

# Conservative Propaganda in the Shakespearean Gothic of James Boaden

Jacqueline Penich

Thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements  
For the Master of Arts degree in Theatre Theory & Dramaturgy

© Jacqueline Penich, Ottawa, Canada, 2012.

### Abstract

The plays of James Boaden, an author all too often forgotten in the pages of theatre history, are usually dismissed by scholars as mercenary adaptations of popular Gothic novels for the stage. Boaden's plays of the 1790s—*Fontainville Forest* (1794), *The Secret Tribunal* (1796), *The Italian Monk* (1797), *Cambro-Britons* (1798) and *Aurelio and Miranda* (1799)—were certainly popular successes in their own time, but this should not discount them from serious consideration as aesthetic and ideological objects. In fact, these plays are intelligently wrought, using popular Gothic conventions to further a conservative ideology that was not originally associated with this genre. This fact has gone unrecognized by scholars partly because these plays have not been previously analysed for their dramaturgical structure as adaptations: Boaden borrows conventions from the Gothic, to be sure, but he also borrows dramaturgical techniques from Shakespeare. In so doing, Boaden harnesses both popular appeal and theatrical legitimacy to write Tory propaganda at a time when the stage was a key tool in the ideological war against France and French sympathizers in Britain.

Political threats, both domestic and foreign, were of ongoing concern in Britain in the years following the French Revolution. Immediately after 1789, the Gothic was ideologically charged in ways that promoted revolutionary thinking. Boaden's adaptation of the Gothic form responds to the revolution and the Reign of Terror by replacing the genre's iconoclasm with a strongly nationalist orientation, drawn, in part, from eighteenth-century Shakespeare reception, itself often strongly nationalist in tone. Boaden's plays are reactionary in that they comment on the current political situation, using allegory to play on the audience's emotions. In his first phase, Boaden depicts the demise of a villainous usurper, a scapegoat figure, but his second phase reintegrates the villain into domestic and social harmony. In so doing, Boaden serves as a

case study in the shifting attitude towards Britain's revolutionary sympathizers, the Jacobins, and illustrates the important use of the Gothic mode for conservative purposes. Boaden emerges, in this study, as a figure whose relevance to theatre history in this fraught period requires reassessment.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Introduction .....	1
Chapter 1. Domestic Disturbers: Discouraging Revolution in Britain.....	27
Chapter 2. Foreign Foes: Banding Together Against a Common Enemy .....	60
Conclusion.....	89
Bibliography.....	95

## Introduction

James Boaden is considered a minor figure in theatre history, remembered, if at all, for his biographies of some of the period's most famous actors and evoked, in passing, as an adaptor with a penchant for the Gothic. His plays have been almost entirely dismissed, even by the editor of his collected works, who concludes that they are only interesting in terms of "the questions they raise about the imaginative relationship between dramatic and novelistic versions of Gothic fiction" (Cohan xlv-xlv). Much of the little existing scholarly analysis of Boaden's plays has often slighted them as mere stage versions of popular Gothic romances, and not as achievements in their own right.<sup>1</sup> These analyses point out the practical problems and moral consequences of Boaden's approach to staging Gothic conventions but do not analyze the plays themselves on their own merits. The problem with both past and present scholarship on Boaden's plays is that it has not yet escaped the analytical framework of Gothic studies and has reinforced the idea that his plays are artistically derivative and commercially driven. However, understood in the light of close textual analysis, theatre history, and adaptation studies, Boaden's plays reward the attention that scholarship has, so far, withheld. This thesis argues that Boaden's plays illustrate a dramaturgy that is highly political and that draws particularly on Shakespeare to reinforce a conservative message.

One reason for the scholarly neglect of Boaden's plays is that they have been too strongly associated with the Gothic, a mode that has until recently not enjoyed much esteem among scholars, and within this underappreciated mode Boaden has been an especially underappreciated figure because he is seen as a follower rather than a leader. The Gothic refers to a popular form of fiction in which writers attempt to conjure fear and excitement in their audience (whether readers or spectators) through the use of a highly formulaic structure and recurring settings and

---

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Thorp, Ranger, Reno and Mydla.

subjects such as haunted and ruined abbeys or castles, dark forests, corrupt authority figures, tolling bells, and secretive pasts. After several centuries of neglect, there is now an emerging body of scholarship that theorizes and analyzes the Gothic, but while the mode is no longer maligned, Boaden has, so far, been taken at the estimation of his contemporaries. Their dismissive view, too often echoed by current scholarship, is belied by close attention to the plays themselves. While much scholarly attention has been paid to the analysis of the Gothic novel, very little over the past two centuries has been said about the Gothic drama.<sup>2</sup> The few analyses of Boaden's plays tend to take for granted biased eighteenth-century accounts of the dramas, enforcing the notions that Boaden regarded his work as comparable to Shakespeare's, and that he exploited the Gothic merely for profit. These notions have precluded analysis of Boaden's plays. Instead of analysing, for example, exactly *how* Boaden uses Shakespeare, scholars have merely brushed off such observations as Boaden's venal attempts to mimic the national poet.

Eighteenth-century critics often dismissed Boaden as an unskilled playwright who exploited the most popular cultural products of the time to benefit from their fame. Boaden's most judgemental critics were poets T.J. Mathias, Thomas Dutton and John Wolcot, all of whom wrote satirical poems deriding the dramatic literature of their time. Mathias's "The Grove" (1798) explicitly denounces Boaden's dramas as molestations of their source texts, particularly the novels of Ann Radcliffe:

Radcliffe, the incoherent and the wild,  
 Whom BOADEN, *gay deceiver*, first beguil'd:  
 Her works he ravish'd, gain'd his wicked ends,  
 And left her almost ruin'd with her friends. (57)

---

<sup>2</sup> The works of Montague Summers in the late 1930s, and Devendra P. Varma in the 1950s established the Gothic novel as a field of historical and analytical interest.

Mathias follows this phrase with a note that Radcliffe's writing had been "turned to the devil's purpose" by Boaden (57). Although the "devil's purpose" of this sentence is not particularly clear, one can assume, considering its context, that by profiting from Radcliffe's work, Mathias sees Boaden committing the sin of greed. Brewer relates that the status of a professional artist during the eighteenth century was "compromised by his using art to make a living, by sully[ing] good taste with foul mammon" (92). While Radcliffe herself earned an impressive sum from her novels, and was therefore not immune to imputations of mercenary motives,<sup>3</sup> Boaden's position as a playwright exacerbated the "devil's purpose" since the theatre, as an accessible form of culture to even the illiterate, was thought easily to spoil the moral character of its audiences (Brewer 93). Dutton, in his poem "The Literary Census" (1798), characterizes Boaden's plays with the same imagery of dismemberment used by Mathias. Dutton says that Radcliffe's novels have been "mangled, lopped, and distorted" by Boaden (100). Also recognizing Boaden's Shakespearean allusions, Dutton states that the "genius of Shakspeare [...] [is] not to be picked up and appropriated with the gleanings of obsolete phrases, uncouth expressions, and old sayings" (55). Dutton entirely misses the political implications of Boaden's Shakespearean allusions. Of the three poets, John Wolcot, writing under the pseudonym of Peter Pindar, is the most critical of Boaden. In "The Cap" (1795), Boaden becomes the winner of the personified Folly's 'cap', an item coveted by contemporary dramatists who aspire, in the poem, to be crowned the most foolish of all. This poem is the first printed material to give Boaden the nickname "Billy-the-go-by Boaden," insinuating that he believed himself better than "Billy" Shakespeare. Wolcot states that "Mr. B affects himself with the belief that his dramatic productions are not at all inferior to *Shakespeare's*" (11). Although Wolcot quotes Boaden as

---

<sup>3</sup> Robert Miles, in his bibliographic and critical account *Ann Radcliffe: The Great Enchantress*, notes that *The Mysteries of Udolpho* earned Radcliffe £500, while *The Italian* earned her £800 (8).

saying that “in a short time he shall give Billy (Shakspeare) *the go by*” (39), there is no other record of Boaden having said this, and future writers, such as Walley Oulton, would reference “The Cap” when calling Boaden “Billy-the-go-by.” It is a name that remains attached to Boaden.

Steven Cohan and Jacek Mydla are two of the few scholars who have contributed important analyses of Boaden’s plays, but these analyses, perhaps unconsciously, express sentiments similar to those of the eighteenth-century critics. In the introduction to *The Plays of James Boaden* (1980), in Garland’s Eighteenth-Century Drama series, Cohan concentrates on illustrating the differences between Boaden’s dramas and their sources material. He focuses on how the Gothic manifests on the stage according to the political and social conditions of the time.<sup>4</sup> Cohan’s observations are valuable, but he tends to focus inordinately on Boaden’s personality, stating that his plays led to a sense of vanity, which “may well have been a feature of his personality that enemies and competitors, friends and colleagues noticed all too well” (viii). While Cohan paints a well-rounded picture of Boaden and his writing, his comments concerning Boaden’s character tend to reflect the same sentiments found in the works of Boaden’s satirists.

Mydla, in an attempt to formulate a theoretical understanding of cultural recycling of the Gothic through Boaden’s plays, paints Boaden’s character in a similar fashion. After tracking the various reused Gothic elements through Radcliffe’s, Lewis’s and Boaden’s work in his article “Recycling the Spectre: James Boaden’s Stage Adaptations of the Gothic Romance and the Spectres of Literary Appropriation” (2011), Mydla states that Boaden “sought to capitalise on the morally dubious and rapidly degenerating literary form” (126). Mydla’s metaphors for adaptation, intertextuality, and allusion, though an attempt to describe the exact process, debase the value of the adapted work: “no matter what input stuff the literary recycler chooses to lay his

---

<sup>4</sup> The plays themselves are facsimile reprints of the original publications. There are also various reproductions of original manuscripts found in the Larpent Collection of the Huntington Library. It is unfortunate that Boaden’s plays were merely reprints as the original printing errors went unedited in this version.

hand on, he principally treats it as waste, out of which something new can and should be made, if only by the crude methods of crushing, pulling apart and soldering back together. The thus manufactured monster is perhaps the only real spectre which has ever haunted the Gothic” (127). Despite the degrading metaphor, Mydla has brought Boaden’s plays into a new academic light, making them a feature of his recent studies on the Gothic’s popular development in the theatre. The reliance on Gothic studies in the analysis of Boaden’s plays, while productive, has not shown everything that these plays can offer.

Boaden’s Gothic adaptations consist of five plays: *Fontainville Forest*, *The Secret Tribunal*, *The Italian Monk*, *Cambro-Britons*, and *Aurelio and Miranda*. Each of these is influenced to some degree by the period’s most popular theatrical genres of melodrama and the Gothic, by Shakespeare and the legitimate repertory that in theory, at least, were the special preserve of the patent theatres for which Boaden wrote, and, finally, by the fraught political context of the 1790s to which Boaden, like other playwrights, responded with an element of propaganda discernible in his plays. Boaden uses the Gothic to appeal to a mass audience while he alludes to Shakespeare to comment on political anxieties. These two major components of his dramaturgy point to two different, but not entirely separate, historical contexts. The first—the Gothic—develops in response to the rise of the minor theatres, drawing audiences away from the patents with spectacle and novelty. The second—allusions to Shakespeare for a political purpose—is not unique to Boaden’s work, but it has yet to be recognized in his dramas as a loyalist gesture. In his references to Shakespeare, Boaden responds directly to English political threats that developed as a result of the French Revolution. Depending on the political perspective, during the 1790s Britain was threatened both with internal threats in the form of English Jacobins and the external threat of Napoleon’s army as England engaged in war with post revolutionary France. At this time, the position of the patent theatres meant that they held a

responsibility to uphold governmental favour, despite the fact that they were unsubsidized and required the popularity of spectacular modes, such as the Gothic, for income. Boaden's plays directly suit the needs of the patented theatres at the time of their productions, but were, like many other productions of the time, slighted for this.

One reason for Boaden's low esteem among both his contemporaries and current scholars is his association with the 'low,' popular genre of the Gothic melodrama. While Gothic drama as its own generic mode has, until recently, been relatively invisible to academics, it has not been entirely forgotten by scholars of period drama, as it appears in critical and theoretical writings on melodrama. Although it is a genre that all too often connotes a theatre of "cheap and nasty thrills," as James L. Smith declares in his book *Melodrama* (66), melodrama is usually understood as being founded on the sentimental, musical plays of René Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt in France. But Frank Rahill, in his historical study *The World of Melodrama*, identifies melodrama's main features as being established in England, independent of Continental influence, in the plays of James Boaden and his contemporaries (104). Apart from being a drama in three acts with music—as it was defined at the turn of the nineteenth century with Pixérécourt's plays—melodrama is often understood today by Rahill's definition, to which Boaden's plays, most of which employ a classical five-act structure rather than nineteenth-century melodrama's three, indeed conform:

Melodrama is a form of dramatic composition in prose partaking of the nature of tragedy, comedy, pantomime, and spectacle, and intended for a popular audience. Primarily concerned with situation and plot, it calls upon mimed action extensively and employs a more or less fixed complement of stock characters, the most important of which are a suffering heroine or hero, a persecuting villain, and a benevolent comic. It is conventionally moral and humanitarian in point of view and

sentimental and optimistic in temper, concluding its fable happily with virtue rewarded after many trials and vice punished. Characteristically it offers elaborate scenic accessories and miscellaneous divertissements and introduces music freely, typically to underscore dramatic effect. (Rahill xiv)

Partly because of its impure structure and partly because it appealed to both the upper class and the uneducated by engaging the emotions, as opposed to the intellect, the rise of melodrama on the legitimate stage was seen by literary critics at the time as a desecration of English theatre. The melodramatic atmosphere of Boaden's plays was one of the reasons why some critics disapproved of them. In a response to *The Italian Monk* in *The Scientific Magazine* (1797), one critic argues that "This piece is prudently called by the author a *play*. Certainly it is neither tragedy, comedy, nor farce. It is formed without system, it is inconsistent with all the rules of the drama, it is beggarly in sentiments, and its characters are devoid of strength and colouring" (2:192). This critic degrades precisely those qualities that define Boaden's play as a melodrama in the terms set out by Rahill. But Boaden, as a playwright, was not always the root cause of malaise: one writer for *A New Catalogue of Living English Authors* (1799) blames the audience approval of such plays, noting that, "were a relish for performance of genius to become exclusively fashionable, he [Boaden] would find his time mis-spent in dramatic manufacture, as his commodities would no longer be marketable" (273). Part of this writer's criticism is against the audience's general approval of Boaden plays. These reviews exemplify the general distaste of critics for the theatre of the era dictated by the taste of the popular audience. The hybrid, parasitic nature of the plays created to gratify this taste is illustrated in "The Monster Melodrama," an image Jane Moody reproduces in her ground-breaking study of this period, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770-1840*. The political cartoon depicts a hybrid monster by the name of Melo-drama. It is an unrecognizable form, somewhat dog-like with three heads of the

theatrical practitioners Richard Brinsley Sheridan, John Philip Kemble and Joseph Grimaldi. Beneath it, contemporary playwrights suckle at the beast's breasts while it tramples on the plays of Shakespeare. Moody notes that "the grotesque maternity depicted here implicitly represents melodramatic authorship as a form of quasi-incestuous sexual deviance" (55, see figure 1). Although Boaden had the support of the general public, which tended to applaud his dramas, by writing in the hybridized form of the melodramatic, he had the double misfortune to be condemned by the critics and literary elite of his time, while at the same time being not sufficiently bad to be satirized and thus immortalized for posterity.



Figure 1. "The Monster Melo-Drama." Reproduced with permission from the British Museum

Boaden is often criticized for trying to out-Gothic the Gothic writers and out-Shakespeare Shakespeare. He has been unfairly cast in this light when in fact he tones down elements of the Gothic to legitimize them, and appropriates Shakespeare to accentuate certain characteristics of his plots. Whether Boaden's plays have been remembered as melodramas or Gothic dramas, they

have been continually dismissed for their spectacular appeal, as though this were something undesirable in plays written for performance. In *English Melodrama* (1965), Michael Booth suggests that Gothic dramas are melodramas of “the castle-dungeon-ghost variety, [and] the later bandit-forest-cottage sort” (68). Booth’s brief description outlines the very way in which scholars have come to identify the Gothic. The spectacular elements, described by Evans as “the full paraphernalia which identifies the Gothic,” include “banditti, caverns, dark forests, midnight bells, wild natural scenes, violent storms, and ‘ghosts’” (6). Evans also argues that these spectacular elements are an integral feature of Boaden’s plays, as he “undertook to out-Gothicize a novelist” (93). The concept of ‘out-Gothicizing,’ as it is used by Evans, points directly to the Gothic as a synonym for spectacle. Boaden, Evans states, “out-Gothicizes” Ann Radcliffe because he substitutes her “natural explanations of the supernatural” as he places an actual ghost on stage (93). Scholars have incorrectly allowed this feature of Boaden’s first drama to define his overall dramaturgy in all of his plays. Thorp uses the same term when describing Boaden’s alterations to Radcliffe’s novel in *Fontainville Forest* (97), and, in her historical account of the Gothic in *Gothic Literature 1756-1824* (2009), Carole Margaret Davison uses the term to describe the transition of Radcliffe’s novels to the stage:

Radcliffe’s novels generated an incredible impulse to Gothicize. No single playwright took such full advantage of that impulse as James Boaden, perhaps the most inventive playwright of his generation. Boaden radically adapted several of Radcliffe’s novels for the stage, to great acclaim. He effectively Gothicized Radcliffe by rejecting her use of the explained supernatural in favour of marvellous techniques and episodes. (140).

Davison, perhaps not realizing that Boaden had adapted only *two* of Radcliffe’s novels, seems to depend on Evans’ explanation of the playwright’s dramaturgical process of subduing the

psychological for the spectacular. She does not indicate that she realizes that Boaden did not appeal to the supernatural in his second Radcliffe adaptation.

While the spectacular was a fundamental component of a successful play in the 1790s, it is often the element of Boaden's works that is most criticized by scholars. Cohan concludes that the attempt at the spectacular (or the lack thereof in *Aurelio and Miranda*) is the driving force behind Boaden's adaptations. Cohan states that in transforming the personal story of the novel to the public spectacle of the drama, Boaden encountered several problems regarding the ideological associations with the forms he sought to use, which, Cohan argues, helps to explain "the weaknesses of Boaden's plays" (lvii). These dramas, in fact, only seem "weak" if looked at solely under the lens of spectacle, which many of Boaden's critics tend to do. According to Mydla, in *Spectres of Shakespeare: Appropriations of Shakespeare in the Early English Gothic* (2009), Boaden "caters to the public taste in a manner which, one might say, shows him capable of hunting artistic bargains in order to attain both popular success and critical acclaim while remaining inoffensive" (264). Mydla points to the fact that, in order to be a popular playwright, Boaden had to implement popular theatrical features (such as a storm on stage, or the presence of a ghost) that perhaps did nothing substantial for his stories, but generated grand applause. Mydla's description of Boaden's plays as merely catering to public taste reflects a much more damaging account given by MaryBeth Inverso in *The Gothic Impulse in Contemporary Drama* (1990). Inverso denounces early Gothic melodramas outright for their reliance on spectacle and sentimentalism that, in her opinion, defiles the term "Gothic," and she uses Boaden's plays as the only examples of such. Inverso argues that the melodramas of the late 1790s, which contain Gothic devices, are *not* Gothic because they end happily, with good defeating evil, thus presenting a morally correct world (13). Inverso condemns Boaden's plays as "wholesale sentimentalizations of the Gothic" (6) because she defines the Gothic as a genre that "subverts

closure as part of its ongoing program of destabilization and deconstruction,” and that “absolutely pulverizes any sense of a morally operative universe, instead substituting a radically amoral one in which the innocent perish alongside the wicked—or instead of them” (2). To Inverso the Gothic cannot be melodramatic because it is a pessimistic mode, thus excluding from the category much of the early Gothic and Boaden’s plays, which end optimistically.<sup>5</sup> Inverso’s interest in the matter is short-lived, as the rest of her book first seeks to redefine “Gothic,” then focuses her analysis on dramas from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that correspond to her definition of the term.

The dismissal of the spectacular elements in Boaden’s plays is unjust because Boaden was writing at a time when spectacle was a *sine qua non* of theatre, and not only at the downmarket minor theatres. In fact, the Gothic, a “spectacular form,” was associated primarily with the legitimate Theatres Royal: Drury Lane, Covent Garden and the Haymarket.<sup>6</sup> These theatres—also known as the ‘legitimate’ or ‘major’ theatres—had government granted rights to produce spoken drama, pure comedy or pure tragedy. What came to be labeled as “legitimate”, as Jane Moody notes, began to reflect more and more “the stock dramatic repertoire...[of] Shakespeare, Otway and Massinger as well as those contemporary playwrights (notably Sheridan and George Colman the Younger) whose work was perceived to conform to dramatic tradition” (51). Moody also notes that the term “legitimate drama” was used interchangeably in the period with “regular drama” and “national drama” in order to “distinguish between authentic and

---

<sup>5</sup> The difference in both Inverso’s and Evans’ accounts lies in the fundamental difference between story and plot. According to Manfred Pfister in *The Theory and Analysis of Drama* (1993), “plot is for the presentation what story is for the subject of the presentation” (197). The story is *what* is articulated, while the plot is *how* the story is articulated. A Gothic story, according to Inverso, should be pessimistic and amoral, yet the plot of the Gothic, according to Evans, should contain particular elements, such as a ghost. Looking at it this way, it is possible to say that Boaden writes a melodramatic story using an adapted version of the Gothic plot.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Ranger makes similar observations in his *‘Terror and Pity Reign in Every Breast’ Gothic Drama in the London Patent Theatres 1750-1820* (“Appendix One”). I have found no explanation as to the significance of the year, only that after 1809 the Gothic proliferated at the minor theatres, beginning with a production of *The Lady of the Lake* at Sadler’s Wells on September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1810 (Ranger 178).

spurious dramas and between loyal and seditious performances” (51). Moody’s account shows us that as “legitimate” theatres, the Theatres Royal tended to promote moral, and thus politically appropriate, dramas. This tendency was enshrined in law when, in 1737, the government passed the Theatrical Licensing Act, which reinforced the Lord Chamberlain’s power to approve or reject any play before it was staged. The job of actually reading and censoring the plays fell to the Chamberlain’s Examiner, who at the time was John Larpent. Legitimacy and morality did not necessarily preclude entertainment, of course, and Moody’s account demonstrates that the legitimate theatres adopted spectacle because of commercial and aesthetic pressures exerted by competition from the minors: between 1780 and 1820, twenty-five new minor theatres opened in London (Burwick, *Playing to the Crowd* 1). According to Cox, these new theatres directly threatened legitimate dramas because audiences tended to favour the “personal imprint[s]” managers of the minor theatres applied to their dramas, including the use of water tanks at Sadler’s Wells, and equestrian dramas (staged horses) at Astley’s Amphitheatre (*Seven* 16). Apart from the minors, patent theatres had to contend with other forms of entertainment including the assembly halls and pleasure gardens, both of which were seen as aiding the decline of legitimate drama, as Charles Kemble and Edmund Kean asserted in their testimony to the Select Committee on the drama in 1832 (Great Britain 45, 88). Drury Lane and Covent Garden had been rebuilt early in the century to accommodate over 3000 spectators, exerting pressure on the patent theatres to adopt the new theatrical custom “of shock and sensation” (J. Cox, *Seven* 16). By 1832 when the Select Committee was called to examine the legitimate theatres’ right to the patents, the boundary between legitimate and illegitimate had grown, thanks, in part, to the spectacular Gothic melodramas, thought to be of the realm of the illegitimate, at the major theatres. Despite several inconsistencies in their answers, the Select Committee’s report

established the commonality that Shakespeare at least was, unquestionably, recognized as a legitimate playwright.

Somewhat paradoxically, the other criticism of Boaden, equally unfair, relates to the Shakespearean influences discernible in his plays. Wolcot's chosen name for Boaden, "Billy-the-go-by," is an example of how Boaden's Shakespearean influence was ridiculed in his own time. Cohan appropriates this saying, attaching it to Boaden in much the same way Wolcot himself does. Cohan describes *Cambro-Britons* as an historical play "in the style of Shakespeare, encouraging Boaden to think he had given 'Billy the go-by'" (xxvi). By introducing this play by quoting Wolcot, Cohan, perhaps unintentionally, enforces the claim that Boaden's play was a derivative adaptation. There is no substantial proof that Boaden thought himself better than Shakespeare, but the name "Billy-the-go-by" seems to have stopped scholars from fully appreciating the Shakespearean allusions in his plays or considering them in terms other than Wolcot's. Cohan's recognition of the Shakespearean influence in *Cambro-Britons* stops at this remark without further questioning the purpose of this allusion. Cohan does this again when he recognizes Shakespearean allusion in Boaden's *The Italian Monk*, stating only that the play "at times reads more like a clumsy reworking of *The Winter's Tale* than an adaptation of *The Italian*" (Cohan xxiv). Mydla also recognizes the allusion to *The Winter's Tale* in *The Italian Monk*, but, like Cohan, he regards his findings as proof of Boaden's dependency on other works: "we find in the early scenes ample evidence of the second-hand, parasitical status of the play in the number of verbal echoes and even direct borrowings" (*Spectres of Shakespeare* 261). In the latter part of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare was seen as the originator of the Gothic, and was directly acknowledged as a model in various Gothic works, including what scholars agree is the first Gothic text, Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (Walpole 124).

Those spectacular Gothic elements, so detested by critics like Inverso, actually grew out of a legitimate source. Recent scholars, whose articles can be found in recent books such as *Gothic Shakespeares* (2008) and *Shakespearean Gothic* (2009), have shown Shakespeare's influence in Gothic texts as both a source and an inspiration for Gothic devices and themes. With the new aesthetic of the sublime, Shakespeare's plays were cited and mined as models of intense feeling (Desmet and Williams 3), and as sources of Gothic elements, including "spectres, graveyards, the paraphernalia of death, moving statues, magical transformations and the emphasis upon the 'non-rational' as a category of human experience" (Drakakis and Townshend 1). During the latter part of the eighteenth century, in fact, theatre practitioners emphasized such scenes in Shakespeare for their spectacular potential on the patent stages (Burwick, "Afterword" 252). By the 1790s, Shakespeare was recognized as "sublime Shakespeare,"<sup>7</sup> and one objective of the Gothic was to produce the sublime for audiences (Ranger 17). One of the ways of doing so was to mimic the spectacular elements from Shakespeare's plays that had, by the 1790s, already been theorized as sources of the sublime. In his theoretical essay *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), Edmund Burke defines the sublime as "the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling" (47). The sublime is the cause of a mixture of different passions, which include astonishment combined with admiration, reverence and respect (80). The sublime can be experienced through "whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror" (47). In Burke's opinion, terror derives from various sources including objects of obscurity and power. Burke recognizes examples of obscurity in "ghosts and goblins, of which none can form clear ideas" and terror in

---

<sup>7</sup> William Duff's argument in *Critical Observations on the Writings of the Most Celebrated Original Geniuses in Poetry* is based on the notion that the work of the great poets, including Shakespeare, is characterized by the sublime.

“the power which arises from institution in kings and commanders” (82-83, 98). These elements define Boaden’s dramas as Gothic and are what audiences and even some reviewers immediately enjoyed about his plays, as the spectacular was understood as producing the sublime. For example one reviewer said that in *Fontainville Forest* “the readings of *Adeline*, with all their terrific accompaniments, partook both of the sublime and beautiful” (*The Times*, 26 March 1794); another reviewer said that in *The Italian Monk*, Boaden “evinced great power of discrimination and made most frequent and forcible appeals to the feelings. [...] We have not witnessed a composition that so sensibly seizes on the affections of the heart” (*The Morning Chronicle*, 16 August 1797). Reviews such as these have been cited mainly to reinforce the criticism that Boaden’s plays are merely spectacles, and to undermine his playwriting skills as mere capitalizations on popular elements.

Boaden’s allusions to Shakespeare serve a dramaturgical function, but also a political one. During the 1790s, anti-Jacobins (those English subjects strongly opposed to the ideals of the French Revolution) invoked Shakespeare to make sense of the revolution and to inoculate English readers against the allure of *liberté, égalité, and fraternité*, as Frans De Bruyn and others have shown.<sup>8</sup> For example, John Philip Kemble produced a version of *Coriolanus* in 1789 that highlighted English nationalism. It was revived in 1792 and 1793, when Britain’s war with France commenced. As David Rostron notes in “Contemporary Political Comment in Four of J.P. Kemble’s Shakespearean Productions,” Kemble had portrayed the character of Coriolanus as “admirable” and the Roman mob “as contemptible turncoats, [...] treating mass political action as ridiculous foreign barbarism to which English common sense could never stop” (114).

Kemble had very distinctly set up his Shakespeare productions to be counter-revolutionary, and,

---

<sup>8</sup> In one of the most recent studies on the subject, “Shakespeare and British Nationalism,” Kathryn Prince explains how Shakespeare’s status in the eighteenth century grew to the level of a national icon as critics painted him as a particularly *English* genius, and therefore exempt from French neoclassical rules.

as Moody notes, every aspect of his *Coriolanus* emphasized “the defence and promotion of monarchy” (122). By invoking Shakespeare, Boaden invokes “common culture, history, language, nationhood, and tradition” (De Bruyn 100). As Frans De Bruyn notes, Edmund Burke’s political essays contain multiple allusions to Shakespeare, and De Bruyn argues that these were “deployed in full consciousness of the playwright’s symbolic significance for the English nation” (100). Some of the plays to which Burke alludes are precisely the ones found in *Fontainville Forest* and *The Secret Tribunal*, Boaden’s two adaptations produced in the early years of the war. *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* are appropriated in these early plays in order to highlight themes of usurpation and regicide. These tragedies were widely performed in eighteenth-century theatres. De Bruyn notes that in order for allusion to work correctly it requires the reader’s (or, in Boaden’s case, the audience’s) “acquaintance with the *text alluded to* and a consideration of how the use of the allusion both reinterprets the source text and contributes insightfully to the text into which it is brought” (emphasis added 87). Apart from *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, which were Shakespeare’s two most popular plays of the century, Boaden also alludes to scenes, characters and plot structures from *Cymbeline*, *Henry V*, *Measure for Measure*, *Pericles* and *The Winter’s Tale*; the latter three plays, in particular, suggesting that allusion in the way De Bruyn explains it was not Boaden’s only objective since they were far from common on the eighteenth-century stage.

Scholars have yet to recognize the specific political position of Boaden’s plays that is revealed through his references to Shakespeare. Such political motifs behind Shakespearean allusion were nothing new to English audiences in this century. As Michael Dobson suggests in his influential study, *The Making of the National Poet*, adaptations of Shakespeare’s plays in Restoration and early eighteenth-century theatre were an integral part of Shakespeare’s “canonization” as a national poet because they reinforced the social and political values of their

historical period. While Dobson's analysis is of course germane to this thesis, his study culminates with David Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee in 1769, well before Boaden's first attempts at playwriting. Another influential book, Jonathan Bate's *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830*, does analyse Shakespeare appropriation from Boaden's time, but focuses on critical works surrounding the theatre of figures such as William Hazlitt rather than the popular theatre more relevant to an analysis of Boaden. Bate's analysis furthers an important discussion of Shakespeare appropriation as a signal of both the political and the aesthetic position of the writer. Following the definition of 'appropriation' developed by Hans Robert Jauss, Bate is concerned with how Shakespeare is received by specific *readers*, James Gillray and William Hazlitt (5), as opposed to how Shakespeare's plays are appropriated in the works of contemporary playwrights like Boaden.

Rather than dismissing Boaden's plays as merely derivative and parasitical, this thesis aims to analyze them according to recent studies in adaptation theory, and by applying analytical methods of historical contextualization and fidelity analysis. By focusing solely on Boaden's relation to his source text, particularly on the addition or omission of the spectacular, scholars have only relied on the one side of this theoretical equation that points to a well-rounded adaptation analysis. By doing so, scholars have missed important structural patterns in Boaden's plays that suggest more than the desire to capitalize on two popular modes of his time, the Shakespearean and the Gothic. The current theoretical field of adaptation rejects the assumption that an adaptation—whether a film, play, musical or videogame—is by definition inferior to its source text. Adaptation theorists have argued that a preconceived bias toward an original work is the wrong way to approach the analysis of adaptations. Patrick Faubert even suggests that adaptation analysis must exist completely separate from the source text. In "Perfect Picture Material: *Anthony Adverse* and the Future of Adaptation Theory," Faubert analyses a film

adaptation of a popular novel without comparing them. Faubert's study demonstrates that the analysis of authorship, appropriations within the adaptation, and ideological contexts surrounding the work can provide a much more thorough understanding of not only what the adaptation is trying to relate, but the creator's purpose for adapting. An analysis of Boaden's plays on their own merits, separate from their source texts, is certainly part of my thesis.

However, Faubert's approach omits important elements that, in Boaden's case, are essential to understanding the artistic and ideological work that these plays accomplish. I therefore also draw on a methodology entirely opposed to Faubert's: Suzanne Diamond's. In "Whose Life *Is* It, Anyway? Adaptation, Collective Memory, and (Auto) Biographical Processes," Diamond argues that the rejection of a "fidelity analysis" in studies such as Faubert's is destructive to what *can* be learned from a comparison between the original and adaptation, as relational analyses can lead "to a more complicated exploration of culture, psychology, history, politics, and the function of remembering" (98). Although Diamond's study is more concerned with how the receptor decodes an adaptation and what that says about cultural memory, the questions she raises prove useful for questioning the scholarly worth of any adaptation: "What are the implications of this script's alteration of [...]? How is the story changed by its adjustment of [...]? Might there be reasons [...] for the change in the title? Did contemporaneous history [...] play a role in this iteration of the story or in any of its adjustments? And what about the politics of casting?" (102). These questions serve as a useful starting point for Boaden's texts as they allow for "speculations about what has been lost, gained, amplified, or stifled in the transition from old to new" (Diamond 105). By answering these questions and relating them to the historical context (both theatrical and political) in which these plays were staged, a deeper understanding of Boaden's dramaturgical structure emerges.

This two-pronged approach to these adaptations reveals that Boaden's dramas do not only adapt Gothic narrative, but appropriate Shakespeare, thus, in turn, adapting the Gothic form. The methods of contextualization and fidelity analysis taken together exemplify what Linda Hutcheon says must be considered in relation to the cultural value of adaptations. In *A Theory of Adaptation* (2006), Hutcheon argues that scholars must "deal with adaptations *as adaptations*" (6). In other words, scholars must think of them as "aesthetic objects in their own right," and "as inherently double—or multilaminated—works" (6). Hutcheon's theory of adaptation is problematic in Boaden's case because his plays do not all fit her standard definition of 'adaptation.' Agreeing with the theory of dialogism as devised by Mikhail Bakhtin and later refined as intertextuality by Julia Kristeva, Hutcheon determines that all texts are "mosaics of citations that are visible and invisible, heard and silent" (21). She distinguishes adaptations from other forms of intertextuality if they are "acknowledged as adaptations of a specific text" (21). Hutcheon postulates that while they must be acknowledged, adaptations are only considered as such if they are "extended revisitations of prior works" (xiv). While Boaden himself does not fully acknowledge all of his texts as adaptations, they were recognized as such by his contemporaries, and they all continually incorporate themes and/or contextual features from their source texts, even though the stories themselves change significantly. Hutcheon's definition is useful in determining what it is Boaden does with Shakespeare in these plays: not adaptation but appropriation. This point will, I hope, become clear in the chapters that follow.

Boaden's appropriation of Shakespeare suggests that the Shakespeare allusions are meant to comment on the adapted text. In using the term 'appropriation' I do not mean to discuss Boaden's allusions as "hostile takeover[s]" or the "seizure of authority over the original[s]" as the term all too often implies (Fortier and Fischlin 4). This sense of how allusions can function does not apply as readily to the period in which Boaden was writing, when allusion was often

homage and originality was only beginning to take on the prominence that Romanticism would give it. Julie Sanders argues in *Adaptation and Appropriation* (2006) that appropriation “frequently affects [sic] a more decisive journey away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain.... [It] require[s] the intellectual juxtaposition of (at least) one text against another” (26). Unlike an adaptation, an appropriation is “not always as clearly signalled” (Sanders 26). An appropriated text is merely gestured to, but has a critical impact on the new work. The type of appropriation found in Boaden’s plays is what Sanders calls “sustained appropriation,” which contains “notable structural overlaps” (33) as well as clear “consonances” between the source text and the appropriation (34). Boaden’s adaptations of Gothic narrative contain sustained appropriations of Shakespeare plays as well as fleeting allusions. The analysis of both forms of Shakespeare appropriation reveals that Boaden uses Shakespeare to accentuate certain character traits, in his first two dramas, and certain character relationships in his latter three. In his adaptation of Gothic narratives that appropriates themes, characters, and structures from Shakespeare not usually found in the Gothic, Boaden reveals a particular authorial style that has yet to be fully considered.

Each of the plays discussed in this thesis is a complex adaptation, as it is both adaptation and appropriation by drawing on more than one source text and connecting with theatrical and political contexts that demand close, comparative, and contextual reading. *Fontainville Forest* is an adaptation of Ann Radcliffe’s *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), as acknowledged on the cover page of the published version, and it is also an extended appropriation of Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*. It premiered at Covent Garden on March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1794. With thirteen performances, it was the third most performed play for that season at Covent Garden, equal to Drury Lane’s top-grossing production, *Macbeth*. *The Secret Tribunal* is an adaptation of *Herman of Unna* (1791), an anonymous translation of Christiane Benedikte Naubert’s German novel, *Hermann von Unna*

(1788), as well as an extended appropriation of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. It was identified as an adaptation immediately after its première by a reviewer in *The Pocket Magazine* and acknowledged as such by Boaden, thirty years later, in his biography of John Philip Kemble (*Life of Kemble* 2:339). *The Secret Tribunal* ran for six performances after its première at Covent Garden on June 3, 1795. *The Italian Monk*, although never actually acknowledged as such by Boaden, is an adaptation of Radcliffe's *The Italian*, recognized as such by critics of periodicals such as *The Scientific Magazine*. *The Italian Monk* appropriates Shakespeare's *A Winter's Tale* and was Boaden's most successful play, performed fifteen times after its première at The Haymarket on August 15, 1797. *Cambro-Britons* clearly appropriates *Henry V* and is adapted from Thomas Gray's poem "The Bard" (1757). Through a method of expansion, Boaden adapts the historical context of Edward I's conquest of Wales as it is found in the poem.<sup>9</sup> Three days after the opening production of this play at the Haymarket on July 21, 1798, a critic for the *Morning Post and Gazetteer* acknowledged the source text of this play, noting that it takes for its subject "the extermination of the Bards, and GRAY's fine portrait" (July 24, 1798). Finally, *Aurelio and Miranda* is an adaptation of Matthew Lewis' *The Monk* and alludes to Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. The adaptation was acknowledged well before the initial performance at Drury Lane on December 29, 1798 as it had caused much controversy due to the immoral actions portrayed in the novel (*Life of Kemble* 2:387). Analyzed together, using the appropriate methods drawn from the field of adaptation studies, these plays reflect the changing political and theatrical climate of their time.

This thesis contends that Boaden adapted the Gothic form to convey a conservative message, an unusual move at a time when the critics associated the Gothic with pro-Jacobin

---

<sup>9</sup> Hand argues that an author is adapting through the process of expansion when the "thematic issues suggested in the source text are given more prominence in the dramatization" (17). *Cambro-Britons* expands on the contextual story of Llewellyn's defence of Wales in Gray's poem.

politics, as Jeffrey N. Cox in *Seven Gothic Dramas* and Ronald Paulson in “Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution” have shown.<sup>10</sup> After 1793, plays dealing directly with revolutionary events—even plays that were distinctly against the revolution—were no longer admitted on stage due to government precautions. That being said, pro-revolutionary dramas, according to Cox, were still being produced under the guise of the Gothic. The anti-revolutionary dramas that appeared in response to pro-revolutionary dramas, as Cox postulates, were being denied license because such plays relied on depicting rebellious action through satire. The problem with this is that it was assumed that any action against king or country as depicted on stage would influence the same in the audience, regardless of the playwright’s overall intention (“Ideology and Genre” 601-602). Despite the fact that Boaden’s plays, particularly *Cambro-Britons*, can be read as anti-revolutionary dramas, Cox does not include Boaden as part of this discussion; on the contrary, in *Seven Gothic Dramas* he placed Boaden’s plays in the same structural category as pro-revolutionary Gothic dramas, which follow a pattern of movement from confinement to freedom. Cox states that “in Gothic play after play, we see the liberation of enclosed spaces [such as] the storming of a convent in Boaden’s adaptation of Lewis’s *The Monk as Aurelio and Miranda*” (*Seven* 22). Considering that Cox makes the argument that this pattern is one that reflects pro-revolutionary sentiments, it would seem that such a pattern classifies Boaden’s dramas as Jacobinical. However, Cox shows in a later article, “English Gothic Theatre” (2002), that Boaden had “wanted to contain the radical potential of his plays and of the Gothic drama in

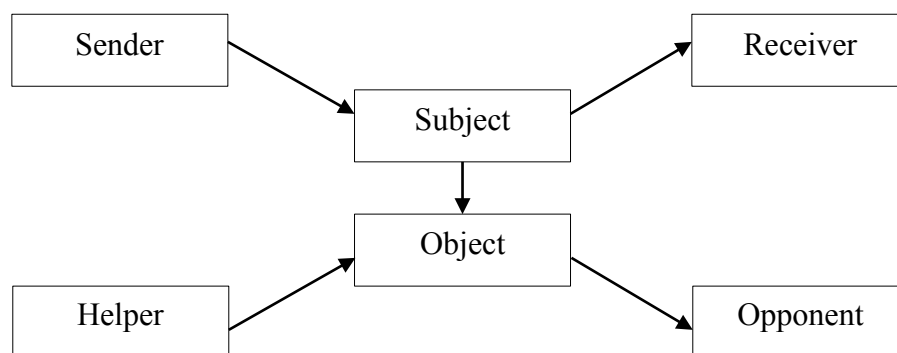
---

<sup>10</sup> Cox sees the revolutionary forces working within the structure of Gothic dramas that develop “a basic pattern of movement, from an enclosed space—a prison, a castle, a convent—to an open one,” which, “during the 1790s [...] would be read as moving from the closed world of the past to the open world of a free future” (*Seven* 20). Paulson, on the other hand, sees revolutionary metaphors in the action and character desires. The ideological association of the Gothic with Jacobinism through narrative structure was also prevalent in political writings, particularly those of Edmund Burke, who applied Gothic narratives to events occurring in France and other parts of the world to familiarize his readers with their horrors. Frans De Bruyn provides a useful analysis of Burke’s use of Gothic narratives in “Edmund Burke’s Gothic Romance: the Portrayal of Warren Hastings in Burke’s Writings and Speeches on India.”

general” (134). What Cox does not recognize is that the aspects of Boaden’s plays that represent Jacobinism are the features he retains from his original source texts (such as the storming of the convent). Examining the differences between his Gothic source and his adaptation, and noting how those differences relate to Shakespeare’s plays, it becomes clear that, while relying on the Gothic mode, Boaden sought to quell its radical association.

To demonstrate the significance of the differences between source and adaptation I have adopted the visual representation of character action offered by the actantial model. The actantial model, created by Algirdas Julien Greimas, categorizes narrative action into six “actants” or roles by focusing on a specific character. The first actant is the *subject* who either desires or wants to avoid the *object*, the second actant. The third actant is the *sender*, which instigates the subject’s desires. The fourth is the *receiver*, or the beneficiary of the desired goal. The *helper*, the fifth actant, assists the *subject* in accomplishing his or her desires. Finally, the *opponent* (or the *blocker*) hinders the *subject* from obtaining his or her desires (Hébert 71). The model is represented visually in figure 2.

Figure 2.



An actantial model can be created for any character within a narrative. This model proves useful for the analysis of Boaden’s plays because, by showing exactly what changes in how the villains

interact with other characters and how their position in the story either remains the same (as in the first two dramas) or changes significantly (as in the latter three), the importance of Shakespeare's influence on these characters, and, more importantly, on character relationships emerges. Furthermore, the actantial model reveals, visually, that the Shakespearean influence in Boaden's plays is more than just thematic or allusive; it is apparent at the deep dramaturgical structure of these dramas.

What emerges from this close reading is a study in the evolution of the Gothic genre over the decade of the 1790s, as the theatrical tastes and political concerns of Boaden's public shifted. It is, equally, a study of the appropriation of Shakespeare throughout this decade, which, in Boaden's case, reveals a marked shift from Shakespeare's great tragedies to his romances that, perhaps not coincidentally, corresponds to a political shift from the hunt for English supporters of the French revolution to a focus, by the turn of the century, on their reintegration and the restoration of domestic harmony. Shakespeare had, during the eighteenth century, been established as a patriotic and national symbol for the English, a symbol built on notions of freedom and independence. Unlike the rigid neoclassical French playwrights, Shakespeare was an *English* playwright who rejected the unities and displayed, instead, the marks of original genius.<sup>11</sup> The juxtaposition between France's rigid rules and England's freedom collapsed in 1789, at which point English patriotism shifted gears and began to take pride in the liberties that a monarchical system affords, primarily in the domestic sphere, where the safety found in the patriarchy of the home was thought to reflect the safety found in the patriarchy of the nation. During the 1790s, Pitt's government sought to propagate the idea that liberty lay in the crown, which was established in the image of the nuclear family.<sup>12</sup> Cox has shown that anti-

---

<sup>11</sup> As discussed in Prince.

<sup>12</sup> A good account of this is found Mori, *Britain in the Age of the French Revolution, 1785-1820* and William Pitt and the French Revolution, 1785-1795, Emsley's "Repression, 'Terror' and the Rule of Law in England during the

revolutionary dramas participated in this type of propaganda, by “insist[ing] on the continuity of patriarchal order from father to king, thereby grounding their conservative ideology in ‘nature’ and rendering revolt into an ‘unnatural’ assault upon parental power” (593). In their alterations from their adapted sources and their allusions to Shakespeare, Boaden’s plays present a loyalist’s idea of liberty as they all deal with the threat to familial unity that is ultimately overcome. Although his plays resemble melodramatic escapist theatre that caters to the tastes of the populace, upon close examination they prove to take a decided position in the loyalist-Jacobin debate that speaks not necessarily to the converted but to the opposite party, the Jacobins. Boaden uses his multiple allusions to Shakespeare in such a way as to promote a conservative view of contemporary events in an appealing, entertaining format.

In treating Boaden’s plays as creative works in their own right and not as mere conversions of prose fictions to drama, I demonstrate that Boaden alters his adapted sources in order to convey conservative, nationalistic opinions in regards to two distinct phases of national threat during the 1790s: the threat of home-grown rebellion and the threat of foreign invasion. The alterations to the source texts of Boaden’s adaptations reflect a double schema of attempting to dramatize popular works to draw large crowds while entreating those crowds to a nationalist cause. Both requirements in Boaden’s plays depend on the appropriation of Shakespeare. Chapter one, “Domestic Disturbers,” discusses the threat of British Jacobins while finding evidence of this threat in Boaden’s first two plays, *Fontainville Forest* and *The Secret Tribunal*. Both present an individual villain who ambitiously seeks the political power rightly belonging to his brother and in the end is punished for it. In this fashion, Boaden creates an analogy for English Jacobins, who in the end fail in their attempts to destroy the monarchy. Chapter two, “Foreign Foes,” discusses the threat of a French invasion in the latter half of 1790s. Boaden’s

last three Gothic plays, *The Italian Monk*, *Cambro-Britons*, and *Aurelio and Miranda*, act as propaganda to the promotion national unity under the threat of a larger foe and further highlight the importance of the nuclear family. In these plays Boaden decriminalizes the villains, who remain analogous with British Jacobins, and has them return to their rightful position in their families in order to assist with a threat to that family. The chronological division of the plays between chapters one and two illustrates the clear shift in Boaden's dramaturgy from writing plays that focus on familial divide in which the usurpers cannot escape their ambition and are thus defeated by it, to plays that focus on familial unification in which the potential villain retreat from their ambitious urges to respond to the needs of his family. This thesis sets out to demonstrate, through close analysis, that Boaden's plays offer a rich field of inquiry touching on theatre history, political history, and the history of Shakespeare appropriation at the turn of the nineteenth century.

## Chapter 1

### Domestic Disturbers: Discouraging Revolution in Britain

Boaden's first two plays, *Fontainville Forest* (1794) and *The Secret Tribunal* (1795), deflect the threat of internal rebellion by discouraging individuals from sedition and treason. Boaden accomplishes this by altering his source material to focus on the faults of a single criminal who ultimately fails in his desire to overthrow the rightful leader. Both plays are driven by the actions of this individual villain who ambitiously seeks the political power rightly belonging to his brother. *Fontainville Forest*, drawing on *Hamlet*, begins after the tyrannical usurpation takes place and focuses on the experiences of the rightful heir, whereas *The Secret Tribunal*, drawing on the Queen's actions in *Cymbeline*, focuses more intently on the villain's desire to usurp the throne. Both plays were written and performed during a period of crisis, when the British government sought to protect itself from domestic rebels during the post-revolutionary turmoil in France. Culminating in what became known as the "Gagging Acts" of 1795, the government's efforts to suppress reform and revolution in Britain began in 1793 with a number of publically announced trials for sedition and treason. The "treason trials" of 1793 and 1794 were eventually followed by the first act of repression in May 1794, by the government's suspension of *habeas corpus*, the principle that protects individuals from imprisonment without evidence. After *habeas corpus* was reinstated in June of 1795, the government passed two more acts, the Treasonable Practices Act and the Seditious Meetings Act.<sup>13</sup> Writing for Covent

---

<sup>13</sup> Although *Fontainville Forest* premiered two months before the act for the suspension of *habeas corpus* and *The Secret Tribunal* five months before the Gagging Acts, according to Jennifer Mori, as early as November 1792 William Pitt not only desired to suspend *habeas corpus*, but also "make libel a felonious offence upon the second or subsequent conviction and clarify the law of sedition" (*William Pitt* 122). The debating societies of the time, such as the Scottish Friends of the People and the London Correspondence Society, had supported the French in their revolution and plotted the same in England (Royle 17). Members of such societies, Thomas Muir, Thomas Fyshe Palmer, William Skirving, Joseph Gerrald and Maurice Margarot, for example, were tried and found guilty of treason between August and December 1793 (Andrews 48-50). By suspending *habeas corpus*, the government was able to incarcerate individuals on little or no evidence, and the Treasonable Practices act made punishable any

Garden, managed at that time by Tory loyalist Thomas Harris (Taylor 160), Boaden enlisted the Gothic and Shakespeare in the service of politics, creating allegories of political division and retribution.

Scholars who have used these particular plays as examples of the ideological purpose behind the Gothic have tended not to recognize their conservatizing agenda. In “English Gothic Theatre,” Jeffrey N. Cox has shown how Boaden, by incorporating politically charged Gothic elements in his plays, was participating in *radical* gestures against the government of his time. The “criticism of the *ancien régime*” and “the corruption of the old institutions of church, state, and class” that Cox says are inherent in Boaden’s plays are not, in fact, Boaden’s additions, and as we shall see Boaden alters their meaning (134, 135). Cox is also quick to accept the observations of David Worrall in “The Political Culture of the Gothic Drama.” He states that *The Secret Tribunal* “can be seen to comment on Pitt’s efforts to suppress English political dissent” (J. Cox, “English Gothic” 138). While Cox does not claim outright that Boaden was taking a radical position against Pitt’s administrative choices, Worrall maintains that “*The Secret Tribunal* equivocates between a condemnation of illuminist subversion and a portrayal of the dangers of collusion between state surveillance and the law” (97). However, like Cox’s reading of *Fontainville Forest*, Worrall’s reading of *The Secret Tribunal* is dependent on elements that are retained from the novel; he fails to regard fully what was changed and how those changes reflect the political concerns of the drama. An analytical study of the character and structural differences between these texts and their sources demonstrates that Boaden’s alterations support his conservative political stance.

---

offence made against the King, which included seditious libel against the government, while the Seditious Meetings act forbade gatherings of more than fifty people without government approval (Emsley 811-812).

Both of these early dramas feature a judicial system that, though seemingly flawed, manages nonetheless to convict the villains of the dramas. Boaden's source texts, *The Romance of the Forest* and *Herman of Unna* contain extensive jail scenes, in which an innocent person is held captive.<sup>14</sup> Boaden's adaptations threaten to follow the same trajectory of the novels, but instead end otherwise. The court scenes that Boaden adapts for *Fontainville Forest* and *The Secret Tribunal* directly reflect his approval of the government's position during the treason trials. This idea is reinforced by the plays' framing material, as the prologue to *Fontainville Forest* and the epilogue to *The Secret Tribunal* encourage pro-government sentiments.

The Prologue to *Fontainville Forest* reflects and comments on the anxieties articulated in the period's newspapers regarding the revolutionary aftermath in France, while praising the English system.<sup>15</sup> *Fontainville Forest* opened on March 25, 1794, two months before the Pitt administration suspended *habeas corpus*, but well after various radicals had been sentenced for treason and sedition. As Boaden was writing his play, a Whig faction led by Charles James Fox was suggesting that the Tory government's concern about pro-revolutionary plots on British soil was itself a plot, "a government device to consolidate its own power and suppress the liberties of the British people" (Royle 16). Such an opinion would be reflected by figures such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge once the Treasonable Practices and Seditious Meetings bills were introduced in Parliament.<sup>16</sup> In his prologue to *Fontainville Forest*, Boaden aligns himself with the ruling Tories by drawing a contrast between the debased French and the law-abiding British:

---

<sup>14</sup> In *The Romance of the Forest*, it is Theodore, whereas in *The Secret Tribunal* it is both Herman and Ida at different points of the novel.

<sup>15</sup> For example, the *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, after recounting Thomas's trial, added, "It may be allowed us to remark, that no punishment can be more adequate to offences of this nature, than that they who are dissatisfied with this country, should be sent to seek a better--in which, we doubt not, they will find themselves sufficiently disappointed" (September 3, 1793).

<sup>16</sup> Stuart Andrews points out in *The British Periodical Press and the French Revolution, 1789-99* that Coleridge had been against the bills while they were being sent through Parliament. His lectures at Bristol were published as *The Plot Discovered or An Address to the People against Ministerial Treason*, in which Coleridge states, "the present

Our Author chuses to prepare the way,  
 With lines at least suggested by his Play.  
 Caught from the Gothic treasures of Romance,  
 He frames his work, and lays the scene in France.  
 The word, I see, alarms—it vibrates here,  
 And Feeling marks its impulse with a tear.  
 It brings to thought, a people once refin'd,  
 Who led supreme the manners of mankind;  
 Deprav'd by cruelty, by pride inflamed  
 By traitors madden'd, and by sophists sham'd.  
 Crushing that freedom, which, with gentle sway,  
 Courted their revolution's infant day,  
 'Ere giant vanity, with impious hand,  
 Assail'd the sacred Temples of the Land [...]

Britons to you, by temperate freedom crown'd,  
 For every manly sentiment renown'd,  
 The Stage can have no motive to enforce  
 The principles, that guide your glorious course;  
 Proceed triumphant – 'mid the world's applause,  
 Firm to you King, your Altars, and your Laws. (*Fontainville* front matter)

Boaden associates freedom with monarchy, on the face of it a rather odd statement, since it is the French revolutionaries who claimed to have fought for freedom. The liberty that Boaden vaunts

---

Bills [...] were conceived and laid in the dunghill of despotism among the other unhatched eggs of the old Serpent. In due time and in fit opportunity, they crawled into light. Genius of Britain! crush them!" (qtd. in Andrews 53).

is a “temperate freedom,” in opposition to the anarchy that followed the revolution’s “gentle” “infant day.” By acknowledging that the stage should have “no motive to enforce/ the principles” of the British government, Boaden in fact points to the correct principles inherent in his audience, assuring them that there is no need to teach them such. While he claims to not need to enforce these principles, he does so anyways in altering Radcliffe’s *The Romance of the Forest*. In positioning the villain alongside Shakespeare’s worst usurpers, Claudius and Macbeth, Boaden metaphorically articulates his conservative position on the threat of British radicals by bringing his villain to a just end. This type of ending is also apparent in his next play, proving that Boaden’s support for the British judicial system was not weakened by the suspension of *habeas corpus* in May of 1794, though the need to articulate that support increased.

*The Secret Tribunal* premiered June 3, 1795 at Covent Garden, focusing on the theme of “Old ENGLISH Justice in unclouded day” despite the extreme actions taken by the government to suspend British liberties (*Secret Tribunal* 71). The Prologue focuses on the state of the stage and laments the displacement of legitimate tragedies by pantomimes and spectacles. This prologue does not serve the same purpose as that in *Fontainville Forest*, partly because it was not written by Boaden himself, but by another writer, John Litchfield.<sup>17</sup> Instead, Boaden emphasizes his meaning at the close of the play, in the epilogue, in which he appeals to the hearts of his own countrymen to reject treasonous sedition. In his epilogue, Boaden reshapes the opposition’s criticism to focus on the hidden crimes that vigilant judges can discern. By using the first-person plural in his epilogue, Boaden situates himself and his audience among the beneficiaries of this shrewd vigilance:

But are these institutions quite destroy’d?

---

<sup>17</sup> In “The Cap,” Wolcot notes that “Mr. L. is a young gentleman, who, under the feigned signature of *Pollio*, writes the *theatrical critiques* in the *Morning Advertiser*” (32). He married actress Harriett Litchfield (née Sylvester Hay) and was said to have briefly acted himself (Crouch 1).

SECRET TRIBUNALS, are none now employ'd?

THOUSANDS. Yes, while we sink in soft repose,

Our Judge's eyes no gentle slumbers close:

The HEART is the tribunal which we fear,

For ever hid, and yet for ever near;

Its AGENTS are the SENSES, and they gain

Intelligence for that shrewd JUDGE the Brain.

The might censure, carefully conceal'd,

Until the DOOM is fix'd lies unreveal'd.

Lo! The warm PATRIOT, that, with ceaseless din,

Clamours against his rival, who is IN;

Who loads the land with ruin and disgrace,

And paints the charms of REVOLUTION'S face.

What says the HEART to this? – He wants a PLACE.

The wrinkled TABBY, who, on youthful joy,

Frowns like a fiend, is eager to destroy;

Who wears her poor thin frame to skin and bone,

In hopes she may detect some pair *alone*—

Let but our SECRET COURT the motive scan,

The Heart will tell us – all she hopes is MAN: -

Give her that banquet to her eager tooth.

And Virtue may be Wax to flaming Youth. (ST 71-72)

The final line in the above quotation is modified from act three, scene four of *Hamlet* in which the title character confronts his mother about her sexual appetites, inappropriate, he feels, at her advanced age:

O shame, where is thy blush? Rebellious hell,  
 If thou canst mutine in a matron's bones,  
 To flaming youth let virtue be as wax  
 And melt in her own fire. (*Hamlet* 3.4.72-75)

Whether or not the second part of Boaden's epilogue is effective in activating the images of rebellion and mutiny present in the passage from *Hamlet* that directly follows the one line that Boaden more explicitly evokes depends on his audience's familiarity with the play: would the audience remember what comes next, and if so, would they agree with Hamlet's rather overheated attack on his mother? Certainly the passage was present in Boaden's mind as he was writing the epilogue, since revolution and mutiny are precisely the concepts that he is deploying, but the effectiveness of the allusion is debatable. To a certain constituent group, well educated and adept at deciphering Shakespearean allusions, the *Hamlet* allusion aligned Boaden with another great appropriator of Shakespeare in his contemplation of the French Revolution, Edmund Burke. As Frans De Bruyn has convincingly demonstrated in "William Shakespeare and Edmund Burke," Burke deploys Shakespeare's major tragedies in order to attempt to explain "how it is...that people can become regicides" (93). Boaden, like Burke, approaches the question of a regicide's motivation through the avenue of Shakespeare's tragedies. Like Shakespeare's, Boaden's villains in *Fontainville Forest* and *The Secret Tribunal*, have ambition as their driving force.

Both plays reflect anxieties concerning domestic rebellion by first isolating the source of terror in an ambitious individual, then bringing that individual to a proper judicial hearing, by

which he is found guilty of his crimes against the ruling body. Boaden emphasizes this structure and the characterization of the villains by alluding to particular sections of Shakespeare's plays that focus on usurpation and regicide. In both plays, Boaden adapts his source texts to reinforce the political status quo and to demonstrate that its structures are fully capable of addressing and neutralizing such threats. Both *Fontainville Forest* and *The Secret Tribunal* reinforce conservative ideals. While *Fontainville Forest*, the most studied of Boaden's adaptations, hardly seems to reflect such a concern as it almost too closely resembles its source text, it is only after a proper analysis of his second play, *The Secret Tribunal*, in which Boaden's alterations and allusions are far more defined than they are in his first play, that we get a sense of Boaden's use of dramaturgical structure to quell, for his audience, fears of domestic rebellion.

### **SECTION 1: *Fontainville Forest***

*Fontainville Forest* has been analyzed for its spectacular staging of Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest*, and with good reason. Boaden simplifies the story of Radcliffe's original by eliminating both long narrative scenes and the abundance of characters that complicate the action in the novel.<sup>18</sup> Simply by dramatizing the novel, Boaden introduces an unbiased perspective to scenes by allowing the characters to speak for themselves, unmediated. For example, he refocus scenes from the novel between Adeline's surrogate father, Lamotte, and the villainous Marquis de Montalt. He also gives the heroine, Adeline, one potential lover in Louis as opposed to the two in the novel. Finally, Boaden literalizes Adeline's psychological fears by introducing a real supernatural threat, a ghost. These first two alterations reflect the obvious necessity of fitting a 447-page novel (1795 edition) into the length of a five-act drama. Thus

---

<sup>18</sup> Cox begins his plot summary claiming, "Boaden's *Fountainville* [sic] *Forest* simplifies Radcliffe's story" ("English Gothic" 131). Cohan suggests that Boaden "severely truncated Radcliffe's rambling, episodic plot, giving the story a cleaner narrative line, one more manageable for the stage" (xi).

,scholars have disregarded these changes and focused their attentions on “the most striking and controversial change” of the ghost (J. Cox, “English Gothic” 131). Critics such as Cohan, Mydla and Cox have analyzed Boaden's ghost in the very terms Boaden himself defined thirty years after his production was staged. It is agreed that Boaden had to present the ghost in order to make visible for the audience the psychological terror experienced by Adeline in the novel. However, if Boaden truly believed that the theatre required actualization of the supernatural to affect the senses, why then retain the “explained supernatural” in his next Radcliffe adaptation, *The Italian Monk*? I believe that scholars have taken Boaden's comments regarding his ghost too seriously and that the ghost serves a much simpler purpose in this play: to emphasize the references to *Hamlet*, already made in Radcliffe’s original, so that the theme of usurpation is made more apparent for an audience who were quite familiar with Shakespeare’s tragedy. These three alterations—to the scenes with Monsieur Lamotte, to the character of Louis, and to the psychological terror—work together to create a domestic melodrama that emphasizes the importance of familial unity, while discouraging rebellious action.

*Fontainville Forest* follows a young, orphaned woman, Adeline, who is taken from her home in a convent by a man she believes to be her father and thrust into the dubious protection of the outlaw Lamotte for unspecified reasons.<sup>19</sup> The play opens with Lamotte explaining to his wife his search for hospitality after finding himself lost in a storm, and upon coming to a cottage, being forced to take the girl away or die. Soon finding himself and his family in a financially desperate situation, Lamotte robs a traveller, who turns out to be the Marquis. The Marquis threatens Lamotte with imprisonment and even death unless he hands over Adeline, with whom the Marquis is smitten. Lamotte accepts, believing that the Marquis intends to marry her, although it soon becomes clear that the objective is rape, not marriage. Through a fascinated

---

<sup>19</sup> Boaden alters the spelling of “La Motte” in the novel to “Lamotte” in his play.

search of the ruined abbey in which the Lamottes have found shelter, Adeline finds a lost manuscript that explains that the Marquis is a murderer who killed the previous Marquis, his brother, in order to acquire his title for himself, proof of which manifests itself in the form of a ghost. When the Marquis attempts to rape Adeline, her parentage is unexpectedly revealed by a picture she wears around her neck: the Marquis is her uncle, and murderer of her father, the ghost. Meanwhile, Lamotte's son, Louis, who had left the abbey in act four to find a way to protect Adeline, arrives with a witness to the Marquis's past evil deeds and threatens legal action. The Marquis stabs himself, using his dying breath to bestow his title on its rightful heir, Adeline. As the play concludes, Lamotte is spared the consequences of his crimes, which were driven by poverty rather than malice, and Adeline, out of gratitude for both the father and son's support, agrees to marry Louis.

In order to create a more sympathetic character, Boaden refocuses certain scenes so that the audience is privy to Lamotte's exploits from the beginning. In the novel, La Motte is initially a semi-villain: he and the Marquis plot the seduction of Adeline. In *Fontainville Forest*, Lamotte is depicted as a generous, though disturbed, character who requires a sympathetic response as he is redeemed of his misdeeds at the end of the play. As figure 3a represents, Lamotte begins the play in the same relationship with the Marquis as is found in the novel. In Radcliffe's novel, La Motte clearly conspires with the Marquis to the point where he is about to kill Adeline. However, in *Fontainville Forest*, Lamotte is a desperate soul, driven by poverty but not yet beyond the reproaches of his conscience:

I have reach'd the climax of our wretched being,  
 When the heart builds no more on heavenly aid.  
 Despair has laid his callous hand upon me,  
 And fitted me for deeds, from which I once

Had shrunk with horror – I have no resource

But robbery – The degradation! (3)

Once he realizes what the Marquis intends, Lamotte’s conscience regains the upper hand and he intervenes to save Adeline. Lamotte determines that he “will not be that fiend” who aids in the Marquis’ designs because his “conscience, not quite extinguish’d, starts with horror / at such a crime as this” (47). As figure 3b represents, the Marquis’ position as villain does not change, but Lamotte’s relationship with him does. When he decides to protect Adeline at all costs Lamotte becomes the Marquis’ opponent. Furthermore, he acts as a surrogate father for Adeline, a role that is emphasized by the actions of Lamotte’s wife, who, though intensely jealous of Adeline in the novel, fills the role of a sensible and protective mother in the play. She explicitly identifies herself in these terms when, learning of the Marquis’s intentions, she exclaims “I were unworthy of the sacred name, / Could I stand by, and see one mother’s joy / Basely betray’d to misery and guilt” (46). Lamotte himself is at least partially exculpated from his contribution to that “misery and guilt” because he is misled about the Marquis’s true intentions.

Figure 3a.

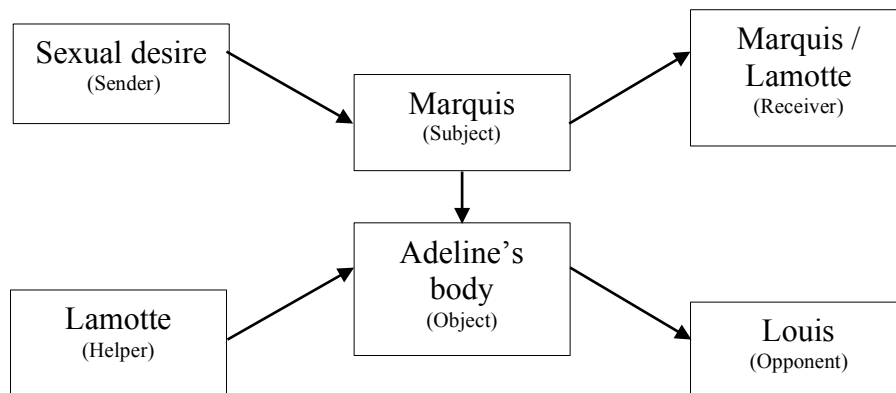
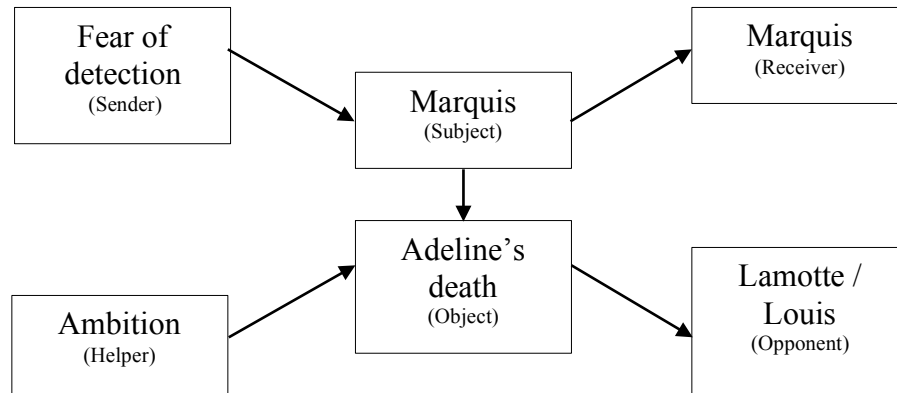


Figure 3b.



The Lamottes are further established as protective surrogate parents by Louis' role as hero and Adeline's only suitor. At the close of the play, Adeline gives her hand to Louis, and it is suggested that she accepts him as her husband as Madam Lamotte exclaims, "My children, may superior joys await ye,/and lengthen out a date of mutual fondness" (68). This differs from the novel where Adeline falls in love with and marries Theodore, a member of the Marquis' guard, and Louis' affections go unrequited. Adeline's escape from the abbey with Theodore; his imprisonment; and Adeline's safe haven with Monsieur La Luc, Theodore's father; fill half of the novel. These omissions serve a practical purpose, as they not only reduce the potential length of the play, but also the number of characters required. Boaden creates a single setting in the abbey and its surrounding forest, not only making it easier for scene changes but also following the neoclassical rule of unity of space, which, though never rigidly followed in British theatre practice, serves to increase intensity. These omissions also make the story an easier one to follow for the audiences of Covent Garden. By retaining the action in the abbey and the forest surrounding it, Boaden reduces the horror of this conventional Gothic setting. Instead of the place in the novel where Adeline is thrown into the care of a desperate stranger, accused of adultery, and threatened with rape, the forest and abbey are where Adeline finds a secure environment with a caring family, where she finds a romantic partner and where she discovers

the truth about her identity.

The decriminalization of Monsieur Lamotte and the transformation of the Lamottes into a surrogate family for Adeline isolate the Marquis as the play's "domestic disturber." The Marquis' role as a usurper is underscored by allusions to two of Shakespeare's most well known plays on the subject, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*: from *Hamlet* Boaden alludes to act one, scene five, in which Hamlet encounters his father's ghost; from *Macbeth*, he alludes to act three, scene four, in which Macbeth fears he sees the ghost of Banquo. These allusions, which would have been highly recognizable to Boaden's audience, equate the villain, the Marquis, with both Claudius and Macbeth, two regicide usurpers who receive their just comeuppance at the end of their respective plays.

Boaden's most obvious alteration to Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest*, the ghost of Adeline's dead father, has had an impact far beyond its brief moment on stage; it impressed Boaden's audience and has interested scholars in a way little else of his dramatic writing has. The ghost enters as Adeline reads the memoir of a prisoner in the abbey. When she first finds the manuscript at the end of act two, she exclaims, "Angels guard me!" (26). This line, which closes the second act, is a direct reference to Hamlet's remark upon seeing the ghost of his father: "Angels and Ministers of Grace defend us" (1.4.20). Kate Rumbold has shown, in her article "Banal Shakespeare and the Eighteenth-Century Novel," that quoting Shakespeare was a common practice during the eighteenth century. She indicates that phrases such as "Angels and Ministers of Grace defend us," from *Hamlet*, existed in polite society as a common exclamation which was "made famous by David Garrick's performances of the role" during the mid-century (615). A well-known line, Boaden uses it to prepare his audience for the ghost, which is to be associated with the hidden chamber and the manuscript found therein. When the ghost does appear at the end of act three, Adeline attempts to quiet her fears through rational explanation

twice before she concludes, “My sense does not deceive me!” (40). At this moment she sees the ghost (which was slightly visible on stage behind her), and realizes that the death occurred in that very spot: “‘Twas here he fell!” (40). The scene closes upon her shrieks as the ghost glides past her. When the Marquis is tried at the end of the play, he is charged with “most unnatural murder” (65), the same crime charged to Claudius by the ghost of Old Hamlet, who states his death was caused by “Murder most foul, as in the best it is, / but the most foul, strange, and unnatural” (1.5.27-28). Although Adeline’s encounter with what she learns is her father’s ghost does not directly compare to Hamlet’s initial encounter with *his* father’s ghost, the physical staging of the scene provides the allusion.

Shakespearean allusion was nothing new in Gothic literature and certainly Radcliffe’s *The Romance of the Forest* reflects the fratricide found in *Hamlet*.<sup>20</sup> We know that Radcliffe’s delivery of terror derives partly from Shakespeare’s ghosts scenes in such plays as *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *Julius Caesar*, in which the explained and unexplained supernatural occur in a careful balance: is Banquo really a ghost at the feast, or is Macbeth’s guilty mind producing a hallucination? This same question was asked by John Philip Kemble, one month after the opening performance of *Fontainville Forest*. In April 1794, Kemble produced a version of *Macbeth* in which Banquo’s ghost was not presented on stage – a first for the patent theatres. Although not admired by critics, the effective use of a stage ghost was always a hit both in Shakespeare and Boaden. In removing the ghost from his production, Kemble had the favour of the critics, who had “praised this innovation,” yet “audiences seem to have been unhappy with the deletion,” as the ghost was reintroduced to be play in later productions (Reno 97). Although

---

<sup>20</sup> In his article “Gothic and the ghost of *Hamlet*,” Dale Townshend recognizes the similarities between a number of Gothic tales and *Hamlet*, including *The Romance of the Forest*: “This ‘primal eldest curse’ provides the basis for much of the action in Ann Radcliffe’s *The Romance of the Forest* (1791)... Here, the noble Marquis Henry de Montalt, the father of the hero Adeline, occupies the place of old King Hamlet, murdered, as he is, according to the designs of his Claudius-like brother, Phillipe de Montalt” (79).

the Drury Lane production kept Banquo's ghost off the stage, the ghost "continued on stage at Covent Garden" (Reno 97-98). Radcliffe seems to have admired Shakespeare's technique of creating psychological spectres because, in her novels, she creates highly dramatic situations for the supernatural to occur, without actually presenting the supernatural itself.

The *coup de théâtre* that Boaden was able to achieve with the ghost of Adeline's father is an appropriation of *Hamlet*. Boaden does not necessarily stage the ghost of Old Hamlet by referencing Shakespeare's play directly; rather, the ghost is an image borrowed from Henry Fuseli's popular painting *Hamlet, Horatio, Marcellus and the Ghost*, a prominent piece at Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery (*Life of Kemble* 2:313, see figure 4). Boaden, wanting to achieve the same sublime quality admired in Fuseli's painting, settled on a special effect: "The great contrivance was, that the spectre should appear through a bluish-gray gauze, so as to remove the too corporeal effect of a 'live actor,' and convert the moving substance into a gliding essence" (2:324).<sup>21</sup> The novelty of this approach is perhaps best reflected in the actor's response to Boaden's instructions: Mr. Thomson, originally cast as the ghost, appeared not behind a gauzy scrim as Boaden had intended, but rather wearing a length of gauze draped over him like a veil. Boaden corrected the mistake not only by stretching the gauze "across a portal of the scene," but also by replacing Thomson with the "tall, sweeping figure" of Mr. Follet, who he then had dressed in armour (2:326). If audience members did not recognize the visual allusion to Fuseli's painting (and thus to *Hamlet*), Boaden made that connection explicit in his epilogue. The actress playing Adeline, Mrs. Pope, argues in the epilogue that ghosts should be left "to *Hamlet's* pedigree" as "Shakspeare's petrifying pow'r / Commands alone the horror-giving hour." This same epilogue gives Boaden's reply:

---

<sup>21</sup> According to Burwick, "When oxygen-fed lamps were introduced at the end of the eighteenth century, remarkable new stage effects were introduced that made it possible to project phantom images onto the stage" ("Afterword" 243). Ranger explains how this was achieved, "by using the green halves of the shades of Argand lamps, strategically banking them in the wings" (76).

I think of Him, the brightest spirit above,  
 Who triumphs over time and fickle forms,  
 The changes of caprice, and passion's storms;  
 Whose mighty muse the subject world must bind,  
 While sense and nature charm the willing mind.<sup>22</sup>

In reply, Pope asks, "You mean to sanction then your own pale sprite, / by his"? Boaden answers, "I do" (69), deliberately announcing his appropriation to the audience.



Figure 4. "Hamlet, Act 1, Scene IV." 1793. Print by Robert Thew. Reproduced with permission from the British Museum

<sup>22</sup> Boaden likens Shakespeare to God by capitalizing "Him." Boaden's bardolatry of Shakespeare was well-known as he was said to have abhorred adaptations of Shakespeare, particularly Tate's rendition of *King Lear* (Gray 291). Also, William Henry Ireland claimed that Boaden, upon seeing the Shakespeare forger on the street, exclaimed, "You must be aware, sir of the enormous crime you committed against the divinity of Shakespeare. Why, the act, sir, was nothing short of sacrilege; it was precisely the same thing as taking the holy Chalice from the altar and \*\*\*\*\* therein!" (Mair 228).

Boaden's epilogue suggests a sensitivity to criticism about his incorporation of a ghost. The first objection, as made by Pope in the epilogue, is that the supernatural (particularly the ghost) was seen as the sole property of Shakespeare. In the prologue to his adaptation *The Tempest; or The Enchanted Island*, John Dryden remarks that John Fletcher's *The Sea Voyage* could not compete with Shakespeare's *The Tempest* because "Shakespeare's Magick could not copy'd be, / Within that Circle non durst walk but he" (7). Elizabeth Montagu cites this line in her essay "On the Praeternatural Beings," saying that Shakespeare "boldly exerts his poetic genius and fascinating powers in that magic circle, *in which non e'er durst walk but he*" (34). Apart from being mastered by Shakespeare, as Montagu's essay argues, the supernatural was allowed for Shakespearean plays on the eighteenth-century stage because it was thought that superstition was common in Shakespeare's time, but it was not for the enlightened public of the eighteenth century, and new plays that contained a ghost were often reproached for this very feature. Reno states that critics objected to ghosts because "no one believed in their existence and must therefore object to their representation on stage" (95). A writer for *The Literary Review, and Historical Journal* seems to confirm this statement as he argues that Boaden's ghost "detracts not a little from the interest created by a discovery equally unexpected and horrid" (383), and a reviewer in the *Analytical Review* complained that Boaden's ghost "is a bold violation of probability" (qtd. in Reno 100). The same argument was made against Lewis's spectre in his 1798 hit *The Castle Spectre*: "many objections have been urged: one of them I think rather curious. She ought not to appear, because the belief in Ghosts no longer exists!" ("Postscript" 199). It seems these allegations forced Boaden to justify his ghost both in the printed version of the play and again in his *Life of Kemble* (1825):

when the doubtful of the narrative is to be exhibited in the *drama*, the decision is a matter of necessity. While *description* only fixes the inconclusive dreams of the

fancy, she may partake the dubious character of her inspirer; but the pen of the dramatic poet must turn everything into shape, and bestow on these ‘airy nothings a local habitation and a name’. (*Life of Kemble* 2:314)

In quoting Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Boaden emphasizes his role as a dramatic poet, doing precisely what Shakespeare does in his comedy.<sup>23</sup> This is another form of justification by appealing to Shakespeare. But the comments of scholars who have analyzed this play suggest that it was part of Boaden’s overall dramaturgy to “out-Gothicize” his source, a strategy which changes by the time he writes *Aurelio and Miranda* (1798) owing to the ideological significance of the supernatural in the source text (Lewis’ *The Monk*). Cox realizes that for Boaden, in *Fontainville Forest*, “the audience demands clarity: the playwright must either follow Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* in making the ghost real or, as Boaden does in his adaptation of Lewis’s *The Monk*, eschew the supernatural” (“English Gothic” 131). Cohan also notices that “Boaden felt that [Radcliffe’s] typical rational explanation of ‘all that had excited terror’ was a bit too tricky, and it cheapened her imaginative premise—and betrayed the good faith of her audience” (Cohan xiii). In an attempt to justify Boaden’s apprehensions, Mydla has argued that the “kind of ambiguity” presented in the scene in which Adeline believes she hears a ghost in *The Romance of the Forest* “was basically unattainable on the stage. The decision Boaden was forced to make pushed him straight into the embrace of the supernatural” (“Recycling” 123). These three critics present Boaden’s options as exclusive: he either stages a ghost or all the terror of the scene is lost for the audience.

---

<sup>23</sup> Not believing the lovers’ tale of the previous night, Theseus, of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* claims, as imagination bodies forth  
The forms of things unknown, the poet’s pen  
Turns them into shapes, and gives to airy nothing  
A local habitation and a name (5.1.14-17).

*Fontainville Forest* contains both types of the Gothic supernatural: the actual appearance, which we have already seen alludes to *Hamlet*, and also the psychological (which most scholars tend to overlook in this play) that alludes directly to *Macbeth*. In his *Life of Kemble*, Boaden admits that his displeasure with Radcliffe's 'explained supernatural' grew out of the feeling that there is "something *ungenerous* in thus playing upon a poor timid human nature, and agonizing it with false terrors" (2:313). Despite his opinion on this matter, Boaden does not alter the psychological fear of the Marquis in the fourth act of *Fontainville Forest*, in which, through direct allusion to *Macbeth*, the Marquis believes he encounters the ghost of the man he killed. In the eighth chapter of Radcliffe's novel, this event is explained as a psychological lapse in the Marquis who quits the abbey in a flustered manner. At the end of the novel, the narrator reflects on this instance:

It is probable, that on the night of his abrupt departure from the Abbey, the solitary silence and gloom of the hour, in a place which had been the scene of his former crime, called up the remembrance of his brother with a force too powerful for fancy, and awakened horrors which compelled him to quit the polluted spot. If it was so, it is however certain that the *spectre of conscience* vanished with the darkness; for on the following day he returned to the Abbey, though it may be observed, he never attempted to pass another night there. (emphasis added, 344)

Boaden presents this encounter in a scene at the beginning of act four, in which the Marquis runs on stage screaming:

Away! Pursue me not! Thou Phantom hence!  
 For while thy form thus haunts me, all my powers  
 Are wither'd as the parchment by the flame,  
 And my joints frail as nerveless infancy. (41)

There is no question as to probability in this instance, as the narrator contends there is in the novel. The Marquis' decision to leave the abbey is the result of his seeing (or believing to see) the ghost of his brother. Although the audience had already viewed the ghost at the end of the third act, this 'phantom' that pursues the Marquis is not visible at this point. The Marquis' voiced fears reflect those of Macbeth, who also orders his psychological spectre (Banquo) to depart, while equating his experience to that of a child:

If trembling I inhabit then, protest me  
 The baby of a girl. Hence, horrible shadow,  
 Unreal mock'ry, hence! Why so, being gone,  
 I am a man again. (3.4.104-107)

Boaden's appropriation of this scene seems to counteract his argument in *The Life of Kemble* about Radcliffe's ungenerousness in explaining away her spectres. This scene serves a psychological purpose, as it does in Radcliffe, pointing to the effect of the Marquis' crimes on his own conscience. Like Macbeth at this point in Shakespeare's play, the Marquis is made to reflect on his crimes and is made aware of the frailty of his position, which is why he leaves the abbey. As if to emphasize this connection with his *readers*, Boaden adds to the published version of this play an epigraph from *Macbeth*: "It will have blood: they say, blood will have blood. Stones have been known to move, and trees to speak" (3.4.146-147). The title character speaks these lines after seeing Banquo's ghost. Although Radcliffe herself made use of Shakespearean quotations for many of her epigraphs, she never cites these particular lines is not. In Boaden's play, the citation emphasizes the justification for the Marquis' downfall – his death is not revenge, but justice, which he himself brings about.

It is to be expected that the events of the novel would be streamlined for performance. However, seen in light of Boaden's conservative agenda, his alterations have the further effect of

isolating the Marquis, who becomes a solitary villain when Boaden alters the motivations of the Lamotte family. For most of *The Romance of the Forest*, this family represents a major threat to Adeline, her antagonists rather than, as in *Fontainville Forest*, her helpers. This fact has been generally overlooked in previous analyses of Boaden's play, but it serves an important role in making the Marquis the play's sole source of terror. The only character in *Fontainville Forest* requiring justice is the Marquis, who, having already succumbed to his ambition in killing his brother, repents and makes amends by confessing all, not unlike Shakespeare's Edmund in *King Lear*. Lamotte, on the other hand, faces no punishment whatsoever, even for the robberies he committed prior to the play. In the novel, "his sentence was softened from death to banishment," owing to Adeline's intervention (Radcliffe 333); Boaden's revision, reintegrating this criminal into society once he is no longer a threat to the social order, anticipates a tendency that will be fully realized in Boaden's later plays. For a conservative performance, much of Radcliffe's novel did not require alteration because it already presented the essence of what Boaden wanted to present: a usurper brought to justice.

## **SECTION 2: *The Secret Tribunal***

This dramaturgical structure becomes more apparent in *The Secret Tribunal*. Some of the political implications barely discernible in *Fontainville Forest* are more overtly present in *The Secret Tribunal*, which uses the same technique of isolating and punishing the villain but with more clearly topical overtones relating to the British responses to the French Revolution.

Boaden's isolation of a villain in *The Secret Tribunal* is more apparent because its source text, *Herman of Unna*, has a collective villain in the form of the tribunal. Boaden alters the position of the tribunal in Christiane Benedikte Naubert's novel from a source of terror and persecution of the innocent, to a judicial system that offers real justice. *Herman of Unna*, originally written in

German in 1788, was translated pseudonymously in 1794 and became a success in Britain.

*Herman of Unna* is associated with the fraught decade of the 1790s, when conspiracy theories and worries about secret justice were rampant. According to Hilary Brown in *Benedikte Naubert (1756-1819) and Her Relations to English Culture*, the novel attracted British readership because it fictionalizes social fears during a time when there occurred “a proliferation of conspiracy theories, holding that foreign or even home-grown networks of Jacobins, freemasons, or Illuminati were plotting the fall of the civilized world” (116). Boaden revises this aspect of the novel by isolating an ambitious villain. He neutralizes the secret tribunal and the novel’s conspiracies to situate all of the play’s villainy squarely on his shoulders. In adapting the novel for the stage Boaden creates a new figure in Ratibor. Ratibor serves a similar role in this play to the Marquis’s in *Fontainville Forest*. Ratibor is the brother of the Duke of Wirtemberg (a conflation of Emperor Wenceslaus and Count Wirtemberg of the novel), whose ambition for his brother’s title leads him to contemplate murder.<sup>24</sup> Boaden further decriminalizes the tribunal, by rejecting their biased treatment of Ida, the play’s heroine, who is only saved from their verdict by her position as the daughter of Count Wirtemberg, a leading member of the tribunal. In *The Secret Tribunal*, Ida maintains the status of a civilian’s daughter who is freed from persecution due to lawful proof of her innocence. In altering Ida’s status Boaden rejects a major Gothic component, the return of a long lost heir, a parallel plot, Mydla recognizes, to Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline* (*Spectres* 128). While Boaden discards this very Shakespearean element in his

---

<sup>24</sup> When Ratibor first appears on stage, he immediately makes his intentions known to the audience:

The Duke returns but slenderly attended,  
 A band of brave associates shall assail him,  
 And rid me of my only bar, this BROTHER!  
 Curse on my mind for conjuring up that term!  
 To that word prejudice and folly join  
 Sensations, deadly to ambition. (7)

adaptation, he includes another one from the same play by equating Ratibor with Cymbeline's evil Queen.

In *Herman of Unna* there exists a collective antagonist in the tribunal. It is the main source of havoc threatening the relationship of the hero, Herman, and his heroine, Ida. In the novel, Herman and Ida are kept from each other because their class difference; Herman, a poor aristocrat, is the chamberlain in Emperor Wincelous' court, and Ida is the maid to Empress Wincelous and daughter of a wealthy but non-aristocratic couple, the Munsters.<sup>25</sup> These differences are erased when Herman eventually learns that he is the heir to the fiefdom of Unna, and Ida is revealed to be the daughter of the Count of Wirtemberg. Unfortunately, Ida's aristocratic father is the rival to Herman's family, creating another barrier. It is only after Herman saves both Wirtemberg and Ida from the clutches of a secret tribunal that the two lovers are finally allowed to marry.

In *The Secret Tribunal*, by contrast Ratibor is the driving force of the plot as he initiates two schemes that keep Herman and Ida apart: Herman, because of Ratibor's villainy, is accused of the attempted murder of the Duke (who here is Herman's uncle), and Ida. The tribunal, a source of terror in the novel, becomes a source of justice in the play, when it attends to the testimony of a witness of Ratibor's scheming, the doctor Badendorff. Justice, though it may sleep in the novel, is certainly alive and well in Boaden's version.

*The Secret Tribunal* has been recognized by scholars for introducing to the English stage a characteristically German Gothic device, the all-powerful secret tribunal.<sup>26</sup> Given the concerns about the consequences of the suspension of *habeas corpus*, David makes a plausible argument that Boaden's play comments on the threat of "government spies and informers" by presenting

---

<sup>25</sup> In the play, Boaden changes the name of this family from Munster to Holstein.

<sup>26</sup> See Evans, *Gothic Drama from Walpole to Shelley* (125) and Jeffrey N Cox, *In the Shadows of Romance* (112).

Pitt's administration in the form of the ever-feared tribunal (96). More important, however, is the secret tribunal's relationship to the state and its ability to deliver justice. Ultimately, the tribunal is depicted in a positive light because it is able to deliver an appropriate verdict that punishes the guilty and frees the innocent. In presenting his tribunal in such a light, Boaden in fact diverges from what George Taylor argues is the usual approach to tribunal writing, as he discusses in *The French Revolution and the London Stage*. Although Taylor identifies Boaden's play as an example of the depiction of a revolutionary tribunal, a set piece that reflects "emblem[s] much used by the Jacobins" (93), it is worth noticing, as Taylor does not, that Boaden's depiction of the tribunal is favourable. It is the suspension of *habeas corpus*, not the Reign of Terror, that is being explored in *The Secret Tribunal*.

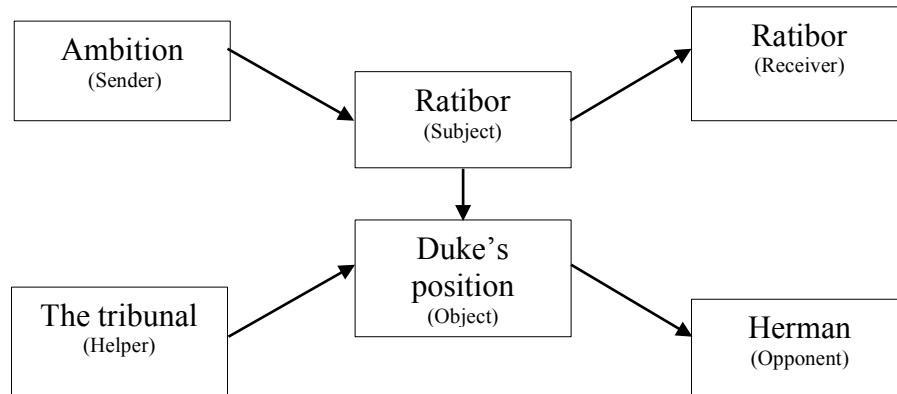
Boaden's play accentuates the British system of justice by eliminating the fear associated with the tribunal in the novel. Boaden does not place the source of terror in the tribunal itself but in the villain Ratibor who attempts to use the power of the tribunal to attempt to cover his own malicious behaviour. As the model in figure 5a illustrates, in Ratibor's desire for his brother's position, he requires the deaths of the Duke, Duchess and Herman and thus uses the tribunal for his advantage, making the tribunal an unknowing helper in these schemes.<sup>27</sup> Once captured and framed for the attempted murder of his uncle, Herman takes Ida's advice and escapes his prison. Boaden makes it clear that Herman is not running "from the judgement, but from the assassin's dagger" (37). Herman is confident in his innocence in front of the tribunal but fears for his life while under Ratibor's surveillance. Herman's fears are confirmed as, in the next scene, upon learning of Herman's escape, Ratibor immediately decides to forge a "secret order for [Herman's] death; Pretending to have born it from the judges" (40). Unlike the novel in which

---

<sup>27</sup> Ratibor has his assassin Rudolph dress "as a Member of the Secret Tribunal" prior to the murder to the Duke, and Ratibor gives him the order to "Transfix the body to some blighted oak, / And leave the weapon there; the deed will then / Seem the just vengeance of the Secret Judges" (12).

Herman *does* run to escape trial, Boaden's Herman runs to escape the individual who is subverting the course of justice.<sup>28</sup>

Figure 5a.



Boaden thus transfers the villainy commonly associated with a secret tribunal to a single character, the Gothic villain. Ratibor is accentuated as a Gothic villain through his lust for Ida. Like the Marquis of *Fontainville Forest*, Ratibor is passionately smitten with a heroine who fears his advances. In *Spectacular Politics*, Paula Backscheider recognizes that the conventional Gothic villain “menaces a beautiful virtuous woman who will be happily married to an admirable, stable man. Desire for property, not love or sex, motivates the villain, who Lewis notes, has a tortured conscience” (156). Ratibor’s “desire for property” and power is the catalyst for the events of the play, as with his first entrance on stage, he announces “The promis’d day of power at length dawns on me: / One daring step will seat me on a throne” (7). Backscheider argues that the villain’s “basic drive to secure his claim [...] is rapidly embodied in or transformed into a young woman” (165). Ratibor’s advances on Ida stem from Ida’s own affection for Herman, who, being the Duke’s own nephew, is “so dread a rival” to Ratibor’s claim of the Dukedom (10). Ratibor’s

<sup>28</sup> In the novel, Herman also follows Ida’s advice when she states, “Fly, Herman, fly! Vengeance pursues thee! [...] The INVISIBLES are thine enemies!” (2:206). The characters are so familiar with the tribunal’s prejudices that “Herman had no other means of saving himself from his pursuers than by flight; and that even this would be futile, unless he could keep himself concealed, or obtain the protection of some superior power” (1:214).

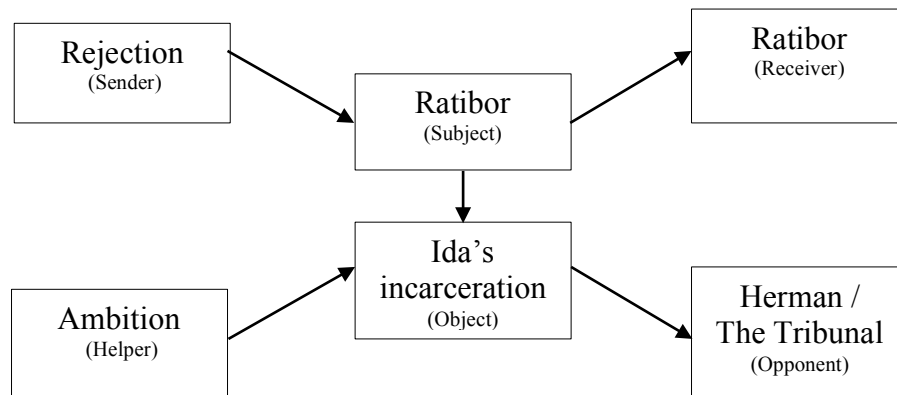
subsequent desire to see Ida incarcerated for the murder of the Duchess (another one of his plans) stems from his initial desire for his brother's position as duke. Ratibor continues to pursue his villainous scheme even though its trajectory has changed.

Apart from including a Gothic villain, Boaden decriminalizes the tribunal by presenting it as a just system. In the novel Ida is brought to face the tribunal for witchcraft, and she is released not because her innocence was verified, but because she was proved to be the daughter of the chief of the tribunal, Count Wirtemberg. Being related to a member of the tribunal allowed her freedom from prosecution (Naubert 2:38).<sup>29</sup> Such biased judgment does not occur in *The Secret Tribunal*, as Ida's release is granted upon actual proof of her innocence. By making Ida a character of low birth, Boaden accentuates the ability of the judicial system, in this case the tribunal, to be just to all members of society: the nobly-born Ratibor is convicted, and the low-born Ida is acquitted. Now, as figure 5b shows, the tribunal has switched from an unknowing helper of Ratibor's plans, to a conscious opponent, providing justice. By altering Ida's identity, Boaden is further emphasizing Ratibor's villainy, as Ida's heritage is an element from the novel that coincides with Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, to which Boaden alludes through his characterization of Ratibor, not Ida.

---

<sup>29</sup> In *Herman of Unna*, a member of the secret tribunal may testify that a family member is innocent and it would be "equivalent to a complete justification" (1:243).

Figure 5b.



Both *Herman of Unna* and *The Secret Tribunal* appropriate Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, but Boaden shifts the novel's engagement with Shakespeare's play in order to emphasize entirely different elements. Boaden eliminates the subplot in *Herman of Unna* that most resembles *Cymbeline* and adds an alternative subplot from the same play that allows him to explore the danger of personal ambition. In *Herman of Unna*, Munster's stealing and raising of Ida reflects the subplot of *Cymbeline* concerning Belarius and the two princes. Both Belarius and Munster are favoured soldiers of their respected sovereigns. In *Cymbeline*, Belarius relates to his adopted children that "Cymbeline loved me, / And when a soldier was the theme my name / Was not far off" (3.4.57-60). Likewise, Munster relates to Ida that he was "one of the principal officers of the count of Wirtemberg" (Naubert 2:57). In both cases, these soldiers fall out of favour due to a false rumour. Belarius, whose bravery against the Romans is well known, is falsely accused of spying for these same enemies.<sup>30</sup> Munster is likewise banished for merely fulfilling his duty as a soldier, as he informs the count of an approaching attack to capture the countess.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore,

<sup>30</sup> Belarius admits to his sons,  
 two villains, whose false oaths prevailed  
 Before my perfect honour, swore to Cymbeline  
 I was confederate with the Romans. So  
 Followed my banishment. (3.4.65-69)

<sup>31</sup> Munster recollects,

each steals the heir to his sovereign with the complicity of the child's nurse, whom he then marries. Belarius' act was merely out of anger (5.3.341-348), while Munster's action is more heroic as he saves both the child Ida and her nurse from a fire. Munster is refrained from returning the child to her lawful father in fear for her safety: "to deliver the young princess into the hands of her stepmother, and to deprive her of life, would be one and the same thing" (2:83). Naubert's Shakespearean source becomes the most apparent when Ida is returned to her rightful father, the Count of Wirtemberg. In order to save Ida from the tribunal, Munster appeals to the Count to protect her, since she is the Count's daughter. Munster provides as proof a birthmark on Ida's hand and her birthmother's ring (2:10). These proofs coincide with the revelation of the princes' identities in *Cymbeline* as they appear in the form of a physical attribute and an object of the mother: Guiderius had "Upon his neck a mole, a sanguine star" (5.5.365), and Arviragus was "lapped / In a most curious mantle wrought by th'hand / Of his queen mother" (5.3.362-4). This form of identification is a common trope in Gothic novels and has already been shown in Boaden's *Fontainville Forest* to identify Adeline. By not including it in *The Secret Tribunal*, especially when it is a major plot element to *Herman of Unna*, Boaden takes a decisive step away from the most apparent Shakespearean element in Naubert's text.

While the appropriation of the princes' plot from *Cymbeline* is fairly evident in Naubert's novel, Shakespeare is not an especially notable influence on Naubert's writing. Brown has shown that Naubert's English influences includes works by Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding and Sophia Lee (56-71), but Brown does not recognize Shakespeare as an influence. Still, Shakespeare's status in Germany during the eighteenth century grew almost to idolatrous levels, where it became solidified by the end of the century when August Wilhelm Schlegel claimed the

---

She pretended that I insulted her, and that my whole story was a falsehood fabricated for some ill design... Not only was I suspected by my master, and punished for having fulfilled my duty of a faithful subject, but I beheld the count himself, through his own fault, exposed to the most imminent danger, and with him my Maria, and the dear infant whom she loved more than life. (2:74-75)

bard as “completely ours.”<sup>32</sup> In *The Critical Reception of Shakespeare in Germany 1682-1914*, Roger Paulin traces the German criticism of Shakespeare through the eighteenth century, claiming that “every major German poet and writer since 1750, generally those in the dramatic mode, had devoted at least one substantial piece of his oeuvre to Shakespeare, in some cases much more” (Paulin 2). Naubert, writing in the late 1780s, would have been exposed to Shakespeare’s dramas. Being a part of Goethe’s generation, which, according to Paulin “made the name of Shakespeare synonymous with the new national literature in Germany that was a last attracting attention beyond its own borders” (*Critical Reception* 8), Naubert’s use of Shakespearean themes and structures is not surprising.

Whether or not Naubert intentionally appropriated Shakespeare in her novel, Boaden’s play proves to recognize the parallels, and, furthermore, he altered the novel to reflect another aspect of *Cymbeline* that better suited his purpose. Boaden’s allusions to *Cymbeline* occur in the character arc of Ratibor, which reflects the villainy of the Queen and he eliminates the plot of the reinstatement of a rightful heir, found in his source text. Boaden’s invented character, Dr. Badendorff, is the clearest example of this appropriation. In *The Secret Tribunal*, Ratibor, who has already framed Herman for the attempted murder of the duke, writes a warrant for Herman’s death. During this scene he receives a letter from the duchess’s doctor, Badendorff, which reads: “To the Lord Ratibor. All is accomplish’d. The deadly mixture is by your command infus’d, and Ida ministers the draught. Ere this your sister dies” (39). Ratibor gives this letter to a soldier of the tribunal by mistake, implicating himself and the doctor in the murder of the Duchess. This letter is then handed to Herman, since the soldier has accepted it as what Ratibor said it was, Herman’s death sentence. Thus armed with the truth by miraculous coincidence, Herman is able to make the soldier his ally in a quest to find Badendorff and bring the truth to light, though it

---

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Paulin, “Shakespeare and Germany” (314).

threatens to burden Ida with guilt, if only for what she has unwittingly helped to bring about. At the trial, an unexpectedly happy ending is ushered in when Badendorff explains that “the contents are false—the maid accus’d /Ne’er gave the deadly drug; nor was it given” (65). Like Cornelius in Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline*, Badendorff feared the consequences of disobeying his master and thus gave a false account of his actions to Ratibor. Badendorff confesses:

That monster, yonder, oft had tempted me  
 To do the abhorred deed this paper speaks of.  
 In fear of agents more corruptible,  
 I promis’d to perform it – Oft he chid me  
 For cold delay—at length too certain signs  
 Of speedy dissolution mark’d her Highness;—  
 Then I dispatch’d this letter to yon brother,  
 Deceiv’d him—led him blindly to his fate. (66-67)

Unlike *Cymbeline*, where the audience is aware of the doctor’s defiance of the Queen’s request for poison in the first act, in *The Secret Tribunal*, the audience has no reason to doubt the truth of the contents of Badendorff’s letter that condemns Ratibor.

As if to underscore his appropriation of a Shakespearean usurper, Boaden appeals to the psychological deterioration portrayed in *Macbeth*. When Ratibor receives the note from Badendorff reporting that the queen was poisoned (III, iii), Ratibor displays his guilt through his fear of his victim’s ghost. In this scene, it is fully believable that the Duchess was murdered accidentally by Ida’s hand. Not only does this scene take place in “*A Gothic Chapel*” (39), but as Ratibor gives his dutiful soldier the order to kill Herman, “*a piercing shriek without*” is heard (42). Immediately Ratibor believes he sees “*a sea of blood*” on which “*a phantom glides*” (42). The soldier does not see this vision and blames Ratibor’s behaviour on his “*fancy*” (42).

Logically explaining the event, the soldier says the scream was from the Duchess's attendants who found her dead (43). This scene seems to be not only an allusion to *Macbeth*, but also, since the ghost remains unstaged, to John Philip Kemble's own production. The presentation of the ghost, in this instance, would have been a far more spectacular decision, as scholars have argued for *Fontainville Forest*. However, the presentation of a ghost would have distracted from the true point of interest, Ratibor's villainy. We see him undergoing the same psychological deterioration that causes *Macbeth* to believe he sees Banquo.

By focusing his play on Ratibor's villainy, Boaden redirects his audience's source of terror from the highly feared tribunal to the scheming ambition of an individual. In doing so, Boaden comments on the source of villainy in his own time—the individual not the institution. Boaden's message becomes clear in terms of the treason trials. It is apparent that Boaden alludes to Shakespeare in order to highlight the crime that he is most adamant about preventing, usurpation, and not, as Worrall claims, wrongful imprisonment by a ruthless judicial system. In *The Secret Tribunal*, unlike *Herman of Unna*, *habeas corpus* is not broken. It is not the jury that is criminalized but the individual who abuses the tribunal through perjury.

*The Secret Tribunal* and, in retrospect, *Fontainville Forest* can be read as allegories for the threat posed by Jacobins to British society. Considering that at this time Boaden was editor of *The Oracle*, a newspaper that openly stated its approval for the government's position during the treason trials and the acts to follow, it is probable that his plays were inspired by the same sentiments found in this newspaper. After *habeas corpus* was suspended in August 1794, *The Oracle* published an article, "Defence of Administration, on the SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT." This article emphasized that the suspension was required in order "to check all Jacobin reforms," and claimed that the suspension of *habeas corpus* "is a step, at this moment, very salutary and proper. Its suspension is not owing to the executive power, or to

Parliament, but to CERTAIN CLUBS and CERTAIN SOCIETIES, whose *machinations* render it absolutely necessary; for, if that act were not suspended, in the house of *glaring conspiracy*, we should soon have NO ACTS TO ENFORCE!” (August 6, 1794, original emphasis). This article further illustrates that “*the INNOCENT need not be under any dread*” (August 6, 1794, original emphasis). *The Secret Tribunal* reflects this confidence in the judicial system, despite its adaptation of a novel in which such a system is presented as a source of terror. Evidence that Boaden intended to stage a play that favoured the suspension of *habeas corpus* appeared in *The Oracle*, in April of 1795, two months prior to both the suspension of *habeas corpus* and the première of *The Secret Tribunal*:

Mr. BOADEN’s new play is upon a subject singularly impressive.—*The Secret Tribunals of Germany*, in the dark ages as given in Professor Kramer’s *Herman of Unna*. To the story he has not adhered strictly; the names are retained and the dramatic incidents. His object is to point forcibly the blessing of a BRITISH JURY to the subject. (April 3 1795)

As my analysis has shown, Boaden’s tribunal is a just one that clearly represents the justice Boaden attributes to the law courts of his own society, despite the suspension of protective laws such as *habeas corpus*. In *The Transatlantic Gothic Novel and the Law, 1790-1860*, Bridget M. Marshall analyses the judicial system in Radcliffe’s *The Romance of the Forest*, concluding that “courtrooms ultimately fail to do what they are charged to do: none of the ‘justice’ [...] actually occurs within the courts, and in many scenes the courts perpetrate further injustice” (14). This is not the case in Boaden’s play. The “courtroom” is a place of justice, even though the Marquis is not actually taken to a physical court in *Fontainville Forest*. Boaden instead presents Nemours, a simple lawyer in the novel, as “vested with the powers / To bring [the Marquis] straight to answer a charge / of most unnatural murder” (64-65). Nemours represents the law court, as he is

bestowed, by the sovereign of the country, with the “powers” of judge and jury.

This chapter has shown that Boaden’s first two plays, *Fontainville Forest* and *The Secret Tribunal*, are altered from their source texts and allude to Shakespeare in such a way as to reflect opinions favourable to the Tory government during a time when revolution threatened to spread to Britain itself. In the next chapter, I will use similar methods of fidelity analysis and contextualization to show how Boaden’s objective shifts to then include the villain into the domestic sphere in order to combat a greater threat, the threat of French invasion between 1796 and 1798.

## Chapter 2

### Foreign Foes: Banding Together Against a Common Enemy

After *The Secret Tribunal*, Boaden took a two-year hiatus from playwriting. A major concern became the Treasonable Practices and the Seditious Meetings Acts, intended to suppress Jacobinism in Britain and prevent rebels in Ireland joining forces with the French. By December 1796, 15,000 French troops attempted to invade Britain through Ireland with the support of Irish rebels, but they were “detained by bad weather,” and ultimately did not succeed in their invasion (Royle 22). By the time Boaden’s third play, *The Italian Monk*, was produced in August 1797, there was already a call for “gentlemen volunteers” to join the defence effort while “military camps [were] set up between London and the south coast” (Taylor 158). It is at this time that the structure of Boaden’s plays changes. The plays produced after the initial invasion threat of 1796 no longer depict an antagonist punished and scapegoated, but instead employ a tone motivating audience members to band together as a nation in the face of the larger enemy, France. *The Italian Monk* (1797), *Cambro-Britons* (1798), and *Aurelio and Miranda* (1798) all present an antagonist who by the end of each play is restored as a beneficial member of society. These plays, like Boaden’s earlier ones, present the country’s crisis metaphorically in order to promote a patriotic, conservative cause.

I suggested in chapter one that in Boaden’s early plays the Gothic villain who betrayed his family and was brought to justice represented the English Jacobin. In his later plays, the villains retain their metaphorical status as English Jacobin; however, instead of illustrating their just punishment, Boaden appeals for their rehabilitation as English patriots and defenders of the nation. There exists at least one example of a discourse surrounding Jacobinism from 1798 that reflects a desire to rehabilitate or change the minds of would-be Jacobins, not scapegoat or

punish them. In December of 1798, *The Oracle* published a letter entitled “French Invasion,” in which the anonymous writer described Britain’s need for self-examination and reflection:

Were Englishmen united among themselves and true to each other, neither the French nor any other hostile power would ever attempt, or even threaten, an invasion, as they would be fully convinced their destruction must be the inevitable consequence of their temerity. [...] The people ought to be exceedingly cautious how they trust to the speeches and arguments of men, who [...] in order to attain the object of their ambition, scruple not to hazard the honour, welfare, safety, and the very existence of the kingdom. [...] Britons, conquered by the present race of Frenchmen, would find no mercy. They would be consigned to every species of insult, barbarity, and oppression, that an unprincipled banditti could inflict on the most abject of their slaves. [...] Let every Briton, who retains any regard for his family, his friends, and his country, examin [*sic*] his own heart, and I trust he will be convinced that it is in his interest, as well as his duty, to exert his utmost endeavours to defend this island against all foreign enemies, as well as against all domestic traitors.

— A Poor, But Loyal Briton.

(December 18, 1797)

This writer uses Gothic metaphors to describe British enemies, both domestic and foreign. First he warns his readers against the “ambition” of English revolutionaries. ‘Ambition’ is a defining aspect of the Boaden’s earlier Gothic villain who reflects Shakespeare’s usurpers (Macbeth, Claudius and Cymbeline’s Queen), and the term reflects this writer’s opinion on the traitorous trajectory of reformers, which also equates them with the popular Shakespearean reformers. Furthermore, this writer equates the French with “unprincipled banditti,” a set of archetypal

characters in Gothic drama, a band of thieves, meant to cause fear in theatre audiences who had the “expectation that they lurked behind each projecting wing piece” (Ranger 38). This writer’s understanding of the well-known metaphors of the Gothic drama shows us that Boaden’s metaphors would have been at least partially understood by audiences.

This passage from the letter represents the possibility of rehabilitating British traitors. In her book *Britons, Forging a Nation*, Linda Colley regards the French Revolutionary War as a defining moment in British nationalism, as it “brought Britons, whether they hailed from Wales or Scotland or England, into confrontation with an obviously hostile Other and encouraged them to define themselves collectively against it” (5). Colley adds, however, that the civilians who agreed most with this sentiment, who actually engaged with the war effort, were established in urban centres where they had more access to patriotic propaganda.<sup>33</sup> Some propaganda images were of the royal family as a domestic unit. Cox reminds us that the ubiquity of the royal family on “many prints, broadsheets, mugs, and medals” drew “the outlines of a standard conservative argument for the monarchy and against the Jacobins” (“Ideology” 588). By presenting what was seen as the natural order of the world in the image of the nuclear family, where “the woman is below her husband, and the children are below their mother, and the servant is below his master,” as Hanna More indicates in *Village Politics* (qtd in Cox, “Ideology” 588), Boaden takes part in the growing public interest in the new genre of the domestic melodrama while presenting a conservative position in the debate against Jacobinism. However, Boaden does something interesting with these dramas, as the family becomes whole in his renditions only when the

---

<sup>33</sup> Colley states, “active commitment to Great Britain was not, could not be given. It had to be learnt; and men and women needed to see some advantage in learning it. Those who lived far from centres of wealth, population, information and activity learned it very slowly, and *some* Scots and Welshmen, like some of the inhabitants of the more isolated and peripheral regions of England, chose not to learn it at all” (Colley 295).

villain (i.e. the English Jacobin) renounces his ambitious ways and decides to help his ‘family’ in the fight against the “Other.”

Boaden very openly expressed his belief that the stage held a responsibility to represent the societal obligations of his fellow citizens. The structure of his dramas more latently shows that the stage could also alter radical thinking. This is a feature what is then emphasized by his allusions to Shakespeare. In his preface to *Cambro-Britons*, Boaden presents his patriotic objective directly:

I think [the stage] deficient in its noblest duty, when it inspires no ardour against an invading enemy. I know it is impossible to carry a spectator through a great and patriotic action, without communicating zeal, which he will apply to the general exigence that involves him. So thinking, I have written the present play with what success, as to composition, the public will determine: - with what influence, as to *principle*, I may indulge imagination in the silence of hope. (iii)

His purpose, at least for *Cambro-Britons*, is to rouse nationalist sentiments in his audience, possibly inspiring young men to volunteer for the defence corps. This becomes apparent in the main plot of *Cambro-Britons*, which dramatizes an invading enemy. The subplot of this play and the main plots of *The Italian Monk* and *Aurelio and Miranda* present Boaden’s broader image of political rehabilitation in the reunion of a broken family.

In his re-domestication of the villain, Boaden draws specifically from Shakespeare in a form that reflects Leontes’s repentance in *The Winter’s Tale*. Boaden alludes directly to *The Winter’s Tale* in *The Italian Monk*, structuring the main villain’s relationship to the heroine and his long-lost wife in a similar manner. While *Cambro-Britons* and *Aurelio and Miranda* do not appropriate *The Winter’s Tale* directly, they nevertheless emphasize the conversion of the villain as the climactic moment of the plot, which depends on a recognition of his familial status. In *The*

*Italian Monk* Schedoni alters his villainous trajectory once he realizes his daughter, Ellena, is alive. His conversion is rewarded with the return of his wife, who has been in hiding in a nearby convent since Ellena's childhood. In the subplot of *Cambro-Britons* David alters his trajectory at the demand of the ghost of his dead mother, a *deus ex machina* device designed to awaken quickly the villain's sense of remorse. The main plot of the play draws on the theme of brotherhood in *Henry V*, an appeal that the invading Edward I in *Cambro-Britons* responds to in his conversion at the end of the play. *Aurelio and Miranda* is more subtle. Cleverly, Boaden sticks closely to the plot of the novel, *The Monk*, in which the Aurelio character, Ambrosio, is depicted as a villain. However, Aurelio does not engage in the full extent of Ambrosio's villainy, and the ending negates the need for redemption in quite the same terms necessary in the other two plays I am discussing here.

In each of the three plays discussed in this chapter, the climax focuses on the recuperation of the villain character, who moves from the role of *opponent*, in the actantial model of the hero, to the role of *helper* consequent to his new-found understanding of his familial role. Furthermore, with the villain switching roles from *opponent* to *helper*, a larger threat is always left lingering, making the villain and hero allies against this threat. This dramatic structure allows us to see how Boaden's plays participate in a broader array of patriotic dramas during the aftermath of the French Revolution. As Taylor notes, patriotic dramas "advocated hegemonic principles [...] in simple narratives of triumph of the natural and familial, the common-sense and typical, over the crafty, sophisticated, perverted and un-British" (157). These dramas not only take a patriotic stance by showing the unification of family under a larger threat, but speak directly to those members of the audience with rebellious sentiments, in an attempt to convert them to a patriotic, loyalist position.

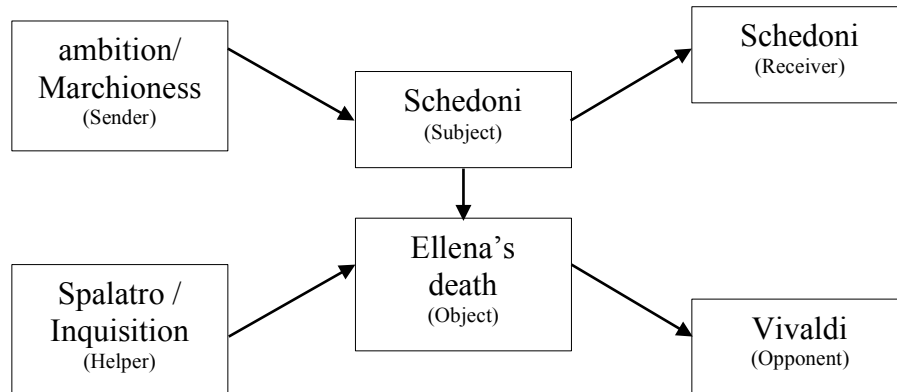
### *The Italian Monk*

Boaden borrows from the conclusion of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* to lend a sentimental tone to his romanticized version of Radcliffe's *The Italian*. Boaden's adaptation can be seen as promoting duty, loyalty, and domesticity over the rampant individualism associated with the revolutionaries and Jacobins. Boaden makes two major alterations to Radcliffe's story in his adaptation. First, Boaden allows Schedoni to repent and reform, including him in the play's happy ending. Second, he creates a subplot that includes a family for Schedoni's hired assassin, Spalatro, whose daughter has a romantic relationship with the hero's servant, Paullo. These changes are made to emphasize the benefits of family, reinforcing the union of hero and heroine with two additional couples.

*The Italian Monk* begins as a typical Gothic drama, in much the same vein as Boaden's earlier plays. It opens with the orphan Ellena who has received the affections of Vivaldi, the son of the Marquis. Vivaldi's mother, the Marchioness, is appalled by his intended choice of bride and hires her confidant, the monk Schedoni, to remove Ellena as a temptation for her son. This action sets Schedoni on a course to eliminate Ellena, first through abduction and then murder. He eventually hires a lowly fisherman, Spalatro, to kidnap the girl from her home. Schedoni's reason for accepting the Marchioness' request is, as we have seen in the previous two plays, ambition. Although he is a monk, "underneath this icy outside, glows / As fierce a flame of masterless ambition / As e'er informed the conquerors of earth" (6). Like Schedoni of Radcliffe's novel, Boaden's character is power-hungry and desires to further his position with the aristocracy of the land. Thus being in the Marchioness's favour is a valuable asset to Schedoni. As figure 6a illustrates, he is the *receiver* of any favour he receives pursuant to the Marchioness' gratitude. Vivaldi proves to be his *opponent* as he thwarts Schedoni's plan of

hiding Ellena in an abbey. It is at this point that the Inquisition, acting as another *helper* to Schedoni's desires, arrests Vivaldi and places Ellena back in the hands of Spalatro.

Figure 6a.



The climax instigates a decisive shift in Schedoni's character arc. Upon learning that his henchman, Spalatro, is constrained by moral scruples from killing Ellena, Schedoni attempts to kill her himself. When the fatal moment comes, however, he sees his own image on a chain around Ellena's neck and realizes that he is, in fact, her father. This scene is taken directly from the novel where Schedoni sees the necklace while attempting to remove her clothes because "her dress [...] would interrupt the blow" (Radcliffe 234). In the stage version, before instigating the fatal blow, Schedoni states "Can I remove her robe and not wake her—", at which moment Boaden's stage directions tell us that "*He looks at her Breast, and seeing a Picture starts; then eagerly detaches it, drops the Dagger, and shuddering draws back in an Agony of Horror*" (51). On stage, this would have come very close to resembling a rape scene, very much like that in *Cymbeline* act two, scene two, when Giacomo violates Imogen's privacy, steals her bracelet and sees "On her left breast / A mole, cinque-spotted" (2.2.37-38). The editors of the Norton edition of Shakespeare note that at this moment Giacomo "is metaphorically violating Imogen's chastity and, by stealing Posthumus's love token, is interfering in the marriage bond that links Posthumus

and Innogen” (1260 n.1). Giacomo uses the knowledge of the mole in particular to make Posthumus believe that Imogen has been unfaithful to her husband.

It is at this climactic moment that Boaden’s play takes an entirely different direction from Radcliffe’s novel. Schedoni uses his ostensible relationship with Ellena to buy his way in to the Marchioness’ social level by having his daughter marry her son. However, in a plot that is reminiscent of Claudius’s designs in *Hamlet*, it is then revealed that Ellena is actually the daughter of Schedoni’s brother, the true Count di Bruno, whom Schedoni has killed, after which he forces di Bruno’s widow, his sister-in-law, to marry him. Boaden exchanges this Hamletesque plot for an ending that reflects the miraculous family reunion in *The Winter’s Tale* and *Pericles*. In Boaden’s play Schedoni is Ellena’s father, and his wife, Matilda, whom he believes dead, is alive and has been in hiding as a nun for sixteen years. Schedoni, now inspired by guilt and fatherly duty, becomes an ally who seeks Vivaldi and Ellena’s union. The ambition that would have cost him the life of his only daughter is vanquished and is replaced with a genuine affection for Ellena’s happiness: “Be hush’d my child—no danger shall approach thee. / I’ll make this breast a bulwark to defend thee” (52). Doing away with ambition at this moment, Schedoni thus becomes a helper to the couple, as figure 6b illustrates. In the overall action of the play, which revolves around Vivaldi’s desire to marry Ellena, Schedoni changes roles completely. As the difference between figures 6c and 6d indicate, Schedoni moves from being the *opponent* of Vivaldi and Ellena’s marriage, to its *helper*. But the larger enemy of the Inquisition is still a threat to the couple. This changes when Schedoni confesses his role in the plot to the Grand Inquisitor, thus exculpating Vivaldi. This confession instigates the Inquisitor, an old foe of Schedoni’s, to reveal the fact that Schedoni’s wife is alive and willing to reconcile. The family is restored and Ellena, now proven to be of suitable noble birth, is allowed to marry Vivaldi. Like Leontes, Schedoni is given a chance to right his wrongs, which in the play consist of an

abundance of passion and selfish ambition for power, not the fratricide and usurpation found in the novel. Schedoni now looks forward to the “remains of life [which] / Shall yet be sooth’d by harmony and peace” (77). His final words can be seen as Boaden’s moral lesson of the play:

Let all who hear me fling away ambition,  
 For O, I know the fury is remorseless,  
 The bonds of duty shrivel in her blaze,  
 And nature is the victim at her altar. (77)

Schedoni is not completely lost to the ambition that condemned the Marquis and Ratibor in Boaden’s previous two plays, but instead is able to overcome the passion and, by accepting his family into his heart, benefits himself and the other members of his society as he claims his rightful place opposing the Inquisition.

Figure 6b.

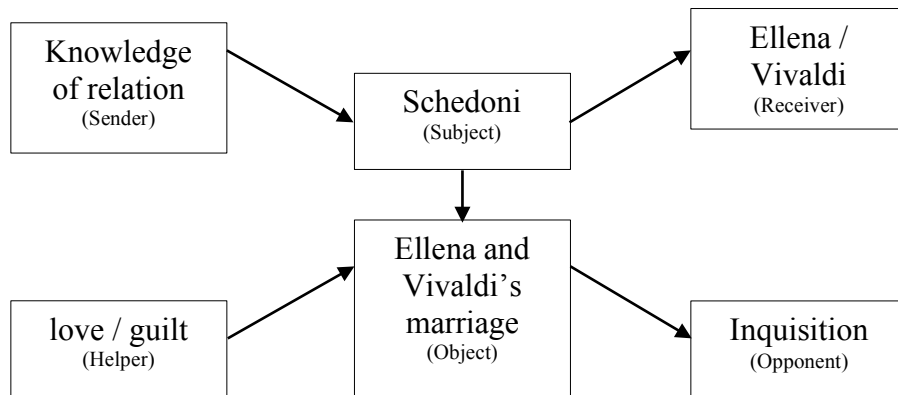


Figure 6c.

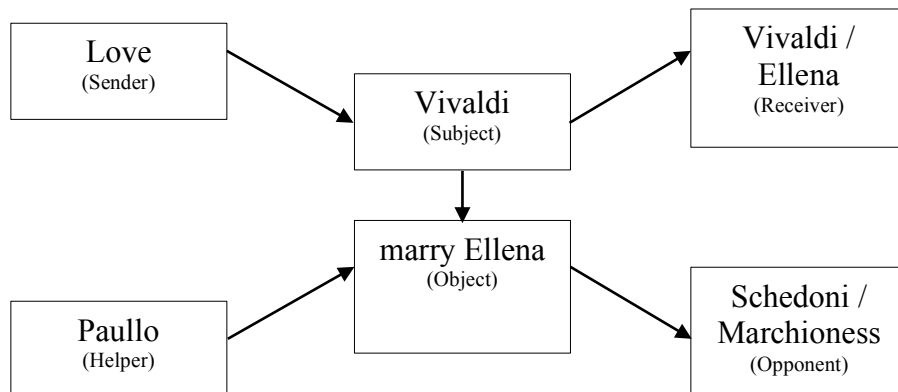
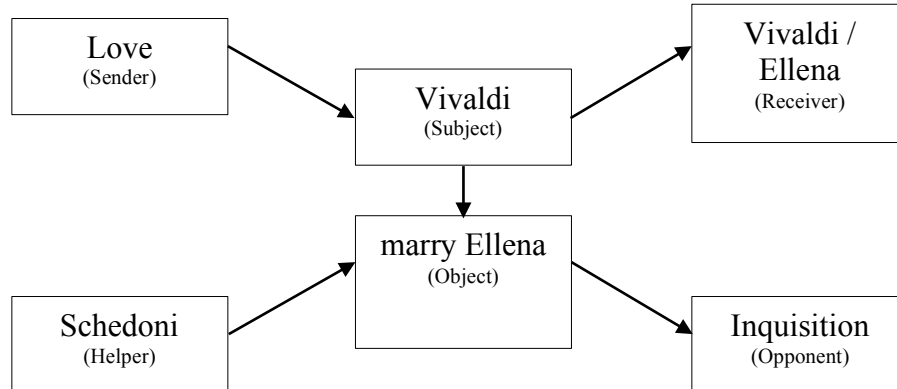


Figure 6d.



Boaden's appropriation of Shakespeare in his adaptation of *The Italian* is politically charged. In a review of *The Italian Monk*, a critic in the *Scientific Magazine*, commenting on Boaden's use of Radcliffe's material, sees Boaden's alterations to Schedoni as applauding the immoral behaviour associated with the character in Radcliffe's novel. This writer further claims that Boaden's playwriting is flawed because the Marchioness disappears after giving Schedoni his orders:

the machinations of the Monk, and the persecutions of Ellena, are owing to the proud resentment of the Marchioness De Vivaldi. This haughty lady holds a long interview with the Monk in his convent, when the death of Ellena is most seriously planned, and resolved upon. The Marchioness does not appear again; nor even, by the common medium of a messenger, or a friend, is Vivaldi made acquainted with her death or reconciliation. [...] The ambitious, bloody persecutor of innocence is made finally happy; and the poor Marchioness is just brought upon the stage to excite detestation, and is heard of no more. (2:192)

Both the presence of the Marchioness and the exculpation of Schedoni are necessary. From a dramaturgical perspective, the Marchioness was required to be a *sender* for Schedoni's desire to

kill Ellena. If Schedoni had merely been acting of his own accord, then his sense of guilt and ultimate decriminalization at the end of the play would not have earned the audience's sympathy. Unlike Radcliffe's Schedoni, Boaden's character does not end up being the "ambitious, bloody persecutor of innocence" as he renounces his ambitious behaviour and actually commits no crime, having stopped himself before killing Ellena.

The emphasis on a reconciled, reunited family is further illustrated in the subplot between Paullo and the invented character, Fioresca. Paullo, in *The Italian Monk* is Vivaldi's loyal and dutiful servant, which is the same role he is given in the novel, *The Italian*. In the play he is given a love interest who is, conveniently enough, the daughter of Schedoni's hired assassin, Spalatro. Keeping in mind Boaden's conservative agenda in this play, Fioresca serves the important role of giving Spalatro a reason to hold back from killing Ellena. Being a father himself, Spalatro cannot bear the thought of killing a young lady who reminds him of his own daughter. Furthermore, Fioresca's presence as Paullo's love interest acts a reward for his loyalty to Vivaldi. The play concludes with Vivaldi granting his blessing for Paullo and Fioresca to marry. Paullo exclaims "In cheerful strains, Fioresca we / Will speak our thanks for liberty!" (78). Fioresca replies, "So shall our future transports prove, Heav'n pleas'd to cherish virtuous love!" (78). If we consider that the previous scene between Paullo and Fioresca saw the couple separated because of the wrongful accusation of the Inquisition, then their exclamations of liberty are well grounded. In the previous scene, Paullo is imprisoned by the Inquisition for defending his master against their accusations. Fioresca visits Paullo and gives him the chance to escape, to which he replies, "don't try to make me a traitor. The first step from right is fatal; and what security would you have, who cherished a viper in your breast, which you had seen sting the hand that gave it food?" (68-69). Paullo's loyalty to Vivaldi ultimately pays off, when, thanks to Schedoni's confession, he is released from prison and reunited with his love. When read

allegorically, Paulo's faithfulness to his master represents a loyalty to Britain. His freedom to marry is granted not through traitorous action (i.e. Jacobinism) but through constancy and commitment (i.e. patriotism).

### ***Cambro-Britons***

Boaden's next play, *Cambro-Britons*, is his only Gothic drama adapted from a poem, not a novel. Boaden takes for his source Thomas Gray's "The Bard," a Pindaric ode that depicts Edward I's conquest of Wales in the thirteenth century. In this poem, Gray's speaker is the last of the Welsh bards, all of whom were slaughtered by Edward's invading forces. He confronts Edward and his troops as they make their way through the Welsh Snowdon Mountains. This scene is dramatized in act three, scene two of *Cambro-Britons*, and serves to reframe Gray's myth for English audiences and readers at the turn of the century. In adapting Gray's poem, Boaden takes part in the "Celtic revival" of the later eighteenth century, during which the figure of the Welsh bard became popular and was established as a Welsh national icon that symbolized "Wales as the home of ancient Britons, a people with a history and aristocracy far older than that of their Saxon oppressors," as Juliet Feibel explains in her article "'Vortigern, Rowena, and the Ancient Britons' Historical Art and the Anglicization of National Origin" (11). Boaden's decision to write on such a subject relates directly to William Henry Ireland's Shakespeare forgery, *Vortigern*, which was jeered off the stage during its first and only performance at Drury Lane, April 2, 1796. In *Cambro-Britons*, Boaden appropriates both the patriotic elements and the Shakespearean elements that made *Vortigern* such an appealing play in its historical moment.<sup>34</sup> Feibel illustrates how the story of Vortigern and Rowena, a popular Welsh legend as sung by the bards of old, was a part of the overall "Welsh cultural revival" during the eighteenth century

---

<sup>34</sup> The incidents surrounding the *Vortigern* forgery, as well as the entire collection of the "Shakespeare manuscript" forged by Ireland can be found in Jack Lynch, *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain*.

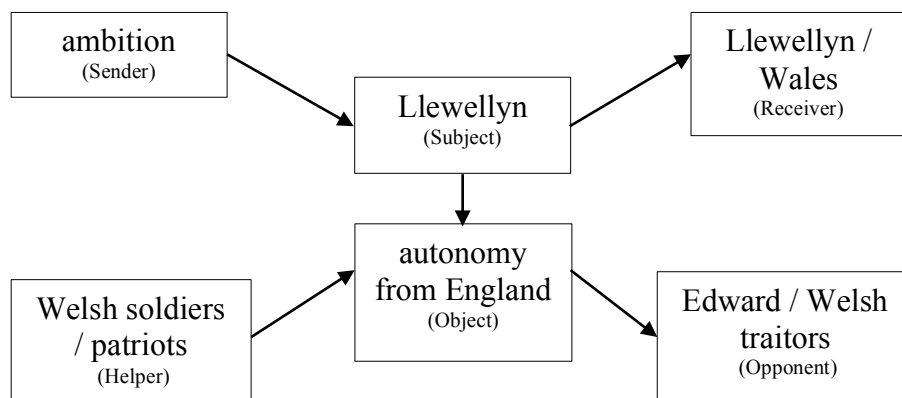
which is also apparent in images of bards themselves by painters such as Henry Fuseli and William Blake (2, 11). The cultural importance of this story suggests one reason why Boaden's play succeeded as propaganda. Boaden's dramaturgical structure of *Cambro-Britons* allegorically reflects the political tension in England over a potential invasion from France by falsifying historical facts to make Edward's conquest of Wales fit the pattern of reformed villainy in the face of a larger enemy.

*Cambro-Britons* is a three-act play that presents the conquest of Wales from the perspective of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales. Llewellyn is the protagonist whose main desire is the independence of his country from English rule. As figure 7a shows, Llewellyn's desire puts him at odds with King Edward of England. By portraying this war from a Welsh perspective, Boaden creates a sympathetic character in Llewellyn, immediately establishing Edward as the oppressor: a risky move for an English audience. In the opening scene, a soldier of Edward's army enters the cottage of an elderly Welsh goat-herd, Shenkin. The soldier accuses the old man of "giv[ing] succour to the prince!" Shenkin retorts, "Am I but suspected to be loyal?" (5). When the soldier tells the old man about Llewellyn's refusal to pay homage to the king, Shenkin replies, "Claim homage! What is that? Bid weakness bend to kiss the foot of pow'r, lest its fierce tread should trample it to mire!" (6). In this sequence, Edward I is presented as a tyrant. Apart from him, the other *opponents* to Llewellyn's object include the Welsh traitors, Dynevor and Meredith, who desert Llewellyn's camp on the eve of battle, as well as David, Llewellyn's brother, who has, prior to the start of the play, "libel[ed] his race and nature by desertion!" (13). These characters, particularly Edward and David, are presented as the 'villains' of this production, even though Llewellyn's desire for autonomy is generated by ambition, a feeling which hitherto has characterized villainy in Boaden's plays. Llewellyn is saved from the villainous consequences of ambition because of his love for Elinor:

Swelling with all the high-conceived hopes  
 Of sovereignty, I yet must keep one place  
 Within my heart, not dedicate[d] to glory;  
 And while love fills it, it corrects the whole,  
 And melts the stubborn temper of ambition. (13)

After the first act, Llewellyn's major actantial *object*, the independence of his country, is put aside for the minor object of saving Elinor, who he learns is held captive by the English, showing that chivalry and romance trump nationalism at this point in the play.

Figure 7a.



The major climax of the play takes place in act two, giving the act the structure of a Gothic drama in miniature, as shown in figure 7b. Here, Llewellyn takes the part of the hero who desires to marry the heroine, Elinor, but is hindered by the villain, David. Figure 7c illustrates this structure from David's perspective as the subject. Rather than ambition, the *sender* of David's actions is jealousy, which then leads to the ambitious act of joining forces his brother's enemy:

My brother, whom from infancy to manhood  
 Has triumph'd over me, shall at least be taught

That chance or fortune, which the world terms fickle,  
 Is stable as a founded rock, compar'd  
 With that weak versatility—a woman. (34)

His desire for Elinor is rooted in his contempt for his elder brother, whose legitimate claim as “Prince of Wales” frustrates David. In this fashion, David reflects the villains of Boaden’s earlier plays, the Marquis and Ratibor. However, David’s helper is the play’s major villain, Edward. It is Edward’s army that captures Elinor as she makes her way from France to Wales. David, a traitor to Wales, living in the King’s castle at Chester, uses the princess’s imprisonment to his own advantage, in an attempt to win her away from his brother. The climax occurs at the end of this act in an abbey at the tomb of David and Llewellyn’s mother, Lady Griffyth. In a plan of escape, Elinor meets a disguised Llewellyn at the abbey. David, having followed Elinor, confronts Llewellyn and draws his sword. At this moment, the shade of his mother appears and commands the brothers to be at peace (58). This action completes the second act; at the beginning of act three, David’s position changes from Elinor’s seducer/persecutor to her protector, as he agrees to deliver her to Llewellyn after the battle in the Snowdon Mountains. 7d reflects this change in David’s object, and figure 7e shows how David’s position has changed in Llewellyn’s object to marry Elinor (where David moved from the position of *opponent* from figure 7b). David is reformed in act three and becomes a *helper* against the greater villain, Edward.

Figure 7b.

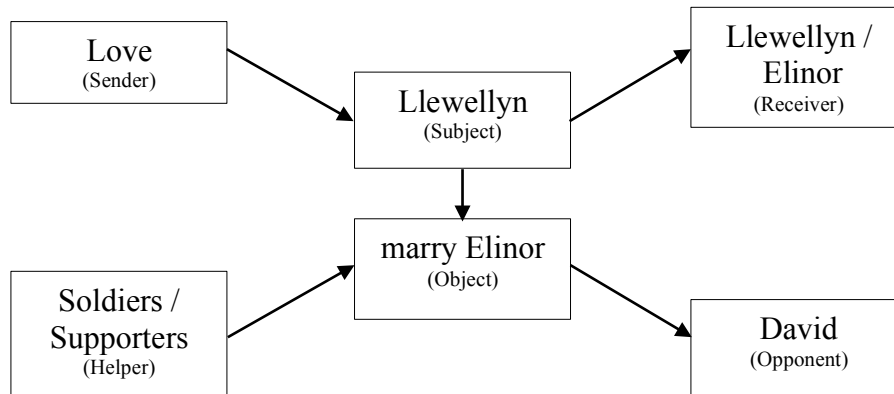


Figure 7c.

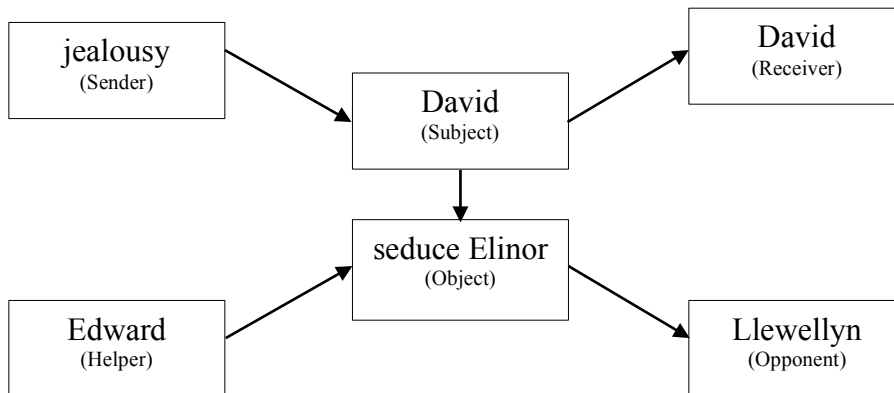


Figure 7d.

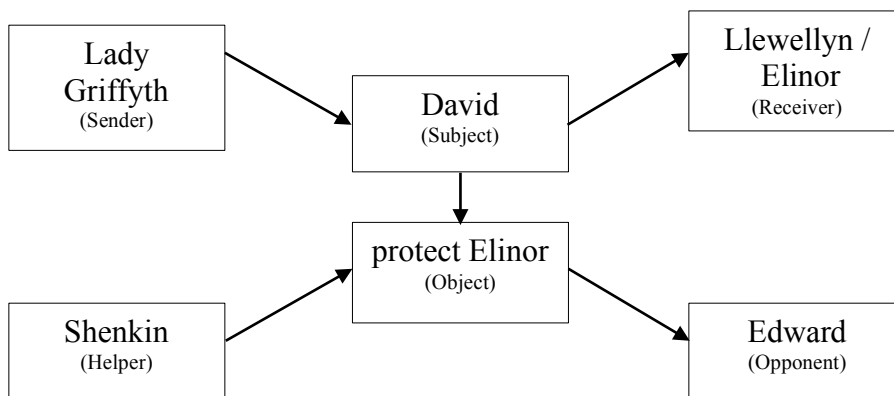
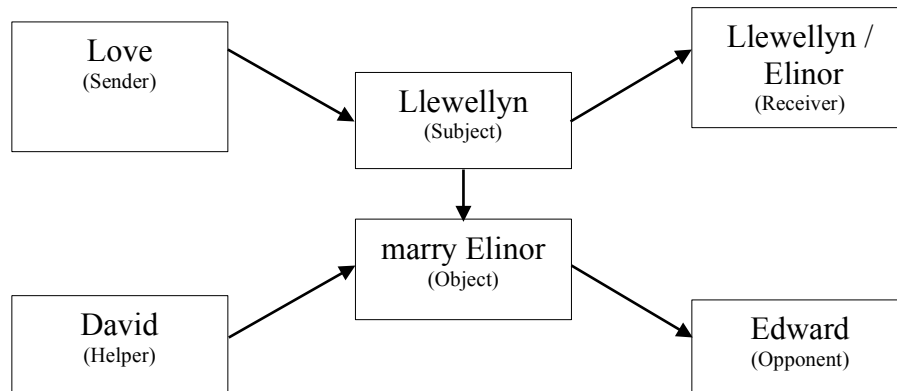


Figure 7e.



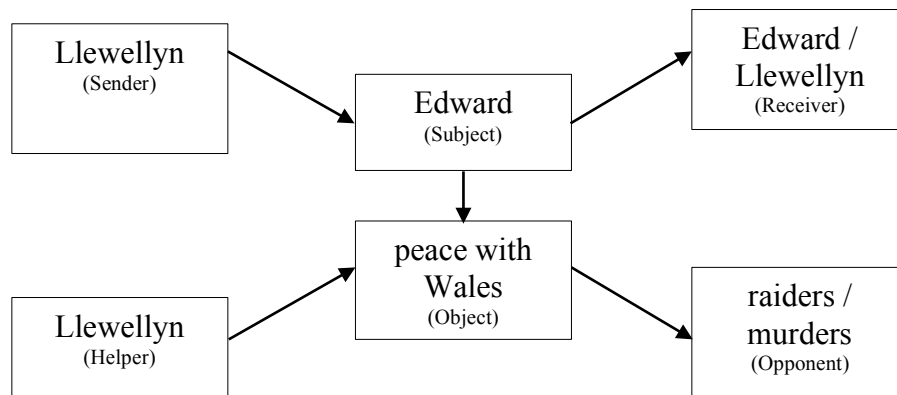
Edward also undergoes the same act of reform as David and Schedoni, joining with the Prince of Wales in a fight against an even greater enemy. This enmity is overcome in the last scene of the third act when Edward is shown to be a considerate king who is merely looking for peace between the two nations. Edward, having taken David and Elinor hostage, requests a parley with Llewellyn. It is revealed that Edward's conquest of Wales, although fuelled by Llewellyn's refusal to pay homage, was undertaken because Edward thought Llewellyn was murdering and pillaging "defenceless, unsuspecting subjects" of the English and Welsh borders (87). Llewellyn, seeing the error of both their ways, states:

When nations draw their swords against each other,  
 Think you the quarrel in the general mass?  
 No, it resides in some few desperate villains,  
 Who seizing power, determine to retain it –  
 Ours is a common cause – Cement our union,  
 And soon the growing mischief dies before it! (87)

In this speech, the villainy of either party (Edward as an invader; Llewellyn as a rebel) is dispersed onto a "few desperate villains," outlaws who have been raiding and murdering helpless

villagers. These figures serve a role similar to that of the Marchioness in *The Italian Monk*: they are scapegoats who allow for the happy ending of unity and peace, and their disturbance of the peaceful alliance between England and Wales is illustrated in figure 7f. By the end of the play, Edward forfeits his right to tribute and joins Llewellyn as an ally in war: “Let England ever find her warmest champion, / Her grace, her glory, in the Prince of Wales!” (90).

Figure 7f.



Such an ending illustrates a conservative, and to some extent a false, perspective on British nationalism: history is rewritten to make both Edward and Llewellyn heroic equals. Historically, Edward first threatened to invade Wales in 1274, when Llewellyn refused to pay homage; it was not until 1276 that Edward acted on that threat as news reached him in London that Llewellyn was raiding English homes on the Welsh border and had invaded English strongholds. James Tyrrell’s 1704 *General History of England* reproduces the king’s statement to the English House of Lords on December 12, 1277:

*Llewellyn the Son of Griffin Prince of Wales and his accomplice Our Rebels, have invaded the Lands of Our Subjects in the Marches, and do daily invade them, and commit Murthers and other Wickednesses, and the same Llewellyn refuses to obey Us, as he ought, to the great Prejudice and Contempt of Us, and to the manifest Disinheritance and great Danger [...] of Our Subjects.* (qtd in Tyrrell 9:27)

When Edward eventually invaded Wales in 1277, Llewellyn and his troops fled to the Snowdon Mountains, “where the King being at present not able easily to assault them by Land, made War upon them by Sea” (Tyrrell 9:28). This invasion was a success for Edward, and “Prince *Llewellyn* seeing his Country almost lost, and *South-wales* already subdued, and that his subjects had many of them forsaken him; being unable any longer to resist the King’s Forces, he at last sued to Him for Peace” (Tyrrell 9:28). Boaden alters the course of events, granting the Welsh a victory between acts one and two that resembles that of the English in *Henry V*. His drama thus reflects the patriotism displayed in Shakespeare’s rendering of *Henry V*.

Like Henry at the battle of Agincourt in *Henry V*, Llewellyn faces an army that vastly outnumbers his own. At the end of act one, Llewellyn’s army prepares for what seems to be a hopeless battle against England. Prior to the battle, Llewellyn provides a speech of encouragement to his troops, stating: “We have against us, discipline and numbers; / For us, the God who loves the patriot purpose, / This rugged eminence, and our good swords” (24). Although this is no “Saint Crispin’s Day” speech, it does allude to Henry’s prayer, on the eve of war, to the “God of battles” that his men may not fear “th’opposèd numbers” of the French enemy (4.1.271, 273). Despite the improbability of success, like the English at the Battle of Agincourt, Llewellyn’s Welshmen come out victorious, “Victoria! Victoria! Blessed be the powers of music for victory!” (25-26). No such victory occurred for the historic Llewellyn. Boaden invents a Welsh victory, in part, to include this allusion to Shakespeare by which Llewellyn is equated with Henry and implicitly, Llewellyn’s victory with Henry’s victory over the French.

Further allusion to *Henry V* can be found in the character of Gwyn, whose language reflects that of Shakespeare’s Fluellen, itself an attempt to render somewhat phonetically the Welsh pronunciation of the double ‘l’ in “Llewellyn.” Gwyn is one of two Welsh soldiers who

become personal escorts to Prince Llewellyn. He assists in saving Elinor during the second act, and his dialogues with O’Turloch, an Irish bagpiper, act as comic relief. As a comic, minor character, Gwyn’s dialect is different than the other Welshmen around him as he speaks English with a heavy Welsh accent. After seeing the performance, one reviewer commented on the improbability of this feature, yet understood it as a dramatic custom started by Shakespeare:

we are amused with a character (*Wynne*) [sic], who is the only individual in a land of Welshmen, who has made any proficiency in his *mother tongue*. [...]. We are aware, that SHAKESPEARE has authorized this absurdity in his *Henry the Fifth*; and we censure the custom, not any author’s compliance with it. (*Morning Post and Gazetteer* July 24, 1798).<sup>35</sup>

In the play-text of *Cambro-Britons*, Gwyn’s language reflects Shakespeare’s rendering of the Welsh dialect in *Henry V*. In “*Speak it in Welsh*”: *Wales and the Welsh Language in Shakespeare* (2007), Megan S. Lloyd illustrates how Shakespeare wrote and even mocked the Welsh language in his phonetic spelling. Lloyd argues, concerning Welsh accents in Shakespeare, that “part of the joke in both plays comes from others ridiculing their distinctively Welsh-sounding English speech” (74). We can see Shakespeare’s approach to dialect used in Gwyn’s language when he states: “Got in his goot mercies pless you, Winifred; and Heaf’n pless hur prince and his bride” (CB 89). Boaden alludes specifically to Fluellen, a figure proud of his native heritage to the land, when Gwyn, who is also a prideful figure, claims he “dug down into past ages for the root, and shewed [sic] [himself] a true Trojan” (64). This line refers to the mythical founder of Britain, Brutus of Troy,<sup>36</sup> and thus connects Gwyn and the Welsh people as the original inhabitants of Britain. Despite the (arguably) mocking use of dialect, Shakespeare

---

<sup>35</sup> Having only seen the performance and not reading the script, this writer misrepresents Gwyn’s name as “Wynne.”

<sup>36</sup> For the mythical story of Brutus of Troy see Geoffrey Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain*.

ultimately depicts Fluellen positively, as a courageous soldier. In act four, scene one, Henry praises Fluellen, stating, “Though it appear a little out of fashion, / There is much care and valour in this Welshman” (82-83). During the battle of Agincourt Henry honours Fluellen yet again when he states “I am Welsh, you know good countryman” and Fluellen replies, “All the water in Wye cannot wash your majesty’s Welsh plood out of your pody, I can tell you that. God pless it and preserve it, as long as it pleases his grace, and his majesty too” (4.7.96-100).

The same brotherhood articulated in *Henry V* is an important theme in *Cambro-Britons* as it ties together the two major plots. It is revealed early in the play that brotherhood is not isolated to family blood. The Prince of Wales continually refers to his soldiers as “freemen, countrymen, and brothers” (12), a direct allusion to *Henry V*, in which Henry refers to his men as a “band of brothers” (4.3.60). Early in the first act Llewellyn recognizes the loyalty of his soldier Cadwall, and comes to terms with the fact that such loyalty is more bonding than actual blood. From the Prince’s perspective, Cadwall is more of a brother than his actual brother David, who “libels his race and nature by desertion” (13). The bonds of brotherhood are created through loyalty and commitment. For this reason, Boaden exuberantly valorizes soldiers in this play. Before going off to the desperate battle at the end of act one, Llewellyn asks his men, “shall we yield our throats submissively, / or die the death of heroes?” To which they all reply, “Die like Britons!” (19). Their victory in this situation, apart from reflecting *Henry V*, also encourages a sense of hope in the audience who, through this play and others like it, are being taught that the brotherhood that develops between countrymen is enough to defeat even the fiercest of foes. By the third act, Boaden no longer uses the term “Wales,” or its common replacement, Cambria, to distinguish Llewellyn’s country, nor does he use the term “Briton” which refers directly to the ancient Celts. Instead, Llewellyn’s army is referred to as, “the hardy sons of Britain,” which speaks directly to the British audience in 1798. In the same passage, Llewellyn himself is

analogized with “the heart which gives the British blood its flow” (65). These lines indicate that Wales in this play becomes synonymous with Great Britain, and is meant to offer the audience encouragement and pride.

In glorifying British soldiers, *Cambro-Britons* participated in recruiting volunteers for the war effort. Taylor recognizes that “Most patriotic plays *individualised civilian crowds* on stage, even though their characterisation was usually stereotypical, to differentiate the amiable British crowd from the anonymous masses involved in the violent *journées* of Paris. *The military too was dramatized as composed of individuals*” (164, emphasis added). Taylor associates this individualisation of soldiers with the overall Romantic concept of the individual. However, if we consider this observation as an attempt to persuade the individual to military action, then it becomes apparent that propagandist plays such as *Cambro-Britons* appeal to each person’s sense of national duty and pride created by the very cultural influences (i.e. Shakespeare) that have shaped that sense over the last half of the eighteenth century. The individual’s sense of duty is evoked in *Cambro-Britons*, as on a final note, the old goat-herd, Shenkin, states, “a patriot’s sum of blessing is his country. May it flourish and be the source of genuine truth and honour! May every rash attempt at its annoyance ensure its own destruction, and her sons drive all invaders from the shore” (89). This appropriation of a historical moment of Welsh resistance to English tyranny transforms the narrative into one of British solidarity. Boaden employed his borrowed material to comment directly on the political anxieties of his historical moment. By making Llewellyn’s story resemble that of Harry’s in *Henry V*, Boaden makes an explicitly loyalist gesture to king and country, in an appealing Gothic format.

### *Aurelio and Miranda*

Boaden's final Gothic play, *Aurelio and Miranda*, adapts Matthew Lewis' popular but controversial novel, *The Monk*. The project had, in Boaden's words, created "a storm of indignation," as critics were against having such an "immoral work" presented to the public (*Life of Kemble* 2:387). Originally calling it *Ambrosio* after Lewis' character, Boaden was forced by the Examiner of Plays, John Larpent, to change his protagonist's name to Aurelio in order to create more distance between the play and the controversial novel. Upon presenting his idea to the acting manager of Drury Lane, John Philip Kemble, Boaden was persuaded to alter the name of the love interest from Matilda in *The Monk* to Miranda, after the protagonist in Aphra Behn's *The Fair Jilt* (and not, as one might suspect, the character in Shakespeare's *Tempest*). Kemble believed that Lewis had obtained the story about the seduction of a monk from Behn's novella and Boaden, granting his friend's request, changed the name of the lead female character as well as the birth status of Aurelio to alter the course of events in *The Monk*. *Aurelio and Miranda* premiered at Drury Lane, December 29, 1798 and ran for seven nights. It was removed, as Boaden recalls in his *Life of Kemble*, because "the subject" of the piece "was fatal" (2:388). The play's association with *The Monk* had caused critical disapproval both before and after its production, despite the fact that Boaden had completely removed from the play the controversial elements of the novel. Part of the reason that much of Lewis's novel was "necessarily omitted in the representation," as one critic in *The English Stage* has argued, is that "the stage [was] where probability and morality were to be supported" (159). The horrors of Lewis's novel derive from the immoral actions of the protagonist as he is guided into sin by a demon in human form, Matilda. Lewis' novel narrates scenes of murder and rape, actions completely inappropriate to stage at the time. Boaden alters the events of the novel to again emphasize domestic unity by replacing the horrific scenes of the novel with scenes of domestic unity.

Boaden does not present Aurelio as a villain at the start of the play. Unlike Schedoni or David, Aurelio does not voice an ambition for greater power and he does not commit an act that would place him in the category of villain. He is the hero from the beginning and it is his relationship with Miranda that becomes the central love plot, much like Vivaldi and Ellena in *The Italian Monk* or Llewellyn and Elinor in *Cambro-Britons*. Regardless, the audience would have associated Aurelio with a conventional Gothic villain because of Boaden's allusions to his source text. The first three acts of Boaden's play summarize the first two chapters of *The Monk*. Like Ambrosio, or like Angelo in *Measure for Measure*, Aurelio is overly proud of his virtuous life. He exclaims,

Yes, here indeed I triumph! Here indulge  
 The pride of mastering the human mind.  
 It is my pride, to write upon the heart  
 The words of truth in characters of fire.  
 O sacred pledge of unpolluted life!  
 Earnest, that abstinence from vain delights,  
 Passions subdued and sacrificed to duty,  
 Are sanctify'd, and minister'd to Heav'n. (10-11)<sup>37</sup>

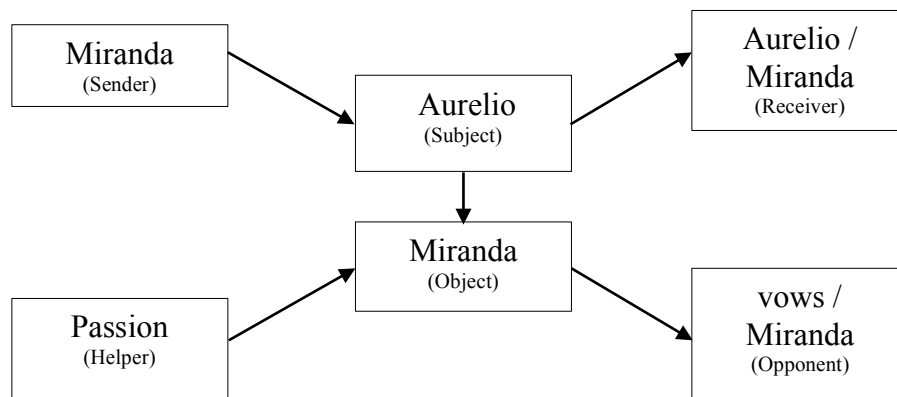
Aurelio admits to pride yet does not reflect that this is the first of the deadly sins. Pride, in *The Monk*, leads to Ambrosio's other sins. Up until the beginning of act four, Aurelio follows the same trajectory as Ambrosio, but there are moments where Boaden turns away from Ambrosio as a source, and looks more toward Angelo. After Aurelio's first encounter with Miranda, Aurelio immediately questions his new-found feelings, "Whence these tumults beating in my

---

<sup>37</sup> Lewis makes it apparent that Ambrosio was such an easy target for Matilda's seduction as "pride told [Ambrosio] loudly, that he was superior to the rest of his fellow creatures" (65).

heart?/ Think of the violation of my order!/Nor dare I yield myself to such temptation” (22). Angelo of Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure* questions himself in a similar manner, “What’s this? What’s this? Is this her fault or mine? / The tempter or the tempted, who sins most, ha?” (2.2.167-68). Also, both Aurelio and Angelo are not tempted by the physical qualities of their tempters (unlike Ambrosio in *The Monk*), but are attracted to their virtues: Angelo ponders “Can it be / That modesty may more betray our sense / Than woman’s lightness” (2.2.172-174), and Aurelio states that “Nature to [Miranda] has giv’n, to crown her work,/ The mind, beyond the scope of vulgar being!” (34). Aurelio admits that his passion for Miranda derives from her intelligence and not her beauty which “is often but [a] painted snare” (34). As figure 8a shows, as a *subject*, Aurelio desires his *object*, Miranda. Boaden does not make it quite clear exactly what Aurelio wants of her, though it is hinted that he merely wants a sexual encounter (as Ambrosio does in the novel). Miranda, like Matilda, also acts as the *sender*, revealing herself as a woman in monks’ clothing, and providing Aurelio with an ultimatum: allow her to remain in the monastery or she will kill herself. Aurelio allows her to stay, though he recognizes that it will lead to his “destruction” (23). His desire for Miranda grows from the “passion” in his soul (32). Aurelio’s desires are blocked by the vows of celibacy.

Figure 8a.



Miranda also acts as an opponent to Aurelio's desires. In act four, *Aurelio and Miranda* begins to deviate from *The Monk* through a change in character traits of the lead female, *not* the male protagonist. Aurelio remains the same person he is in the novel without being given the chance to act on his desires. Miranda's moral ambiguity is resolved in act four, scene two: the scene begins with a distraught Miranda shouting at Aurelio "No more! It ill becomes your lips to utter; / I feel myself dishonour'd" (48). Although the audience/reader is not privy to the events directly before this scene, it becomes apparent that Aurelio, after declaring his love, believed himself free to act on his sexual desires. However, instead of encouraging him and sleeping with him as Matilda does in the novel, Miranda is offended as she exclaims,

if I thought I could be so degraded,  
To fall a victim of so impure desires,  
I'd tear myself from thee, and all the world,  
And burning shame should crumble me to ashes. (49)

It is at this moment that Miranda deviates from Lewis' character and instead starts to resemble Isabella from Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. Miranda's actions further resemble Isabella's when she takes pity on a member of her own sex and puts another woman's needs before her own. Just as Isabella helps Mariana petition for Angelo's forgiveness, Miranda helps the captive Agnes. Upon learning about the other woman's condition, Miranda states, "Shall not a woman feel a woman's sorrows?" and departs to aid the nun, saving her newborn child (55), a character that dies in Lewis' novel. Miranda shows proper, feminine virtue so that Aurelio's ultimate union with her will become legitimate both through class and through the retained celibacy prior to marriage.

Although Aurelio retains a villain-like quality throughout the majority of the play due to his associations with Ambrosio and Angelo, he does not share their fate. Late in act four, Aurelio

learns from a gypsy (Zingaro) that he is the long lost heir to the deceased Duke of Medina, whose title is held by “a very distant branch of the family” (6). Boaden had received the idea for making Aurelio of noble blood from Aphra Behn’s novella, *The Fair Jilt*, in which the character of Father Henrick is a prince in disguise. By doing this, Boaden enforces patriarchal and domestic values because not only is Aurelio able to be released from his vows and properly marry Miranda, but he claims his legitimate position as Duke from illegitimate cousins and is thus able to properly support Antonia whom he learns is his sister, cast out by those relatives. Apart from learning his heritage, Aurelio learns that Agnes, whom he believed dead, is alive and suffering at the hands of the prioress. As figure 8b shows, Aurelio’s newfound status and his guilt for condemning Agnes for a crime he himself almost committed leads to his climactic entrance in the final scene of the production, where he arrives in time to save Agnes from the wrath of the prioress.<sup>38</sup> Miranda is the *helper* in this as she saves Agnes’ child before Aurelio arrives with his new ducal army to save Agnes herself. Figure 8c illustrates the second actantial model created by this climax. Aurelio, being the Duke and having as his *helper* the advantage of the law (which severs him from his monastic vows), no longer has an opponent in his desire to marry Miranda. However, by combining the two actions (illustrated by the two actantial models in figures 8b and 8c), Boaden creates a common villain in the prioress, against whom he joins forces with his new family: Antonia, Lorenzo, Miranda and Christoval.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> The climax unites the main plot with the subplot of act one—the incarceration of the nun Agnes, due to her broken vow of celibacy.

<sup>39</sup> At the end of the play Lorenzo marries Antonia and thus becomes Aurelio’s brother-in-law. By marrying Miranda, Aurelio also has a brother-in-law in Christoval.

Figure 8b.

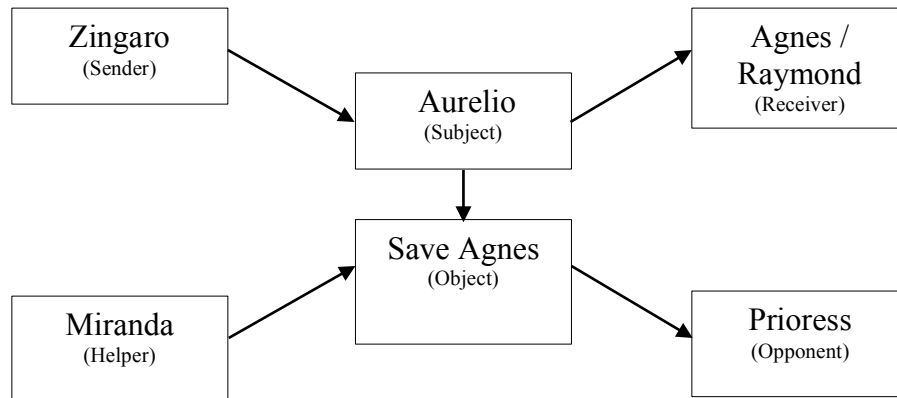
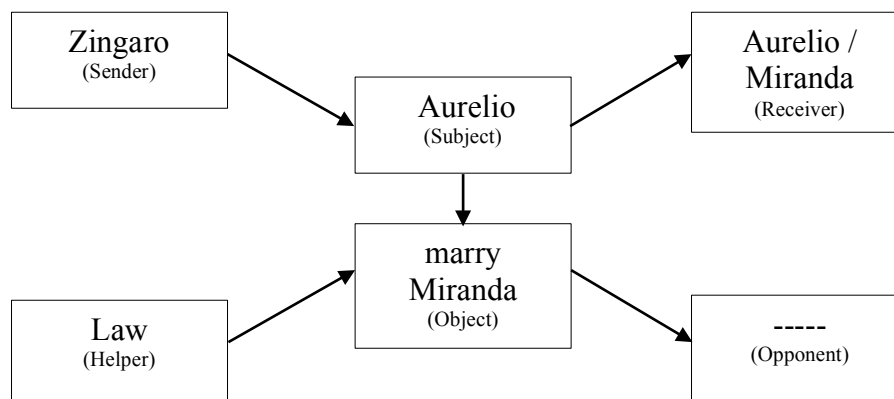


Figure 8c.



Boaden's final attempt at this Gothic structure demonstrates his waning reliance on the genre, and, indeed, takes a step towards his phase of female-centred plays. In her moral resemblance to Isabella, Miranda becomes an equal hero to Aurelio. The fact that she holds four positions in Aurelio's actantial models—sender, object, receiver and opponent—anticipates the complex heroines of his later, non-Gothic adaptations: *The Voice of Nature* (1802) and *The Maid of Bristol* (1803). In order to extract a melodramatic “morally operative universe,” to use Inverso's words (2), from the morally corrupt world of *The Monk*, while continuing with his

pattern of domesticating the Gothic villain, Boaden adapted the Gothic genre. By making Miranda a virtuous, active figure in this play, Boaden alters the conventional female heroine, who is typically a passive figure acted upon by outside forces. Boaden abandons the Gothic genre in the main plot of *Aurelio and Mirada* while retaining it only in reference to Agnes's false imprisonment, a Gothic trope associated with the French Revolution. As the rightful heir to the dukedom of Medina, Aurelio is able to arrest the prioress as well as calm an angry crowd attempting to storm the convent after hearing of the prioress' treatment of Agnes; even a justly angry English mob is amenable to reason. Where in the novel the convent is burnt down, in the play the convent is saved and the crowd appeased by Aurelio's interjection. Just as in *The Italian Monk* and *Cambro-Britons*, the potential villain of *Aurelio and Miranda* is reinstated into domestic society to fight a greater enemy. Such endings link social order to domestic order.

### Conclusion

Boaden was a playwright of modest repute, whose plays enjoyed real but limited success. While *Fontainville Forest*, *The Italian Monk* and *Cambro-Britons* remained in the repertoires of both Drury Lane and Covent Garden for the two years following their respective premières, not one of Boaden's plays gained the lasting success that, say, Matthew Lewis' *The Castle Spectre* had, continuing in the repertoire well into the second decade of the nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Certainly, one might argue that quality was a decisive factor in their hasty demise, but, equally, the short-lived popularity of Boaden's plays on the London stage could be owing to the fact that they were written as reactionary productions to counter the pro-revolutionary plays of the time. Such plays have been termed "anti-revolutionary dramas" by Jeffrey N. Cox ("Ideology" 580), and "patriotic dramas" by George Taylor (157). While Cox defines his term as specifically a "body of plays directly attacking the French Revolution or Jacobin principles" (580), Taylor describes patriotic dramas as a body of plays that "advocated hegemonic principles [as] they avoided controversy and asserted normalcy in simple narratives of the triumph of the natural and familial, the common-sense and typical, over the crafty, sophisticated, perverted and un-British" (157).<sup>41</sup> Boaden's plays are both anti-revolutionary *and* patriotic. They react to pro-revolutionary discourse by adapting the same metaphorical medium of the Gothic while promoting "Britishness" with images of familial unity. While it is already inherent to Cox's argument that "anti-revolutionary" dramas are patriotic, Cox argues that such dramas react to *other* dramas, particularly of the Gothic sort that celebrate sexual liberty. The plays that Cox cites, such as *The Maid of Normandy*, did not see the stage. On the other hand, the plays cited by Taylor that were

---

<sup>40</sup> According to playbills surveyed in Hogan, *The London Stage*.

<sup>41</sup> Cox is specific about his definition of the anti-revolutionary drama, which he states, "appears less an attempt to stage revolutionary history than a struggle to *rewrite the prorevolutionary drama*. It engages not history but Jacobin rhetoric and imagery. In particular, it confronts two forms: the spectacular play on contemporary history and the Gothic drama" (582, my emphasis).

staged between 1797 and 1798, when the threat of invasion was most dire (including *Joan of Arc; or, The Maid of Orleans* and *A Trip to the Nore*) were reactionary not to artistic discourse but to political and social discourse surrounding this particular threat (169).

In his anti-revolutionary Gothic plays, Boaden employs two particular tactics that, as both Cox and Taylor argue, were typical of their time. Cox and Taylor illustrate the use of two particular tactics in which pro-Jacobin sentiments were suppressed in anti-revolutionary and patriotic productions. The first suppressed the image of mass action, which according to Cox created quite the spectacle on the patent stages as found in the climactic crowd scene in the play *Julia Of Louvain; or Monkish Cruelty* (“Ideology” 583). One way this was done was, Cox states, was by “reducing it [the mob] to a duped instrument of ambitious schemers” (“Ideology” 594). Anti-revolutionary dramas “replace the image of mass action with conspiracy theories of isolated, ambitious men manipulating the foolish people” (J. Cox “Ideology” 586-587). This tactic is primarily relevant in *Fontainville Forest* and *The Secret Tribunal*, in which the Marquis and Ratibor, respectively, are examples of the ambitious individual who seeks to use the judicial system (the image of a mass jury or tribunal) to instil fear in his victims. While this is not the major tactic used to dispel revolutionary fervour in Boaden’s later dramas, ambitious individuals do not necessarily disappear. Ambition threatens to overtake the potential villains of the last three plays, as chapter two has shown. Schedoni from *The Italian Monk*, both David and Edward I from *Cambro-Britons*, and Aurelio from *Aurelio and Miranda* appear to follow the same trajectory of their ambitious precursors in Boaden’s earlier plays. What saves them is Boaden’s application of the second tactic of patriotic, anti-revolutionary dramas: domesticity.

The second method for promoting anti-revolutionary and patriotic sentiments appears through quelling the image of sexual liberty by promoting domesticity. Cox argues that pro-revolutionary dramas “suggested that the Revolution freed lovers and erotic energy from the

dead hand of a patriarchal past,” but in anti-revolutionary dramas this was “countered with the joys of domesticity, as represented most fully in the royal family itself” (“Ideology” 593). What saves the potential villains of Boaden’s later Gothic dramas is the intervention of a family member. Schedoni’s desires become honourable only once he discovers his prey, Ellena, is his daughter. While David is fully aware of his relationship with Llewellyn, he only accepts him as a brother and turns away from his ambitious treason at the behest of the ghost of his dead mother. This type of recognition is then reflected in Edward I, who finally sees Llewellyn as a metaphorical brother-in-arms once he is aware of their common threat from rogue civilians. Finally, by resisting Aurelio’s villainous advances, Miranda is able to convert him to domesticity and its sanctioned pleasures, with knowledge of his noble parentage and his heroic rescue of Agnes ensuing. It is only by virtue of his familial status that Aurelio can raise a controlled army to action against the deeds of the prioress, with the larger societal benefits that this entails.

These images react specifically to pro-revolutionary productions by engaging the same allegorical form—the Gothic. In adapting Gothic texts that were often seen as promoting anarchy and sexual liberation, Boaden was able to have his plays staged during a time when overt political commentary was censored. Cox admits that the majority of anti-revolutionary plays, though published in papers such as *The Anti-Jacobin*, did not see the stage. Plays such as *The Rovers* portrayed their anti-revolutionary sentiments by satirizing the Gothic mode (J. Cox, “Ideology” 586). Boaden, on the other hand, does not satirize the Gothic, he engages with it. For example, the popular image of the immoral aristocrat, who often signifies corrupt authority, is retained in Boaden’s first two plays but it is emphasized that the position of power (or potential power, in Ratibor’s case), is an illegitimate one. Where an anti-revolutionary play such as *The Maid of Normandy; or the Death of the Queen of France*, as Cox states, attempted to counter the image of the immoral aristocrat by presenting an image of a devout Catholic mother in Marie

Antoinette (“Ideology” 590), the aristocrats of Boaden’s who act immorally from a position of power, do not legitimately hold that position: while the revolutionaries recuperate aristocratic individuals, Boaden recuperates the aristocracy itself.

Boaden reworks the potentially radical images of the Gothic into conservative images by alluding to Shakespeare. While the foundations of the Gothic derive from Shakespeare, Boaden appropriates various elements not commonly found in the Gothic mode. The ghost of *Fontainville Forest*, though it reflects the image of Old Hamlet, does not send the protagonist on a vengeance quest. It exists merely to identify the Marquis as a fratricide, like Claudius. Also, instead of adapting the Gothicized found-child scenes in *Cymbeline* and *The Winter’s Tale*, Boaden appropriates alternative storylines from these plays such as the Queen’s attempted regicide from *Cymbeline* and Leontes’s reversal in *The Winter’s Tale*. Furthermore, the Battle of Agincourt from *Henry V* and Isabella’s virtue from *Measure for Measure* are non-conventional borrowings for the Gothic that appear as conservative images in Boaden’s plays. Boaden incorporates Shakespeare in the structure of his dramas to emphasize the relationships between characters, as the actantial models have shown. By appropriating Shakespeare for a patriotic cause, Boaden works with the same source as many anti-Jacobins.

Boaden’s dramaturgy outlines the route from expulsion to reintegration of a villain, an allegorical figure for British revolutionaries. This pattern corresponds with conservative fears during the 1790s. In 1794 and 1795 the Pitt government was concerned with preventing a revolution in Britain from Jacobin groups. With the suspension of *habeas corpus* and the introduction of the Treasonable Practices Act and Seditious Meetings Act, those who were in favour of the revolutionary cause, such as Coleridge at the time, considered these actions

despotic.<sup>42</sup> Boaden's first two plays can be read as defending these governmental actions as, in *Fontainville Forest* and *The Secret Tribunal*, he deliberately alters the form of his original texts—texts that could have been read as favouring revolutionary causes—to show the righteousness of the law against those rebels to society who are portrayed in the figures of the villain. These plays follow a linear structure in which the villain moves from a position of power to a position of confinement and just punishment. In either case, the threat to the traditional order is removed and the ending restores domestic patriarchy and legitimate hierarchy. This structure changes by 1797. Although Boaden retains patriarchal and hierarchical endings in his later plays, he arrives at this ending via a different route, and instead of promoting patriotism he promotes a united nationalism. Instead of being expelled from society, the villain is reintegrated. Crimes (or potential crimes) are forgiven and the would-be villain becomes a hero in the fight against a shared enemy. Boaden's later plays, *The Italian Monk*, *Cambro-Britons* and *Aurelio and Miranda*, follow this structure. As the political shifted, Britain, being at war with France, was threatened with invasion by Napoleon and a mass effort to promote nationalism occurred in urban areas in order to gain volunteers for the military. Internal strife needed to be resolved in order to combat this possible danger.

Although Boaden relies on the Gothic mode, his plays represent ideal consequences by assuming the form of the melodrama: the world “as it should be rather than what it is,” according Michael Booth (14). In Boaden's model, duty takes precedent over ambition and freedom is the product of a stable government. In representing Great Britain through the metaphor of the family, Boaden appeals to domestic values that were prominent at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, while many critics mock Boaden's dramaturgical methods of adaptation, such as

---

<sup>42</sup> In *The Plot Discovered or An Address to the People against Ministerial Treason*, Coleridge denounced the Acts, claiming they “were conceived and laid in the dunghill of despotism among the other unhatched eggs of the old Serpent. In due time and in fit opportunity, they crawled into light. Genius of Britain! crush them!” (qtd in Stuart 53).

his reliance on spectacle and his incorporations of Shakespeare's language, Boaden did not have any trouble getting his plays staged at the legitimate, patent houses of Covent Garden, Drury Lane, and the Haymarket, unlike the great poets of his time, or Jacobinical playwrights.<sup>43</sup> The sublimity and emotional appeal of Gothic melodrama along with the nationalism inherent in his adaptation of the genre through Shakespearean allusion are intelligently combined in these plays to create a conservative form of popular theatre that merits attention. Though it would be an exaggeration to claim that Boaden was a *great* playwright, he was an intelligent and interesting one alert to the theatrical and political currents of his time. For this, he deserves his place in posterity.

---

<sup>43</sup> Coleridge's *Orsorio*, a tragedy commissioned by Richard Sheridan in the 1790s, was only staged once it was heavily revised as *Remorse* in 1813. Wordsworth's *The Borderers* was never produced on stage.

### Bibliography

- Addison, Joseph. *The Spectator, No. 411, Saturday, June 21, 1712* [The Pleasures of the Imagination]. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Eighth Edition. Vol. E *The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century*. Eds. Lawrence Lipking and James Noggle. New York: Norton, 2006. Print. 2488-2490.
- Ahern, Stephen. *Affected Sensibilities: Romantic Excess and the Genealogy of the Novel, 1680-1810*. New York: AMS Press, 2007.
- Aikin, Anna Letita, and John Aikin. "On the Pleasure Derived from Objects of Terror; with Sir Bertrand, a Fragment." *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Eighth Edition. Vol. D *The Romantic Period*. Eds. Deidre Shauna Lynch and Jack Stillinger. New York: Norton, 2006. Print. 582-587.
- Albrecht-Crane, Christa and Dennis Cutchins, eds. "Introduction: New Beginnings for Adaptation Studies." *Adaptation Studies: New Approaches*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2010. Print. 11-22.
- Allard, James Robert. "Spectres, Spectators, Spectacles: Matthew Lewis's *The Castle Spectre*." *Gothic Studies* 3.3 (2001): 246 -261. *Swetswise*. Web. 28 Nov. 2010.
- Allen, Graham. *Intertextuality*. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.
- Anderson, Linda. *A Place in the Story: Servants and Service in Shakespeare's Plays*. Newark: U of Delaware P, 2005. Print.
- Andrews, Stuart. *The British Periodical Press and the French Revolution, 1789-99*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000. Print.
- Aragay, Mireia (Ed.). *Books in Motion: Adaptation, Intertextuality, Authorship*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005. Print.

- Bartolomeo, Joseph F. "Hierarchies of Fiction for a Cultural Elite: Periodical Reviewers." *A New Species of Criticism: Eighteenth-Century Discourse on the Novel*. Newark: U of Delaware Press, 1994. Print.
- Behn, Aphra. *The Fair Jilt: Or, The Amours of Prince Tarquin and Miranda*. London, 1699. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 27 Feb, 2011. (105-171).
- Bennett, Susan. *Performing Nostalgia: Shifting Shakespeare and the Contemporary Past*. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.
- Boaden, James. *Aurelio and Miranda: A Drama in Five Acts*. London, 1799. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 7 Aug. 2010.
- . *Cambro-Britons: An Historical Play in Three Acts*. London, 1798. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 7 Aug. 2010.
- . *Fontainville Forest*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. London, 1794. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 16 July 2010.
- . *The Italian Monk*. London, 1797. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 7 July 2010.
- . *A Letter to George Steevens, Esq. containing a critical examination of the papers of Shakspeare; published by Mr. Samuel Ireland. To which are added, extracts from Vortigern. By James Boaden, Esq. author of Fontainville Forest, &c. London, MDCCXCVI*. London, 1796. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 7 July 2010.
- . *The Life of Mrs. Jordan Including Original Private Correspondence, and Numerous Anecdotes of Her Contemporaries*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. 2 Vols. London, 1831. *Google Book Search*. Web. 19 Sept. 2010.
- . *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons Interpreted with Anecdotes of Authors and Actors*. Philadelphia, 1827. *Google Book Search*. Web. 7 July 2010.

- . *Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble, Esq. Including a History of the Stage From the Time of Garrick to the Present Period*. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1825. *Google Book Search*. Web. 7 July 2010.
- . *The Secret Tribunal*. London, 1795. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 23 Sept. 2010.
- Backscheider, Paula R. *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England*. Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1993. Print.
- Bate, Jonathan. *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism, 1730-1830*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989. Print.
- Booth, Micheal R. *English Melodrama*. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1965. Print.
- Botting, Fred. *Gothic*. Florence, KY: Routledge, 1995. Print.
- Bratton, Jacky. "Romantic Melodrama." *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre, 1730-1830*. Ed. Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 2007. Print.
- Brooks, Peter. *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess*. New Haven: Yale U.P., 1976. Print.
- Brown, Hilary. *Benedikte Naubert (1756-1819) and her Relations to English Culture*. London: Maney Publishing, 2005. Print.
- Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. London 1792. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 18 Sept. 2010.
- . *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. London, 1790. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 23 June 2011.
- Burwick, Frederick. Afterword. Desmet and Williams. 240-256.
- . *Playing to the Crowd, London Popular Theatre, 1780-1830*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. E-book.

- . *Romantic Drama: Acting and Reacting*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. Print.
- Cardinal, Agnès. "Germany, Austria and Switzerland." *Bloomsbury Guide to Women's Literature*. Ed. Claire Buck. London: Bloomsbury, 1992. Print.
- Carlson, Julie A. *In the Theatre of Romanticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. Print.
- Chard, Chloe. Introduction. *The Romance of the Forest*. By Ann Radcliffe. 1791. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009. Print. vii-xxiv.
- Chesterman, Andrew. *Memes in Translation: The Spread of Ideas in Translation Theory*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1997. Print.
- Clark, Sandra ed. Introduction. *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare*. Vermont: Everyman, 1997. Print.
- Clery, E.J. and Robert Miles, eds. *Gothic Documents: A Sourcebook 1700 – 1820*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000. Print.
- Cohan, Steven, ed. Introduction. *The Plays of James Boaden*. New York: Garland, 1980. Print. i-lxiv.
- Cohn, Ruby. *Modern Shakespeare Offshoots*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976. Print.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *Biographia Literaria*. Eds. James Engell and W. Jackson Bate. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983. Print.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1992. Print.
- Conolly, L.W. *The Censorship of English Drama 1737-1824*. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1976. Print.
- Cox, Jeffrey N. "English Gothic Theatre." Hogle. 125-144.
- . "Ideology and Genre in the British Antirevolutionary Drama of the 1790s." *EHL*. 58.3 (1991). 579-610. *JSTOR*. Web. 8 Feb. 11.

---. *In The Shadows of Romance: Romantic Tragic Drama in Germany, England, and France.*

Athens: Ohio UP, 1987. Print.

---. *Seven Gothic Dramas 1789-1925.* Ohio: Ohio UP, 1992. Print.

Cox, Philip. *Reading Adaptations: Novels and Verse Narratives on the Stage, 1790 - 1840.*

Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000. Print.

Courtney, Angela. Introduction. *Nineteenth Century British Dramatists.* Vol. 344. (2009): xvii-

xxi. *Dictionary of Literary Biography.* Web. 8 Oct. 2010.

Cranston, Maurice. *The Romantic Movement.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1994. Print.

Crouch, K.A. "Litchfield, Harriett (1777-1854)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

Web. 15 May 2012.

Cutchins, Dennis, Laurence Raw and James M. Welsh, eds. *The Pedagogy of Adaptation.*

Lanham: Scarecrow, 2010. Print.

Davison, Carol Margaret. *Gothic Literature 1764-1824.* Cardiff: Wales UP, 2009. Print.

De Bruyn, Frans. "Edmund Burke's Gothic Romance: The Portrayal of Warren Hastings in

Burke's Writings and Speeches on India." *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts.* 29:4 (1987). *Chadwyck PAO Complete.* Web. 20 Mar. 2011.

---. "Shakespeare and the French Revolution." Ritchie and Sabor. 297-313.

---. "William Shakespeare and Edmund Burke: Literary Allusion in Eighteenth-Century British

Political Rhetoric." *Shakespeare and the Eighteenth Century.* Ed. Peter Sabor and Paul

Yachnin. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. Print. 85-102.

Desmet Christy, and Anne Williams, eds. *Shakespearean Gothic.* Cardiff: Wales UP, 2009.

Print.

Desmet, Christy. Introduction. *Shakespeare and Appropriation.* Eds. Christy Desmet and Robert

Sawyer. London: Routledge, 1999. Print.

- De Wilde, Samuel. "The Monster Melo-Drama." 1807. Cartoon. British Museum, London. JPEG file.
- Diamond, Suzanne. "Whose Life Is It, Anyway? Adaptation, Collective Memory, and (Auto) Biographical Processes." *Redefining Adaptation Studies*. Eds. Dennis Cutchins, Laurence Raw, and James M. Welsh. Lanham: Scarecrow, 2010. Print.
- Dibdin, Waldron, et al. *A Compendious History of the English Stage from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*. London, 1800. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 26 Feb 2011.
- Dobson, Michael. *Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992. *EBSCOhost*. Web. 3 Feb. 2012.
- Donohue, Joseph ed. *The Cambridge History of British Theatre*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004. Print.
- Doe, Donald Bartlett. *The Sublime as an Aesthetic Correlative: A Study of Late Eighteenth-Century English Aesthetic Theory, Landscape Painting and Gothic Dramas*. Ann Arbor: U. Microfilms International, 1977. Print.
- Drakakis, John and Dale Townshend, eds. *Gothic Shakespeares*. New York: Routledge, 2008. Print.
- Dryden, John. "Prologue." *The Tempest; or, The Enchanted Island*. Thomas Shadwell. London, 1710. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 5 July 2011.
- Duff, William. *Critical Observations on the Writings of the Most Celebrated Original Geniuses in Poetry*. London, 1770. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 13 Dec. 2010.
- Dutton, Thomas. *The Literary Census: A Satirical Poem*. London, 1798. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 5 Feb. 2012.

- Emsley, Clive. "Repression, 'Terror' and the Rule of Law in England during the Decade of the French Revolution." *The English Historical Review*. 100.397 (Oct 1985). 801-825. *JSTOR*. Web. 25 June 2011.
- Evans, Bertrand. *Gothic Drama from Walpole to Shelley*. Berkeley: California UP, 1947. Print.
- Faubert, Patrick. "'Perfect Picture Material': Anthony Adverse and the Future of Adaptation Theory." *Adaptation: The Journal of Literature On Screen Studies*. 4.2. (2010). 180-198. *Scholars Portal*. Web. 23 Aug. 2011.
- Feibel, Juliet. "'Vortigern, Rowena, and the Ancient Britons' Historical Art and the Anglicization of National Origin." *Eighteenth-Century Life*. 24.1. (2000). *Scholars Portal*. Web. 7 Jan. 2012."
- Fischlin, Daniel and Mark Fortier. Introduction. *Adaptations of Shakespeare: A critical anthology of plays from the seventeenth century to the present*. London: Routledge. 2000. Print. 1-22.
- Fortier, Michael. "Wild Adaptation." *Borrowers and Lenders*. 3.1 (2007). n.pag. Web. 17 May 2011.
- Frank, Frederick S. "Gothic Drama (1768-1830)." *Gothic Writers: A Critical and Bibliographical Guide*. Ed. Douglass H. Thomson, Jack G. Voller, and Frederick S. Frank. Westport: Greenwood, 2002. *NetLibrary*. Web. 28 Nov. 2010.
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Truth and Method*. Trans. Donald G. Marshall and Joel Weinsheimer. London: Continuum, 2004. *Ebrary Reader*. Web. 18 March 2011.
- Gamer, Michael and Robert Miles. "Gothic Shakespeare on the Romantic stage." Drakakis and Townshend. 131- 152.
- Gamer, Michael. *Romanticism and the Gothic: Genre, Reception, and Canon Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. Print.

- Genette, Gérard. *Figures of Literary Discourse*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Columbia UP, 1982. Print.
- . *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. Trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1997. Print.
- Geraghty, Christine. *Now a Major Motion Picture: Film Adaptations of Literature and Drama*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008. Print.
- Gilmartin, Kevin. "In the Theater of Counterrevolution: Loyalist Association and Conservative Opinion in the 1790s." *Journal of British Studies*. 41.3. (2002). 291-328. *JSTOR*. Web. 26 Feb. 2012.
- Gray, Charles Harold. *Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795*. New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1964. Print.
- Gray, Thomas. "The Bard: A Pindaric Ode." *Poems by Mr. Gray*. Dublin. (1768). 71-85. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 24 Jan. 2011.
- Great Britain. Select Committee. *Report from the Select Committee on Dramatic Literature with The Minutes of Evidence*. London, 1832. *Internet Archive*. Web. 10 Dec 2010.
- Greenblatt, Stephen, et al eds. *The Norton Shakespeare*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. 2 Vols. New York: Norton, 2008. Print.
- Grogen, Claire ed. Introduction. *Northanger Abbey*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Toronto: Broadview, 2002. Print. 7-24.
- Hand, Richard. "'It Must all Change Now' Victor Hugo's *Lucretia Borgia* and Adaptation." *Redefining Adaptation Studies*. Ed. Dennis Cutchins, Laurence Raw, James M. Welsh. Lanham: Scarecrow, 2010. Print.
- Hébert, Louis. *Tools for Text and Image Analysis: An Introduction to Applied Semiotics*. Texto, 2011. E-book.

Heilman, Robert Bechtold. *Tragedy and Melodrama: versions of Experience*. Seattle: U of Washington P, 1968. Print.

Hoagwood, Terence Allan, and Daniel P. Watkins eds. *British Romantic Drama: Historical and Critical Essays*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1998. Print.

Hogan, Charles Beecher ed. *The London Stage 1660-1800 Part 5: 1776-1800*. Vol. 3. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1968. Print.

Hogle, Jerrold E. ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. Print.

Howard, Jacqueline. *Reading Gothic Fiction: A Bakhtinian Approach*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994. Print.

Howard, Jane E. "The Winter's Tale." Greenblatt et al 1147-1156.

Hume, Robert D. "Gothic versus Romantic: A Reevaluation of the Gothic Novel." *PMLA*. 84.2 (1969). 282-290. *JSTOR*. Web. 29 Sept. 2010.

Hutcheon, Linda. *A Theory of Adaptation*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Print.

Ingham, Mike. "Following the Dream/Passing the Meme: Shakespeare in 'Translation.'" *Studies in Theatre and Performance*. 28.2. (2008). 111-126. *EBSCOhost International Bibliography of Theatre & Dance*. Web. 18 Sept. 2010.

Ingrassia, Catherine. Introduction. *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century English Novel and Culture*. Eds. Paula R. Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia. Malden: Blackwell, 2005. Print.

Inverso, MaryBeth. *The Gothic Impulse in Contemporary Drama*. Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1990. Print.

Ireland, William-Henry. *Confessions of William-Henry Ireland Containing The Particulars of his Fabrication of the Shakespeare Manuscripts; Together with Anecdotes and Opinions of*

- Many Distinguished persons in the Literary, Political, and Theatrical World*. New York: Bert Franklin, 1969. Print.
- Jewett, William. *Fatal Autonomy: Romantic Drama and the Rhetoric of Agency*. Ithica: Cornell UP, 1997. Print.
- Kahan, Jeffrey. Introduction. *Shakespeare Imitations, Parodies and Forgeries 1710-1820*. Vol. 1. London: Routledge, 2004. Print. xv-xlvi.
- King, Ros. *Cymbeline: Constructions of Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. Print.
- Kristeva, Julia. *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. Ed. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia UP, 1980. Print.
- Lamb, Charles. *The Complete Works In Prose and Verse of Charles Lamb*. Ed. R. H. Shepherd. London: Chatto and Windus, 1875. *Google Books Search*. Web. 22 Nov. 2010.
- Leitch, Thomas. "Adaptation Studies as a Crossroads." *Adaptation: The Journal of Literature On Screen Studies*. 1.1. (2008). 63-77. *Scholars Portal*. Web. 19 Nov. 2011.
- Lewis, Matthew Gregory. *The Monk*. Eds. D.L. Macdonald and Kathleen Scherf. Toronto: Broadview, 2004. Print.
- Lloyd, David and Paul Thomas. *Culture and the State*. New York: Routledge, 1998. Print.
- Lloyd, Megan S. "*Speak it in Welsh*": *Wales and the Welsh Language in Shakespeare*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007. Print.
- Lynch, Deidre Shauna, and Jack Stillinger, eds. "The Gothic and the Development of a Mass Readership." *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Eighth Edition. Vol. D *The Romantic Period*. New York: Norton, 2006. Print. 577-579.
- Lynch, Jack. *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. Print.

- . "The Perfectly Acceptable Practice of Literary Theft: Plagiarism, Copyright, and the Eighteenth Century." *Colonial Williamsburg: The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*. 24. 4 (Winter 2002–3): 51–54. Print.
- Mair, John. *The Fourth Forger: William Ireland and the Shakespeare Papers*. Freeport: Books for Libraries, 1971. Print.
- Malone, Edmund. *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, Published Dec. 24, 1795 And Attributed to Shakespeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry, Earl of Southampton*. Ed. Arthur Freeman. Boston: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. 1970. Print.
- Manly, Susan. *Language, Custom and Nation in the 1790s: Locke, Tooke, Wordsworth, Edgeworth*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007. Print.
- Marsden, Jean. *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory*. Kentucky: UP of Kentucky, 1995. Print.
- . "Shakespeare and Sympathy." *Shakespeare and the Eighteenth Century*. Ed. Peter Sabor and Paul Yachnin. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. Print. 29-41.
- Marshall, Bridget M. *The Transatlantic Gothic Novel and the Law, 1790-1860*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2011. Print.
- Mathias, T.J. *The Grove, A Satire*. London, 1798. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 5 Feb. 2012.
- Maus, Katherine Esaman. "Measure for Measure." Stephen Greenblatt, et al. 305-313.
- Maynard, Temple J. "James Boaden (23 May 1762-16 February 1839)." *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Dramatists, Third Series*. 89 (1989): 25-37. *Dictionary of Literary Biography Complete Online*. Web. 2 Sept. 2010.

- McCann, Andrew. *Cultural Politics in the 1790s: Literature, Radicalism and the Public Sphere*. London, Palgrave, 1999. Print.
- McIntyre, Clara F. "Were the 'Gothic Novels' Gothic?" *PMLA*. 36.4 (1921): 644-667. *JSTOR*. Web. 7 Dec. 2010.
- Measell, James S. "William Pitt and Suspension of Habeas Corpus." *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 60.4. (1974). 468-476. *EBSCOhost*. Web. 30 Mar. 2012.
- Miles, Robert. "Abjection, Nationalism and the Gothic." *The Gothic*. Ed. Fred Botting. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001. Print.
- . *Ann Radcliffe: The Great Enchantress*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995. Print.
- . *Gothic Writing 1750-1820 A Genealogy*. London: Routledge, 1993. Print.
- . "The 1790s: The Effulgence of Gothic." Hogle. 41-62.
- Monmouth, Geoffrey of. *The History of the Kings of Britain*. Ed and trans. Michael A. Faletra. Peterborough: Broadview, 2008. Print.
- Montagu, Elizabeth. "On the Praeternatural Beings." 1769. Clery and Miles. 32-40.
- Moody, Jane. *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770-1840*. Cambridge; Cambridge UP, 2000. Print.
- Mori, Jennifer. *Britain in the Age of the French Revolution 1785-1795*. Harlow: Longman, 2000. Print.
- . *William Pitt and the French Revolution, 1785-1795*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Print.
- Mulholland, James. "Gray's Ambition: Printed Voices and Performing Bards in the Later Poetry." *ELH*. 75.1. (2008). 109-134. *Scholars Portal*. Web. 7 Jan. 2012.
- Mydla, Jacek. *Spectres of Shakespeare: Appropriations of Shakespeare in Early English Gothic*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Slaskiego, 2009. Print.

- . "Recycling the Spectre: James Boaden's Stage Adaptations of the Gothic Romance and the Spectres of Literary Appropriation." *A Culture of Recycling / Recycling Culture?* Eds. Wojciech Kalaga, Marzena Kubisz, and Jacek Mydla. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011. Print.
- Naubert, Christiane Benedikt (Professor Kramer). *Herman of Unna: A Series of Adventures of the Fifteenth Century*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 3 Vols. Trans. Anonymous. London, 1796. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 15 July 2011.
- Norton, Rictor, ed. *Gothic Readings: The First Wave, 1764-1840*. London: Leicester UP, 2000. Print.
- O'Gorman, Frank. *British Conservatism: Conservative Thought from Burke to Thatcher*. London: Longman, 1986. Print.
- Oulton, Walley Chamberlain. *Vortigern under consideration; with general remarks on Mr. James Boaden's letter to George Steevens, Esq. relative to the manuscripts, drawings, seals, &c. ascribed to Shakespeare, and in the possession of Samuel Ireland, Esq.* London, 1796. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 2 Aug. 2010.
- Paulin, Roger. *The Critical Reception of Shakespeare in Germany 1683-1914: Native Literature and Foreign Genius*. Hildesheim: Olms, 2003. Print.
- . "Shakespeare and Germany." Ritchie and Sabor. 314-330.
- Paulson, Ronald. "Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution." *EHL*. 48.3 (1981). 532-554. *JSTOR*. Web. 18 Mar. 11.
- Pavis, Patrice and Christine Shantz. *Dictionary of the Theatre: Terms, Concepts, and Analysis*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1998. Print.
- Pfister, Manfred. *The Theory and Analysis of Drama*. Trans. John Halliday. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988. Print.

- Powell, Anna and Andrew Smith, eds. *Teaching the Gothic*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Print.
- Prestwich, Michael. *Edward I*. Berkeley: California UP, 1988. Print.
- Prince, Kathryn. "Shakespeare and English nationalism." Ritchie and Sabor. 277-293.
- . "On the Supernatural in Poetry." Clery and Miles. 163-172.
- . *The Romance of the Forest*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009.
- Rahill, Frank. *The World of Melodrama*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1967. Print.
- Ranger, Paul. *'Terror and Pity Reign in Every Breast' Gothic Drama in the London Patent Theatres 1750-1820*. London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1991. Print.
- Reno, Robert P. "James Boaden's *Fontainville Forest* and Matthew G. Lewis' *The Castle Spectre*: Challenges of the Supernatural Ghost on the Late Eighteenth-Century Stage." *Eighteenth-Century Life*. 9. 1 (1984): 95-106. Print.
- Richardson, R. C. *Household Servants in Early Modern England*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2010.
- Richter, David H. *The Progress of Romance: Literary Historiography and the Gothic Novel*. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1996. Print.
- . "The Reception of the Gothic Novel in the 1790s." *The Idea of the Novel in the Eighteenth Century*. Ed. Robert W. Uphaus. Lansing, MI: Colleagues, 1988. Print. 117-137.
- Ritchie, Fiona and Peter Sabor, eds. *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012. Print.
- Rostron, David. "Contemporary Political Comment in Four of J. P. Kemble's Shakespearean Productions." *Theatre Research*. 12 (1972). 113-19. Print.
- Royle, Edward. *Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections of the threat of revolution in Britain 1789-1848*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000. Print.

- Rumbold, Kate. "'So Common-Hackneyed in the Eyes of Men': Banal Shakespeare and the Eighteenth-Century Novel." *Literature Compass*. 4.3 (2007). 610-621. *Scholars Portal*. Web. 11 Aug. 2010.
- Russell, Gillian. "Burk's Dagger: Theatricality, Politics and Print Culture in the 1790s." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 20.1. 1997. 1-16. Print.
- Sanders, Julie. *Adaptation and Appropriation*. London: Routledge, 2006. Print.
- Shakespeare, William. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Greenblatt et al. 849-896.
- . *Hamlet*. Greenblatt et al. 116-204.
- . *Henry V*. Greenblatt et al. 1481-1548.
- . *Measure for Measure*. Greenblatt et al. 314-374.
- . *Pericles*. Greenblatt et al. 1000-1057.
- . *The Winter's Tale*. Greenblatt et al. 1158-1227.
- Shepherd, Simon. "Blood, Thunder and Theory: The Arrival of English Melodrama." *Theatre Research International*. 24.2. (1999). 145-151. *Cambridge Journals Online*. Web. 16 Nov. 2011.
- Simonds, Peggy Muñoz. *Myth, Emblem and Music in Shakespeare's Cymbeline: An Iconographic Reconstruction*. Cranbery, New Jersey: Associated UP, 1992.
- Smith, James L. *Melodrama*. London: Methuen, 1973. Print.
- Stephens, John Russell. "Boaden, James (1762-1839)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Web. 2 Sept. 2009.
- Summers, Montague. *The Gothic Quest: A History of the Gothic Novel*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1964. Print.
- Sutherland, James. *Shakespeare's Imitators in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1933. Print.

- Sweet, Nanora. "Felicia Hemans' 'A Tale of the Secret Tribunal': Gothic Empire in the Age of Jeremy Bentham and Walter Scott." *European Journal of English Studies*. (2002) 6.2. 159-171. JSTOR. Web. 26 July 2011.
- Taylor, George. *The French Revolution and the London Stage 1789-1805*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. Print.
- Thew, Robert. "Hamlet, Act 1, Scene IV." 1793. Print after Henry Fuseli. British Museum, London. JPEG file.
- Thorp, Willard. "The Stage Adventures of Some Gothic Novels." *PMLA*. 43.2 (1928): 476-486. *JSTOR*. Web. 26 June 2010.
- Townshend, Dale. "Gothic and the Ghost of *Hamlet*." Drakakis and Townshend. 60-97.
- Tyrrell, James. *General History of England Both Ecclesiastical and Civil*. Vol. 3.9. London 1704. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 11 Feb. 2012.
- Varma, Devendra P. *The Gothic Flame: Being a History of the Gothic Novel in England, its Origins, Efflorescence, Disintegration, and Residuary Influences*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966. Print.
- Walpole, Horace. "Preface to the second edition of *The Castle of Otranto*." 1765. Clery and Miles. 122-124.
- Wayne, Valerie. "Cymbeline: Patriotism and Performance." *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works*. Vol. 4 *The Poems, Problem Comedies, Late Plays*. Eds. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003. Print. 389-407.
- Williams, Anne. *The Art of Darkness: The Poetics of Gothic*. Chicago: U Chicago P, 1995. Print.
- Williams, Simon. *Shakespeare on the German Stage*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1990. Print.

Wolcot, John (Peter Pindar). *The Cap. A Satiric Poem. Including most of the dramatic writers of the present day.* London, 1795. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 2 Aug. 2010.

Worrall, David. "The Political Culture of the Gothic Drama." *A Companion to the Gothic*. Ed. David Punter. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000. Print.

---. *The Politics of Romantic Theatricality, 1787-1832: The Road to the Stage*. Hampshire: Palgrave, 2007. Print.

Wright, Angela. "In search of Arden: Ann Radcliffe's William Shakespeare." Drakakis and Townshend. 111-130.

Wyatt, John. *A comparative review of the opinions of Mr. James Boaden, (editor of the Oracle) in February, March and April, 1795; and of James Boaden, Esq. (author of Fontainville Forest, and of a Letter to George Steevens, Esq.) In February, 1796, relative to the Shakspeare Mss. By a friend to consistency.* London, 1796. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 7 July 2010.

Young, Edward. *Conjectures on Original Composition. In a letter to the author of Sir Charles Grandison*. London, 1759. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Web. 26 Aug. 2011.

Zaiontz, Keren "The Art of Repeating Stories, An Interview with Linda Hutcheon." *Performing Adaptations*. Eds. Michelle MacArthur, Lydia Wilkinson and Keren Zaiontz. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars. 2009. Print.

### **Periodicals and Journals**

The following can be found at *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

*Bell's Weekly Messenger*. Vol. 2. London. 2 Jan. 1803.

*European Magazine, and London Review*. Vol. 25. London. 1782-1826.

*Freemasons' Magazine: or, General and Complete Library*. Vol. 2. London 1793-1795.

*General Evening Post*. London. July 24 1798.

*Literary Review, and Historical Journal*. London, 1794-1795.

*Morning Post and Gazetteer*. London. July 24, 1798.

*Oracle and Public Advertiser*. London. August 6, 1794; April 3 1795; Feb 6, 1795; December 18, 1797; Feb 9, 1798; July 24, 1798.

*The Reporter; or, The General Observer*. London, 1797.

*The Scientific Magazine and Freemasons' Repository*. London, 1797. 2 Vols.

*True Briton*. London. December 2, 1797.