

Annelies Andries, Magdalen College, Oxford
Clare Siviter, University of Bristol

Moving Between the Transnational and the Local
Kotzebue's *Menschenhass und Reue* on the London Stage c. 1800

August von Kotzebue's *Menschenhass und Reue* (premiered 1788; printed 1790) spread like wildfire through the literary and theatrical landscapes of Europe around 1800. Scholars have argued that its rapid dissemination resulted from an enthusiasm for the play's French-inspired melodramatic aspects. Yet, this paper will explore how the plot provided a key platform for commenting on both transnational and local concerns as Europe was facing the aftermath of the French Revolution. To do so, we focus on the English 'translation' *The Stranger* (premiered 1798; published 1800) by Benjamin Thompson and adapted for the stage by Richard Sheridan. This version exemplifies how the play's adulterous woman, labelled a 'just martyr to her own crimes', became a site of contestation; through her, authors reflected on the Revolution's political and religious changes (e.g. divorce) and addressed local concerns and celebrity culture (it featured a song by Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire, whose love affair with Charles Grey caused a stir in the 1790s). Examining this adaptation in the context of the play's contemporary French, Dutch and other English versions will also illuminate how transnational and local agents in theatrical mobility networks were capitalising on Kotzebue's plays to mould early nineteenth-century London theatre culture.

Annelies Andries is a music historian researching how opera and popular theatre in France and Britain interacted with the changing political landscape and myriad violent conflicts between 1750 and 1850. She is a Prize Fellow at Magdalen College (Oxford) and co-investigator with Dr Clare Siviter on the project 'Theatre on the Move in Times of Conflict, 1750-1850' (John Fell Fund, BA Small Research Grant). She is working on a monograph on French operatic culture in the early nineteenth century, provisionally titled *Staging History for the Future: The Opéra in Napoleon's Paris*.

Clare Siviter is a theatre historian of the longer French revolutionary period and is lecturer in French Theatre at the University of Bristol. She is currently working on the circulation of theatre during the Revolution (one chapter already in press) and is co-investigator with Dr Annelies Andries on the project 'Theatre on the Move in times of Conflict, 1750-1850' (John Fell Fund, BA Small Research Grant). Her monograph, *Tragedy and Nation in the Age of Napoleon* will appear with Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment in 2020.

Georgina Bartlett
St Hugh's College, Oxford

**From the Stage to the Street:
The Theatre and the Broadside in London, 1797-1844**

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the production of English broadside ballads peaked: according to contemporaneous broadside collector Charles Hindley, tens of thousands of copies of a broadside song were printed in London when the population of the city was still less than 2 million. Despite the social and musical significance of this prolific nineteenth-century tradition, the field of musicology has had little to say about it; this is because come the late-eighteenth century, tune references – which were standard on earlier generations of the broadside – all but disappeared. As such, the melodies to these popular songs have remained largely a mystery. This paper will present the findings of a three-year project in which I have attempted to ‘find’ the music of 19th-century broadsides by examining the migration of theatre music onto the street, constructing a database in which 11,432 19th-century broadsides from the Bodleian Library’s *Ballads Online* database were cross-referenced with the songs from 520 theatrical works staged in London during this era. Using the database’s findings as a foundation for discussion, this paper will explore the scale and nature of this musical migration, paying particular attention to the importance of geography and proximity in the crossover of songs from the stage to the street.

Georgina Bartlett is a music historian researching the intersections between stage music and street song in London around the turn of the nineteenth century. She received her Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees from the University of Miami, studying under Professor Karen Henson, and she has written her doctoral dissertation at Oxford University under the supervision of Professor Suzanne Aspden. In 2017, she held a Junior Teaching Fellowship at the Ashmolean Museum, and she is currently lecturing at the Faculty of Music, Oxford on *Foundations in the Study of Music*.

Barbara Bessac
Université Paris Nanterre

**Stage as an Advertising Space:
Department Stores and the World of Theatre in London and Paris (1890s and 1900s)**

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, to satisfy an audience ever more eager for realism on stage, theatre managers progressively abandoned flat cardboards for three-dimensional authentic objects. Since the 1860s, cabinets, silverware, pouffes, sofas, hangings and curtains were prominently featured on stage. More than scenery, these theatre sets became an immersive environment. The actors, interacting with the objects, imparted them a role in the performance. As these overloaded sets and costumes amounted to an exorbitant expense in the plays production, the collaboration with department stores became a windfall for theatres. Instead of building expensive designs and having to stock them, department stores offered to lend furnitures and costumes for free, in return for a good advertisement in the programmes. Thus it was common practice in the press to mention the shops where the audience could find the objects and costumes as seen on stage. Several academic writings analysed the importance of theatre as a key medium influencing dressing styles and consumption habits. Within their scope, this paper aims to explore the relationship between department stores and the stage through the example of two establishments: Oetzmann and Co in London and the Maison Soubrier in Paris. It will emphasise on their ability to represent the latest trends in crafts on and off stage, and to spread them across the Channel.

Barbara Bessac is in the third year of a joint PhD in History of Art (Université Paris Nanterre) and Theatre Studies (University of Warwick), exploring the links between decorative arts, materiality and the theatre in the second half of the nineteenth century. Her thesis, titled 'Performing crafts. Circulations of decorative arts between theatrical stages of London and Paris 1851-1908', is a research proposing a reinterpretation of the nineteenth century decorative arts and design historiography by including the significant role of performing arts. Her latest publication, 'Paris, the performing arts and the formation of Art Nouveau', was included in Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts' catalogue for the exhibition *The Nature of dreams, England and the formation of Art Nouveau (2020-2021)*.

Bruno Bower
University of Surrey

Quotation in Gilbert and Sullivan's Savoy Operas
and the Creation of Middle-Class Identity

Gilbert and Sullivan's Savoy Operas include references to a huge variety of pre-existing sources. The range of minor allusions to direct quotations have often been a source of anxiety for scholars, concerned that they could be taken to indicate a lack of originality. Recent work has begun to move beyond this narrow view, with several authors making productive use of these references in social and cultural readings. As yet, though, there has been little attempt to address a more direct question: why did Gilbert and Sullivan include straight quotations? Allusions might have been difficult to completely avoid, but quotations could easily have been left out, sidestepping questions of originality or plagiarism. The point must surely have been that they were supposed to be recognised. Viewed from this angle, we can see the dynamic of reference and recognition as an important aspect of the experience for the Savoy audience. Moreover, the breadth of the references suggests that they were reinforced a bourgeois cultural identity and were as involved in defining a middle class as the marketing, costumes, and staging, aspects which have already been studied for their class resonances by Regina B. Oost and Michael Goron.

Bruno Bower is a musicologist, performer, and music editor. He studied at Oriel College, Oxford, Birmingham Conservatoire, King's College London, and completed his PhD on nineteenth-century programme notes for orchestral concerts at the Royal College of Music. He is currently a Teaching Fellow in Music at the University of Surrey, an Evening Class Lecturer at Imperial College London, and a supervisor for music history and analysis at various Cambridge University colleges. His recent publications include a chapter on Gilbert and Sullivan for the *Cambridge Companion to Operetta* (2019), and editions of music by Peter Gellhorn (2016) and Norman O'Neill (2018).

Hayley Bradley
Sheffield Hallam University

A Contentious Collaboration: *The Crown of India* (1912)

On the 11 March 1912, *The Crown of India* opened at the London Coliseum; an ‘imperial masque,’ the piece was commissioned by Oswald Stoll, (Theatre Manager), to celebrate King George V and Queen Mary’s visit to Delhi and their subsequent coronation as Emperor and Empress of India. Composed of two tableaux - ‘The Cities of Ind’ and ‘Ave Imperator!’ the masque comprised twelve pieces for contralto, brass, chorus and orchestra. Billed as ‘a triumph of music - a gorgeous spectacle’ (Poster for the Coliseum as reprinted in *The Elgar Society Journal*, vol. 15, No.6. November 2008, p. 8.) *The Crown of India*, regarded as Edward Elgar’s ‘most overtly imperialist work,’ is a complicated miscellany operating as allegory, music hall entertainment, propaganda and classical music piece. (Julian Rushton. ‘Elgar’s Biography, Elgar’s Repute: Themes and Variations’ in *Elgar: An Anniversary Portrait*, London: Continuum, 2007. p. 39.) Composed and conducted by Elgar, with a libretti by the dramatist Henry Hamilton, the production offers insights into the theatrical representations of Empire (Britain) and Colonised other (India) as multiple Cities and individuals contribute to a dramatised debate as to whether Calcutta or Delhi should be declared the Capital. The creation of the piece itself also shines further light on the industry practice of professional collaboration, with immense pressure on Elgar and Hamilton to create ‘a production consonant in magnificence and dignity with the music England’s great composer has taught us to expect’ leading to a partnership fraught with conflict. (‘Sir Edward Elgar,’ *Financial Times*, 9 January 1912, Issue: 7304, p. 2.)

Hayley Jayne Bradley is a Senior Lecturer in Performance at Sheffield Hallam University. Her research interests span late nineteenth/early twentieth century popular theatre and culture including early film, stage machinery and technology, collaboration, and adaptation. Her most recent publication was a chapter in *The Cambridge Companion to English Melodrama*, (2018) ed. by Carolyn Williams on ‘Stagecraft, Spectacle and Sensation.’ Hayley is the Co-convenor of the TaPRA (Theatre and Performance Research Association) ‘History and Historiography’ working group. She is currently researching her first monograph, exploring *British and American Theatrical Artisans: the professional craft of the late nineteenth century theatrical entrepreneur*.

Keith Cavers
Independent Scholar

**The Native, The International and The Aristocratic Amateur:
Three D'Egville Dancers on the London Stage**

Dancers in London in the early nineteenth century had a number of possible career paths to follow and some of their choices had to be of a practical rather than an artistic nature. In this paper I examine the dancing times of three women from very different backgrounds who all made some mark on the dancing world in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The world of the dancer before the advent of Taglioni might seem to be a very different place from that thereafter, but in a necessarily short active career could these dancers negotiate the pitfalls and barriers on the slippery path up Mount Helicon to celebrity?

Keith Cavers is an independent curator, scholar and consulting iconographer. He studied Stage Management at RADA and the History of Drawing and Printmaking at Camberwell. His M.Phil thesis at Surrey was on the dancer and choreographer James Harvey D'Egville. This led to a visiting research fellowship at Harvard in 1996 where he recently returned to pursue research in both 2015 and 2016. He was Slide Librarian and Visiting Lecturer at Camberwell for 20 years and Information Officer at the National Gallery for twelve. In 2018 he has printed illustrated versions of George Chaffee's Catalogues of English and American dance prints. His latest discoveries are two hitherto unrecorded portraits of the Italian dancer Giovanna Baccelli.

Oskar Cox Jensen
University of East Anglia

‘Taken with Novelty’: Celebrating the Global Street

Having in the past established that, if all the world’s a stage, then that certainly includes the London street, I would like to think about how the street represented that wider world in the nineteenth century. This paper will therefore look at street performances that drew on ideas of exoticism, difference, and otherness, as compelling features that attracted audiences. I will consider themes of agency and power, challenging a dominant discourse of xenophobia and hostility on the part of audiences. But I will focus upon the theatrical dimension of performances ranging from the conspicuously national (most obviously, the familiar Italian organists and German bands) to those invoking more ethnicised global identities, predominantly by people of colour, such as the numerous beggars arrested by the Mendicity Society for their ‘impersonations’ of runaway slaves, and the sometime fairground giant, sometime placard-carrier Samuel Springer, as well as the most famous of all these figures, Billy Waters. In keeping with a wider Victorian theatre-studies turn to the non-human, I will also consider the role of African and Asian animals in performing London’s sense of identity as a world city to itself – with consequences that sometimes remade the city in thoroughly unanticipated ways . . .

Oskar Cox Jensen is a Senior Research Associate in Politics at the University of East Anglia, working on a study of protest song from 1600–2020. He is author of *Napoleon and British Song, 1797–1822* (Palgrave, 2015) and *The Ballad-Singer in Georgian and Victorian London* (Cambridge, 2021), and co-editor of *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture* (Oxford, 2018), and a special forum of the *Journal of British Studies* on ‘Music and Politics in Britain, c.1780–1850’ (2021). His third book, *When London Cried*, will be published by Duckworth in 2022. He has been actor and musical director in practice-as-research productions of Tom Tyler, *The Disobedient Child* (two Tudor interludes), Dickens’s *Is She His Wife?* and *The Frozen Deep*.

Panel on Anglo-French Theatre and Visual Culture

Chair: Kate Newey

Speakers: Jim Davis, Kate Holmes, Patricia Smyth

This panel is offered by the research team currently working on the AHRC-funded project 'Theatre and Visual Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century'; its will be on Anglo-French culture with particular emphasis on cultural exchange between London and Paris in the nineteenth century.

Panel on Anglo-French Theatre and Visual Culture - Paper 1

Jim Davis

University of Warwick

Visualising the Spectator in Paris and London

Commencing with reference to Boilly's three genre paintings of Parisian audiences, *L'entrée du théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique à une représentation gratis* (1819) and the pendant set *L'Effet du Mélodrame* and *Une Loge, un jour de spectacle gratuit* (c.1830), as well as to representative works of Daumier, this paper will question the extent to which both Parisian and London audiences were satirised and caricatured (or not) in visual culture. It will also ask what impact such representations have on our understanding of the behaviour and affective responses of nineteenth-century spectators, especially across different classes of society. In Britain, a tradition developed of representing theatre audiences comically, in part a consequence of Hogarth's *The Laughing Audience* (1733), continued by Rowlandson and Cruikshank, among others into the early nineteenth century, and maintained in the illustrations published in comic journals such as *Judy* and *Punch* in the mid- to late nineteenth century. This tendency was offset by some of the more serious illustrated journals, such as the *Graphic* and *Illustrated London News*, while in Paris Daumier fluctuated between caricature and a more realistic approach in his depiction of audiences. Overall, this paper explores the visualisation of the nineteenth-century audience within a transnational context.

Jim Davis is Professor of Theatre Studies at the University of Warwick. His most recent books are *Comic Acting and Portraiture in Late-Georgian and Regency England* (2015), *Theatre & Entertainment* (2016) and *Dickens Dramatized Volume II* (Oxford, 2017). He is also joint-author of *Reflecting the Audience: London Theatre-going 1840-1880* (2001) and has edited a book on Victorian pantomime (Palgrave MacMillan, 2010). Currently, he is leading an AHRC-funded project on Theatre and Visual Culture in nineteenth-century Britain. He is an editor of *Nineteenth-Century Theatre and Film*.

Panel on Anglo-French Theatre and Visual Culture - Paper 2

Kate Holmes
University of Exeter

The Role of Place in Creating Jules Léotard's Spectacular Body at the Alhambra
Music Hall and Cremorne Pleasure Gardens

In 1861 the Frenchman Jules Léotard became an aerial celebrity in London at the Alhambra Music Hall and Cremorne Pleasure Gardens performing a new and innovative form of aerial action that saw him travel between two trapeze *across* the performance space. Remembered today by the general public more for inventing a style of costume, his celebrity in the 1860s saw him return to London a number of times throughout the decade and his image remediated in other popular entertainment forms. In this paper I consider the role place played in the spectacle made by his 'flying' body and how this contributed to his popularity. Rigging requirements and staging worked differently in the music hall and pleasure garden venues to create anticipation, and the design of both included influences from other nations. I explore how the Moorish-inspired Alhambra and Cremorne, which evoked many nations within its grounds, contributed to the fantasy Léotard's body created by evoking other fantasy lands; considering how location may have become implicated in the fantasy that unmechanised human flight could be a possibility.

Kate Holmes is a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the University of Exeter. Her research focuses on the history, celebrity and professional mobility of aerial performers. Her work has been published in *Early Popular Visual Culture*, *New Theatre Quarterly* and *Stage Women* (edited by Maggie Gale and Kate Dorney). As part of the AHRC Theatre and Visual Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century project, Kate will curate two exhibitions in 2020 that further her interest in the creative potential of archives.

Panel on Anglo-French Theatre and Visual Culture - Paper 3

Patricia Smyth
University of Warwick

'Modern Spectatorship' in Britain and France in the Early Nineteenth Century

This presentation examines the transnational circulation of British and French scenic design, special effects, and stage technologies in the 1820s and 1830s, decades in which gaslight, transparency effects, and moving panoramas combined to create a new kind of immersive spectacle. Jonathan Crary has cited this period as a key moment in the development of a new mode of modern metropolitan spectatorship, yet recent scholarship has sought to problematize this idea, drawing out the effects of political, regional, and other differences on spectator experience. This paper considers how far it is possible to talk about a transnational metropolitan visual culture in this period. On one hand, the free circulation of effects and motifs between Britain and France suggests a commonly held idea of what constituted 'progress'. Yet there were significant divergences and points of resistance, which I hope to draw out through a comparison of two individuals whose careers mirror each other, the British artist and stage designer Clarkson Stanfield and the French artist, stage designer, and inventor of the Diorama (and, later, the Daguerreotype), L.J.M. Daguerre.

Patricia Smyth is Senior Research Fellow on the AHRC-funded project 'Theatre and Visual Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century' at the University of Warwick. She has published articles and book chapters on the connections between art, theatre, and visual culture in nineteenth-century France, Britain, and Australia. Her book, *Paul Delaroche: Painting and Popular Spectacle*, will be published by Liverpool University Press in 2021. She is also an editor of *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*.

Ann Domoney
Performer and Independent Scholar

Vestris on the Modern Stage: Developing a Play about Madame Vestris

The life and career of Madame Vestris provides rich material for a dramatic exploration. In particular, I am interested in the contrast between Vestris' public image as a performer, and the values that guided her as a manager. After her performance in the burlesque *Giovanni in London*, Vestris was presented - through anonymously published and largely fictional memoirs - as a female Giovanni. Stories of extravagant spending and sexual promiscuity linked her name with scandal. Yet as manager of the Olympic, she strove to make the minor theatre respectable. The reputations of Vestris herself, of theatre as an art-form, and of illegitimate theatre especially, were all obstacles to this goal. Madame Vestris' navigation of the complex relationships between gender, class and respectability within the world of early nineteenth-century theatre provides a context in which to examine questions of continuing relevance: what does it mean to be respectable, and what are the costs? I am exploring these themes through researching and writing a play about the life of Madame Vestris. In this session I will introduce the project and share an extract of my work in progress. I invite feedback and suggestions on developing the play further.

Ann Domoney has performed as a cabaret artist, stand-up comedian, and actor. From 2008-2012, she was a member of a burlesque collective, with whom she wrote and performed satirical songs and sketches. This experience sparked her curiosity about the historical roots of burlesque, which led to an interest in early nineteenth-century theatre. More recently, she has combined her interests in theatre and history by playing Meddle in Dion Boucicault's *London Assurance*, and Rose in Jessica Swale's *Nell Gwynn*.

Dorothea Flothow
University of Salzburg

'Neo-Restoration Comedy' on the Nineteenth-century Stage

Amongst the countless history plays staged in London the course of the nineteenth century, a series of more than a dozen of what we might today call 'neo-Restoration comedies' form a fascinating corpus. Including works by well-known dramatists such as James Robinson Planché, Douglas Jerrold or Paul Kester, these strongly intertextual plays not only stayed in the theatrical repertoire for many decades. As their formulaic plots and stereotypical characters were also frequently burlesqued, a wide familiarity with the audience can be assumed. With their heavily bowdlerized renderings of the stereotypical plots and the stock characters of Restoration comedies of manners, these comedies reveal, as the proposed talk hopes to show, fascinating insights into Victorian morals and gender ideals. As their authors fitted well-known historical characters from the Restoration period into the formulaic roles of the rake, the innocent heroine and the old lecher, they moreover provide an understanding of the staging of history and the genre of historical comedy in the nineteenth century. Last but not least, as comments on both the late seventeenth-century past and the nineteenth-century present, they share a surprising number of features with late today's postmodernist 'Neo-Victorian literature', suggesting the conspicuous self-consciousness and self-awareness of nineteenth-century theatre.

Dorothea Flothow is Assistant Professor at the Department of English and American Studies, Salzburg University. She has an MA degree in English Literature and Modern History (University of Tübingen) and in her PhD project examined war imagery in British children's novels. Her research interests include historical drama and fiction, children's literature and the First World War. She has just completed a study of the Restoration period in popular historiography.

Michael Gamer
University of Pennsylvania

'The Monster Melodrama': A Slow History



This paper is taken from a collaborative project on which David Mayer and I are working. This presentation takes its title from a print published in *The Satirist* in January of 1808, which depicts a beast trampling the works of Shakespeare while a host of living playwrights and theatre shareholders, presumably of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, suckle its teats. Representing the overthrow of that most illustrious of institutions, the British stage, the print stands as one of the seminal images of the Romantic period, appearing at a moment when the state of the British theatre could be seen to stand in for the state of the British nation. For scholars, the image has proven useful shorthand for talking about melodrama's early history, and we have tended to accept its representation of the genre transparently. In this paper, I'd like to re-examine these assumptions by considering the print within its various contexts: first as a print appearing in the window of Samuel Tipper's bookshop; next in *The Satirist* in dialogue with the published dream-vision that gave the print its name; and finally alongside the two other prints that its artist, Samuel de Wilde, did for the *Satirist*. As we hope to show, the print is less a representation of melodrama in 1807 than one of corruption within London's patent theatres – where (the print argues) genres should be pure, managers aspiring, audiences discerning, and plays should consist of five acts.

Michael Gamer is Professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of Pennsylvania, and from 2020 to 2024, a British Academy Global Professor at Queen Mary University of London, where he is currently at work on a book on Romantic melodrama with an accompanying database chronicling every performance of melodrama in Britain between 1793 and 1843.

Alessandra Grossi
University of Warwick

Modelling the World on the Burlesque Stage: The case of J. Wooler's *Jason and Medea* and J. R. Planché's *Mr Buckstone's Voyage around the Globe*

As a result of technological progress, economic transformations and imperialist expansion, the world became more broadly accessible to mid-Victorian society. The Great Exhibition of 1851, held in the Crystal Palace, showcased twenty-five countries that brought to the English metropolis their traditional crafts and products. One month after its opening, cartographer James Wyld erected a model of the earth in Leicester Square. Both the Great Exhibition and Wyld's Monster Globe epitomise Britain's attempt 'to plot – in the turn sense of to map and narrate – a new world order' (Young, 2009, p. 4). In my paper, I will examine how mid-Victorian burlesque authors engaged with the construction of global narratives. The first case study will be J. Wooler's *Jason and Medea* (1851, Grecian Saloon), a classical burlesque that contains a humorous catalogue of the Great Exhibition. The second case study will be J. R. Planché's *Mr Buckstone's voyage around the globe* (1854, Haymarket Theatre), which enacts a true circumnavigation of Wyld's globe made by the manager of the Haymarket. I would argue that the process of 'diminution' proper to burlesque – that is the reduction in status of noble people or objects – works as a satirical means of modelling, and thus rendering manageable, the world on stage as seen by mid-Victorian Britain.

Alessandra Grossi is a third-year PhD student at the University of Warwick funded by the Lord Chancellor's scholarship, which sustains European students in the UK. Her research is centred on gender representations in mid-Victorian classical burlesques and is supervised by Prof. Jim Davis. She has an MA with honours in Modern Languages and Literatures from the University of Pisa, where she did a dissertation on Planché's burlesque *The Golden Fleece*. At Warwick, Alessandra was an Associate Tutor in the department of Theatre and Performance Studies, and she is now co-organising extra-curricular events for the School of Creative Arts, Performance and Visual Cultures.

Barbara Haws
New College, Oxford

An American View from the Drury Lane Theatre Pit, 1836-37:
From the Diary of U.C. Hill

Ureli Corelli Hill, an American-born violinist, led a group of local musicians in the founding of the New York Philharmonic in 1842. Seven years before, 1835, he embarked on his 'greatly wished for voyage across the Atlantic' to gain a better understanding of the music scene in London, Kassel, and Paris. While on his trip, Hill, the first American musician to travel abroad, kept a diary of his experiences. For nearly two years, he wrote about his travels, cost of food, performances he attended, his studies with Louis Spohr, and life at the Drury Lane Theatre. After studying with Spohr and Moritz Hauptmann in Germany and participating in Mendelssohn's Festival in Dusseldorf, Hill returned to London and was hired as third viola in the Drury Lane Theatre orchestra. My presentation will focus on the London season of 1836-37 in particular Hill's assessments of the Drury Lane's theatre presentations and his colleagues in the pit led by Thomas Cooke. This season is notable for the concentration of American performers making their first appearances on the London stage including Edwin Forrest, the *Jim Crow* originator T.D Rice and even Hill's own brother, the comedian, George Handel Hill. In addition to his reaction to the Drury Lane productions and performers, Hill's diary provides new details about musicians and their work conditions. Living the hard life of a theatre musician most likely contributed to Hill's change of heart about the London music scene from one of infatuation to profound disenchantment, describing English musicians as 'cold, selfish, jealous, mercenaries being without a shade of the true spirit of the liberal artist'.

Barbara Haws is a DPhil student in Music at University of Oxford. Her thesis is on Hill's European journey and its influence on the early years of the New York Philharmonic. As well, she is preparing for publication an annotated version of the Hill Diary. An essay of her work on Hill was published in *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by John Spitzer, University of Chicago Press, 2012. Prior to coming to Oxford, Haws was the Archivist and Historian of the New York Philharmonic for 34 years. She is the founder of the Philharmonic's Leon Levy Digital Archives which, among millions of other music documents, makes available online every printed Philharmonic concert program since 1842.

Catherine Hindson
University of Bristol

**Let's take a Break:
Escaping the London Stage, or Vacationing with Theatre's Stars**

The need to take a break from the physical and intellectual labour of a theatrical career was a regular subject of discussion in letters exchanged by actresses, actors and their friends in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Refusing a social invitation Henry Irving states, he is 'very tired' and 'must go away for rest and quiet' (1891). Returning from Monte Carlo, Ellen Terry reflects 'I never felt tired once during my fortnight's holiday. What donkeys we all are to have all work and no play' (1897). Press coverage of theatre's stars offered readers ongoing information about where their stage favourites were vacationing. Herbert Tree - *The Sketch* notes - is taking a 'brain bath of rest and repose' at Marienbad (1898). George Alexander is taking the air in Sheringham, the *New York Times* reports (1894). Such references to holidays indicate that stage performers' leisure travel brought cultural kudos: the outcome of an economic ability to reach and explore new places and engage with the fashionable status, spaces and networks connected with elite tourist resorts. In addition - and arguably more interestingly - what these private and public sources surface is evidence of a collective, professionally accepted need for rest. Letters and press accounts capture and fuel an industry-focused concern around how to sustain strong physical and mental health. Cultural activity is presented as draining, in relation both to the labour of repeat performing a role and to the energies demanded by new creative production. In this paper I will explore the key ideas about holiday-ing that are revealed through correspondence and newspaper coverage. These will include understandings of the regularly repeated phrase a 'proper holiday' and of holidays as spaces for creative recharge, as well as the emergence of specific holiday locations as sites of creative and social networking that influenced the capital's theatrical production. Read together - I propose - these explorations of theatrical holidays can help us to understand more about the cultural, social and economic structures of the London stage and the significance of narratives of health and wellbeing around the ongoing success of its leading representatives.

Catherine Hindson is Reader in Theatre History at the University of Bristol. Her research interests are connected by her focus on performance on and off stage during the long nineteenth century. She is the author of many articles and chapters on theatre, celebrity, actresses, off-stage identity, cultural heritage and theatrical charity work and of *Female Performance Practice on the Fin-de-Siècle Stages of London and Paris* (MUP, 2007) and *London's West End Actresses and the Origins of Celebrity Charity, 1880-1920* (University of Iowa Press, 2016). *Theatre in the Chocolate Factory: Performance at Cadbury's Bournville, 1900-1935*, is due for publication in 2021. This paper comes out of new research into ideas about rest, labour, holidays and mental and physical good health in nineteenth-century theatrical culture.

Bradley Hoover
New College, Oxford

Introducing the Delsarte System of *Vocal* Expression in Nineteenth-century London

François Delsarte (1811-1871) was a professor of singing and declamation in Paris who, in the 1830s, developed a unique method of voice training that combined the Italian vocal technique with the French declamatory style of articulation. Delsarte is arguably one of the first pedagogues to have studied the voice scientifically, in an effort to rehabilitate his own, the loss of which he blamed on the poor pedagogical methods then employed at the Paris Conservatoire. While the historical development of the dramatic singing voice in the nineteenth century continues to be worked out by scholars (see Parr 2018, *COJ*), what concerns me here is its arrival on the London stage and in the London music schools, and, more specifically, in those criticisms raised by George Bernard Shaw against the prevailing dominance of the Garcia school. On 14 December 1892, Shaw wrote that ‘it is impossible for me to go at length into the system of teaching singing which has prevailed for so long in our own Royal Academy and many of the foreign Conservatoires, and which has been maintained so ably by that clever and dramatically gifted family, the Garcias. [...] I must frankly say that though I do not doubt that all the great Garcias were masterful people and powerful actors, I am a confirmed sceptic as to the practical value of their system of vocal instruction.’ (*Music in London* II, 212) What follows is a detailed description by Shaw as to the proper method of voice training set against the inadequacies of the Garcia system, which Shaw claims failed to turn young singers into artists. The aim of my presentation is to show that Shaw’s description in 1892 corresponds to Delsarte’s vocal system, which Shaw would have learned from the Alsatian *basso profundo*, Richard Deck. Deck studied with Delsarte for many years in Paris before moving to London, where he performed for the Royal Opera, and where he began teaching the system as early as 1857. Clarifying the differences between the two vocal systems as outlined by Shaw not only helps scholars to determine the influence of the Delsarte System on the London Stage, but also helps us trace the broader developments of the dramatic singing voice in the nineteenth century.

Bradley Hoover is a DPhil candidate in Music at New College, Oxford. His research interests include opera studies, 19th-century aesthetics, history of vocal pedagogy, and ancient and medieval music and philosophy. Bradley received his Hons. B.A. in Classical Civilization and English from the University of Toronto, and his M.A. in Theatre History from the University of Victoria. He has performed with Pacific Opera Victoria, Toronto Opera Repertoire, and the Centre for Opera Studies in Italy (COSI). In 2019, Bradley received a Doctoral Fellowship Award from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and has served as the New College Chapel Hastings-Rashdall Graduate Scholar for the past two years.

Eilidh Innes
Anglia Ruskin University

**'A Licensed Dealer in Legs':
John Hollingshead and Victorian Burlesque at the Gaiety Theatre, 1868-1886**

John Hollingshead (1827–1904), journalist, bohemian and theatrical impresario, managed the successful Gaiety Theatre in London's West End from 1868 – 1886. He grew up in poverty but was drawn to the bohemian coffee houses near the Strand where he became part of the group of writers centred round Dickens and Thackeray. Richard Schoch defines bohemianism as 'the cultural space for the experiences of unconventional artists, writers and performers' and Hollingshead took his bohemianism from his journalism to the theatre: whilst stage manager at the Alhambra Theatre, he brought the cancan from Paris by 'inducing Mr. E.T. Smith stuff it into a pantomime written by Mr. W.S. Gilbert'. Under his management the Gaiety became synonymous with the burlesque performance, with its topical jokes and its 'principal boys' with scanty costumes. This is no doubt why he referred to himself as 'a licensed dealer in legs'. This paper will explore the impact of bohemianism upon burlesque at the Gaiety and the role that it played in Hollingshead's burlesque productions.

Eilidh Innes is a history PhD student at Anglia Ruskin University. Her research centres on bohemianism in Victorian London and its links with nineteenth century journalism in the metropolis, and the 'lost' Gaiety Theatre and the burlesque performances staged there by Hollingshead.

Veronica Isaac
University of Brighton

**'From Fairy Queens in 'Gauze and Spangles' to 'Shakespeare in Black Velvet':
Shining a Spotlight on Nineteenth-century Theatre Costume**

Significant changes occurred in approaches to the design and creation of theatre costume during the nineteenth century. Influenced in part by movements in Art and Design, a new importance was placed on productions in which the costumes worn by all the cast were 'archaeologically correct and artistically appropriate.' Yet there were still identifiable categories of costume, each adapted to suit the nature of the venue and audience. Whilst Shakespearean dramas provided ideal vehicles for the new painstakingly researched, artistic costumes, audiences at the music hall and pantomimes continued to demand glamour and spectacle. Spectators of domestic melodramas and the new musical entertainments were equally discerning, expecting to see, and draw inspiration from, the latest fashionable couture creations gracing the stage. This paper will discuss the artistic and social factors which initiated these changing approaches to design and offer an initial exploration of the costuming practices, and some of the key categories of stage dress, which emerged during this period.

Veronica Isaac is a material culture historian who specialises in the history of 19th-century dress and theatre costume. She is a curatorial consultant and university lecturer and is currently working at the Victoria & Albert Museum, University of Brighton and New York University London. This paper has emerged from her doctoral research into the dress of the actress Ellen Terry (1847-1928), and her ongoing investigations into nineteenth century theatre costume.

Sonja Jüschke
Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

**'Here Come the Ladies who Dazzle Society' -
the Orchestrated Rehabilitation of the Chorus Girl**

This paper analyses the group identity of chorus girls in late nineteenth-century musical comedies as presented in self-reflecting numbers on stage (e.g. in Sidney Jones's *A Gaiety Girl*, quoted above). It also gives consideration to people's reaction to them: On the one hand, there were the gentlemen who adored them, often called stage-door Johnnys, on the other hand there were those who looked down on them and perceived them as immoral women, even worse than prostitutes because of their public performances. The musical comedies presented chorus girls as modern, elegant, and – most importantly – respectable young women who often outclassed their (aristocratic) opponents both humanely and morally. Arguably, those involved in producing musical comedies felt the need to broach the issue of the prevalent prejudices about actresses in general and chorus girls specifically in order to rehabilitate them and create a new reputable identity for them; and as the enormous success of *A Gaiety Girl* shows, the audience was willing to acknowledge this public announcement with thundering applause. In order to present a detailed analysis of this carefully elaborated new role on the (social) stage, this paper pays regard not only to the libretto of *A Gaiety Girl*, but also to contemporary newspaper articles, reviews and programmes preserved in the V&A Archive.

Sonja Jüschke studied Musicology and German language and literature studies in Koblenz. After graduating in 2012 with a Magister thesis about Thomas Weelkes' *Madrigals of Five and Six Parts* (1600), she started working on a dissertation project concerning chorus numbers in late nineteenth century British comic operas. Since 2017, she is a research assistant at Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main. She has recently finished and defended her dissertation 'How to Begin? Operatic Introduction in Late Victorian Popular Musical Theatre'.

Natasha Kitcher
Loughborough University

**Theatre by the Fireplace:
The Emergence of Contemporary Theatre Questions in Nineteenth-century Britain**

The history of the Electrophone is yet to be written. Emerging as new media in England in 1895, the Electrophone allowed well-to-do members of society to listen to live theatre, religious sermons, and music concerts from the comfort of their own home. The Electrophone Company would eventually fall bankrupt in 1925, left behind in the wake of wireless technology and a centralised telephone network. The Electrophone was more than a precursor for radio broadcasting. It was the smartphone of the nineteenth century, a case of media convergence many years before today in which single piece of technology that allowed a household to contact the outside world, as well as receive cultural and spiritual infotainment. It was NT Live long before NT Live was even imagined. The Electrophone sheds light on access to the London Stage in the period it existed. The telephone wires stretched far and wide across the United Kingdom, and one special opera was even broadcast from London to Paris. With International audiences able to access to London Stage from the comfort of their own home, the Electrophone was a precursor to the modern challenges facing theatre today. How is a performance impacted when its audience being across the country, or even the world? How can we define 'liveness' in this ever-changing theatrical moment? And what can the Electrophone tell us about where theatre has been, is now, and will go next?

Natasha Kitcher recently graduated from Royal Holloway's Public History MA, and is now a Doctoral Researcher at Loughborough University where she is creating the history of the Electrophone. It is an AHRC funded project in collaboration with BT Archive and the Science Museum Group. Natasha's work has previously focused on the history of theatre and the history of science, with a particular focus on engaging non-specialist audiences with this work. In July her first play, *Mum is MAD*, looking at the life and work of Lise Meitner premiered at Stanley Halls in London. She is very excited to be studying the Electrophone, an interface between technology and culture, and is keen to make her research accessible to the wider public.

James Brooks Kuykendall
University of Mary Washington

**‘Those Pure Young Lips thus Sporting with its Horrors’:
D’Oyly Carte’s Child Productions**

Richard D’Oyly Carte came to America in the summer of 1879, attempting to stem the tide of pirated productions of *HMS Pinafore*. As competing productions vied for an audience, parodies and gimmicks dominated the American market (an all-black *Pinafore*, a completely transvestite *Pinafore*, an all-children *Pinafore*...). Although all-child shows were not new to the London stage, Carte recognized a viable idea he could himself pirate, exporting the concept back to the London stage. He mounted short runs of matinee productions over the winter holidays for several years running that featured casts aged 10-13. This ‘age transvestitism’ (in Marah Gubar’s phrase) was not without controversy: Gilbert & Sullivan operas were a more ‘adult’ than their careful marketing had proclaimed. The recent acquisition of the D’Oyly Carte archive by the British Library has made accessible orchestral scores prepared for child productions, revealing textual alterations. Although the verbal text was apparently unchanged, the scores have a number of musical adjustments made to accommodate the abilities juvenile voices. While amateur school productions would later become a mainstay in the propagation of the Savoy operas, the child productions were from the start intended to have an imprimatur of authority, and to widen the potential audience.

James Brooks Kuykendall is chair of the Department of Music at the University of Mary Washington (Virginia, USA). His research focus is late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century British music, with publications mainly concerning the composers Arthur Sullivan and William Walton. He writes about musical textual issues on the blog *Settling Scores*.

Robert Laurella
Corpus Christi, Oxford

Staging Surveillance: The Detective Novel in the Victorian Theatre

The advent of the detective novel, one of the most enduringly popular forms of literature for the last two centuries, has often been located against the founding of London's first organised police force in the mid-nineteenth century. Critics cite its Victorian originators on both sides of the Atlantic – Dickens, Collins, Poe, Conan Doyle – though have paid comparatively little attention to the intersection between the detective novel and the stage version of the literary detective. This paper seeks to restore the dramatic adaptation of the detective novel to critical importance by examining two of the most significant of those novels to be adapted for the Victorian stage: *Armadale* (1866) and *The Moonstone* (1868), both by Wilkie Collins. While critics have shared a tacit agreement about the formal qualities of literary narrative which encodes surveillance into the fabric of the detective novel, a consideration of those novels' dramatic adaptations reveals the very same processes of detection, institutionalised in the recently formed London police force and thus also newly fictionalised and dramatised, to be equally encoded in the form of dramatic production.

Robert Laurella is a doctoral candidate at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. His research explores the relationship between Victorian politics and the adaptations of popular novels on the nineteenth-century stage. He is particularly interested in how omissions, editions, and revisions in stage versions of novels reveal deeper concerns with local and international affairs, and how adaptation as a historical phenomenon has informed modern versions of the same practice. His doctoral thesis, entitled *Wilkie Collins on the Victorian Stage*, examines the dramatic adaptations of Wilkie Collins which proliferated on the nineteenth-century stage.

Flora Lisica
University of Cambridge

Byron's Tragic Disgust

Byron's distaste for the theatre (despite his involvement with Drury Lane Theatre for a time) is well known, culminating in his eventual writing of a series of closet tragedies. In *Hints from Horace* (1811, pub. 1831), Byron observes that his response to seeing tragedy in the theatre, in particular, was one of 'disgust' and 'small sympathy' at the 'gore' and suffering presented onstage. Byron's response of disgust at tragic suffering in the theatre echoes the responses of a number of his contemporaries, including William Hazlitt and Charles Lamb. While Hugh Blair, in *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), argues that the pleasure one gains from tragedy stems from the fact that tragedy affirms to us that we are 'feeling as we ought, and [...] entering, with proper sorrow, into the concerns of the afflicted', the responses of Byron and his contemporaries suggest that some nineteenth-century spectators were finding themselves feeling precisely not as they felt they ought when seeing tragedy in the theatre. This paper will think about why this might have been the case by thinking about contemporary conceptions of self and other, sympathy and repulsion, and tragedy on stage and on the page.

Flora Lisica is a PhD candidate at the University of Cambridge, where she is completing her doctorate on conceptions of tragedy in the Romantic period. She is also Assistant Lecturer in English at the New College of the Humanities in London.

Josip Martincic
University of Exeter

**‘Warriors of the Pen’:
Growing Power and Authority of Theatre Critics in *fin de siècle* London**

The theatre review is a document of complex authority. It helps shape the theatrical scene of the time and, if used historiographically, shapes our present understanding of the period. Late nineteenth century produced not just influential new forms of drama that successfully transferred to London from the continent, such as works by Ibsen, but it also gave rise to ‘New Journalism’. In the line of novelty, the term New Woman likewise emerged. Taking as my case study ‘Mrs Clement Scott’ (Constance Margaret), I will investigate the role gender as an enacted social identity played in theatre criticism of the time. Critics are prominent members of the theatrical field of production and their reviews have cultural and economic power. Though female critics were not uncommon when it came to novels or art, such as Elizabeth Robins Pennell, theatre criticism in the last 20 years of the nineteenth century is still seen as a predominantly male genre and field. I will showcase that there is a stronger female presence in theatre criticism of late Victorian London than is currently perceived.

Josip Martincic is a first year PhD student in the Drama department at the University of Exeter. His research focuses on late 19th-century theatre criticism, both as a form and through its impact. His interests are in the power and authority of the review as a document and, more importantly, the marginalised voices in theatre criticism, especially women. Originally from Croatia, he has translated plays and worked as a consultant for a publishing house. He has presented papers at RSVP (Research Society for Victorian Periodicals) and TaPRA (Theatre and Performance Research Association) annual conferences.

Laura Monrós-Gaspar
Universitat de València

**'Can Women Write Plays?':
Theatre and the Classics in London's Women's Clubs of the 1890s**

The links between the New Woman and the tragic heroines from the Greek and Roman past, have already been studied by Hall & Macintosh (2005) and others through the Greek productions at women's colleges. Recent scholarly work has also shed new light on the connections between the growing number of women dramatists that saw their plays produced in the 1890s and the women's movement, a global concern at the turn of the century (Farkas 2019). Yet the narrative of associations between the emancipation debates, classical antiquity and the London stage may be examined in other sites and forms of spectacle. The objective of this paper is to pursue a thorough discussion of the influence of Women's Clubs in the shaping of the classical sediment that is to nurture the New Woman of the fin de siècle. For this purpose I take the Somerville and the Pioneer Clubs as two cases of study. In my discussion I argue that the presence of classics in the theatrical debates and entertainments sponsored by the two clubs enriched the contexts in which women's responses to New Hellenism were shaped.

Laura Monrós-Gaspar is Associate Professor in the Department of English and German at the Universitat de València in Spain. She is also Research Associate at the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD) of the University of Oxford and Head of the Area of Theatre and Performing Arts at the UV. Her main research interests are on the reception of classical mythology in nineteenth-century literature in Great Britain. Her most recent publications on the topic is the book chapter 'Epic Cassandra in Performance (1795-1868)' in *Epic Performances* Ed. F.Macintosh, J.Mc Conell, S.Harrison, and C. Kenward (OUP, 2018).

Jeremy Newton
Birkbeck, University of London

**Homosocial Worlds and the Performance of Masculinities
in the Plays of Henry Arthur Jones**

Henry Arthur Jones (1851-1929) is best known today for his society comedies such as *The Case of Rebellious Susan* (1894) and *The Liars* (1897). Although these plays are largely set in the fashionable drawing rooms of *fin-de-siècle* Mayfair and the Home Counties, the audience is often reminded of the worlds beyond. One is the European *demi-monde*: the world of spa resorts and gambling clubs, populated by shady characters who can no longer show their faces in London society. Another is the Empire: the world regulated by British rule, represented in Jones' plays by its administrators and soldiers. A third is the ungoverned space beyond that: the world of the American frontier, the polar regions and undiscovered Africa. At a moment of 'masculinity in crisis', this ungoverned, homosocial space is treated by Jones - as it is by contemporaneous adventure novelists like Conrad and Kipling - as a region in which male protagonists can find or recover their masculinities by encountering danger and hardship and winning through by courage and self-sacrifice.

Jeremy Newton is a fourth year PhD student at Birkbeck, University of London. His research concerns the playwright Henry Arthur Jones and his contribution to the late nineteenth century renaissance of English drama. Jeremy's first degree was in English and American Literature at the University of Warwick. He has an MA in Shakespeare and Theatre from the University of Birmingham's Shakespeare Institute, and an MSt in Literature and Arts from the University of Oxford. Jeremy's interest in Henry Arthur Jones grew out of his MSt dissertation, which concerned the fallen woman on the late Victorian stage.

Katie Noble
Christ Church, Oxford

The Irish Daughter: The Mediation of Eliza O'Neill's Career in the Bills

Eliza O'Neill, daughter of John O'Neill, manager of the Drogheda theatre, made a name for herself on the stages of Dublin and Belfast. After her transfer to the London stage, O'Neill enjoyed a short London career of only five years. She retired only five years after her debut at Covent Garden as Juliet in 1814, in order to marry in 1819 William Wrixon-Becher MP, who eventually inherited a baronetcy in 1831. Laurence Hutton said of her debut as Juliet that 'the beautiful young Irish girl... had begun to mount the throne so lately abdicated by the Queen of Tragedy herself', the 'Queen of Tragedy' being, of course, Sarah Siddons. Perhaps in part due to the length of her career, there is still much work to be done on the performances of Eliza O'Neill. Previous work, such as that of Jacqueline Mulhallen and James Armstrong, mainly focuses on how O'Neill and Sarah Siddons were perceived by their contemporary commentators and fellow actors. An important facet of their presentation that remains missing from scholarship, is how their performances were mediated by theatre print. In this paper, I wish to explore how their rivalry was figured in the playbills that announced their representations in order to exemplify the mediating power of the playbill as a precursor to performance. Fortunately, the Brady Collection houses a number of Covent Garden playbills from the period of O'Neill's London stage career. I posit that O'Neill's portrayal as the 'new Siddons' was made possible through the conscious positioning of both actresses' careers in playbills. By reading the playbill as an object of intertheatricality, we can uncover the extensive associations made between the two actresses, specifically in regard to their roles and repertoire.

Katie Noble is Leverhulme Doctoral Scholar in English at Christ Church, University of Oxford. Her research focus is on the mediation of performance in late eighteenth-century ephemeral print, from its publication to its collection, working primarily with the F. B. Brady Collection of theatrical ephemera. She also works on the adaptation of Medea in theatrical & visual culture, with an upcoming book chapter in the collection *Adaptation Before Cinema*, currently under contract with Palgrave Macmillan. She is currently a Postgraduate Representative for the British Society of Eighteenth Century Studies and a Krasis Junior Teaching Fellow at the Ashmolean Museum.

Janice Norwood
University of Hertfordshire

**Figures in a Colonial Landscape:
Green Melodrama at the Adelphi Theatre**

In January 1845 John Baldwin Buckstone's drama *The Green Bushes: or A Hundred Years Ago* opened to great acclaim at London's Adelphi Theatre and, in the character of Miami 'The Huntress of the Mississippi', created a part that actress-manager Céline Céleste would reprise for the next thirty years in London, the British provinces, the US and Australia. The staging of the original production drew upon contemporary interest in depictions of exotic 'others' and coincided with the exhibition of 'real' Native Americans in London. The temporal and geographical setting of the play – featuring scenes in both Ireland and colonial America during the 1740s – thus has both political and environmental significance. In this paper I present an ecofeminist reading of the popular melodrama, drawing on the theories of scholars such as Annette Kolodny and Stacy Alaimo. Analysing the characters of Miami and Tigertail (played by Mrs Fitzwilliam) in relation to the scenography and plot function of the natural environment enables a reassessment of the nature/culture dichotomy that structures the play.

Janice Norwood is a Senior Lecturer in English Literature, Drama and Theatre Studies at the University of Hertfordshire. Her research focuses on nineteenth-century popular theatre and culture. Her monograph, *Victorian Touring Actresses: Crossing Boundaries and Negotiating the Cultural Landscape* was published by Manchester University Press in 2020. Janice's previous publications include writing on actress iconology, theatrical responses to the 1889 dock strike, Victorian pantomime, the drama of Wilkie Collins, the Britannia Theatre (Hoxton), the playwright Colin Hazlewood, and the actress and theatre manager Eliza Vestris. She is a co-editor of the journal *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*.

Caroline Radcliffe
University of Birmingham

**'Strictly True to Nature'?
Abolitionism and Racial Impersonation in Wilkie Collins's *Black and White***

By accepting the inherent racism and colonial attitudes of the Victorian theatre as a historical *sine qua non*, it is easy to resist the decentring of our own academic research. In this paper I would like to examine *Black and White; A Love Story in Three Acts* by Wilkie Collins, developed from an idea by the actor Charles Fechter. In the wake of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *The Octoroon*, the play addresses themes of miscegenation, racial prejudice and slavery, opening at the Adelphi theatre, London, in March 1869, followed by a provincial tour, concluding at the Globe Theatre, Boston in 1870/71. I will question Fechter's decision to construct a narrative around race, playing a mixed-race character shortly after his own performance as a relatively fair-skinned Othello had received damning criticism - critics perceived his casually naturalistic acting choices as antithetical to the Moor's 'native' character, with his decision to only partially black-up as a misjudged compromise, despite his efforts to highlight colour prejudice within his carefully staged physicality. Conversely, *Black and White* was well-received by critics who reserved particular praise for George Belmore's 'unexaggerated', 'true to nature' delineation of a heavily 'blacked-up', comic slave character, Plato. The contradictory and problematic nature of these contrasting criticisms create a challenge in deciphering what critics' objections and appreciations actually signify. Scholars who have discussed *Black and White* disagree on whether Collins was sympathetic to an anti-racist cause or not, citing his collaboration on 'The perils of certain English prisoners' (1857) with Charles Dickens, as an example of undisguised Imperialism. I will therefore try to address both the historiographical challenges and the theatrical contexts that arise in a study of *Black and White*.

Caroline Radcliffe is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Drama and Theatre Arts, University of Birmingham. She is currently writing a monograph on Wilkie Collins and the drama. She has edited first editions and written introductions for two of his previously unpublished plays, *The Lighthouse* and *The Red Vial*.

Mary L. Shannon
University of Roehampton

Billy Waters and the London Stage

On Friday March 21st 1823 in St. Giles' Workhouse in London, Billy Waters, the 'King of the Beggars', died. Billy was an African-American ex-sailor, who lost a leg serving on the ship 'Ganymede' and so turned to busking in London to supplement his meagre pension. Billy's pitch was outside the Adelphi theatre on the Strand; he adopted the distinctive costume of cocked hat, sailor's jacket, and wooden leg which – together with his fiddle-playing, his dancing, and his trademark song 'Kitty will you marry me' – made him a well-known figure on London's streetscape. Billy's widest fame came, however, after he was immortalised in W. T. Moncrieff's hit 1821 stage version of Piers Egan and Robert and George Cruikshank's phenomenally popular serial text *Life in London* (1820-1). Inside the Adelphi, outside which the historical Billy performed, Mr Paolo played 'Billy Waters' live on stage in a scene set in a tavern near Seven Dials, which Billy was said to frequent. This paper will consider how Waters' image and depictions of his act became a focal point for complex representations of race and class during the years leading up to the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act. It will begin to situate Waters within his transatlantic context to consider the place of London in the broader theatrical and political world, and the tensions inherent in the transformation of a historical person into a fictional character.

Mary L. Shannon is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Roehampton, London. Her first monograph, *Dickens, Reynolds and Mayhew on Wellington Street: The Print Culture of a London Street*, won the 2016 Colby Prize. She is currently writing her second about Billy Waters and popular print and visual culture.

Isabel Stowell-Kaplan
University of Bristol

The 'Living Image of Sherlock Holmes': An American in London

Twelve years after the character first appeared in print, Sherlock Holmes stepped onto the stage in William Gillette's 1899 production of *Sherlock Holmes*. A runaway success, the production moved quickly from its initial home in Buffalo to New York City and then on to London and beyond, becoming a mainstay in both British and American theatrical repertoires for decades to come. *Sherlock Holmes* was no mere production; it was a cultural phenomenon, and one in which Gillette was squarely at the centre. This theatricalized Holmes was, in an important way, his twice over. For not only did Gillette pen the adaptation but, already a famed matinée idol, he starred as the titular detective, coming to play the elegant sleuth more than a thousand times. Borrowing the deer-stalker hat that illustrator Sidney Paget had given the character in 1891, curving the straight pipe of the novels and arming him with the phrase, 'Elementary, my dear fellow,' Gillette played a significant but under-acknowledged role in creating what John Dickson Carr has called the 'living image of Sherlock Holmes' (117). In this paper, I will examine the cross-cultural theatricalization of this otherwise literary figure, exploring how the choices of an American matinée idol shaped the creation of a quintessentially British figure in the final years of the long nineteenth century.

Isabel Stowell-Kaplan is a Marie Curie Research Fellow in the Department of Theatre at the University of Bristol where she is conducting research on a project titled 'The Living Image of Sherlock Holmes: The Cult of Celebrity in the Age of Disenchantment.' Her work has appeared in *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, *SHAW: The Journal of Bernard Shaw Studies*, *TDR: The Drama Review* as well as *The Canadian Theatre Review*. She is currently preparing the manuscript for her first monograph, *Staging Detection, From Hawkshaw to Holmes*.

David Taylor
St Hugh's College, Oxford

**Once More with Feeling:
Re-enactment, Repetition, and the Structures of Disappearance**

In this paper I attend specifically to the formal and affective imperatives of the many occasional, nautical interludes staged at the royal theatres between 1793 and 1802. Plays of this kind, what theatre historians often call 'docudramas', are commonly regarded as the most immediate means by which the metropolitan public could experience the ongoing war at sea in visual and narrative terms. Contrariwise, I suggest that they are manifestly *not* about the mediation and consumption of the new – or of 'news' – and that they rather consciously subsume topicality and novelty to the theatrical syntax of the familiar. That is, these reenactments and the hastily constructed narratives in which they are nested are not in any meaningful sense a mode of theatrical reportage; their appeal instead resided in their iterability. They use of recent events as a pretext for repeatedly returning spectators to well-rehearsed entertainments and experiences – to dramatic sights, sounds, and structures that they knew intimately and could anticipate – and, therefore, for commuting the new into another version of the past.

David Taylor is associate professor at St. Hugh's College, University of Oxford. He is co-editor of *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737-1832* and author of *The Politics of Parody: A Literary History of Caricature, 1760-1830* and *Theatres of Opposition: Empire, Revolution, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan*. He is currently completing an edition of the dramatic works of Joseph Addison for Oxford University Press and is also beginning work on a new project about the aesthetics and epistemology of spectacle in Enlightenment theatre.

Susan Valladares
Durham University

The Anglo-Caribbean Stage in the Nineteenth-century World

In the age of empire, Britain's dramatic repertoire was regularly performed abroad. This keynote focuses on the (circuitous) export of the London stage to Jamaica, Britain's most lucrative Caribbean colony. Jamaica enjoyed a history of theatrical entertainments that dated back to the seventeenth century, with plays staged across the island, not only at Spanish Town, its capital. This keynote focuses on a period that has not tended to receive much in-depth treatment by historians of the Jamaican stage – the early nineteenth century. In its examination of the various uses assigned to the London-centric repertoire played to hybrid audiences in pre-emancipation Jamaica, this keynote investigates how British customs were adopted via these acts of cultural transfer. It asks what this reveals about the relationship between New World performances and those that originated in the imperial centre; how the island's regulated theatrical entertainments existed alongside other forms of indigenous performance; and what this multi-layering suggests about the ways in which Jamaican theatre practices enforced and/or undermined larger narratives of colonial rule.

Susan Valladares is Assistant Professor in Drama post-1660 at Durham University. Her research interests span the long eighteenth century, with a special focus on theatre and performance, political history, gender, autobiographies and print culture. Her book, *Staging the Peninsular War: English Theatres 1807-1815* (Farnham/Abingdon: Ashgate/Routledge, 2015) explores the role of spectacle in the mediation of war, and the links between theatrical productions and print culture. She is currently working on a new project that investigates eighteenth and early nineteenth-century theatre practices more broadly.

Dana Van Kooy
Michigan Technological University

Assemblages of the Plantationo(s)cene:
The Visual Ecology of Fawcett's *Obi; or Three-Finger'd Jack*

Throughout the Atlantic World, the plantation system marked a period of human and ecological disaster, one that theatres in Britain and the United States readily transformed into captivating spectacles throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The scale of this devastation continues to impact society in myriad ways, including racialized violence and policies that associate people and labor practices with 'natural' and/or geographical spaces. The recently coined term, Plantationocene helps us focus on the era of the plantocracy and more specifically, on the plantation's economic, ecological, and political materialities. For centuries, plantations in the mid- and southern Atlantic World relied on the forced migration of Africans; moreover, plantations re-arranged the historical relationships between peoples and between people, labor, land, and capital, giving rise to myriad diasporic populations throughout the Americas. These people were criminalized when they fought for their freedom or for attempting to escape the conditions Orlando Patterson has referred to as social death. Invoking the term, 'Plantationo(s)cene,' this paper examines John Fawcett's pantomime, *Obi; or Three-Finger'd Jack*, which opened at the Haymarket theatre on 2 July 1800. Linking the era (cene) to the assemblage and performance of specific scenes, this neologism offers an alternative framework for interpreting Fawcett's pantomime, which assembled scenes of plantation life into a formulaic plot. Focusing on stage descriptions and those scenes advertised on its playbills, this essay draws attention to the pantomime's production of a visual ecology that reconfigured the aesthetics of landscape painting in order to distinguish radical human agents—Three-Finger'd Jack and the Obi Woman—from colonial subjects—Rosa, Captain Orford, Quashee, and Sam.

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Portia and the Vexed Question of Women's Rights

In 1888 the *Girl's Own Paper* ran a Shakespearean essay competition for its readers, entitled 'My Favourite Heroine'. The editor (somewhat dismissively) noted a number of its readers had sought to use the role of Portia in *The Merchant of Venice* as a contemporary commentary on the subject of women's rights. This paper will seek to answer why young women of this period connected the character of Portia with the 'Woman Question' in the 1870s and 1880s. In particular, the written work of actresses such as Helen Faucit and Fanny Kemble, as well as the portrayal of the role by Ellen Terry in both 1875 and 1879, can be seen to influence this new interpretation of the character and link the role with contemporary issues on women and their place in society. This female appropriation of the role can be viewed as part of a wider body of distinctly female Shakespeare scholarship and provides a link between the performance on the stage and textual criticism during this period.

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**Between 'Civilised Savagery' and 'Primal Warriorness':
Staging Cetshwayo in London**

Cetshwayo KaMpande, the deposed 'Zulu King', visited London in 1882. He was well known as the African king who had led the Zulu victory over the British at Isandlwana in 1879. Indeed, visual depictions of him as the embodiment of the savage African warrior became commonplace in both the illustrated press and on the stage. Cetshwayo's carefully choreographed visit in 1882 became a significant media event. Upon arrival, crowds - conditioned to expect the ferocious body of the tyrannical warrior king - were disappointed by the image the suit-wearing mild-mannered Zulu. Crowds followed him all over and newspapers produced daily reports. Cetshwayo was watched as he attended public entertainments, including the opera and zoo, himself becoming a performance at the performance. Cetshwayo, many complained, neither looked nor behaved in accordance with their expectation of an authentic African king. This paper examines responses to Cetshwayo from the perspectives of art history and performance studies. How was Cetshwayo depicted in print and on London's multiple Victorian stages - including minstrel show, ethnographic display, melodrama, and pantomime? How can we conceptualise the Victorians' response to Cetshwayo in performative terms, especially given that his visit clearly adopted theatrical techniques of performer, performance, and audience?

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