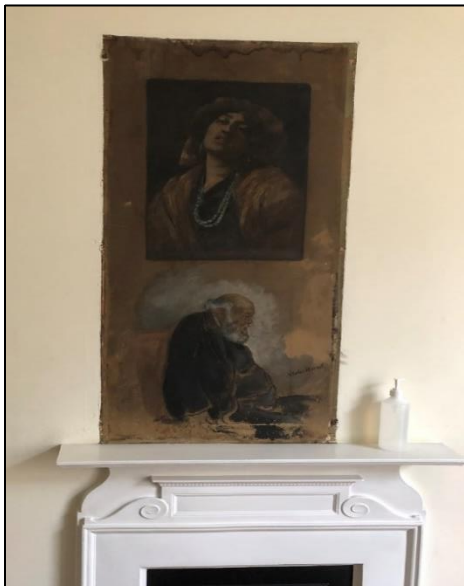
Anne Anderson
University of Exeter

'The Most Remarkable Dressing-Room in Stageland': Cyril Maude's Greasepaint Gallery in the Theatre Royal, Haymarket

An office on the first floor of the Theatre Royal, Haymarket has six pictures painted directly on the walls that have survived against the odds. Every time the room has been decorated, they have been carefully painted around. This room was actor-manager Cyril Maude's dressing room between 1896 and 1905 when he was joint manager of the Theatre Royal together with Frederick Harrison, who was the lessee. They can be identified as follows:



Mortimer Menpes (1855-1938), Constance Collier in *One Summer's Day*

Leslie Ward ('Spy') (1851-1922), portrait of Lord Salisbury

Robert Baden-Powell (1857-1941), *Pig-sticking*

Joseph Harker (1855–1927), *A winter landscape*

Phil May (1864-1903), 'Thank God I've finished', caricature self-portrait

Harry Furniss (1854-1925), caricature of William Ewart Gladstone

Writing in *Behind the Footlights* (1904), published in the year before Maude left the Haymarket, Mrs Alec-Tweedie, the *nom de plume* of Ethel Brilliana Tweedie, alludes to the existence of more images:

Cyril Maude has a particularly interesting dressing room at the Haymarket Theatre. It is veritably a studio, for he has persuaded his artistic friends to do sketches for him on the distempered walls, and a unique little collection they make. Phil May, Harry Furniss, Dudley Hardy, Holman Clark, Bernard Partridge, Raven-Hill, Tom Brown are among the contributors, and Leslie Ward's portrait of Lord Salisbury is one of the finest ever sketched of the late Prime Minster. It is a quaint and original idea of Mr Maude's, but unfortunately those walls are so precious he will never dare to disturb the grime of ages and have them cleaned.

'Mr. Cyril Maude's Dressing-Room and Its Pictures in Grease-Paint' published in *The Strand* (July 1904) appears to offer a definitive account of the gallery. Taking an archaeological approach, this charts the pictures wall by wall, providing written and photographic illustrations. Using this source, the extent of the gallery, comprising forty works in its fullest extent, can be reconstructed: Maude's fellow actors, famous cartoonists, illustrators and artists and personal friends all left their mark.

Maude's gallery offers us a unique insight into the theatrical world at the turn of the twentieth century. Several contributors were members of the Haymarket company. Many subjects reference the successful productions staged by Maude: *Under the Red Robe* (1896), *The Little Minister* (1897), *The School for Scandal* (1900), *The Second in Command* (1900) and *Caste* (1902). The gallery also reveals the inter-relationship between the theatrical and the artistic worlds with contributions from Bernard Partridge, Phil May, Harry Furniss, Leonard Raven-Hill, Tom Browne, Leslie Ward and Mortimer Menpes. *Punch* cartoonist Bernard Partridge carved out a career in both worlds, acting under the name Bernard Gould in several Haymarket productions. Although Maude was not alone in personalising his dressing room, his invitation to paint directly on the walls created a unique art gallery. While those images that have survived may not have great artistic merit, they can tell us much about the friendships Maude formed largely through London's theatreland and clubland.

Anne Anderson is an Honorary Associate Professor at Exeter University. From 1993-2007 she was a senior lecturer on the Fine Arts Valuation degree courses at Southampton Solent University, where she specialized in the Aesthetic Movement, Arts and Crafts, Art Nouveau and Modernism. She has published books on Art Deco Teapots, Edward Burne-Jones, and Art Nouveau Architecture. Anne has also curated four national exhibitions, mostly recently *Beyond the Brotherhood The Pre-Raphaelite Legacy* (2019-20). Fellowships held include the Huntington Library, CA and the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA. Publications include: 'Wilde, Whistler and Staging "Art for Art's Sake"', *Theatre Notebook A Journal of the History and Technique of the British Theatre*, Vol. 70, No. 1, 2016, pp.32-66. '*The Colonel*: Shams, Charlatans and Oscar Wilde', *The Wildean, A Journal of Oscar Wilde Studies*, Vol. 25, July 2004, pp.34-53.

Barbara Bessac
University of Warwick, Université Paris Nanterre

Tales of Two Cities. Staging the International Exhibitions in the Theatres of London and Paris (1851-1867)

The first four International Exhibitions (1851, 1855, 1862, 1867) were providential for the theatres of London and Paris: they attracted new audiences and massively increased attendance. But more than a golden opportunity, International Exhibitions were also a real source of inspiration for playwrights and directors to depict new excitements of modern life, its entertainments and its struggles. From *Appartments. Visitors to the Exhibition May Be Accomodated* (Royal Princess' Theatre, 1851), *Le Palais de Cristal. Les Parisiens à Londre*s and *Paris* (Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, 1851 and 1855), to *A Shilling a Day at the Great Exhibition* (New Royal Adelphi, 1862) and *The French Exhibition or the Noodles in Paris* (Royal Strand, 1867), common themes emerged through performances set in those major events: the high expenses of visiting the Exhibition, strokes of bad luck going through customs in Dover, the impressive spectacle of machines and modern architecture, or the enthusiasm of exhibitors ready to showcase their latest creations to cosmopolitan visitors. London was reconstituted on the stages of Paris, and Paris on the stages of London, enabling locals who did not get to see the Exhibition themselves to live the event from a distance – or relive it –, in a more immersive experience than reading travel narratives of luckier ones. More interestingly, studying those plays today gives us a hint on the evolving representations of the two cities – Exhibitions drastically changing their appearance in scenery. My paper will explore the double *mise en abyme* of such plays: the metaphor of a 'world-city' transferred into a 'world-stage', and the technical progress of the exhibition staged as a spectacle within a spectacle.

Barbara Bessac is completing 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', proposes a reinterpretation of the nineteenth century decorative arts and design historiography by including the significant role of performing arts.

Hayley Bradley
Sheffield Hallam University
Janice Norwood
University of Hertfordshire

'The time was at hand': Deathly Spectatorship at the Bedside[1]

Death was a recurrent feature on the nineteenth-century London stage whether presented as a sensational climax in popular melodrama or showcasing the actor's craft in Shakespearean tragedy. Whether a character died in destitution and isolation or surrounded by the tender faces of loved ones, the rendering of the moment of passing was a dramatic device designed to provoke emotion.

In these two interlinked papers, we will examine stage depictions of death scenes as one component of wider media culture, examining how they operate as part of a complex system of looking in relation to the so-called Victorian cult of death and more broadly within a matrix of other visual, theatrical and filmic representations. For this joint panel we will focus particularly on representations of the deathbed – exploring the relationship of the scene's dialogue and music to the visual spectacle and interpreting the vertical zones of the stage as referent to religious and spiritual belief. Our examples range from scenes derived from well-known literary narratives, such as Andrew Halliday's *Nell; or The Old Curiosity Shop* (Olympic, 1870) with its adaptation of the totemic death of Little Nell from Dickens's novel and John Oxenford's dramatisation of Ellen Wood's *East Lynne* (Surrey, 1866), to popular dramas such as G.R. Sims and Arthur Shirley's *Two Little Vagabonds* (Princess's, 1896). Each is discussed in dialogue with related images from across visual culture of the period; from theatrical posters, paintings and stereoviews to sheet music, postcards and early film. Our papers deconstruct each image as a dramatic performance, conceiving of the space as if it were a theatrical set, applying Henri Lefebvre's framing of space as social construction and analysing the role of the spectator (within the scene and beyond it) as participant and interpreter of meaning across forms/medium as an act of optical and haptic visual literacy. The papers derive from Bradley and Norwood's collaborative research project on deathly spectatorship.

Janice Norwood is Senior Lecturer in English Literature, Drama and Theatre Studies at the University of Hertfordshire. Her research focuses on nineteenth-century popular theatre and culture. She is the author of *Victorian Touring Actresses: Crossing Boundaries and Negotiating the Cultural Landscape* (Manchester University Press, 2020). Janice has also published 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 actress and theatre managers Eliza Vestris and Celine Celeste. She is a co-editor of the journal *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*.

Hayley 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. Hayley has published work on Ouida and *Moths,* theatrical artisan Henry Hamilton, autumn dramas at Theatre Royal Drury Lane, Edwardian fashions, and 'Stagecraft, Spectacle and Sensation' in *The Cambridge Companion to English Melodrama*, (2018) ed. by Carolyn Williams. 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.*

[1] Mrs Henry Wood, *East Lynne,* Chapter XVIII.

Jacky Bratton
University of London

'"Things you didn't set out to look for:" How to Read Francis Brady's Theatrical Collection.'

I propose a paper deriving from my investigation of the Brady Collection of theatrical ephemera, held at Christ Church College Oxford. I interrogate this uncatalogued collection for what it reveals about the role of theatre, as represented by thousands of theatrical portraits and a large body of toy theatre plays and figures, derived from the London stage in the nineteenth century, in the formation of a British, and beyond that an Imperial sensibility.

The collection of theatrical portraits, music covers and toy theatres is the creation of an obscure individual who was a product of one of the middle-class families that staffed the British Empire. The materials contributed to the aesthetic and moral 'instincts' that 'children of gentle birth learn … they hardly know how' (Charlotte Mary Yonge, "Womankind," *Monthly Packet* 17, January 1874). I want to understand how that emotional and imaginative appeal are discursively harnessed. My hypothesis is that the glamour and excitement of the London performance world became a moral and emotional patterning for British middle-class boys like Brady. Such sources implanted structures of feeling that shaped their attitudes to right and wrong – and to black and white, in all senses. So the vicarious enjoyment of London theatre was a tool by which new members of the ruling group were acculturated within middle class British and Imperial society.

Jacky Bratton is Professor Emerita of the University of London. Her most recent book is an edition of plays from the early works of Charles Dickens, published by Oxford University Press; before that Cambridge UP published *The Making of the West End Stage, New Readings in Theatre History* and *The Victorian Clown*.

Michael Burden
New College, University of Oxford

A London Season: Dancing at the King's Theatre in 1832

The London season of 1832 was quite remarkable in the history of the London Italian opera. The season was managed by Thomas Monck Mason, an imaginative man, but with little financial acumen and no experience in opera or, indeed, theatre management. After the season ended, he was made bankrupt and the conduct of his season became a matter for the Dramatic Committee. As well as the usual stresses of an opera season, Monck Mason had to contend with the arrival of cholera in the capital and the public response to the Reform Bill.

Mason's imagination, however, moved the opera house beyond its single mission to stage and promote Italian opera in Italian, and imported German opera in German performed by Germans, and French opera in French performed by French singers. Both of these things were firsts. The repertory was equally unusual; the German company brought the first staging in London of *Die Freischutz* in German and the first staging of Beethoven's *Fidelio*, which the French company brought the new *Robert le Diable* with its composer Meyerbeer, snatched by Monck Mason from under the nose of Henry Bishop of Covent Garden.

As always, the opera was backed up – financially - by dance which had by now moved decisively from theatre dance to narrative ballet. In the 1831-32 season London had the advantage of the fall-out from an internecine war at the Paris Opéra, which saw Albert - the dancer and ballet master François-Ferdinand Decombe ousted from the company - clearing the way for the appointment of Jean Coralli as *premier maître de ballet*, and Filippo Taglioni, whose première of *La Sylphide* took place on 12 March 1832. This paper will explore Albert's work for the 1831-32 London season, including a consideration of the images which recorded this remarkable season.

Michael Burden is Professor in Opera Studies at the University of Oxford; he is also Fellow in Music at New College, where he is Dean. His published research is on the stage music of Henry Purcell, and on aspects of dance and theatre in the London theatres of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These include a five-volume collection of opera documents, *London Opera Observed*, and a study of the London years of the soprano Regina Mingotti, and – edited with Jennifer Thorp – *The Works of Monsieur Noverre Translated from the French*.

Gilli Bush-Bailey
University of London

Touring Performance and Global Exchange 1850-1960

The title of this paper refers to the recent publication of *Touring Performance and Global Exchange 1850-1960*: *Making Tracks*, a collection of essays I co-edited with Dr Kate Flaherty, arising directly from a conference we curated for the Australian National University, Canberra in 2019. My proposed paper will take as its focus the guiding principles for the collection: that touring performance has too often been conceived in diasporic terms, as a fixed product radiating out from a cultural centre – in this case London. Drawing on key examples from the collected essays, I will discuss ways in which we might map different patterns—ones that comprise reversed flows, cross currents, and continually proliferating centres of meaning in complex networks of global exchange. I will also consider the research process for my own contributing chapter (co-written with Jacky Bratton) which largely relies on playbills and newspaper reports of Emma Stanley's one-woman show *The Seven Ages of Woman*, an evening of comic impersonation and song that she performed in London (1855) before travelling to New York, San Francisco, Australia – with particular success in the gold field towns – before returning to perform again in London in 1860. Tracing Stanley's progress by means of fragments held in small and large archives, reveals the unexpected 'ordinariness' of what now seems an epic journey across continents which must, surely, have effected changes to the performer and the wholly anglophile bent of the show written for her by E.L. Blanchard?

Gilli Bush-Bailey is Professor Emerita of the University of London (Royal Central School of Speech & Drama). She has published extensively on women's performance histories, including two monographs: *Treading the Bawds* (2006), and *Performing Herself: Autobiography and Fanny Kelly's Dramatic Recollections* (2011). She has contributing chapters in several collections on women and performance, her most recent being on writer and performer Mabel Constanduros, an early pioneer of comedy on B.B.C. Radio, in *Stage Women: Female Theatre Workers, Professional Practice and Agency in the Twentieth Century – 1900-1950s*, edited by Maggie B. Gale and Kate Dorney (2019). Bush-Bailey's first career as an actress directly informs her approach to theatre histories and their relevance to entertainment industry training and practice today. In 2019 she held a Leverhulme Emeritus Fellowship while researching Emma Stanley's global tour of her one woman show, *The Seven Ages of Woman* (1856–60).

Keith Cavers
Independent Scholar

From Our Royal Correspondent Princess Victoria at the Ballet

In these more enlightened days we might consider the young princess Alexandrine Victoria as almost an abused child – her young life was so rigorously controlled by her ambitious mother the Duchess of Kent and her advisor Sir John Conroy. She had few friends but her mother did take her to the theatre – not just to the Opera but to Plays and to the Circuses – her intention may have been to show off the heir to the throne to her subjects-to-be but the young princess loved the theatre and recorded her impressions in her journals, by making drawings of the performers and performances and with the assistance of her governess Baroness Lehtzen making over a hundred wooden dolls – many of whom were named and dressed from the characters or performers she had seen. On her 14th birthday the dolls were packed away and not seen again until the 1890s. Are any of her observations still of use today? Can our spy in the Royal Box still be called as an expert witness? This paper examines the utility of her evidence.

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 the university of Surrey was on the dancer and choreographer James Harvey D'Egville. This led to a visiting research fellowship at Harvard in 1996 where he returned to pursue research in both 2015 and 2016. He was Slide Librarian and a Visiting Lecturer at Camberwell for twenty years and Information Officer at the National Gallery for twelve. In 2018 he printed illustrated versions of George Chaffee's Catalogues of English and American dance prints. During lockdown he assembled a chronological sourcebook of late Georgian published sources now over 450,000 words, with a matching Iconography. He is currently working on an historical study: "Ballet in Late Georgian London 1776 – 1836."

Adèle Commins
Dundalk Institute of Technology

An Irish Opera on an English Stage: Performances of Stanford's *Shamus O'Brien* at the Opéra Comique

The comic opera *Shamus O'Brien* by Irish-born composer Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924) was completed in 1895 and is the most successful of his operas in terms of its reach and continued performances. The premier performance conducted by Henry Wood at the Opéra Comique in London on 2 March 1896 began a run of 82 performances until 23 May. Subsequently, the Shamus O'Brien Opera Company was formed to take the opera on a tour of England and Ireland in 1896 which was followed by performances in America including on Broadway and further performances in England and Ireland in 1897.

The opera is based on a poem by Stanford's fellow Dubliner Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu (1814–1873) and the libretto was written by Irish playwright George H. Jessop (1852–1915). Subtitled 'A Story of Ireland 100 Years Ago', the opera is set in the fictional village of Ballyhamis, Co. Cork in the aftermath of the 1798 Rebellion in Ireland. Presenting comedy and tragedy, the opera includes many references Stanford's homeland.

No other opera by Stanford received so many performances in the initial years after its composition and the initial performances at the Opéra Comique were featured in both national and international newspapers. This paper will consider the genesis of the work, the biographies of cast members and reception of the initial performances in London. It seeks to ascertain if the opera had an entertainment or political appeal to its audiences considering its Irish subject matter. It will draw on reviews of performances across England, Ireland and America for purposes of comparison, demonstrating differences in international reception of the opera.

Adèle Commins is a Musicologist and Head of Department of Creative Arts, Media and Music at Dundalk Institute of Technology. Her main research interests lie in nineteenth and twentieth century English and Irish music. She is also a composer and an Irish traditional musician and a director of the Oriel Traditional Orchestra. As a performer she has toured North and South America, France, Canada, Scotland, Norway and England and has released an album of compositions entitled *A Louth Lilt* (2017) along with Daithí Kearney. Her recent publications include contributions to *How Popular Culture Travels: Cultural Exchanges Between Ireland and the USA,* (2019), *Éire-Ireland, the Journal of Irish Studies* (2019), the *Journal of Music, Technology and Education* (2019) and AISHE-J (2021).

Oskar Cox Jensen
University of East Anglia

The Possibilities of Protest Song on the London Stage

The Old Price riots of 1809 aside, the London theatres of the long nineteenth century were not the most promising places for overt political protest, officially censored until 1843, and policed thereafter by both a more lenient act, and an increasing atmosphere of Victorian orthodoxy. But famously, songs could be a way of smuggling dissent past the authorities, and an actor's interpretation could do much to alter a text's meaning. And where better than a crowded theatre to find an emotionally open audience, receptive to well-put words of protest?

In this paper, I focus on three rare examples of theatrical protest song. 'Death or Liberty' was ambiguous enough to allow for a host of meanings, but was heard most famously on the lips of a dying Cato Street conspirator. 'The African' was one of a number of abolitionist songs that sought to change hearts, more than minds, at Vauxhall Gardens. Almost a century later, music hall composer Charles Osborne played upon the sentimental jingoism of the day in two songs protesting the treatment of veterans. Was the nineteenth-century London stage more protest-positive than we might imagine? Or is the scarcity of these examples eloquent only of the difficulties of effecting change in so restrictive a space?

Oskar Cox Jensen is Senior Research Associate in Politics at the University of East Anglia. He is the author of *Vagabonds: Life on the Streets of Nineteenth-Century London* (Duckworth, 2022), *The Ballad-Singer in Georgian and Victorian London* (Cambridge University Press, 2021), and *Napoleon and British Song, 1797–1822* (Palgrave, 2015); and co-editor of *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2018) and a special forum of *Journal of British Studies*: 'Music and Politics in Britain, *c*.1780–1850' (2021). From October 2022 he will be a NUAcT Fellow in Music at Newcastle University.

Helen Dallas
Trinity College, University of Oxford

Actor, Character, and Audience in Marie Du Camp's *Personation; or, Fairly Taken In*

Marie Du Camp, later Maria Kemble, was celebrated on the London stage as an actress, singer, and dancer. She also found success as a writer of dramatic works, though her oeuvre is small and has received limited scholarly attention. This paper offers a close look at *Personation; or, Fairly Taken In*, an afterpiece first performed in 1805. Du Camp not only wrote *Personation*, but performed in it and delivered the epilogue. She engages in a ludic way with questions of disguise, performance, and what it means to 'personate' or to be 'taken in'; through her comedic writing, Du Camp offers considerable insight into Romantic-era understandings of the relationships between actor, character, and audience. Further interpretations of *Personation* shift and evolve based on what other performances were played, and by whom, on the same night; this paper thus considers the first performance of *Personation* in 1805, when it followed *The Country Girl* (David Garrick's adaptation of William Wycherley's *The Country Wife*), and an 1807 performance, which followed *Hamlet*. With close attention to this afterpiece, we see the individuality of a performance on any given night, and can also uncover Romantic conceptual understandings of theatrical performance more broadly.

Helen Dallas is a second-year DPhil candidate in English at Trinity College, University of Oxford. Her research focuses on the construction of dramatic character across page, stage, and material culture in the Romantic period.

Jim Davis
University of Warwick

Architecture as Scenography: The Impact of God's own Architect and the Gothic Revival on the Theatricalization of Nineteenth-Century Britain

Augustus Pugin (1812-1852) was one of the most influential architects and designers in nineteenth-century Britain. More than anyone else he was responsible for the Gothic Revival, a major influence on nineteenth-century architecture in Britain and beyond. Yet, in his teens, Pugin worked in the theatre both as a flyman and as a scene painter and it is possible that these experiences influenced his later approach to architectural design. In 1862, ten years after his death, James Fergusson considered that 'the true bent of Pugin's mind was towards the theatre; … throughout life, the theatrical was the one and only branch of his art which he perfectly understood'. In her recent biography of Pugin. Rosemary Hill argues that Pugin 'learned a great deal from the theatre that he would apply and develop in architecture'. This paper seeks to explore Pugin's youthful connections with the theatre and the extent to which his later architectural work and contributions to the Gothic Revival were indebted to theatrical influences.

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* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), *theatre & entertainment* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) and *Dickens Dramatized* Volume II (Oxford University Press, 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). He has published many book chapters and articles on nineteenth-century theatre. He is an editor of the refereed journal *Nineteenth-Century Theatre and Film*. He currently leads an AHRC project on 'Theatre and Visual Culture in the long nineteenth century'.

Sos Eltis
Brasenose College, Oxford

"Is She a Woman?: Louisa Nisbett, the Keeleys, and the Complex Dynamics of Gender Performance."

> CHARLES: Now, if *you* had only played *your* part half as well, you *might* have passed for a woman.
>
> LADY CAROLINE: Passed for a woman! who dares to say I'm not one? [*Stamps her foot with rage*.]
>
> (William Collier, *Is She a Woman?*, 1844)

In 1844 Louisa Nisbett played Collier's hard-riding huntswoman, Lady Caroline Butler, the latest in what became her long career of gender non-conforming and flirtatiously cross-dressed roles. Nisbett's high-spirited stage persona and her famously musical laugh helped to soften the potential danger of such performances. Nisbett's repertoire was an intertheatrical complex of plays, building upon her past successes and variously seeking to expand or retract the limits of acceptable gender performance in response to shifting critical attitudes.

Where Nisbett's acting style encompassed a playful self-consciousness, Mary Anne Keeley was renowned for her restrained naturalism, a reputation enhanced by her embodiment of Harrison Ainsworth's Jack Sheppard and Charles Dickens's Smike – teenage roles she continued to perform into her late forties and fifties. Her husband Bob Keeley was also famous for cross-gender performances of impressive verisimilitude. Mary Keeley described his embodiment of Sairey Gamp in Dickens's *Martin Chuzzlewit*, for example, as having 'no indication of the man, either in dress, speech or look. It was the character drawn by Dickens, though without caricature or the least sign of exaggeration.'

This paper will consider a range of performances by Mary Keeley, Robert Keeley and Louisa Nisbett, looking at what was elided and what brought into conscious view. How far were the real-life identity and body of the actor part of the production's meaning-making? What might such performances reveal about audience tastes and expectations, acting styles, critical frameworks, and the complexity and unpredictability of Victorian conceptions of gender and identity?

Sos Eltis is Associate Professor at Brasenose College and the English Faculty, University of Oxford. Her publications include *Revising Wilde: Society and Subversion in the Plays of Oscar Wilde* (OUP, 1996), *Acts of Desire: Women and Sex on Stage, 1800-1930* (OUP, 2013), and new edition of Bernard Shaw's *Mrs Warren's Profession, Candida* and *You Never Can Tell* for Oxford World's Classics. She has also written a range of articles on Victorian and modern drama, women's suffrage, gothic fiction, and Oscar Wilde, and is currently working on a new book, *Ingenious Theatres*, on the complexities of Victorian theatre's encounters with new technologies, gender ideology, democracy, class and identity.

Anna Farkas
Magdalen College, University of Oxford

Parasitism or Symbiosis: The Relationship Between the Avant Garde and the West End in the *fin de siècle*

From the 1870s onwards influential thinkers like Henry James, Matthew Arnold, and William Archer bemoaned in the pages of literary periodicals that the London stage had become a mere profitmaking machine rather than a place for artistic innovation. One proposed solution, an endowed, national theatre, was not realised until the mid-twentieth century. Instead, J. T. Grein, an intrepid Dutchman, looked to the continent for an artistic and economic model. In 1890 he founded the Independent Theatre Society, a subscription society whose members paid a fee in order to see plays by dramatists like Ibsen who were shut out from the London theatre either because of their lack of commercial appeal or the objections of the censor.

In this paper I will be taking a closer look at a series of articles Grein published in the lead-up to the society's foundation. These pieces strike a difficult balance between the rhetoric of an anti-establishment manifesto and an appeal for support from representatives of the very same establishment. The art theatre Grein proposed mounted a challenge to the customs of the West End while also materially relying on the generosity of some of its leading figures.

Anna Farkas earned her DPhil from Magdalen College, Oxford. She was Assistant Professor of English Literature and Culture at the University of Regensburg (Germany) until 2020. Her first book *Women's Playwriting and the Women's Movement, 1890-1918* was published by Routledge in 2019. She is currently working on a second book on the politics of J. M. Barrie's plays.

Alessandra Grossi
University of Warwick

Images of Italy in mid-Victorian Operatic Burlesques

This paper aims at analysing how Italy and the Italians were portrayed in Victorian operatic burlesques such as Robert Brough's *Masaniello* (1857), H. J. Byron's *Fra Diavolo Travestie* (1858), and Leicester Buckingham's *Lucrezia Borgia* (1860). This paper argues that such burlesques contributed to the formation and diffusion of common stereotypes, according to which Italians were perceived as street vendors, itinerant musicians, or shady brigands, mirroring the caricatures published in the illustrated journals of the time such as *Punch* and *Fun*. Following on from my presentation at *The London Stage and the Nineteenth-Century World III*, entitled 'Modelling the World on the Burlesque Stage', this paper starts from the premise that Victorian burlesques modelled Britain's relations with foreign countries and peoples adopting an Anglo-centric stance. Indeed, this paper will investigate whether and how such Anglo-centrism affected the representation of Italy and the Italians in Victorian operatic burlesques: on the one hand, I will examine how the parodic process of 'diminution' typical of burlesque enabled the stereotyping of Italy and Italians; on the other hand, I will evaluate how burlesques equally stereotyped and satirised the characters of British travellers, whilst the Italian landscape was exploited to create lavish scenic effects on stage.

Alessandra Grossi is a final-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 Theatre and Performance Studies. She is now a Research Assistant on Prof. Jacky Bratton's Leverhulme Trust Emeritus Fellowship Scheme project 'Francis Brady and his collection: memorabilia and the structure of feeling'.

Richard W. Hayes
Independent Scholar, New York

E.W. Godwin's Design for the Comedy Theatre: Reform and Entrepreneurship in the Victorian Era

Architect E.W. Godwin (1833-86) has long been recognized as an important figure in the Victorian theatre. Previous scholarship on Godwin and stagecraft has focused on his role as stage and costume designer. He has been recognized for bringing a new commitment to archaeological research, historical accuracy and visual realism to stage settings. This paper concentrates instead on Godwin's architectural designs for theatre buildings since, in the course of his career, he designed at least nine new theatres. Although none of these were built, a set of drawings survives for a proposed Comedy Theatre, planned for the Strand in London. Absorbing his attention from 1881 until his untimely death in 1886, Godwin's Comedy Theatre reveals two major themes. The first is his interest in reforming Victorian theatres, including both auditoria and 'back of house' spaces. The second is the theme of entrepreneurship, since Godwin took on the role of client, working directly with financiers to get his design built. Although unsuccessful, the project shows how Godwin sought to extend the bailiwick of a theatrical designer-manager to include the actual patronage and construction of a new theatre in London.

Godwin's reform-minded objectives were set forth in an article he published in 1878 entitled 'A New Scheme for a Theatre'. An inveterate theatregoer since his youth in Bristol, Godwin enumerated the architectural failings of contemporary theatres, commencing with the auditoria. From the audience perspective, London's theatres were marred by uncomfortable seating, insufficient ventilation, inadequate exits, and poorly planned lobbies. Regarding the stage and its accessory spaces, he took to task prevailing methods of lighting the stage, inadequate space for storing and moving backdrops, stinted facilities for constructing props and fabricating costumes, cramped dressing rooms, and a tiresome reliance on one-point perspective in settings. He called for 'a powerful attempt at reform' on the part of those 'really interested in dramatic art'.

Godwin's designs for the Comedy Theatre incorporated some of his reforms but his failure to see the playhouse built underscores the difficulties he faced in acting as *de facto* client. Godwin's efforts at entrepreneurship in the rough and tumble of London's commercial world remained precarious, dependent upon the vagaries of fortune.

Richard W. Hayes is an architect and architectural historian educated at Columbia University and Yale University. His publications include *The Yale Building Project*: *The First 40 Years* (Yale University Press, 2007), a comprehensive history of an influential educational programme.

Hayes has also published extensively on the Aesthetic Movement in nineteenth-century Britain, including a chapter in *E.W. Godwin: Aesthetic Movement Architect and Designer* (Yale University Press, 1999), edited by Susan Weber Soros. The book received numerous awards and was selected as 'one of the most notable books of the year' by the *New York Times.* Since then, Hayes has published six additional articles on Godwin in peer-reviewed volumes, including the 2017 issue of *Architectural History*, the annual journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain (SAHGB).

Hayes has received grants and awards from the American Institute of Architects, the American Architectural Foundation, the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, New York State Council on the Arts, the European Architectural History Network, the MacDowell Colony, and Yaddo. A Visiting Fellow at the University of Cambridge in 2009 and 2013, he is now a life member of Clare Hall.

Sarah E. Hayward
Kingston University, London

John Langdon Down's Normansfield: Stories from the Archives and their Potential Contribution to Heritage

[1]

Archives are an incredibly rich and valuable resource. Yet the outcome of archival research is, by its very nature, unpredictable. In my case, preliminary investigations led me to vastly over-estimate the quantity of evidence I would unearth.

I intended to discover more about the early years of the Normansfield Theatre, a little-known surviving gem, opened in 1879. Little known, because it was built within the walls of a private residential institution for people with a learning disability. It has, in recent years, been fully restored to its former glory, and it is now an enchanting and unexpected highlight for visitors to the Langdon Down Museum of Learning Disability.

What I did (and did not) find shifted my project not only in a new direction, but also towards a practice-based methodology, which, in turn, led to the development of creative work such as a museum audio guide.

My presentation charts a journey of archival research, from an initial set of objectives, through adjustment and new beginnings, to robust outcomes and fresh opportunities. It will include a stop from my audio guide, which was designed for the Theatre space, demonstrating how archive material can be shaped to tell a story, and how it can be interpreted for a specific audience.

Sarah Hayward is a PhD student at Kingston University, London, which she first joined on the taught MA course in *Museum and Gallery Studies*. Having felt that year fly by impossibly quickly, she applied to continue in higher education with a PhD. Sarah has conducted archival research into Normansfield Hospital, a former private Victorian residential institution, founded exclusively for the care and education of people with a learning disability. She has produced three creative pieces to accompany her Thesis, the purpose of which is to explore how archive material might be interpreted and applied within a museum setting.

[1] The restored Normansfield Theatre. Credit: Sarah E. Hayward, 2017

Jonathan Hicks
University of Aberdeen

Sergeant Piper Findlater and the Coloniality of Pathos

In the second half of the eighteenth century, so the story goes, the Great Highland bagpipe was among a clutch of cultural artefacts so strongly associated with Jacobite rebellion that it was proscribed by statute (or at least treated with suspicion by the King's agents north of the border). By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the same instrument had been refashioned as an emblem and tool of Her Majesty's military, particularly in the case of regiments that recruited in the North East and Highlands. This shift in the semiotics and politics of piping is illustrated by the career of George Findlater of the Gordon Highlanders, who was famously awarded the Victoria Cross for playing on while wounded at the Battle of Dargai Heights in 1897 (part of a larger campaign for command of the Khyber Pass trade route). The tune Findlater reportedly played at Dargai, "The Haughs o' Cromdale," had been included in the first volume of James Hogg's *Jacobite Relics of Scotland* (1819) and its text tells of Highland soldiers fighting government forces. Clearly the music's associations were no impediment to its use in the service of imperial violence (in this case inflicted on members of the Afridi tribe who were attempting to regain control of their hereditary lands in the Tirah region). Findlater's subsequent London stage career—in which he re-enacted the performance that earned his celebrity at venues such as the Alhambra—underlines the extent to which the Great Highland bagpipe could be accommodated into popular Victorian narratives of British military gallantry. While it is hardly a revelation that pipers were active in the army at the height of empire, the significance of this activity for the repertory and reputation of the instrument bears closer scrutiny. The practice of composing tunes to commemorate battles may have predated the conscription of the Great Highland bagpipe into the British army, but it certainly continued thereafter and, unsurprisingly, there is a tune still in circulation named "Heights of Dargai." At the same time, globetrotting musicians such as Findlater inevitably influenced a range of localised military piping practices, many of which persist to this day. Finally, the case of Findlater hints at how the pathos of solo piping, so often deployed as a marker of Scottish identity, was equally suited to performance in the theatre of imperial war.

Jonathan (Jo) Hicks joined the University of Aberdeen in 2019 as a lecturer in music following research fellowships at Lincoln College, Oxford, King's College London, and Newcastle University. Jo's work is concerned with the criss-crossing of musical and urban histories in the long nineteenth century - especially, though not exclusively, in big European cities like London and Paris. He likes to approach the music of the past via the places and spaces with which it was commonly identified, e.g., paying close attention to sites of performance or asking how music and musicians have travelled. Jo co-edited *The Melodramatic Moment: Musical and Theatrical Culture, 1790-1820* with Katherine Hambridge, and he's currently working on his first monograph, *Music on the Move in Victorian London*. Other work of his has appeared in the *Journal of Musicology*, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, and *Music & Letters*.

Kate Holmes
University of Exeter

Understanding a Spectacular Body: Jules Léotard in London

From 1861-3 Jules Léotard performed in London to popular acclaim, establishing a craze for aerial action and pioneering flying trapeze. Having already performed in major European cities such as Paris and St Petersburg, London's status as the international entertainment capital cemented his reputation as a celebrity. It is often taken as a given that Léotard made a spectacle of his body, but his costume and performance style was remarked upon for being simpler than many other acrobats. In this paper, I will explore how he made a spectacle of his body, the role of spectacle in his celebrity and what understanding his bodily spectacle reveals about the nineteenth century. Precisely because he did not speak multiple discourses clung to his body enabling a range of audience interpretations. In this paper, I will touch on a variety of debates including the tensions around the morality of risk versus thrilling excitement, his body's unmechanised appearance in spaces that relied on industrialised gas and glass, as well as how his costume displayed a physique that drew associations with species progress and Muscular Christianity. At the same time as considering the broader debates his body attracted, I will also consider the mechanisms of aerial spectacle, relating issues of immersion and fantasy to the kinaesthetic fantasy of aerial reception.

Kate Holmes is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the University of Exeter. Using a range of approaches that range from examining spatial practice to theories of how bodies process movement, her research focuses on the history of aerial practice and its audience reception. Her monograph, *Female Aerialists in the 1920s and early 1930s: Femininity, Celebrity and Glamour* has recently been published by Routledge. Her work has also been published in *Early Popular Visual Culture*, *New Theatre Quarterly* and edited collections.

Bradley Hoover
New College, University of Oxford

The Arrival of American Delsartism in London

Following upon my presentation from London Stage III, which focused on the migration of François Delsarte's System of Expression direct from Paris to London, this presentation explores the "second wave" of the migration of his system later in the century, this time from America.

In the summer of 1886, Delsartian husband and wife team, Edmund and Henrietta Russell, arrived in London for what would become a three-year sojourn in the city focused on spreading the good news of the arrival of American Delsartism. Their first lecture took place on Tuesday 22 June at Felix Moscheles' Studio in Cadogan-gardens, attended by such society notables as Robert Browning, James McNeill Whistler, and Oscar Wilde.

Although the Delsarte System first arrived in London as early as 1848, becoming established in the music schools as an acting technique for the operatic stage, it remained a specialised method of training, not yet garnering the widespread popular appeal as it had by this time in America. George Bernard Shaw, attending one of the Russell's lectures, remarked that: "I learned from a newspaper paragraph that Mr. Russell was a professor of Delsartism. This probably conveyed no definite idea to more than two or three score people in London, but I was by chance one of the two or three score" (*Our Corner*, Sept. 1886).

By all accounts, Mr. and Mrs. Russell's lecture series and theatrical performances were a great success, and by the time they left the city in 1889, they had introduced American Delsartism to the likes of Sir Frederic Leighton, Lord Lytton, and Prime Minister Gladstone himself, who declared that "the system should be taught in every school in England."

My presentation explores the impact of the Russell's visit to London on both the specialized actor training programs, as well as on British popular culture more broadly.

Bradley Hoover is a DPhil candidate in Music at New College, Oxford. His research interests include opera studies, nineteenth-century aesthetics, history of vocal pedagogy, and ancient and medieval music, theatre, 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 three years.

Noa Kaufman
Tel-Aviv University

Ireland as a Comic Opera: The Making of *Shamus O'Brien*

In 1896, a comic opera entitled *Shamus O'Brien* premiered at London's Opera Comique. Based on an Irish ballad, it became an instant hit, and was the first comic opera about Ireland to be debuted in London. The timing of the production may account for the opera's success as the mid-1890s saw the aftermath of Parnell's fall and the division of the Irish Parliamentary Party. The Irish Question subsided, as did public debate on it.

While many studies explore Irish figures in standard drama, comedy and music-hall in nineteenth-century England, very little attention has been paid to comic operas – a genre that gained growing popularity with London audiences since the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, the operas of the famous duo Gilbert and Sullivan became a lasting cultural phenomenon.[1]

This paper examines Charles Villiers Stanford's attempts to characterise *Shamus O'Brien* as Irish, by hiring a host of Irish writers, musicians and performers for the production, as well as featuring many common images of "Irishness" in the performance itself. It recovers appropriations of metropolitan and transnational musical genres that played a prominent role in London's popular culture, by both Irish and non-Irish cultural producers and entrepreneurs and their comparable representations of Irishness.

Noa Kaufman recently received her PhD from Tel-Aviv University, and she is currently the deputy-editor at *Zmanim*, a peer reviewed historical quarterly, published in Israel by Tel-Aviv university and the Open University. Her dissertation focused on the cultural history of Irish migrants in London in the last decades of the Nineteenth century and early Twentieth century. It examined the lives and experiences of Irish people in London and the various practices and representations of Irishness in the metropolis's space, and explored how, and to what extent, these influenced London's popular culture. She is particularly interested in cultural exchanges and the ways in which they are manifested in different cultural forms of entertainment.

[1] Arthur Sullivan's last and uncompleted work was an Irish comic opera entitled *The Emerald Isle or the Caves of Carrig Cleena*. After his death Edward German completed it to Basil Hood's lyrics. *The Emerald Isle* premiered at the Savoy in April 1901.

Georgina Lock
Independent Scholar

Elizabeth Vestris: 'The Most Dangerous Actress of her Time'

In *Leaves from an Actor's Notebook,* the actor and elocutionist George Vanderhoff (1820-1885) described Madame Vestris (1797- 1856) as "the most dangerous actress of her time."

Madame Vestris and the Monkey is a dramatic monologue that will run for about 20 minutes. It examines Vanderhoff's statement in Vestris's own real and imagined words, some spoken to Joo-la, her performing monkey. Drawing on letters, reviews, playbills and illustrations kept at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, it contends that, as actress, singer, theatre manager and celebrity, Vestris communicated a sense of safety to audiences in Britain in a time of rapid global expansion and change. It suggests that she played to an idea of domestic comfort while popularizing European culture, art and style, on and off stage, and that her choice of performance material, including an act with Joo-la, reduced anxiety about territories beyond Western Europe.

Georgina Lock, formerly a senior lecturer in English and Creative Writing at Nottingham Trent University, has returned to acting and script writing. Georgina wrote and performed *Lady in a Veil*, a monologue as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), at historic houses, libraries and museums throughout 2019, and zoomed it to international audiences during 2020. *The Walled-Up Woman,* Georgina's self-written and directed performance as a medieval anchoress, was first aired at Aldeburgh's South Lookout in August 2019 and also transferred to zoom during lockdown. The next performance is at St Mary's Church, Faversham on 21st May 2022.

David Mayer, University of Manchester
Cassie Mayer, Independent Scholar
Lise Mayer, Independent Scholar

Astley before Astley's: The Pre-History of Astley's

Our views of Astley's and hippodrama have been shaped – even dominated - by a gallery of nineteenth-century prints which show his Amphitheatre, where equestrian displays take place under a crystal chandelier before three tiers of packed galleries rising above a fashionable ringside audience as in the 1808 Ackermann print by Pugin and Rowlandson.

However, we are travelling back some 50 years to a different London and the very start of Philip Astley's equestrian career. Ours is a pre-history of Astley's where we chop away the tangle of myths and tall tales, some (perhaps many) of them, created by Astley himself. We will look at Astley's training in horsemanship and the training he subsequently gave his actors and growing stud of arena performers. And we will examine the kind of horse he rode in battle and the kind he subsequently sought for his riding school and amphitheatres, breeds so different from the English hunter and standard cavalry mount of his times, and explain how this contributed so much to Astley's success.

Our starting date is 1759 when Edward Astley, Philip's father, who has moved to London from Newcastle Under Lyme, continues trade in Soho, as a maker of hat blocks assisted by his 17-year old son Philip. But poverty drives Philip to the army, by good fortune choosing to enlist in Colonel George Eliott's 15th Regiment of Light Dragoons. There, near Salisbury, in Wilton House's indoor menage, he is trained by Domenico Angelo, an Italian riding-master and skilled fencer, who acts both as horse-master to Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke and as principal riding instructor to the regiment which the Earl is raising and training for the Seven Year's War.

Eliott, Angelo and the Earl share a common approach to horsemanship and cavalry training, one which politically sets them apart from conventional training for British cavalry units who base their approach on the headlong cross-country dash that is associated with the country sports of fox and stag-hunting. In contrast to the standard army approach to cavalry training, Angelo, Eliott, and the Earl favour smaller maneuverable horses (with very different conformation from the English "hunter": or "eventer") and teach what is now recognised as dressage. Young Astley shows a remarkable ability to ride, to train horses, and to care for their wellbeing.

Astley, now a sergeant, returns from war a hero. Recognised by King George for capturing French standards at the battle of Emsdorff, the King's favour is the likely source of protection Astley receives when denied a performance license. Discharged and now married to Patty, the pair perform trick riding, busking the parks adjacent to Sadler's Wells and the nearby Three Hats pub until, like other cavalry veterans, he opens a riding school on the Surrey side of the Thames in semi-rural Lambeth on Halfpenny Hatch fields. Before long, his riding school is the scene of equestrian and gymnastic exhibitions and audiences paying to watch performances in an unroofed

arena. But Astley's carpentry skills prove useful; a roof is built and in time, ca. 1788, the establishment becomes the Royal Grove Amphitheatre. When that building burns in 1794, he moves to a new location with a more elaborate theatre close to Westminster Bridge - the Astley's depicted in the Ackermann print.

David Mayer, Emeritus Professor and Research Professor (Manchester), has studied and described the nineteenth-century stage and early motion pictures for somewhat above seven decades.

Cassie Mayer, independent scholar, gave up her actors' agency so that she, an accomplished horsewoman and competitive dressage rider, could manage a riding stable in East London.

Lise Mayer, independent scholar, is a comedy and film writer with numerous credits. She is perhaps best known as the co-author of the tv series *The Young Ones.*

Lee Michael-Berger
Berl College, Israel

'Ghostbusters': Modernity and the Supernatural in the turn-of-the-century Discourse of *Hamlet*

During the spring of 1905, while no less than three productions of *Hamlet* were playing on the London stage, a satirical piece published in a popular humour magazine recommended alterations to the Shakespearean tragedy, intended to make it more "agreeable" to modern audiences. Thus, the ghost of Hamlet's father was suggested, tongue in cheek, to be worked as a Maskelyne and Cook conjuring trick, who were avid opponents of spiritualism and were known to engage in exposing mediums as frauds at their *Egyptian Hall*.

This paper demonstrates how the theatrical experience provided a space for modernity to mediate its relationship with the supernatural, in the late long nineteenth century. For many years, the binary and dialectical models of enchantment and modernity prevailed. Science, reason, secularism, positivism and materialism were understood as modern factors that demystified and marginalized magic, religion, and mysticism. Today, however, scholars are increasingly reading occultism and modernity as compatible rather than antagonistic, and enhancement as a vital component in the making of the modern world. Through the exploration of late nineteenth-century commentators' interpretation of the ghost in *Hamlet*, this paper offers an “antinomial”, as Michael Saler put it, understanding of modernity and enchantment.

Lee Michael-Berger is an early career scholar, who is Head of the History Department at Beit-Berl College, Israel. She teaches and publishes about modern British cultural and social history, nineteenth-century theatre, *fin-de-siècle* studies, Victorian humour, and urban studies, and is currently working on her first book, soon to published by *Routledge*. Her most recent article: " Hilarious Homicides: Satirizing Sensational Murders in Late Nineteenth-Century London" was published in *Journal of Victorian Culture*.

Tiziana Morosetti
Goldsmiths, University of London

Of Abyssinian Princes and Cannibal Queens: Linguistic and Visual Representations of 'Africanness' on the British Stage, 1850s-60s

Several scholars (Meer 2005, Waters 2007, Davis 2011, Lewis 2016) have illustrated how minstrel shows and performances such as Charles Mathews's *Trip to America* were key to shaping, both linguistically and visually, representations of Black characters on the nineteenth-century British stage. The unprecedented success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and its stage versions further enhanced the 'minstrelisation' of the Black character, whose grotesque comicity and use of 'dialect' or corrupt English would become widepread features of theatrical portraits in the second half of the century (Waters 2007, Gould 2011, Morosetti 2021). However, less explored has been the survival on the Victorian stage of a parallel mode of representation – that of the noble, fairer-skinned, Standard-English-speaking 'Ethiopian' of pre-Victorian invention – which, although marginalised by the progressive affirmation of the 'minstrelised' model, nonetheless never disappeared. My keynote will explore the political implications of these representational choices focusing on three playwrights in particular, William Brough, Francis Burnand and Edward Fitzball, whose work between the 1850s-60s displays a deliberate juxtaposition between the dialect-speaking model of the 'American' Black and standard-speaking 'African' characters. The latter inherit an idealised and unspecific image of 'Africa', but I will also argue that their survival on the stage both responds to a topical interest in the anglo-African conflicts of the second half of the century, and reflects the progressive classification of the Black in theories of scientific racism.

Tiziana Morosetti is Associate Lecturer in Theatre and Performance at Goldsmiths, University of London. She works on representations of race, Blackness and diversity on the nineteenth-century and contemporary British stage; and on Black drama, especially African. She is the editor of *Staging the Other in Nineteenth-century British Drama* (Peter Lang 2016), *Africa on the Contemporary London Stage* (Palgrave 2018) and, with Osita Okagbue, *The Palgrave Handbook of Theatre and Race* (2021). She is the General Secretary of the African Theatre Association UK (AfTA) and the co-founder and deputy director of the journal *Quaderni del '900*.

Kate Newey
University of Exeter

Melodrama, London and the World: Kean and Boucicault

This paper will use the collaboration between Charles Kean and Dion Boucicault at the Princess's Theatre on Oxford Street, London in the early 1850s as a way to look at the international reach of the London theatre. While Kean's management has been celebrated and scrutinised for his Shakespearean revivals (most notably in Richard Schoch's work) it was the sensation melodrama, *The Corsican Brothers*, which made the headlines, the legacy of sensation drama, and the global export of English melodrama (and the money), that the production created several visual and spatial sensation effects which made it one of the most-performed plays of the second half of the nineteenth-century in the international English-speaking theatre industry.

Jim Davis and Victor Emeljanow showed us how London's West End became an international centre for popular entertainment in the mid-nineteenth century (*Reflecting the Audience*, 2001), and Rohan McWilliam has extended this view to argue for London's West End as an all-encompassing pleasure zone (*London's West End Creating the Pleasure District, 1800-1914*, 2020). This paper will use Davis, Emelajanow, and McWilliam's understandings of London's West End to explore a representative production of the period. My paper will use *The Corsican Brothers* to explore the complex ecology of this globalising commercial theatre in London at the mid-nineteenth century, by opening up the transnational contexts of the play's creation, production, and its afterlife.

Kate Newey is Professor of Theatre History at the University of Exeter. She is a theatre historian specialising in nineteenth-century British popular theatre and women's writing. Her publications include the co-edited collection of essays, *Politics, Performance and Popular Culture* (Manchester UP, 2016), and the monographs *Women's Theatre Writing in Victorian Britain* (Palgrave, 2005), and *John Ruskin and the Victorian Theatre* co-authored with cultural historian, Jeffrey Richards (Palgrave, 2010). She is currently collaborating with Jim Davis, Pat Smyth and Kate Holmes on an AHRC-funded project on 'Theatre and Visual Culture in the Long Nineteenth-Century,' from which this paper is developed.

Deven Parker
Queen Mary University

"Theatrical Authorship and the Problem of Copyright: The Case of Byron's *Marino Faliero*"

This paper explores how Romantic authors writing for both theatrical and reading audiences in the first decades of the nineteenth century positioned themselves at the confluence of the print and theatrical markets while navigating divergent copyright restrictions, particularly when seeking to both print and perform the same works. I explore the different models of authorship produced by these overlapping yet disparate markets, turning to the legal controversy around Byron's 1821 *Marino Faliero* as a case study for understanding how the theatre disrupts notions of Romantic authorship. Byron sought to obtain an injunction against the Drury Lane Theatre when its manager, Robert Elliston, obtained a copy of Byron's newly published *Marino Faliero* and prepared to stage it. I read legal documents from the case as well as print ephemera that circulated at the theatre's staging of the play to argue that Byron paradoxically sought to present himself as at odds with the theatre in order to profit from the staging of his work. More broadly, I show how the case brings into high relief the gap between print and theatrical authorship that writers such as Byron sought to reconcile.

Deven Parker is a Postdoctoral Research Associate in the School of English and Drama at Queen Mary University of London. She earned her PhD in 2019 from the University of Colorado, Boulder. Her work has been supported by the Huntington Library, McMaster University, and the Keats-Shelley Association and has appeared in *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, *European Romantic Review*, the *Keats-Shelley Journal*, and *Essays in Romanticism*. She is currently at work on two books, one on the rise of telecommunications in Romantic Britain and another on the theatre's influence on Romantic authorship.

Craig Paterson
Kellogg College, University of Oxford

‘*King Lear*, and the Overwhelming Emotional Bond between Father and Daughter in Victorian Drama’

This presentation is an extract from my Thesis ‘Shakespeare and the emotional father on the Victorian stage’, where I explore the representation of the father and daughter relationship in nineteenth-century drama and culture via an examination of productions of *King Lear* between 1838 and 1858. *Lear* is the primary focus for this discussion because, as critics have already observed, ‘The strength of love between father and daughter […] was the emotional mainspring of the Victorian *King Lear*’.[1] I contend that this ‘strength of love’ between father and daughter is paralleled in nineteenth-century melodramas (including James Sheridan Knowles’ *Virginius*, 1820, and *The Daughter*, 1837), as well as in Victorian fiction and life-writings, where it is often expressed through overblown declarations of paternal and filial affection. By considering Victorian adaptations of *Lear* in their cultural context, my talk considers the reasons *why* this emotional bond between father and daughter was particularly important to Victorian audiences and contends that this relationship was regularly depicted in a way that is complicated, and problematic.

Craig Paterson completed his undergraduate degree in English literature at the Open University, before studying for a Master’s in Literature and Arts at Oxford where he is currently reading for a DPhil in the same subject. The above abstract is taken from his wider thesis which studies the ways that fatherhood is represented in Victorian productions of Shakespeare. Thus, his project is an exploration of the relationship between Shakespeare in performance and a range of other fields: the wider culture of Victorian theatre; educational theories and values; ideologies of family and domestic structures; child development; and attitudes towards fatherhood. His research topic allows him to combine his two main areas of interest: ‘Shakespeare’ and ‘Victorian culture’.

[1] J.S. Bratton (ed.), *Plays in Performance: King Lear* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1987), p.40.

Marija Reiff
American University of Sharjah

"[S]uch a sermon as Mr. Pinero preaches": *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray,* the "Play of the Century," and *fin de siècle* Catholicism

Arthur Wing Pinero's 1893 play *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* was declared "the play of the century" by *The Sunday Times* (17 March 1895), and Pinero's portrayal of the ferocious, mercurial title character still garners considerable attention today from feminist scholars. Curiously, despite more than a century of criticism, *Tanqueray's* portrayal of Roman Catholicism has received only scant attention. Yet the depiction of Catholicism is central not only to the play's perceived feminism, but also to the whole of theatre studies. *Tanqueray's* overt concern with religion serves as the clearest indication that the old-fashioned Victorian reticence for exploring religion on the stage had severely abated, and with the arrival of a more middle class, more religious audience, prevailing censorship laws counterintuitively became far more liberal. Understanding the ramifications of *Tanqueray's* portrayal of Roman Catholicism amends our understanding of the modernization of the British theatre and demonstrates how middle-class entertainment undermined both official and unofficial forms of censorship and paved the way for the performances of the ever-more risqué plays of the new drama.

Marija Reiff is an assistant professor of English at the American University of Sharjah. Her publications have appeared in *Victorian Review, Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal,* the *Australasian Journal of Victorian Studies,* and *Coleridge Bulletin,* as well as in various books, biographies, and dictionaries. In addition, she is an avid theatre practitioner, with numerous professional performance, directing, and teaching credits.

Tommaso Sabbatini
University of Bristol

Fairy Tales of Two Cities: Late Victorian Spectacular Theatre and Parisian *Féerie*

This paper re-examines fin-de-siècle spectacular theatre with music in London from a novel angle: its connections to Parisian commercial theatre and in particular to the French fairy play, *féerie*.

The early 1870s witnessed a boom of French operetta (in English) on the London stage. At the same time, London audiences became acquainted with *féerie*, and could experience both French *féeries* in translation and original plays based on the *féerie* model.

I argue that it is against this background that we should see the appearance, at the end of the decade, of the Drury Lane Christmas pantomime as refashioned by Augustus Harris and the Gaiety full-length burlesque. While of course these developments built on longstanding English traditions, contact with *féerie* — with its combination of visual excess, processions, vocal numbers, and ballet — might have contributed to shape them.

The affinities between spectacular theatre with music in Paris and London in the last third of the nineteenth century, however, are also a product of the emergence, in both cities, of a new business model (a 'new regime of production' [Charle 2008]), which went hand in hand with urban renovation and the creation of a gentrified 'theatrical theme park' (Davis and Emeljanow 2001).

Tommaso Sabbatini is a Newton International Fellow at the University of Bristol. He specializes in nineteenth-century French theatre with music (including, but not limited to, opera and operetta), also in European and global perspective. He is working on a book on *féerie*, the French fairy play, at the fin de siècle, based on his doctoral dissertation. He has presented at major musicological conferences and society meetings and his research has been supported by the French government and the American Musicological Society.

3-paper session:

Aspects of Genre in the Savoy Operas

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Martyn Strachan

Burlesque, Extravaganza and Mr Carte's New Genre

The musical theatre during the first half of the nineteenth century was dominated by the Music Hall, which grew from the song and supper rooms, burlesque and extravaganza. Few, if any examples of latter two genres had any lasting power, but they provided the fertile soil from which grew the partnership of Gilbert and Sullivan and later, the development of musical comedy. This paper traces several of the events which led to the partnership's first collaboration and seeks to identify those elements that enabled their joint productions to achieve a permanence unknown in other forms of popular entertainment. Described by one commentator as 'perhaps the most significant musical works produced in Victorian times', Gilbert and Sullivan's comic operas not only transcended previous genres, such as burlesque, but also ended up creating their own.

Martyn Strachan was born in Kent and educated at Napier College, St Andrews University and the Open University, where he completed a doctorate in 2018. He studied organ with W. O. Minay and Philip Sawyer and piano with Sandra Brown. In 1983 he became an administrator with what became the Scottish Legal Aid Board and qualified as a paralegal in 1994. In 1999 he made music his full-time occupation and since then has divided his time between teaching piano and organ and acting as an accompanist, repetiteur and organist.

James Brooks Kuykendall
University of Mary Washington

‘The end of my capability in that class of piece’: The Gilbert/Sullivan Formula at its Breaking Point

In April 1884, Arthur Sullivan attempted to break his contract with W. S. Gilbert and Richard D’Oyly Carte, a few months into the run of *Princess Ida* (his eighth operatic collaboration with Gilbert, and the second show to be written for Carte’s new Savoy Theatre). Sullivan characterised the Savoy operas as formulaic, and his own efforts “becoming mere repetitions of my former pieces,…getting to possess a strong family likeness.” The terms Sullivan laid down for a possible way forward were calculated to produce an impasse with his librettist. The partnership was in jeopardy, and each partner stood to lose a lot of money. Within a few months, however, they were working on a new show; *The Mikado*—one of their great successes—opened in March 1885. The formulaic nature of the Gilbert/Sullivan operas is a widely-accepted truism, even if the popular conception of it may not be congruent with Sullivan’s sense of it at the time. Examining the composer’s causes for complaint at the midpoint in their collaboration reveals a variety of complexities in the formula. To what extent did *The Mikado* and their subsequent works fulfil his requests? Sullivan’s concern about the sameness of his work seems more related to career ambition than particular faults in his works for the Savoy.

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, Charles Villiers Stanford, William Walton, and Benjamin Britten. His blog, *Settling Scores*, covers musical textual issues more broadly.

Benedict Taylor
University of Edinburgh

Forms of Time in the Savoy Operas

One of the most interpretatively intriguing, though underexplored, aspects of the Savoy Operas is the sense that certain operas manifest their own distinct approach to fashioning a sense of dramaturgical time – the temporal mode in which their story, characters, or music operates. Take for instance *The Mikado* (1885), in which the theme of the arbitrary nature of our human attempt to measure time runs as a recurring theme throughout the dialogue and sung text, coinciding with the existential threat posed by the certainty of a terminus to our lives (whether from a cheap and chippy chopper or more naturally from the night that still comes too soon). Or consider *The Pirates of Penzance* (1879), in which, as Carolyn Williams has observed, the characters live in a 'Peter Pan' time of childhood irresponsibility in an opera characterised by an absence of parental figures (the surfeit of orphans, adopted ancestors) and an intercalcular protagonist who despite being alive for twenty-one years is only five-and-a-little-bit years old. With a modest nod to Mikhail Bakhtin's influential essay 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel' we might describe this an example of 'adventure time'. Such attributes are most clearly present in W.S. Gilbert's text, but certain features of Sullivan's music lend weight to or offer complementary perspectives on this theme: these include the pronounced parody of Italianate operatic models in *Pirates*, the old-world madrigals in *The Mikado*, and the contrast between what Michael Beckerman has termed 'iconic' and 'dramatic' time. To sum up, in this talk I will indulge in some questionable if vaguely plausible speculations linking two topics I'm inexplicably fond of: G&S and the study of time, in a manner that may just about prove diverting for twenty minutes.

Benedict Taylor is Reader in the Reid School of Music, University of Edinburgh. He is the author of various chastely untouched volumes including *Mendelssohn, Time and Memory* (Cambridge, 2011), *The Melody of Time* (Oxford, 2016), and *Music, Subjectivity, and Schumann*, forthcoming from Cambridge in 2022. Perhaps his proudest achievement is his 2017 monograph *Arthur Sullivan: A Musical Reappraisal*, which managed to arouse the usually unexcitable Sir Arthur Sullivan Society to anger – twice. He is editor-in-chief of *Music & Letters* and general editor of CUP's *Music in Context* series.

Karl Traugott Goldbach
Spohr Museum in Kassel

Add a Few Soldiers who Ppretend to Sing Hector Berlioz and Louis Spohr at the Royal Italian Opera in Covent Garden in 1853

In March 1853, the Royal Italian Opera in Covent Garden announced the productions for the new season: in addition to Rigoletto by Giuseppe Verdi, Matilde di Shabran by Gioachino Rossini, Don Sebastian by Gaetano Donizetti and Juana Shore by Vincenzo Bonetti, also Jessonda by Louis Spohr and Benvenuto Cellini by Hector Berlioz. Spohr and Berlioz, who composed their operas in their respective mother tongues, are obviously not among the first composers who come to mind as outstanding composers of Italian opera. Berlioz was almost twenty years younger than Spohr. While Spohr thought Berlioz's "spectacle music" was crazy, Spohr was an outdated composer for Berlioz, in whom one need have no further interest. Accordingly, neither musician made any effort to meet his colleague during their common stay in London in 1853. The paper not only traces how the two composers perceived the opera of the other, but also whether and how their perception coincided with that of the London recipients.

Karl Traugott Goldbach studied composition and electroacoustic composition at the Franz Liszt Academy of Music in Weimar, where he also received a PhD in musicology. He also earned Master's degrees in Library and Information Science at the Humboldt University zu Berlin and in Management of Cultural and Nonprofit Organisations at the Technical University of Kaiserslautern. He has been the director of the Spohr Museum in Kassel since 2008.

Dana Van Kooy
Michigan Technological University

AnthropoScenes: Performance Remains of Debatable Lands and Highland Clearances

As Derrida reminds us in *Archive Fever*, the etymological root of the word, archive, *arkhé* intertwines two principles, commencement and commandment. *Things*—physical, historical, and ontological— begin in the archive and it is there that they take their place. This production of origins and place—location and status—is then sheltered, as he puts it, within the archive, and essentially forgotten. And yet, the impact—the narrative and the power—remain firmly ensconced in the network of power.

Theatrical performances seem to exist outside the archive's domain of these cultural remains. But, as Rebecca Schneider suggests in *Performing Remains*, when we insist upon the ephemerality of theatrical performance and its "refusal to remain, […] we ignore other ways of knowing, other modes of remembering, that might be situated precisely in the ways in which performance remains, but remains differently" (98).

Building on the insights offered by Derrida, Schneider, and Diana Taylor about the place and role of the archive in performance theory, I direct attention to J.C. Cross's pantomime *Harlequin Highlander; or, Sawney Bean's Cave* (Jones's Royal Circus, 1798) and its unique text held by the National Library of Scotland, which includes copious hand-written notes offering details about scenery and location changes. The text in conjunction with its references to popular prints of Scotland's landscape offer, I argue, a series of AnthropoScenes. These scenes are of a colonial and geological era marked by troubling disappearances associated with transplanting, dis-indigenating, and relandscaping.

Dana Van Kooy is Associate Professor of Transnational Literature, Literary Theory and Culture in the Humanities department at Michigan Technological University. This year (2021-22) she is also an IASH Visiting Research Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. In 2019-20, she was a Fulbright Scholar at the National Library of Scotland. She has received awards from the Lewis Walpole Library and the Huntington Library. Routledge Press published her first book, *Shelley's Radical Stages* in 2016, and she has published essays in *Studies in Romanticism*, *The Keats-Shelley Review*, *Modern Drama*, and *Theatre Journal*. She is currently working on a book manuscript tentatively entitled, *Atlantic Configurations and the Aesthetics of Disappearance.*

Jed Wentz
University of Leiden

Notions of the 'mechanical' in a Nineteenth-Century Adaption of Aaron Hill's *An Essay on the Art of Acting*

An Essay on the art of acting, published in 1753 in *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, Esq.*, has received a good deal of scholarly attention, due to its instance that, in order to generate affect, the actor can work either *inside out* and *outside in*. Hill insists that emotion can be generated either by starting with the imagination (a technique now often associated with The Method), or, 'mechanically', with the body itself, by making appropriate adjustments to the actor's muscle tension.

Interestingly, in 1821, long after its first appearance, 'Mr. Aaron Hill's celebrated Essay upon the Histrionic Art' was published in London in a 're-arrangement' entitled *The Actor, or Guide to the stage*. Although claiming that Hill's original positions are merely being 'enforced by modern examples', this adaption in fact misrepresents Hill's intentions, thus adding a new layer of misunderstanding to the discourse around acting technique before Stanislavski.

This paper compares Hill's original to the later *The Actor*. In order to examine competing notions of emotional expression in the early nineteenth-century London theatre, Hill's work is further placed in the context of better-known contemporaneous works like Henry Siddon's *Practical illustrations of Rhetorical gesture and action* (1822).

Jed Wentz has worked as a traverso-player, conductor and teacher specialized in the performance practice of the long eighteenth-century. He received his doctorate in 2010 from Leiden University, where he currently works at the Academy of Creative and Performing Arts. His area of interest at the moment is centered on declamation and acting techniques, 1680-1930 and their relationship to musical performance. He has published in, among others, *Early Music*, *The Riemenschneider Bach Journal* and *The Cambridge Opera Journal*; and has recorded many CDs with his ensemble Musica ad Rhenum. He is artistic advisor to the Utrecht Early Music Festival.

David Worrall
Nottingham Trent University

‘Had the first rehearsal of our play. Of course, we were all very bad’: Jane Porter and Late Georgian Amateur Acting

Sometimes known as ‘the other Jane,’ the Folger Library’s diary of the novelist and playwright, Jane Porter (1776-1850), includes what appears to be the longest surviving account of the development, rehearsal, performance and audience of a Late Georgian private theatrical (M.b.15). The main piece, *Five & Twenty*, was newly written by her sister, Maria. The afterpiece, *The Manager*, was written by their brother (the panoramic painter), Robert Ker Porter. Both plays were probably by-products of Maria’s convoluted negotiations to write a play for Thomas Harris, manager of Covent Garden. The performances were at their home in London in 1801. Jane gives full details over several weeks describing rehearsals, set construction, invitations, performances and audiences. They performed two shows, the first for friends and a second (‘This was our awful day of acting’) to a carefully selected audience (some of whom are identifiable).

Jane’s diary also includes, possibly similarly unique in its detail, an extended, effusive and highly personal account of the negotiations for, and her commentary on, the performance of an amateur actor (Captain Henry Caulfield, d.1808), a serving Guards officer who played Hamlet for one night at Covent Garden on 2nd February 1803. I have to confess that when I first read it, because it is so personal and self-reflective I thought it was a fake, but Caulfield’s Hamlet was quite well reviewed in *The Times* (‘He is no imitator’).

The significance of Porter’s diary is that it evidences unmediated theatrical engagement in precise, fully recoverable, social settings. The physical requirements of producing amateur performance reveals lives lived as sequences of personal endeavours rather than as remediated responses to contemporary literary, macro-economic or macro-political ideological projects.

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