). See below p.95.

Page 51. 25-26. who thinks that he has just Murder'd her Father and Husband, etc. This is a valid criticism. If Rowe intends to make the crime worse this way (Mirza does say that he is desirous of revenge as well as lust), he fails to indicate this in the scene itself.

Page 52. 8. the very Scene of his struggling with her is Comedy. It is not comedy, of course, but it is not a scene particularly suitable for the majesty of tragedy. Gildon's reference to Volpone is meant to be belittling rather than critical. Volpone uses fantastic lures to win the lady, promising her the wealth of the Indies, including



unicorn's milk (Jonson, Works, ec. Herford & Simpson, V, 82ff Act III, Scene vii ).

Page 52. 11. betwixt her and Hastings. Act II, Scene I. Here the scene is even more improbable in some ways. We expect villainy in the Ambitious Stepmother but Hastings' sudden attack is without warning.

Page 52. 15-16. there is no manner of Reason, etc., i.e., it is a violation of poetic justice.

Page 52. 21. There is as little Reason, that Amestris or Artaxerxes, shou'd Die. The reason is, of course, that the play is a tragedy and a tragedy by Rowe's time required deaths. But Amestris dies in the complications of the plot and it would be certainly unsatisfactory for Artaxerxes to live on after her death. Their deaths represent another violation of poetic justice, however.

Page 53. 2. it moves only Horror and Satisfaction. One wonders if Gildon would not have excused the death of an innocent minor character on the grounds that this increases the guilt of a major villain. He does not discuss this, however.

Page 53. 4. and so is Impious. On poetic justice, see Introduction, pp. ccxxxvii-ccxxxix.

Page 53. 4. As for Memnon, etc. Gildon has a point here. At the beginning of the play accusation and counter-accusation fly about and Memnon does not appear as good as

he might. Later he gains stature and is one of the better characters, possibly the best, as the play goes on.

Page 53. 6-7. the Murder of Cleander. As we are not sure of Memnon's innocence in this affair at the beginning of the play, this incident might better be left out. Memnon's exile could have come about through political jealousy, which would have made his position less ambiguous in Act I. Memnon's exile also seems to be merely coincidental with that of Artaxerxes, which is not especially satisfactory.

Page 53. 20. Dagger. As has been noted, there is nothing strange about oriental officials carrying daggers, but the death of Artaxerxes seems unnecessary.

Page 53. 22. Rapin. Rapin regarded the English as a race inclined to a taste for blood on the stage (Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesie, London, Printed by T. N. for H. Herringman, 1674, p.111) and Rymer, in the Preface to this, tried to show that this taste applied to the stage only (sig.A5v).

Page 54. 8. I do not like his Language. See p.88, below.

Page 54. 15. I have no Hatred to the Man. This is largely true, I believe, though the sudden restoration of Rowe's popularity must have annoyed Gildon. On the other hand, Gildon may well have had a personal grudge against

Pope.

Page 54. 17-18. Irasci nostro non, etc.

Irasci nostro non debes, cerdo, libello.  
ars tua non vita est carmine laesa meo.

Walter C. A. Ker translates: "You should not be angry, cobbler, at my book. It was your trade, not your character, that was wounded by my verse." (Martial, Epigrams [II, xcix] Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930, I, 227 [Loeb Classical Library]).

Page 55. 2. I hope the Bill of Commerce will pass.  
The Whigs, of course, were against loosening the restrictions on trade with France. Dapper is here depicted as having Tory sympathies.

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ACT II.

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Page 56. 16. thanks to my own Industry, etc. From the beginning Sawny does not claim to have any ability as a poet.

Page 56. 22. If I had not written on Criticism, etc. On critics, see "Preface," p.12, above.

Page 57. 3. I appeared first in the Character, etc. Many of Dryden's prologues are critical. Gildon probably has in mind prologues like the one to Secret-Love, in which Dryden starts out by talking of the unities. Gildon himself did not do this in his plays, preferring to include his critical defense in a preface.

Page 57. 6. Rhime. See below, p.59.

Page 57. 17. Interest with the Powerful, etc. This is a theme in practically every one of Gildon's dedications.

Page 57. 21. Strangely Ridiculous. Whether this phrase refers to Sawny's ideas or to Sawny himself is not clear. One cannot help feeling, however, that Pope's unfortunate appearance occasionally provoked a subconscious resentment of him that preceded attacks on his work.

Page 57. 26ff. Novelty, Sir, etc. See Introduction,

pp.cclxi-cclxii. Most of the errors in Rowe's plays and Pope's Rape of the Lock can be laid to a desire to be different and to feed the capricious and vulgar audience something new. Gildon damns tragi-comedy, as we have seen, for attempting to reach two ends by two different means. Rowe's heroines are popular only because they are monstrous and because the like of them has never been seen on the stage before. The Rape of the Lock appeals because it is a strange and preposterous travesty of classical matters, compounded largely of a misuse of the idea of the mock-epic and a new language which Gildon calls "heroic doggrel" which results in a "heroic-Comical" form (below, p.59). (See also p.29, above).

Page 58. 7. Button's or Will's. See below, p.62.

Page 58. 23. Did not the Greek Poets lie on my Hand. Pope's Homer project was well launched by the date of the appearance of the New Rehearsal.

Page 59. 2. I hope a Man may Translate a Greek Author, etc. This is a reference to 16th and 17th century translations which were frequently poor and often from the French rather than from the original language. Josephus was done by Thomas Lodge in 1602 and Polybius by Christopher

Watson in 1568 (and later by Grimstone and Raleigh). Josephus and Polybius do seem an unusual choice of authors to make this point. Perhaps Gildon is trying to display his erudition.

Page 59. 11. a happy knack at Rhyme, etc. Rhyme Gildon regards as a pleasant but minor accomplishment of the poet and feels that it is often emphasized by sacrificing more important matters. The argument against rhyme is the argument against unusual language generally (such as simile). In the Complete Art of Poetry (I, 209) Gildon quotes from Buckingham's Essay on Poetry: "Or else, like bells, eternally they chime; / They sigh in simile, and die in rhyme." (See also p.33, above, where Sawny is said to be a very "harmonious" poet; there is a deprecating reference to "versifyer" in Complete Art of Poetry, I, 42).

Page 59. 19. Boileau. Gildon admires Boileau for helping to bring the rules into French dramatic poetry. He regarded Le Lutrin as correct mock epic. (Complete art of Poetry, I, 101).

Page 59. 19. Garth. Gildon also admired Garth and addressed the first letter of Miscellanea Aurea (1720) to his memory. Garth did not move to Button's with the

Whigs and later attempted to arbitrate the difficulties between Addison and Pope over the Homer. (See Introduction, p.cxxxv, and the letter from Gay to Pope of July 8, 1715 Elwin-Courthope, VII, 417-418, discussed by Sherburn, pp.143-144 ).

Page 59. 24-27. ----My Lord, etc.

-----My Lord, why, what the Devil?  
Z---ds! damn the Lock! 'fore Gad, you must  
be civil!  
Plague on't! 'tis past a Jest ---nay,  
prithee, Fox!  
Give her the Hair"

(Canto IV, lines 127-130. Twickenham Edition, II, 191).

Page 60. 6-7. Tragi-Comical. This is a defective type of drama because it does not have one purpose. Gildon criticizes Harlet, which otherwise he likes fairly well, for its comic parts (see Introduction, p.c-ci).

Page 60. 12-13. You must make the Ladies speak Bawdy. See the discussion of Amestris's speeches, pp.31-32 above, and of Jane Shore, p.75, below. Gildon in his later criticism adopts a sternly Christian attitude toward sexual morality on the stage (see above, p.33). Richmond P. Bond (English Burlesque Poetry, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932, p.76) among others objects to these equivocal lines in the Rape of the Lock and both Root (The

Poetical Career of Alexander Pope, Princeton: University Press, 1938) and Tillotson (On the Poetry of Pope, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950 [2nd ed.]) ignore the lines. They ought not to be ignored for, by some standards, they constitute a major flaw. Cleanth Brooks ("The Case of Arabella Fermor," The Well-Wrought Urn, New York: Reynal & Hitchcock [1947], pp.86-87) delicately argues for considering the lines as part of the sophisticated attitude to society of the group of which Arabella is a member. He goes on to say that Arabella would have been concerned about coarse masculine jests over the episode. Gildon's attention in the New Rehearsal would have certainly made her more concerned. But Pope did not omit these lines in the revision, and his concern in reconciling Arabella with the dedication to the revised edition suggests that he would have made changes if he had felt them necessary to make the poem acceptable to her. (See also Introduction, p.clii).

Page 60. 18-19. Oh! hadst thou Cruel, etc.

Oh hadst thou, Cruel! been content to seize  
Hairs less in sight, or any Hairs but these!

(Canto IV, lines 175-178. Twickenham Edition, II, 194).



These lines are not in the Race of the Lock (the first version).

Page 60. 23-24. Nor fear'd the Chief, etc.

Nor fear'd the Chief th' unequal fight to try,  
Who sought no more than on his foe to die

(Canto V, lines 78-79. Twickenham Edition, II, 201). On this metaphor see Chandler B. Beall, "A Quaint Conceit from Guarini to Dryden," MLN, LXIV (1949), 461-468.

Page 61. 23-24. The Name of a Celebrated Old Author,

etc. Dennis accuses Pope of this in his Reflections on the Essay on Criticism. The "Old Author," of course, is Wycherley, and the reference is to "To my friend Mr. Pope, on his Pastorals," published in Tonson's Miscellany (Hooker, I, 531). Gildon repeats this charge in his Memoirs of the Life of William Wycherley (1718), pp.16-17. It is a particularly insidious charge because, as Professor Hooker points out (I, 531), Pope did revise compliments paid to him in literary form. As for the ingratitude displayed here, Pope is accused five years after Gildon's death in Pope Alexander's Supremacy (by Duckett?) of writing a satire on Wycherley and of being generally ungrateful to benefactors. There is no evidence of the satire but Professor Sherburne says that Pope outgrew Wycherley as a poet and possibly made

some slighting remarks about his poetry (pp.151-154).

Page 62. 7. there are Two Parties of WITS, etc. This passage commenting on Pope's ready acceptance of the friendship of Addison and Steele and his drift to the society of Swift and Gay must represent the general opinion of Pope of the hostile group at Button's.

Page 62. 20. if ever the Pretender, etc. Pope was never seriously taken as a Jacobite, but the charge was an obvious one to make of any Catholic.

Page 62. 27. this is the best Play, etc. On Sawny's review of Jane Shore, see pp.77-78, below.

Page 63. 18-19. Committees of Election. This seems a general reference to the right of Commons to settle disputed elections, a right which Commons held into the 19th century.

Page 63. 24-25. Fable, Manners, Sentiments and Diction. On the fable see p.6, above. In the Complete Art of Poetry (I, 247-260) Gildon discusses the manners at some length. Consistency of character is desirable because the short time allotted to tragedy makes change improbable; this makes fictitious characters more adaptable to the needs of the author. Consistency of character includes the factor of

climate: English manners ought not to be exhibited in a hot climate, and Gildon recommends old "Saxon" subjects for a truly English tragedy. The sentiments Gildon spends much less time on. They reveal the passions. Even in the Complete Art of Poetry Gildon's treatment is perfunctory (I, 261) and a paraphrase of Aristotle. (See also "Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage," pp.lv-lvi). On the diction, see Introduction, pp.ccxxxix-cxxlii).

Page 63. 25. Nature. See below, p.91ff.

Page 64. 9-10. he's Writing a Play of the Lady Jane Gray. Pope wrote an Epilogue for Jane Gray, which was not used, possibly because of an objection by Mrs. Oldfield (see Ault, op.cit., pp.136-138).

Page 64. 16-17. Mr. Bays himself, wou'd give him a lifting Hand. This may have been a rumor or may be simply malice on Gildon's part. There is no other evidence of rumors that Pope and Rowe were to collaborate on a major literary effort. Pope knew Rowe well after 1713 (Elwin-Courthope, X, 110) and was acquainted with him by 1707 (Ault, op.cit., pp.128-130).

Page 64. 22-23. But to write Plays, etc.

But to write Plays! why 'tis a bold pretence  
To Judgment, Breeding, Wit and Eloquence;

Mulgrave, [Fuckinghamshire] op.cit., p.19. Gildon comments on the last line in the Complete Art of Poetry (I, 209):

"In this last line his Grace has sum'd up the four qualities that are absolutely necessary in a dramatic poet, since there can be nothing fine, nothing worthy of applause, nothing perfect without them." Especially does the poet need judgment, says Gildon, to form the fable and breeding to know the proper manners.

Page 65. 20. That is, he writing a Dramatic Poem, etc. Rowe simply says that he is going to take Tamerlane as his theme as Virgil took Aeneas; he does not say that he is going to imitate the manner or practice of Virgil. Gildon has in mind that the epic is a looser form than tragedy.

Page 66. 2-3. the Antients propos'd a Moral. Any poet interpreting an historical character on the stage is apt to fall into this error, because history is particular, not general, and the events in the life of an extraordinary historical character are apt to be, even if true, improbable on the stage. In any case, starting with the character rather than with the moral to be illustrated by the character

is a fundamental error on the poet's part. (See Introduction, p.ccxv).

Page 66. 11. the Impulse of violent Passions, etc. It is the purpose of tragedy to regulate, not to eliminate, these passions. Gildon amplifies this in the Laws of Poetry, pp.150-151, but his treatment of catharsis is never adequate. He seems to feel that the term does not need explanation. On the moral aspects of tragedy, see Introduction, pp.ccxviiff).

Page 66. 19. an Imitation of an Action that is Great and Grave. Gildon has as little to say on imitation as he has on catharsis. On other aspects of the action such as unity he says a great deal more. In the "Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage" (p.xxix) he paraphrases Aristotle's dictum as he does here.

Page 66. 24. King William. Tamerlane was played annually at Drury Lane on November 5th, the anniversary of William III's landing and the Gunpowder Plot, until 1815. Rowe valued the play most of all his dramatic productions (DNB, s.v. "Rowe").

Page 67. 6-7. taking the Mark of the Scarlet Whore. In Gildon's religious progress from the Catholicism of his

youth through deism to the Protestantism of his mature years, he is militantly anti-Catholic from the time of his abandonment of Catholicism to his death.

Page 67. 19. Critics. On the function of the critic see Preface, sig. A2r.

Page 67. 26-27. the Part of Tamerlane may be taken out. This is scarcely true, although the plot of Rowe's play is very loose and there does not seem to be any one direction the action is taking. If there were just one action, it would be easier to determine what character is essential and what is not. In the "Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage" (c.xli) Gildon states the rule which he is applying here: "whatever can be put in, or left out, without causing a sensible Change, can never be part of the action. This is a sure Rule to distinguish the true Episodes from the False."

Page 68. 5. here are two very Unfortunate Characters, etc. On Poetic justice, see Introduction, p.ccxxvii.

Page 68. 9-10. for the Dogs and the like names. Noble characters cannot indulge in "portlerly" language on the stage without introducing an impropriety into the play (see Introduction, p.ccxlvi). This is an aspect of

the general problem of decorum (see Introduction, p.ccxixff).

Page 68. 10-11. There is a Play written on this Subject by one Mr. Saunders. Charles Saunders' Tamerlane the Great (London, Printed for Richard Bentley and M. Magnes, 1681). Saunders' play is closer to history than Rowe's but it is not a very good play. The character of Bajazet in it is more moderate.

Page 68. 23. what an impossible Incident, etc. Gildon is correct in regarding this scene as unlikely, but the general looseness of the structure of the play makes it extremely difficult to decide what is useful to the action and what is not. Rowe's technique is to concentrate on the episode and to let the design of the whole play become merely a totality of the episodes.

Page 69. 7. what is out of Nature, etc. On nature see Introduction, pp.ccxivff and p.91, below.

Page 69. 13. the Author has endeavour'd to imitate Milton's stile, etc. Rowe's language, though imaginative and occasionally very moving, is not much closer to Milton's than it is to Shakespeare's.

Page 69. 24-25. that you may not favour Pretenders. On Halifax and the poets who enjoyed his patronage see

Introduction, pp.ccxiv.

Page 70. 6. the Biter. This was the only one of Rowe's plays which was not reprinted immediately on the revival of his fame.

Page 70. 12-13. a Sponge dipt in Ink. See "Remarks," p.10.

Page 70. 15. Ulysses. It is hard to see why Gildon likes this play the best of all of Rowe's works. Possibly it is because the scene is classical and Rowe has taken some fewer liberties with the main character than he has in Tamerlane and Jane Shore.

Page 70. 20-21. He has taken all Ithaca for his Scene. On unity of place, Gildon says little but what is here (see above, p.6).

Page 70. 23-24. Kings with the Manners of Scoundrels or Porters. On propriety of language see Introduction, pp.ccxlviff.

Page 71. 20-21. built on a much better play of Massinger's, etc. Gildon seems to have been the first to note this source for the Fair Penitent. Again, Rowe's structure is poor, but his gift for language carries many scenes. The logic of Massinger's plot is much superior to



Rowe's.

Page 72. 18. A Prologue sent to Mr. Bays. This is as close as Gildon ever gets to satiric verse. The result is a little heavy, to say the least.

Page 75. 9. a Sponge dip'd in Ink. See "Remarks," p.10, above, and p.70, above.

Page 75. 12-13. Men of Polite Parts never mind it. This is perhaps a gentle jibe at Sir Indolent Easie as well as a reflection true to the character of Sawny. Gildon constantly chides the great with their tolerance and encouragement of inferior literature.

Page 75. 22. the Players. See below, pp.94-95.

Page 75. 23-24. he longs to repeat some Lines of his to you. On Rowe reading and reciting his own lines, see below, p.85.

Page 76. 7. Lapland. Spectator No. 366 (April 30, 1712) had contained translations of songs of Lapland. Gildon is not here condemning primitive poetry utterly; he recognizes it as a legitimate stage of poetry and seems inclined to think that much later poetry represents a degeneration from the early state. In the Laws of Poetry (pp.103-104) he praises David's elegy on the death of Saul and Jonathan.

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ACT III.

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Page 77. 16-17. Have you not seen a Review of Jane Shore? The most likely candidate for this review is A Review of the Tragedy of Jane Shore, consisting of observations on the Characters, Manners, Stile, and Sentiments, London, Printed for J. Roberts, 1714. This is ascribed to Dennis in "John Dennis, the Sheltering Poet's Invitation to Richard Steele" (1714), which has been ascribed to Swift (Williams rejects it completely [The Poems of Jonathan Swift, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937, III, 1098]). Hooker does not think A Review of Jane Shore is by Dennis (Hooker, II, 458). The review is flattering enough to have been written by Sawny Dapper and it makes a critical principle of ignoring "pedantic" critics and concentrating on the characters and beauties rather than the fable. Most of the passages Gildon criticizes in the New Rehearsal are extolled in this review. It does not say that Rowe's play is better than any of Euripides, however, as Sawny indicates (pp. 62-63, above). Nor does the Review seem to be by Pope; there is a literal and very pedestrian translation of Horace's second Epistle included which is in sharp contrast to

Pope's rendition of the same poem.

Page 78. 15-16. such Beauties of the Poet, etc. Gildon uses the word "beauties" and nowhere recognizes the ambiguity of the term in the criticism of his time. Gildon uses it to mean design and the proper wedding of moral sentiment to action but Dapper presumably means here only the poetic beauties which are the result of fine language.

Page 79. 14-15. the Foundation of many Ancient Tragedies, etc. The ancient tragedy that Gildon has the most trouble with is Euripides' Phaedra, and the manner in which he disposes of criticism of it is indicative of his general approach to criticism of ancient tragedies. See below, p.80.

Page 80. 2. the Phedre of the Antients, etc. Gildon in several places denies that Euripides' Phaedra is an improper character for tragedy (Complete Art of Poetry, I, 37; Laws of Poetry, p.229). Her role in the play is determined by the gods and her sins are a punishment from the gods, and the fault, if there is one, is in the difference between the Greek system of religion and the Christian one. On this basis Gildon praises Euripides'

play but rejects Seneca's and Edmund Smith's, as we see.

Page 80. 16. Mr. Smith. Smith's Phaedra and Hippolitis was given at the Haymarket in 1709 and "pleased only the critics" (Stephen Jones, Biographia Dramatica, London, 1812, III, 140-141).

Page 80. 21. Helen. This legend has been current since the time of Stesichorus. The real Helen was wafted through the air by Hermes to Egypt (Herodotus, II, 112-120) and Paris carried off to Troy only a phantom. (H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, London: Methuen, [1928], p.249, note 7; Seyffert's Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, revised and edited by Nettleship & Sandys, London: Glaisner, [n.d.,] p.273, col. 1). Gildon mentions Stesichorus in the Laws of Poetry (p.26) but could have learned the legend in a number of different accounts.

Page 80. 27. May not Circumstances, etc. Dapper is arguing better than he knows here, of course, because an audience not so conscious of the rules as Gildon is would not be immune to the pathos of such a situation, as Rowe well knew.

Page 81. 5. No bright Quality, etc. See Introduction, pp.ccliii-cclvii.

Page 81. 8-9. her Station of Life was too low. See Introduction, pp. ccxxviii-ccxxxii.

Page 82. 14-15. the Ladies have been us'd at late to such Food, etc. This is a constant complaint of Gildon's. But in answering Collier in the Preface to Phaeton (1698) Gildon charges that he has insulted the ladies of England by his violent criticism of the plays they regularly attend.

Page 82. 27-83. 1-6. 'tis true the Royal Edward, etc.

'Tis true, the Royal Edward was a Wonder,  
The goodly Pride of all our English Youth;  
He was the very Joy of all that saw him,  
Form'd to delight, to love, and to persuade,  
Impassive Spirits, and angelick Natures  
Might have been charm'd, like yielding human  
Weakness.  
Stoop'd from their Heav'n, and listen'd to his  
talking.

(I, 11; 1714 ed., p.9). Gildon's criticism of this and the following passages is just, but Rowe is not pretending to observe Gildon's standards.

Page 83. 15ff. My Form alas! etc.

My Form, alas! has long forgot to please;  
The Scene of Beauty and Delight is chang'd,  
No Roses bloom upon my fading Cheek,  
Nor laughing Graces wanton in my Eyes;  
But haggard Grief, lean-looking sallow Care  
And pining Discontent, a rueful Train,  
Dwell on my Brow all hideous and forlorn.

(I, 11; 1714 ed., p.10).

Page 84. lff. Mark by what partial Justice, etc.

The entire passage reads:

Why should I think that Man will do for me,  
What yet he never did for Wretches like me?  
Mark by what partial Justice we are judg'd;  
Such is the fate unhappy Women find,  
And such the Curse intail'd upon our kind,  
That Man, the lawless Libertine, may rove,  
Free and unquestion'd through the Wilds of Love;  
While Woman, Sense and Nature's easy Fool,  
If poor weak Woman swerve from Virtue's Rule,  
If strongly charm'd, she leaves the thorny way,  
And in the softer Paths of Pleasure stray,  
Ruin ensues, Reproach and endless Shame,  
And one false Step entirely damns her Fame.  
In vain with Tears the Loss she may deplore,  
In vain look back to what she was before,  
She sets, like Stars that fall, to rise no more.

(I, 11; 1714 ed., p.12).

Page 84. 23-24. She sets, like that which does not set at all. This is an example of Gildon's critical approach at its heaviest.

Page 84. 28. he did me the Favour, etc. There is no evidence that Pope actually helped Rowe with any play, but Gildon may have heard that he had or may have felt that saying so would annoy Rowe.

Page 85. 5-6. Dumont's description. The anonymous author of A Review of the Tragedy of Jane Shore admired this passage as did Pope (Elwin-Courthope, IX, 473-474).

Page 85. 7-8. I wonder Jane did not immediately take Post to it. This is a valid criticism.

Page 86. 17-18. a lame Copy, etc. (The Man of Mode, or, Sir Fooling Flutter, II, ii, in The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege, ed. H. F. B. Brett-Smith, Oxford: Blackwell, 1927, II, 216ff). Needless to say there is no real resemblance. Etherege is witty and sardonic about marriage, Alicia, passionate and morbid. Gildon is being sarcastic, implying that such a scene is suitable only for comedy.

Page 86. 21. the Chances. The resemblance is small between Rowe's scene and the scene in the Duke of Buckingham's revision of Fletcher's play, which is somewhat closer to Rowe than the original (The Chances, IV, 1. [1705 ed., pp.40-41]). Buckingham's scene is comic; Rowe's, while not convincing dramatically, is a scene of reproach and passion. Gildon is being sarcastic again.

Page 87. 5-6. she is begging for a piece of Bread, etc. The passage reads:

O Noble Gloster, turn thy gracious Eye,  
Incline thy pitying Ear to my Complaint,  
A poor, undone, forsaken helpless Woman,  
Intreats a little Bread for Charity,  
To feed her Wants, and save her Life from  
perishing.

(IV, 1; 1714 ed., p.28).

Page 87. 15. Dumont. Dumont is neglected in the last part of the play, but the audience is not apt to notice this unless, like Gildon, they analyze the play after the performance.

Page 87. 20. the Old Ballads of Jane Shore.

Sutherland (Nicholas Rowe, Three Plays, London: Scholartis Press, 1929, p.348) lists some of these: "Beawtie Dishonoured, written under the title of Shore's Wife" (1593); "A New Ballad of King Edward and Jane Shore" (1671); "The Woful Lamentation of Jane Shore" n.d.; "The Unfortunate Concubines, Fair Rosamond and Jane Shore" (1708). In the Mirror for Magistrates (ed. Lily B. Campbell, Cambridge: University Press, 1938, pp.371-376) is the poem "Howe Shores wife, Edwarde the fowerthes concubine, was by king Richarde despoyled of all her goodes, and forced to do open penance."

Page 87. 21. making Simile's in the midst of a Passion. Similes in the midst of a passion and on surprises are the rule as it is established in the Rehearsal II, iii, (ed. Montague Summers, Stratford-on-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1914, p.22):



Bayes... Now, here, she must make a simile.

Smil. Where's the necessity of that Mr. Bayes?

Bayes. Because she's surpris'd. That's a general Rule, you must ever make a simile, when you are surpris'd; 'tis the new way of writing.

The simile here has very little to do with the action and it is Gildon's complaint that the similes of his own day tended to stress fine language at the expense of the flow of the action. In "An Essay at a Vindication of the Love-Verses of Cowley and Waller" (Miscellaneous Essays, 1694, pp.209-220) Gildon says that similes cannot be unnatural in the expression of love because love has no natural expression. The thoughts of a man in love are extravagant or impossible and his language is likely to be so (pp.218-220). But Gildon later rules love out as a suitable passion for tragedy and is against the simile where it could not occur in "nature." Gildon discusses simile and fine language at length in the Complete Art of Poetry, I, 290-292. (See above, p.42).

Page 87. 23-26. Let no nice Sir, etc.

Let no nice Sir despise our hapless Dame,  
Because recording Ballads chaunt her Name;  
Those venerable ancient song-Enditers,  
Soar'd many a Pitch above our modern Writers.

(Prologue, Dramatic Works of Rowe, London 1720, sig. A6r).

Page 88. 8. Linsey Woolsey. This phrase is in The Chances, I, ix (in both Fletcher's and Buckingham's version). It is defined as "neither one thing nor the other and so, irregular" (E. K. Chambers, ed., in The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Variorum Edition, London: G. Bell, 1912, IV, 460). Gildon repeats this phrase in the Complete Art of Poetry, I, xiv.

Page 88. 9. many of Shakespear's Words. "He owns he had the mighty Bard in View" (Prologue, Dramatic Works of Rowe, London, 1720, sig. A6r). It is difficult to detect any particular imitation of Shakespeare's style in Rowe's play. Rowe does attempt to imitate Shakespeare's manner and his extravagance of language.

Page 88. 11-12. he has directed the Dress, etc. This is the only reference to this that I can find. Sutherland (op.cit., p.348) quotes Gildon on this but does not add any more information.

Page 88. 19. On the best Stile, etc. On style, see Introduction, pp.ccxixff.

Page 88. 21. Cato. One suspects that a desire to please Addison is one important factor in Gildon's praise of Cato. The play is open to criticism on some of Gildon's

usual grounds, but the propriety of it would have made Gildon like it even if he had not had the desire to please an important writer and Whig.

Page 89. 11-31. I met her, etc.

I met her, as returning  
In solemn Penance from the publick Cross.  
Before her certain Rascal Officers,  
Slaves in Authority, the Knaves of Justice,  
Proclaim'd the Tyrant Gloster's cruel Orders,  
On either side her march'd an ill look'd Priest,  
Who with severe, with horrid haggard Eyes,  
Did ever and anon by Turns upbraid her,  
and thunder in her trembling Ear Damnation.  
Around her, numberless the Rabble flow'd,  
Shouldring each other, crowding for a View,  
Gaping and Gazing, Taunting and Reviling;  
Some Pitying, but those, alas! how few!  
The most, such Iron Hearts we are, and such  
The base Barbarity of Human Kind,  
With Insolence and lewd Reproach pursu'd her,  
Hooting and Railing, and with Villainous Hands  
Gathering the Filth from out the common Ways,  
To hurl upon her Head.

(V, 1; 1714 ed., p.52). Gildon omits the line "With Insolence and lewd Reproach pursu'd her."

Page 90. 1. Granny. I can find no record of this character, but Gildon at one time had some interest in the low life of the town, probably because of his acquaintance with Tom Brown.

Page 90. 19. Million. Shakespeare uses this word frequently enough to make it impossible to identify any

particular passage as the one Bays has in mind. Gildon may be selecting a common word to show Bays' superficial imitation of Shakespeare.

Page 91. 5. Quidlibet audendi, etc. "Pictoribus atque poetis, / quidlibet audendi semper fuit aqua potestas." (Ars Poetica, 9-10). Fairclough translates: "'Painters and Poets,' you say, 'have always an equal right in hazarding anything.'" (Horace. Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, op.cit., p.451).

Page 91. 15. Betty Sands. I have found no reference to Betty Sands in other works than Gildon's. He refers to her again in Complete Art of Poetry, I, 201.

Page 91. 25. I am for Nature. Bays in the Rehearsal says "I despise your Johnson and Beaumont, that borrowed all they writ from Nature: I am for fetching it purely out of my own fancy." (I, 11; Summers's ed., op.cit., pp.16-17). This is what Bays means here. Gildon recognizes the looseness of the term. In the "Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage" (p.ix) he says: "Nature, Nature is the great Cry against the Rules. We must be judg'd by Nature, say they, not 'at all, considering, that Nature is an equivocal Word, whose Sense is too various and Extensive even to be able to

appeal too, since it leaves it to the Fancy and Capacity of every one, to decide what is according to the Nature, and what not. Besides there may be a great many things Natural, which Dramatick Poetry has nothing to do with."

In the Laws of Poetry (pp.168-169) Gildon is more detailed if not more sure of himself:

The word nature I own is somewhat equivocal; but whether you take it for that great plastic power that form'd all things, and rais'd this wonderful poem of the universe out of chaos and confusion into order, harmony, and number; or whether you take it for the reason of things, as when we speak of the law of nature, we mean the law dictated by human reason; or whether, in short, we mean by this term the nature of any particular art or science, that is the foundation of reason on which it is built; take it, I say, in any one of these senses, and we shall find it entirely of our side, and that the offenders in the particular so often mention'd, sin against nature as much as against art; for nature, in all these three senses, is inconsistent with confusion and absurdity; but the breach of these unities in tragedy cannot be without confusion, and the most monstrous absurdities. Whoever therefore does not strictly observe these rules, is condemn'd by nature, as well as art, to be a meer pretender, that is, a poetaster.

(See also the Introduction, pp.ccxxivff).

Page 92. 9. It has made my Booksellers, etc. All of Rowe's plays except The Piter were reprinted in 1714 in two volumes. His Poetical Works appeared in 1715. (CBEL,

II, 431).

Page 92. 14. I bring in her Husband in the last Act, etc. Rowe strives for pathos in this scene and likely it was effective on the stage, but it provides an emotional orgy rather than any effect calculated to advance a tragedy.

Page 92. 27. Chariot. The chariot is, of course, an anachronism for Edward's time. The O.E.D. gives Pepys as a source for an early use of it in the 18th century sense (1661).

Page 93. 9. to lessen Jane's Guilt. This would seem to be Rowe's intent with this scene and it does seem contrived. The scene seems especially unreasonable after her description of the glorious Edward earlier in the play. Gildon will not even give Rowe credit for a poor attempt to redeem his heroine.

Page 94. 2. the Town at the same Time. This is true, of course. The Rehearsal, although widely popular, did not seriously affect the course of Restoration tragedy.

Page 94. 21. these I repeat about to all, etc. Rowe had great ability at reading his own poetry. Mrs. Oldfield said that the best school she had ever known was "hearing Rowe read her part in his tragedies." (DMB, s.v. "Rowe"). On p.78, above, Rowe proceeds to read his own

poetry as soon as he enters the group, despite the fact that two strangers are present.

Page 95. 7. publish five or six sorts of Lives of Jane Shore. Sutherland (Three Plays, op.cit., p.347) lists: The Life and Character of Jane Shore; Memoirs of the Lives of King Edward IV and Jane Shore; The Life and Death of Jane Shore; The Whole Life and Character of Jane Shore. The Life and Character of Jane Shore ran to at least three editions in 1714.

Page 96. 18. If ever the English Court can produce a Richelieu, etc. Gildon constantly reminds his fellow countrymen that Richelieu reformed the stage in France by means of the Academy and that England ought to do the same (in the Laws of Poetry, [pp.50-51] we are told that poetry has declined in France since Richelieu's death and in the plans Gildon has for a British Academy he outlines a scheme to avoid the errors of the French system of regulation of the art of the writer. See above, "Preface," p.12ff).

Page 97. 5. There's not a thing, etc.

There's not a thing on Earth, that I can name,  
So foolish, and so false, as common Fame.

(Rochester's "An Epistolary Essay from M. G. to O. B. upon their Mutual Poems," Poems, ed. Thorpe, op.cit., p.6).