

**THE EXOTIC AND THE EVERYDAY
REGIONAL VICTORIAN PANTOMIME
IN
BIRMINGHAM AND THE BLACK COUNTRY
1813 – 1914**

by

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ABSTRACT

Until recently, major theatrical discussions excluded regional pantomime. This new research adds to the regional perspective, through the analysis of *Aladdin* pantomimes in Birmingham and the Black Country, from 1813 to 1914. Originally from the *Arabian Nights' Stories*, *Aladdin* positioned within local contexts, reveals relationships between the exotic and theatrical Chinese locations and the everyday products and trade that informed the lives of local theatre audiences.

Even though *Aladdin* had its origins in the Arabic tales, authors and audiences approached the pantomime through their existing knowledge of China. Later *Aladdin* productions continued to mirror the oriental undercurrents and societal synergy surrounding the dissemination of ideas concerning Chineseness. My critical analysis of *Aladdin* establishes the depiction of China through locally manufactured goods, the willow pattern plate, the tea trade and the art of Japanning.

The interaction of pantomime and product was an affirmation of the association between the exotic and the everyday, and the connection that regional audiences made with the real China and the topsy-turvy unreal world of pantomime. The critical coexistence of these opposing elements enables a reassessment of the regional role of pantomime in local political, social and cultural development.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The titles of the *Aladdin* productions are given in full on the first occasion they are quoted within the text with the author, where known and a date. After this first reference the title *Aladdin* and the author will appear, along with the date where appropriate.

I have shortened the title of *The Mandarin's Daughter or the Story of the Willow Pattern Plate* after the first occasion to *The Mandarin's Daughter*.

For brevity, the Lord Chamberlain's Play Collection after the first occasion appears as LCP in text. For bibliographic and appendices references to LCP plays will appear as Brit. Mus. Add. Ms.

Please Note:

Widow Twankay, Twankey, Twanky or Twanki appear as per the character's name used by the pantomime's author recorded in the reading of texts and analysis in each section.

Pekin and Peking are alternative spellings of the capital city of China during the Victorian period, now known as Beijing. The spelling is appropriate to the pantomime references within the text.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the nineteenth century, pantomime was one of the most successful and commercially viable forms of popular entertainment and a crucial component of Victorian popular culture (Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 1).

This perspective proffered by Jim Davis in *Victorian Pantomime, a Collection of Critical Essays* (Davis, 2010), which is the essence of this thesis, was useful in determining the popular *Aladdin* pantomimes' relationships to exotic Chinese locations, and local trade and culture, which in turn informed the daily lives of local theatre audiences.

This new research adds to regional pantomime histories through analysis of one pantomime story, *Aladdin*, in Birmingham and the Black Country, from 1813 to 1914. *Aladdin* productions disseminated ideas to regional theatre audiences about China and Chineseness and annually acted as a barometer of any change in those ideas.

I have critically examined the oriental undercurrents and ideas surrounding Chineseness within the *Aladdin* pantomimes, adapted from *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments or One Thousand and One Nights*, through the theory of the 'near and far' offered by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (2006).

Their theory assists in analysing *Aladdin* pantomimes by establishing China's depiction through locally manufactured goods such as the willow pattern plate, the tea trade, and Japanning to reveal how political, social and cultural developments took place within the region.

The story of *Aladdin* in *The Arabian Nights or One Thousand and One Nights* dates back to a first London performance of a John O'Keefe opera in 1788, and later a pantomime production performed at Covent Garden, *Aladdin or The Wonderful*

Lamp: a Grand Romantic Spectacle, in Two Acts (Cruikshank et al., 1813). *Aladdin* also appeared at regional venues such as the Theatre Royal, Birmingham (*Aladdin*, 1813). Locally, the Cruikshank production of *Aladdin* remained popular until the mid-1840s (*Aladdin*, 1845). These Chinoiserie-styled¹ pantomimes remained as books of words² and toy theatres, and appealed to Victorian people in their thousands as described by Fiske (1874) in *The Hornet* (cited in Sullivan, 2011, pp. 218-219) and evidenced in John Littlehales diary (Littlehales, 1864-1866). From 1850, *Aladdin* pantomimes changed dramatically, but remained a popular regular theatrical production.

A wealth of scholarly work has investigated pantomime and its audiences within the narrow geographical and historical context of central London (Norwood, 2016, pp. 237-258; Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 3; Norwood, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 71). I have brought the same focus to an oriental perspective within the history of regional British pantomime.

Recent research includes Janice Norwood on the Britannia Theatre, Hoxton (2016) and Claire Robinson (2015) on theatre business networks in Manchester. Robinson's thesis and my study formed part of *The Regional Pantomime Project* (2009-2012), an AHRC funded initiative conducted by the Universities of Lancaster and Exeter.³ In addition, a complementary Scottish pantomime project run by Paul Maloney, Adrienne Scullion, Benjamin Shelley and Alan Wilkins (2008-2010) took

¹ Chinoiserie was at its height in the eighteenth century, especially the 1750s and 1760s, but remained popular into the early nineteenth century (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2016).

² A book of words was the published and ready-to-purchase script of the play often sold at pantomime performances and available at music shops of the period.

³ Originally, this AHRC funded project took place between the Universities of Lancaster and Birmingham.

place in Glasgow. This study covered Victorian Scottish pantomime history and focussed on amateur pantomime productions that the authors considered part of Scottish popular culture. However, amateur elements were not applicable to my study. Kenneth Richards and Peter Thomson (1971) undertook an earlier study of pantomime in Hull.

Jill Sullivan's work was geographically closer to my study as it investigated the politics in provincial Nottingham pantomimes compared to Birmingham (Sullivan, 2005). Jo Robinson (2004) in Nottingham, considered the advantages of mapping pantomime data to understand audiences' geographically. Claire Robinson notes that even ten years after Sullivan's research in Birmingham and Nottingham, there is little published material concerning the history of regional popular theatre in the Victorian period (Robinson, 2015, p. 2).

However, all of the above regional studies have concentrated on the political side of pantomime, and less on its social elements. The social context was important to my study, as it documented how people viewed the Far East and China.

As acknowledged by Robinson, the Victorians had their own arrangements for commercial and social relationships (Robinson, 2015, p. 27).⁴ Nationally over the Victorian period, theatres built up a commercial and social network of relationships with authors such as Robert Courtneidge, Charles Millward, H. J. Byron and Frank Green.

⁴ Robinson quotes from Davis, Jim and Emeljanow, Victor (2001) *Reflecting the Audience: London Theatre Going 1840-1880*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press. 'The Victorian audience lived its own culture and its own network of economic and social relationships; it did not exist only in auditoriums for the benefit of the scholar,' Davis and Emeljanow (2001) p. 227 (cited in Robinson, 2015, p. 27).

This highlights that scholarship was required in Victorian regional theatre to learn about the actors in pantomime performances, authors' texts, designers' scenery, costumes and local advertising. These aspects enabled this study to engage and analyse a number of oriental and consumer-led themes.

This concept of the everyday and the exotic, inspired by the work of Hall and Rose, connected the 'tea and jam' diets of the Victorian period in Britain with China (Hall and Rose, 2006, p. 183). Hall and Rose implied that these diets of the Victorian period connected British interests to the rest of the world, including China. They clarified how the majority of the population relied on imported foreign goods, such as tea from China, and sugar from the West Indies (Hall and Rose, 2006, p. 183). They explained Britain's foreign and taxation policies on imports, together with the impact of war on the Far-Eastern tea trade. They had a lasting influence on domestic markets and the diets of the British population (Hall and Rose, 2006, pp. 183-184). Their ideas also extended my own about how regional audiences recognised the wider oriental world.

Hall and Rose's ideas concerning the 'near and far' were theatrically perceptible in the pantomime of the Victorian era, through the inclusion of products manufactured in the industrial areas of Birmingham and the Black Country, some of which were designed for the domestic parlour. The parlour was a private sitting room, or a room to receive guests; it was the woman's domain within the home and existed across all classes.

Pantomime relied on these visual perspectives. In fact, *Aladdin* productions were a self-reflexive form of comment on local audiences' understanding, beliefs and visual referencing of Chineseness. An example of this, considered by Peter Yeandle,

was with respect to the theatrical and visual responses by audiences to the Indian Mutiny (1857), in the pantomime *Jack and the Beanstalk* (Yeandle, in Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 125).

In the second-half of the nineteenth century, through the abundance of printed materials, audiences experienced theatrical and visual images of empire and foreign people. From a colonial viewpoint, this revealed how well-informed audiences were about China (Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 85). Marianne Schultz pointed out that audiences at the time, identified with the 'other' through their own contact and engineered contact with foreign people under British control (Schultz, in Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 105). This included the Far Eastern countries China and Japan.

An audience experienced an exotic theatricalised China from the scenery and costume, and from aspects of the spoken text or the printed book of words.

I examine this visual referencing in early productions, to comprehend how this translated from toy theatres into the theatre and the home.

I choose the word 'exotic' rather than oriental, as it avoids the complex discourse of Orientalism with which the word oriental is associated. *The Collins Graphic English Dictionary* (1903) defined 'exotic' as 'foreign or different' (Collins, 1903, p. 302). The online modern *Oxford English Dictionary* makes it clear that the exotic is: *Of or pertaining to, or characteristic of a foreigner, or what is foreign* (OED, 2013). This choice of the word 'exotic' is appropriate to this study, a word used by Hall and Rose (Hall and Rose, 2006, pp. 187-190), and appeared when the world consisted of European empires from the Late Medieval period onwards. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, contact had occurred with foreign people before this time, but the occasions recorded when the word 'exotic' emerged, as part of the British language

was from the 1600s onwards (OED, 2013). The word 'exotic' emerged in plays, in gardening and botanical publications and within the Italian opera. The *Oxford English Dictionary* confirmed other sources, singling out the importation of Chinese plants, which introduced the concept of 'exotic' to English landscapes (OED, 2013).

A recent publication by Tiziana Morosetti, *Staging the Other in Nineteenth-Century British Drama* included four chapters analysing the origins of exotic pantomime, alongside other theatrical performances, and considered what exotic meant (Schultz, pp. 103-125; Yeandle, pp. 125-153; Wein, pp. 17-41 and Malton p. 153, in Morosetti (ed.) 2015). Their conclusions were that 'exotic' had many meanings and wider cultural significance within postcolonial contexts. They judged that the word still awaited full academic canonisation within studies of the British Empire. My study adds to this debate about the word 'exotic' but at a regional level. At the conference, *The Exotic Body in Nineteenth-Century British Drama* (2014), Morosetti concluded that the exotic, in the theatre, exploited non-British people. The authors included by Morosetti in her book, concluded that levels of exoticism were parallel to degrees of realism - for example, the portrayal of the Zulus and the Maoris language in British cartoons (Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 1). Toni Wein, Marianne Schultz and Peter Yeandle claimed there was an awareness of colonial and imperial methods of domination, wherever the depiction of exotic people enforced colonial ideologies and supported British foreign policy (Morosetti (2015), pp. 2-3; Wein (2015), p. 21; Schultz (2015), p. 121 and Yeandle (2015), pp. 129-130, in Morosetti (ed.) 2015).

The scholarly approaches to the construct and representation of the Orient brought together my ideas about the everyday and familiar. For example, the work of

Said assisted in deconstructing the *Aladdin* texts to depict this British imperial expansion.

I recognise that the application of Said's ideas, in this context may be problematic, as China and Japan although part of the oriental discourse, were not British colonies. Said's (1978) ideas about the Oriental discourse assisted in understanding the domination of the British, and in *Aladdin*, the transfer from the Arabic styled Persian and Indian aspects of *Aladdin*, to those of the Far East.

The influx of consumer-linked items from foreign places blurred the composition of what was Oriental and what was exotic. For example, to meet the expectations of an audience, having advertised his newest attraction as a white elephant, the entrepreneur and entertainer George Sanger whitewashed an ordinary elephant. The alternative, a real white elephant, was slightly grey-looking in appearance, and not as appealing to the visitor's eye (Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 6). In the same way, authors blurred real and imagined oriental strands to meet customers' expectations of what to them was 'exotic'. Oriental pantomimes, as a form of entertainment, used the word 'exotic' to define the foreign or unusual in *Aladdin*; it not only described the people and landscapes, but oriental culture.

These exotic pantomimes cross-referenced local people and local business, as well as China. They compared the imagined exotic on stage to the real-life imagined Orient at home, which gave deeper meaning to the enduring connection of Britain and the Far East. For example, in Chapter One the willow pattern plate references in the pantomime are to a locally manufactured ceramic, an object purchased for the home. These references to the design, parodying public taste for fashionable exotic goods and aimed at regional audiences, targeted London audiences too. Therefore,

it is important to understand how pantomime and the *Aladdin* story emerged in London as a strong theatrical and popular entertainment.

Pantomime dates back to the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth century most productions began at Christmas, and finished during Easter (e.g. H. J. Byron (1861) *Aladdin*, 1 April 1861, p. 3).⁵ An important component of pantomime was the harlequinade, the comic business at the end of the pantomime. Famous pantomime actors around 1720 were John Weaver (1673–1760) (Fiske, 1973, p. 72)⁶ and John Rich described by Broadbent (1901), in his Introduction (cited in Taylor, 2011, Vol: 1, p. 3). During the late eighteenth century, theatre managers included a number of spectacles and created a mixed bill of entertainment, ensuring that the harlequinade remained a critical part of pantomime life in London during the nineteenth century (Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 2).

The first part of the story was a legend, myth or nursery tale that came before the harlequinade. At the end of the pantomime, the story's characters transformed into the harlequinade's characters. Davis explained that the harlequinade was a transformation, which featured the commedia dell'arte characters of Clown, Pantaloon, Harlequin and Columbine (Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 1).⁷ The harlequinade

⁵ Pantomime was sometimes performed at Easter and in the summer holidays, e.g. Mee, Arthur (Producer) (1845) *Aladdin*, Theatre Royal, Wolverhampton: 14 August, and was connected to Carnevale and Lent (Broadbent, 1901, pp. 15-17, 35-41, 195-204; Wilson, 1934, pp. 26-119). Caroline Radcliffe indicated its importance in her footnotes describing Michael Bakhtin's, *Rabelais and His World*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press (1968) (cited in Radcliffe (2010), in Davis, 2010, p. 133).

⁶ Gerald Frow recounted the theatre of Italian Night Scenes and commedia dell'arte in general terms (Frow, 1985, pp. 9, 24-40) and further outlined by Derek Salberg (1981), and more recently in Millie Taylor (Taylor, 2007, pp. 12, 176).

⁷ The theatre historian R. J. Broadbent wrote about Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres, and the extravaganzas of J. R. Planche and Madame Vestris. He outlined that when pantomime looked doomed, it rose in popularity again. He described how the pantomime combined a story followed by a

included in Millward's regional *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp* (1866) featured the lovers Aladdin and the Princess, who changed into the lovers of the willow pattern plate story. This act of transformation in *Aladdin* is important in Chapter One, to assist in comprehending the meaning of the willow pattern plate references before the harlequinade. These references assist in understanding the impact of Chineseness and their influence on local politics and trade. Although the harlequinade gradually became less popular, authors F.C. Burnand and H. J. Byron continued to include them in their popular touring regional *Aladdin* productions.

In the second-half of the nineteenth century, provincial theatre management ceased to engage regular stock companies. Sullivan noted that during the 1870s and 1880s, local theatres hosted touring versions of London productions rather than engage their own troupe of regular stock company actors (Nottingham (1877); Birmingham (1880), in Sullivan, 2005, p. 2). I argue that there were touring London productions that had entered the regional theatre circuit (Cruickshank et al., 1813) in ways that were dynamic, much earlier than proposed by Sullivan. She, however, acknowledged that regional theatres had their own subtle identities (Sullivan, 2005, p. 2) and that pantomime authors were often local talent.

Millward's inspired willow pattern plate production of 1866 was the first of his pantomimes to provide a regional identity in association with local products. Millward continued to write for the Theatre Royal, Birmingham for over seventeen years (1865-1882, in Appendix A; Sullivan, 2005, p. 6). The regional productions

transformation scene and then a harlequinade. The harlequinade became longer, as in the style of F. W. Green at Her Majesty's, London in the 1880s (Broadbent, 1901, CH XIX).

complemented and questioned some of the models discussed by London's pantomime authors.

In these models the historical value remained, but enhanced through the analysis of regional pantomime in relation to local products and consumer society in Birmingham and the Black Country. With the introduction of music hall, towards the end of the nineteenth century, *Aladdin* pantomimes became more extravagant. There was an abundance of London productions, for example those indebted to the lavish style of Augustus Harris (Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 1-2).

The popularity of *Aladdin* as a pantomime was evident from the variety of nineteenth-century scripts that exist in a number of public, private and university collections (Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 127). There are 111 *Aladdin* pantomimes in the Lord Chamberlain's Collection (LCP) at the British Library, of which 42 relate to Birmingham and the Black Country. *Aladdin*-related Birmingham and Black Country books of words and visual references from the Library of Birmingham's archives and collections number 97, of which 20 have *Aladdin* references, which date from the nineteenth century. The Victoria and Albert Museum's Theatre and Performance Archives, at Blythe House, have a number of *Aladdin* scripts, but only two were relevant to this thesis. The Cadbury Collection in the University of Birmingham Main Library has fifteen *Aladdin*-related references, but only 4 were within the study dates. Smaller theatre collections in London at the Garrick Club, and local archives in Dudley, Smethwick, Wednesbury, Stoke-on-Trent, and at the University of Birmingham each generated a small amount of *Aladdin*-related ephemera. Additionally, national and local archives provided newspaper articles relating to *Aladdin*.

It was at the University of Birmingham Main Library I encountered a book of theatrical production lists compiled by Allardyce Nicoll (1959; 1955). It listed pantomimes and performances of interrelated stories, and included plays, dramas, burlettas and operas. Further additions to Nicoll's list using modern-day research methods, such as the Pettingell Collection and the study conducted by Caroline Radcliffe and Kate Mattacks (2009) added more detail. As subsequent researchers unearthed new collections it became obvious that some entries were incorrect. Notwithstanding these omissions, Nicoll provided a clear picture of what were the popular pantomimes of the Victorian era. *Aladdin* and *The Arabian Nights'* *Entertainments* featured more frequently in the second-half of the nineteenth century.

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

I acknowledge that pantomime has been the subject of many London case studies (Richards, in Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 21-40) and oriental pantomimes debated within the context of Chinoiserie (Witchard, 2015). However, the visual references in local oriental *Aladdin* pantomimes, through the whole of the nineteenth century, provided an original piece of research to explore Chineseness outside London, and its association with locally manufactured products.

My research has taken a multifaceted approach. Firstly, I applied an 'intertheatrical' approach to my critical methodology in terms of how pantomime texts were read against the complex relationships between theatres, players and audiences, through playbills and history suggested by Jacky Bratton (2003) p. 3 (cited in Radcliffe and Mattacks, 2009, p. 1). I have utilised primary sources, such as pantomime books of words, scripts, galley proofs and secondary data that explored historiographical theories appropriate to this study. These secondary sources expanded my ideas regarding the association and juxtaposition of exotic locations in comparison to the everyday products that pantomimes employed, within the sphere of local audiences, authors, theatres and the local manufacturers of these oriental goods. My analysis depended on what appeared in the records. I recorded the performance locations I found as a table of theatres, travelling shows and circuses (see Appendix B, B.1 and B.2).

I compared my study to academic authors who had studied London and regional pantomime histories, to test the reliability of my findings and formulate my case studies. My methods were appropriate within a humanities field, where qualitative data can dominate.

I combined factual statistics, both primary and historical, to investigate and evaluate these regional *Aladdin* pantomimes, within the limits of my dataset. For example, I researched how many regional pantomime scripts were still in existence. This in part quantified and explained the importance of *Aladdin* productions; especially those performed in Birmingham and the Black Country, and provided a suitable core of texts that referenced my chosen products of the willow pattern plate, tea and Japanning.

I enhanced my quantitative data with scholarly works on pantomime. These academic texts were more numerous than a decade earlier, but few of them covered the regional context of pantomime. Secondary research, including the research of local historians, has provided a background to Birmingham and Black Country theatre history. These documents recounted managers, authors, local industry and decorative goods, and created a balanced view of the social and cultural aspects identified.

Jacky Bratton considered how historians approached theatre and performance research. The reading of theatre histories with a sense of twenty-first century enquiry was recommended by Bratton (2003) (cited in Robinson, 2015, p. 28); Bratton 2003, p. 37). This however, did not always allow for my key arguments, which surrounded the oriental discourse, the interpretation of the 'other' and debates concerning imagined fantastical representations of Chineseness.

Witchard suggested taking a wider historical perspective, as in her work on *Thomas Burke's Dark Chinoiserie, Limehouse Nights and the Queer Spell of Chinatown*. She established, along with Mayer, that *Aladdin* was the founding Chinoiserie text (Witchard, 2009, pp. 31-40; Mayer, 1969, p. 2). As a starting point,

local historians also added to this wider narrative of pantomime in Birmingham and Black Country, where regional academic studies were limited.

The new historicist approach, adopted by Jill Sullivan, considered the influence of contemporary culture on readers. She debated, at length, whether critical analysis was tempered by the critic's interpretation of the historical views considered in any pantomime or in a piece of drama (Sullivan, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 156). This also questioned the contemporary culture of the Victorians.

Graham Ley divided theatrical plays into primary and secondary modes. He argued that the conversion of a story from literature, for example, to the pantomime or the stage was a primary adaptation. A secondary adaptation used existing material for the theatre in new ways (Ley, 2009, pp. 201-209; Nickles, Pascal and Lincher (eds.) 2008, p. 253). The authors of mid-century renditions of *Aladdin*, at a local level, used both of these modes. The *Aladdin* story and the theatre space remained constant. In *Aladdin*, the text, the set and the costume were secondary types of adaptation, as authors and managers engaged with the significance of the original *Aladdin* text, adapting it around later Victorian culture.

Therefore, I have included detailed histories, design movements, theatre and oriental theories in order to examine pantomime performances and form a regional perspective. The texts proved to be critical evidence in understanding how audiences and authors appreciated the locality in *Aladdin* performances. I identified local decorative products, which appeared in the narrative, as a backdrop to the *Aladdin* story, either as a vehicle for satire, or as an inspiration for costume choices and scenic devices.

My primary data was limited to the number of *Aladdin* production texts available, within theatrical and non-theatrical archives, and the reporting and reviews in newspapers, articles and magazines of the Victorian period. Interpreting Chineseness relied heavily, not only on original *Aladdin* texts, but also on the reporting of these productions' first and later performances to detect audience reactions and their visual responses to set and costume. A limitation on this study was the insufficient quantity of original accounts and newspaper reviews.

Theatre historians until recently were biased towards London, and combined with widely-dispersed local archive material at a national and local level, this contributed to regional pantomime not being fully documented. Michael Booth indicated that this made analysing pantomime scripts difficult, and meant that newspapers, magazines, toy theatre sets, prompt books, biographies and letters were important (Booth, 1981, p. 86), as was, for Sullivan, her use of promotional materials, such as bill posters and advertising (Sullivan, 2005, p. 3).

Sullivan and Booth established that those scripts that survived were only part of what happened in a stage performance. Sullivan stated, 'lines were cut or changed, topical references were updated, and there was a vast amount of ad-libbing and unrecorded stage business' (Booth, 1981, p. 18; Sullivan, 2005, p. 3). Witchard claimed that pantomime was not only a chronicle of history, but also a record of the requirements of its audience (Witchard, 2009, p. 24).

These views were critical in creating a picture of the type of audience that visited the theatre during the pantomime season (Sullivan, 2011, p. 14; Davis and Emeljanow, 2001, p. 68). As Sullivan pointed out, the topical referencing and subject

matter, even if altered on the night, represented a wide range of topics (Sullivan, 2005, p. 5).

Indeed the appropriation of text as a tool assisted the audience in visualising or imagining China. Costume and scenery contributed visually, but were neither subordinate to, nor dominating the text. These visual components of the pantomime acted as supportive ingredients to the whole fusion of satirical, cultural and social terms for its audience.

Mick Wallis and Simon Shepherd suggested in *Studying Plays* that verbal (dialogue) and non-verbal techniques created the fictional space of theatre, e.g. scenery and properties, and the movement and development of characters (Wallis and Shepherd, 2010, pp. 141-167). Pantomime thrived on this fictional space; the audience were there, the action was real, and it was an experience shared between actors and audience. It can be difficult historiographically to know the effect of a live pantomime performance on an audience.

My chosen products became mechanisms for creating links throughout the pantomime, particularly in mid-nineteenth century pantomimes. This was a useful way of creating continuity between the events of the past and those of the present, for example, how Millward used the willow pattern plate to align *Aladdin* within contemporary trade connections.

A quality foremost in these adaptations of *Aladdin* was the author's ability to connect with the history of the text. My subsequent chapters will explore how Chineseness developed, and to what affect the exotic and the everyday defined components of the pantomime, in both form and content, and how authors identified with their audience and local products.

As an integral basis for my ideas and the historical social context of pantomimes, theatres and people, it was vital to construct a brief history, and to explore the significance of *Aladdin* as a pantomime story. Firstly, an overview of the *Aladdin* story itself was essential to understand references to the willow pattern plate and other products within the story's narrative. Secondly, an assessment of local theatres and entertainment assisted in accounting for my choice of methodologies and primary data. Lastly, it was important to review the existing literature that supported my choice of theories that linked to my comprehension of the pantomime's references to the willow pattern plate, tea, Japanning, and Japanese culture.

A BACKGROUND TO ALADDIN

THE STORY OF ALADDIN

Aladdin, based on *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* or *One Thousand and One Nights*, was part of a collection of Near East stories that referred to the Far East. The Royal Shakespeare Company's production programme of *The Arabian Nights* or *One Thousand and One Nights* (RSC, 2010, Introduction), Robert Irwin and *Pickering's Encyclopaedia* assisted in outlining the historical circumstances of *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* or *One Thousand and One Nights* (Irwin, 2006, p. 164; Pickering, 1993, p. 11).

The stories emerged from Persia and Egypt and over the centuries travelled to France and then England, where they became popular in the early eighteenth century. Interestingly, the *Arabian Nights' Tales* were predominately children's stories in Arabic lands, and were seen as 'tall stories', not serious enough to be written down (Warner, 2002, pp. 371-372).

Antoine Galland translated the *Aladdin* story from Arabic into French, as part of *The Thousand and One Nights*, in twelve volumes between 1704 and 1717. Robert L. Mack and Michael Lundall wrote that one of the first translations from French to English was anonymous, dated 1706, and called *The Thousand and One Days: Persian Tales* (Lundall, 2009; Mack, 1995, p. 1684).⁸ Broadbent noted that Galland's French version was not part of the original *Arabian Tales*, but included other *Grimm's Fairy Tales* and other *Arabian Nights'* story elements (Broadbent, 1901, pp. 197-198). Broadbent maintained that *Aladdin* came from Europe and Asia, was of Buddhist 'extraction', and may not have originated from the *Arabian Tales* as [it] is

⁸ This also included the pantomimes Cinderella and Hansel and Gretel.

often credited to Italian and Grecian influences' (Broadbent, 1901, pp. 197-198).

Taylor provided verification that *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* appeared on the theatre stage in 1752-1753, a translation from Antoine Galland's work (1704-1717) (cited in Taylor, 1997, Vol. 2, p. 152).

The literary legacy of *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* emanating from these tales in the original manuscripts and rewrites was paramount to this study, as they disclosed changes in style and content in the mid-to-late nineteenth century from a blood curdling to an acceptable form of the story, and a softer approach that the pantomime paralleled.⁹

The *Aladdin* story consisted of three components. The first part of *Aladdin* revealed Abanazar (the Magician) as a merchant, who tried to secure the magic lamp from Aladdin, but failed. The second part was where Aladdin discovered the secret of the lamp, and used the lamp to ensure he obtained the hand in marriage of the Emperor's daughter. The final part of the story was about Aladdin hunting down Abanazar to reclaim the Princess from the magician and to live with her 'happily ever after'.

The book *One Thousand and One Nights* by Edward Lane (1839) only recounted the importance of the lamp in the last few pages. *Aladdin of the Wonderful Lamp and*

⁹ Broadbent qualified this further and said "It does not occur, however, in any known Arabian text of '*The Thousand and One Nights*' (*Elf Laila wa Laila*), although the chief incidents are found in many Asiatic fictions". He continued, "It is a popular Italian version, which presents a close analogy (properly 'Alá-u-d-Din,' signifying 'Exaltation of the Faith') is given by Miss M. H. Busk, in her *Folklore of Rome*, under the title of 'How Cajusse was married'. Another possibility is the tale of Marúf, the last in the Búlák and Calcutta printed Arabic texts of the *Book of Marúf* in '*The Thousand and One Nights*'" (Broadbent, 1901, pp. 197-198).

Sindbad the Sailor, published by Addey and Company (1853), was similar chronologically to Lane's work and remained steadfast to the story. Richard Burton, in his *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1885) and Laurence Housman, in his *Stories from the Arabian Nights* (1905) tamed the tale as a literary piece. Housman included Edmund Dulac's illustrations to suit readers with a milder taste in literature, distancing the tales from the head-hacking renditions encountered in earlier versions. Published concurrent with a number of mid-nineteenth century regional *Aladdin* pantomimes, the book by Addey and Company provided a typical version of the *Aladdin* story.

The book tells of a lazy, young Aladdin who lived with his poor widowed mother. A magician (Abanazar), a merchant who pretended to be Aladdin's uncle, befriended Aladdin and promised the young man to make his family rich. To do so Abanazar required Aladdin's assistance to enter a cave, to retrieve a magic lamp that contained a genie.

This part of the story revealed how merchants, like Abanazar, featured strongly in the *Aladdin* story. Therefore, it is no surprise that Abanazar provides Aladdin with fine clothes from the market before visiting the cave.

Abanazar wanted the genie of the lamp to grant him wishes to make him rich and powerful. The magician gave Aladdin a ring to protect him on his journey through the cave. Aladdin retrieved the lamp, but refused to surrender it, and Abanazar angrily shut the cave entrance. Aladdin, now trapped, needs to find a way out of the cave. He espied some jewels and decided to collect them, and placed the gems in his pockets. He then discovered the power of the ring genie. The genie transported him

back home to his mother. His mother started to rub clean the lamp, and a different genie emerged and provided them with a grand feast.

The *Aladdin* story continued with the Sultan's daughter, passing Aladdin on her way to the baths. Aladdin immediately fell in love with her. Aladdin then sent his mother to the palace, with a vast treasure for the Sultan, and his mother asked the Sultan if Aladdin could marry his daughter, but the Vizier organised the marriage of his own son to the Princess.

In addition, within trade and court circles, the evil Vizier and his son conspired to do business as merchants and Aladdin, as a street urchin negotiated in the market place for food and sustenance. Later in the story, Aladdin visited the Jew in the market to trade his gold plates. Aladdin's ability to gain the trust of those high in court circles mirrors the rise of merchants and middle-class business people in real life. It also parallels my choice of products, and their association with middle and lower class consumers, in local society. These ideas in *Aladdin* relate to my willow pattern and tea chapters, where I argue that trade in tea products and associated goods were part of society's adoption of tea habits across the social divide.

The story continued with Aladdin being angry that he cannot marry the Princess. He then summoned the genie of the lamp to bring the bride and bridegroom to him. Aladdin talked to the Princess in her sleep. The next night Aladdin visited the couple again, and the Vizier's son, the bridegroom, was afraid. On becoming acquainted with these facts, the Sultan released the Vizier's son from the marriage bond. Aladdin's mother, the widow returned to court for the Princess. The Vizier advised the Sultan to request a high price for his daughter's hand.

The view that a poor Victorian, with persistence and hard work, had the opportunity to rise much higher in society is important to my thesis in connection to social mobility. The idea of acquiring wealth inspired audiences and was in accordance with the popular novels *Jane Eyre* (1847) by Charlotte Bronte, and *Oliver Twist* (1837) and *Great Expectations* (1860) by Charles Dickens. Pantomime was an immediate source of ideas for audiences about how the acquisition of wealth interconnected with their everyday lives.

Later on, Abanazar discovered that Aladdin has married a princess, built a palace, and therefore he surmised that Aladdin must have escaped from the cave. Abanazar journeyed to the palace as a lamp merchant. He persuaded the Princess to take the old magic lamp outside, and exchanged it for one of his new lamps. Then, Abanazar took the Princess to Africa, aided by the magic powers of the genie of the lamp. The angry Sultan ordered Aladdin to find his daughter. The ring genie transported Aladdin to the magician's palace in Africa. Once there, Aladdin poisoned Abanazar, and the magician dies. Aladdin retrieved the lamp and requested that they all return to China.

This part of the story reflects aspects of my thesis about the right to rule justly, as understood by members of the British Empire, the relationship between aristocracy, merchants and local people, and the popularity of stories that raised a poor hero to greater social heights.

Now, having explained the story of *Aladdin* in the context of my research, I contemplate its historical entry into the theatrical London repertoire, this is critical to my research, as a number of early and later *Aladdin* productions were associated with London.

ALADDIN'S THEATRICAL LEGACY

Although literary sources resulted from translations from the early eighteenth century, O'Keefe created the first theatrical production, an *Aladdin* opera, in 1788 for Covent Garden, London (Witchard, 2009, pp. 36-37). At this time, a number of productions in London had featured representations of China (Appendix C). Warner was convinced that O'Keefe's opera would have had Galland's caves, wizards, genii, rings and lamps in a Moorish style (Warner, 2002, pp. 141-146; Pickering, 1993, pp. 5-6). Edward Lane described how such oriental tales instilled a universal awareness of China in Britain:

Deceived by the vague nature of Galland's version, travellers in Persia, Turkey and India, have often fancied that the Arabian Tales describe the particular manners of the natives of these countries, but no one that had read them, can be of this opinion; it is in Arabian countries, and especially in Egypt, that we see the people, the dresses, and the buildings, even when the scene is laid in Persia, in India, or in China. Lane (1839) (cited in Warner, 2011, p. 183).

In 1813, the next *Aladdin* production was a pantomime and the mute slave Kasrac was the renowned clown Joseph Grimaldi. These London productions toured the regions in the early nineteenth century (Cruikshank et al., 1836, Introduction). Grimaldi toured with Farley's production of *Mother Goose* and later performed in *Aladdin*. In the memoirs of Grimaldi by Dickens (1838) (cited in McConnell Stott, 2009, pp. 244-247) there is evidence that the clown stayed and acted in Birmingham and Staffordshire in 1810 and 1817.

The *Mother Goose* and *Aladdin* productions were an excellent example of what audiences encountered for the first time in Birmingham and the Black Country, and brought local theatre and local people in contact with exotic pantomime (*Aladdin*

1813, Theatre Royal, Birmingham: 16 August, p. 3). Cruickshank's production displayed more Arabic and Middle Eastern styles (Cruickshank et al., 1813); and these styles appeared in the work of toy theatre manufacturers of the period (Powell et al., 2009, p. 11).¹⁰

Henry Bishop, with Charles Farley selected the story as a *Fairy Opera*, and they produced *Aladdin* at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in 1826 (*Monthly Theatrical Review*, 1826, June, Vol. 1, pp. 634-635). The scores of Henry Bishop exist in the Cadbury Special Collections at the University of Birmingham (Bishop, 1826, Introduction). The Arabic influences appear within the score, as Bishop chose Middle-Eastern names for his characters (Bishop, 1826, Introduction). As a pantomime, *Aladdin* became an increasingly profitable production to bring to the stage. It was a popular pantomime, and second only to *Cinderella*.¹¹

I utilised as a starting point the list of pantomimes compiled by Allardyce Nicoll (1959:1955). The list of *Aladdin* and *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* productions in London pre-1850 accounted for nearly 2 per cent of productions; post-1850 this was raised to an incredible 26 per cent.¹²

Recent research into the 1850s attested to *Robinson Crusoe*, *Ali Baba*, *Sinbad* and *Aladdin* forming at that time less than 10 per cent of London pantomime

¹⁰ Early plates of *Aladdin* Toy Theatre productions were often lost. Pollock and Webb bought early versions of for example Parks' plates, reusing them to maximise profit and lower set-up costs. Toy Theatre details from <http://www.toytheatre.net/ALAD/ALAD-PLATES.htm> [online] [Accessed 16 June 2014]. The inclusion of key actors, like Joseph Grimaldi, the star of *Aladdin* (1813) as Kasrac clarified that some of the plates were older versions of *Aladdin* productions compared to those productions of Byron, Millward, Talfourd and Hale.

¹¹ After *Cinderella* the pantomime of *Aladdin* is the second most popular in the country. <http://www.its-behind-you.com/Factsheets/Aladdin%20Factsheet.pdf> [online] [Accessed 16 December 2015].

¹² Exact figures are 1.96 per cent and 25.77 per cent (Nicoll, 1959: 1955).

productions (Yeandle, in Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 134). I combined Nicoll's list and alternative sources, and created a composite list containing *Aladdin* and *The Arabian Nights'* productions at major theatres in Birmingham and the Black Country pre-1850. There were more *Aladdin* and *Arabian Nights'* productions, at these local theatres, than those performed in London, forming around 13.5 per cent of productions.

Aladdin and *The Arabian Nights* in Birmingham post-1850, at the time of Millward's *Aladdin* productions, rose to between 14.3 per cent and 47.6 per cent across the area's local theatres, of which *Aladdin* in this figure accounted for between 21 per cent and 71.4 per cent of exotic productions. At the Grand Theatre, Wolverhampton, between 1894 and 1914 *The Arabian Nights' Stories* amounted to 47.6 per cent of productions, of which *Aladdin* represented 23.8 per cent (see Appendix D).

The date of 1850 was important as it roughly coincided with a burgeoning interest in *The Arabian Nights'* literature, the exhibits at The Great Exhibition of 1851 and the increasing number of theatres constructed after the *Theatre Licensing Act* of 1843.

The pre-1850 data set of early *Aladdin* productions was dependent on what Nicoll had documented and what had survived. The records in the LCP provided evidence that there was a definite pre-1850 and post-1850 split. The later listings recorded an increased amount of theatre generally and perhaps percentages on average for all productions would have increased (a list of local productions appears in Appendix A).

I emphasise that the value placed on source material and how to express Chineseness successfully depended on the quality of the writing style, the theatre setting, the text, the costume and the actor. Exotic pantomimes were popular and a commercial success and therefore it was important not only to understand the history

of pantomime and the story of *Aladdin* as it entered the Birmingham and Black Country pantomime circuits, but also the area's theatre and industrial networks.

A BACKGROUND TO REGIONAL THEATRE AND ENTERTAINMENT IN BIRMINGHAM AND THE BLACK COUNTRY

I have selected the long nineteenth century for my study (1813-1914), as it encompassed alterations in the type of regional theatre on offer from legitimate Theatre Royal theatres in, for example, Birmingham and Wolverhampton, to the emergence of stronger illegitimate theatres such as the Prince of Wales, Birmingham and The Prince of Wales, Wolverhampton.

All of the theatres in Birmingham and the Black Country were too numerous to include in this thesis, but I include in the Appendices a list of the theatres in each town or city (Appendix B). The theatres in Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Walsall were typical of other northern industrial towns and cities that had expanding populations. The supply of raw materials, such as coal and iron, connected Birmingham and the Black Country, as part of the industrial processes in the area. They were part of the manufacturing of ceramics, and the transport infrastructure.

In this study, the theatres I have identified in Birmingham are the Theatre Royal (1774), the Prince of Wales (1856) and the Grand Theatre (1846). In Wolverhampton, the theatres selected are The Theatre Royal (1845), The Prince of Wales (1863) and the Grand Theatre (1894). I have not included theatres in Walsall in the main body of the thesis, as the productions listed were few.

Birmingham was one of the larger industrial cities, with a population in the late eighteenth century of 40,000 people, which by the 1870s had reached 344,000. The Theatre Royal, Birmingham produced pantomimes to cater for this growing population (Sullivan, 2005, p. 2). David Bradby, Louis James and Bernard Sharratt detailed the manufacturing and the trades of the town, and the area's population

growth. Their book outlined the pricing wars through the theatre season, and the theatres and prices of tickets available to Birmingham audiences (Bradby et al., 1980, p. 69). Their work, alongside the theatre collection of Mercer Simpson, Manager at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham illuminated the composition of audiences. Dyke Wilkinson's diary (1880s) outlined police reports and John Littlehales' diary the box-office takings (Littlehales, 1864-1866). John was door attendant at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham, and his diary contained details about the box-office takings during the years 1864 to 1866.

Wolverhampton lies to the north-west of Birmingham, and was then part of South Staffordshire, on the borders of Shropshire. In 1800, the population of Wolverhampton was around 15,000. The town contained 134 public houses, and 1,440 houses within a hundred yards of the market place (Taylor, 1750). At Wolverhampton Art Gallery, there is a print by John Turner, which he exhibited in 1796, entitled *High Green*. It pictured an outdoor theatrical performance by Harlequin and his entourage, outside The Swan, in the centre of Wolverhampton.¹³ At this time, The Swan had a backyard that acted as the only theatre in the town. Harlequin was wearing a colourful diamond patch costume, next to a tent of waxworks, a collection of animals and he has engaged an audience in theatrical business. Newspaper advertising and reviews of the time, attest to a strong presence of travelling shows in Wolverhampton (see Appendix B).

In 1985 an article in *Nineteenth Century Theatre Research*, by David Mayer (1985) (cited in Sullivan, 2005, p. 14) drew attention to contemporary work of the

¹³ The artist John M. W. Turner toured during the summer months and holidays c. 1793-1795, and captured scenes from towns, cities and countryside locations.

1980s and 1990s that had moved beyond the theatre auditorium, to regional fairs and circuses. Patrick Beaver outlined the markets and fairs that came to Wolverhampton, and he discovered descriptions of Chinese elements.¹⁴ He included a description of 'Bartholomew Fair', which featured 'Chinese Jugglers'. Such fairs amazed their audiences with exotic tales, real animals, bearded ladies and exotic colonial people (Beaver, 1979, p. 59). Knowledge of the Chinese was reinforced by these entertainment options, and became part of an audience's ongoing memories.

By 1852, the population of the 1840s had doubled to 50,000 people. In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, Wolverhampton's growing population were entertained at The Prince of Wales, The Star and The Empire Palace theatres. The exotic entertainment performed in music hall and theatre gradually replaced the fairs and circuses, as part of the theatrical entertainment available in Birmingham and Wolverhampton. The popularity of new entertainments and a growing population in the region encouraged the building of a number of new theatres, with a larger capacity to seat 2000 or more, and with a variety of prices and seating.¹⁵ This was a trend noted by Robinson in her Manchester thesis, where she discussed the theories of Simon Gunn (2008) p. 101 (cited by Robinson, 2015, p. 10) about the development of towns and cities, and 'entertainment on a grand scale'. Prior to 1850, there was a clear distinction between Birmingham having four theatres, compared to seven in Wolverhampton and four in Walsall (Appendix B.1).

¹⁴ The largest fair in central England frequented by the public was Stourbridge, about 10 miles south of Wolverhampton (Beaver, 1979, p. 59).

¹⁵ Terry Kirtland estimated that by 1914 there were 1200 working theatres in the British Isles (Kirtland, 2008, p. 124).

From 1850 to 1870, the towns witnessed the move from independently-owned theatres, stock companies and actor managers, to partnerships and company-owned theatre groups. These theatre entrepreneurs built another eleven establishments across these three locations.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the three areas witnessed the construction of 22 more theatres. In addition, there were still the travelling shows or circuses listed to entertain the people of the town. These presented audiences with greater opportunities to see oriental pantomimes and experience theatrical performances. The choice of theatres was important to my study, as they featured localities and events that were specific to Birmingham and the Black Country, as well as elements that mirrored national trends in pantomime, such as the music hall style.

The overlapping of concepts derived from these national trends, local places and key decorative artistic movements, assisted in defining manifestations of Chineseness. I have selected theories that are applicable to an oriental theme or discourse, theories from theatre and museum studies, and historiographical content that encompasses Chinoiserie and the Aesthetic Movement of the nineteenth century.

The national media chosen was *The Era* and *The Stage* and restricted to those publications that had predominantly local theatre critics or columns, across most of the century. Local newspapers included in this thesis are the *Wolverhampton Chronicle*, *The Evening Express and Star*, *Wolverhampton*, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, *Staffordshire Advertiser and Wolverhampton Chronicle*, *Birmingham Daily Post*, *Birmingham Journal* and *the Birmingham Despatch*.

The principal case studies for the three chapters are Millward's production of *Aladdin* (1866) at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham that mentions the willow pattern plate; Byron's tea-related production of *Aladdin or the Wonderful Scamp! An original Burlesque Extravaganza in One Act* (1861) at the Prince of Wales, Birmingham; Robert Courtneidge and A. M. Thompson's *Aladdin Or, The Wonderful Lamp* (1901); their *Aladdin or the Wonderful Lamp* (1910) from the Grand Theatre, Birmingham and their *Grand Pantomime Aladdin* (1911) from the Prince of Wales, Birmingham.

LITERATURE REVIEW

My study has located valuable surviving scripts, books of words and programmes of *Aladdin* productions from Birmingham and the Black Country. I have also sourced secondary research including memoirs and biographies, newspapers and periodicals of the period, the account books of the Grand Theatre and The Empire Theatre in Wolverhampton and the financial transactions at the door of The Theatre Royal, Birmingham.

These secondary sources, Robinson and Sullivan argued have not received the level of attention, alongside box-office receipts and business methods (Robinson, 2015, p. 129; Sullivan, 2011, pp. 12-14). There were a number of critical works by key authors who described pantomime, amongst them Kate Newey, Jeffrey Richards, Caroline Radcliffe, Michael Booth, David Mayer and R. J. Broadbent (Newey and Richards (2016), in Yeandle et al., (eds.) 2016; Radcliffe, 2010, 2006; Booth, 1980, pp. 149-150; Mayer, 1969, pp. 19, 109, 76-89; Broadbent, 1901, p. 173). In my research Sullivan's work supplied a regional context and Anne Veronica Witchard's studies an oriental perspective (Sullivan, 2011, pp. 4, 15, 26-27; Witchard, 2009, pp. 5, 23-24, 39). Davis provided valuable analysis of texts (Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 62-73, 137-159, 188-190, 211). These authors described pantomime and burlesque in detail, alongside popular melodrama. Melodrama was a similarly lucrative and influential form of popular theatre, noted for its element of high drama.¹⁶

¹⁶ Other key authors on pantomime included Tracy Davis (2003), in Davis, Tracy and Postlewait, Thomas (2003) (eds.) *Theatricality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Bratton, Jacky (2010) 'Pantomime and the Experienced Young Fellow', in Davis, Jim (ed.) (2010) *Victorian Pantomime, A Collection of Critical Essays*. Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave MacMillan.

Davis portrayed Byron's life, although he did not cover how Byron's work was adapted regionally (Davis (ed.) 2010; pp. 175-186). Davis' work was useful in relation to my Japanning chapter, as it proposed new perspectives on gender and cross-dressing (Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 5-6, 99, 118-119).

Robinson chose the 'history from below' approach in Manchester from her interpretation of E. P. Thompson in his 1960s and 1970s book *The Making of the English Working Class*, and authors in the 1980s, who deliberated over linguistic poststructuralist theories (Robinson, 2015, p. 8).

The juxtaposition of unreal and real, exotic and everyday took the core of structuralist theories combined with the disunity of poststructuralist, and provided a more balanced path to an analysis of Chineseness. The concept of class, within the context of Birmingham and Black Country pantomime, was more concerned with the extent of empire, race and social mobility, and paralleled the poststructuralist theories of the 1990s. My arguments surrounding empire, race and social mobility are about the real lives outside the theatre, which in terms of structuralism revealed the pantomime as pandering to the 'real' in life. My ideas of visual referencing and materialistic approaches are more akin to a poststructuralist approach. In poststructuralist theory, the unconscious derives authority. Therefore, within *Aladdin*, an audience interpreted Chineseness not only from the author's text, but also from the sets and the costume.

In the museum sector, Suzanne MacLeod (2005) and Eileen Hooper-Greenhill (1994) discussed the history of objects, and directed my focus to the commodity driven comparisons made between the pantomime and the products chosen. Booth captured this context:

One can read some recent works of theatre history [...] without knowing such things as society and culture exist, so divorced are these works from any sense of the larger world of which the theatre is only a part [...] that the theatre itself is subject to social and cultural determinants quite outside its walls (Booth, 1991, pp. 49-50).

Booth opened the debate on the wider world outside London, and the political, social and cultural genres that existed outside the theatre (Booth, 1991, pp. 49-50), and within the home.

In this thesis, the products represented home, and revealed their own histories, a concept important to commercialisation of consumer goods selected for each chapter. These goods or objects in pantomime informed ideas about Chineseness, a notion supported by Witchard, when she discussed the early Chinoiserie pantomime of the Georgian era (Witchard, 2015, pp. 359-361).

Pantomime descriptions of the later nineteenth century, Ross Forman argued, made direct reference to China, and formed an intercultural perspective shared by Dongshin Chang and described a crossover of Chinese to British culture (Forman, 2013, pp. 167-175; Chang, 2015, p. 1). These authors illustrated how *Aladdin* pantomimes in Birmingham and the Black Country might have created a vision of China, firstly in the Chinoiserie pantomime seasons, which developed and affected the regional theatre, as discussed by Newey and Richards (2009-2012).

Where Cruickshank's production was Arabic in origin (Cruickshank et al., 1813), after 1850 the Opium Wars (1839-1842; 1856-1860) populated *Aladdin* with Chinese influences, as opposed to Arabic.

However, none of these authors transposed their ideas from the London stage to the regional; few compared pantomime's aspects directly with product references, and concentrated even less on oriental inspiration at a regional level.

The recent Regional Pantomime Project (2009- 2012), of which this study formed a part, went some way towards redressing the balance. It has uncovered an impressive collection of regional pantomime in Manchester that commented on a wealth of local political, social and cultural standpoints, both from local businesses' and local audiences' viewpoints.

As a project, it placed a value on local pantomime and provincial audiences' reaction to and absorption of information imparted at the theatre. Many scholars have considered pantomime from an audience's perspective, through primary historical sources (Robinson 2015, pp. 35-37; Sullivan, 2011, p. 211; Richards (2010) (cited in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 24); Robinson (2010), in Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 137-139, 145-151; Mayer, 1969, p. 52). Sadiah Qureshi's work discussed the representation of Zulu language, which verified how knowledgeable audiences were and that the speaking of foreign words, can be as real, or the handling of foreign artefacts, as tangible as they are in a museum setting (Qureshi, 2011, p. 180).

The actors in the theatre were active and present, both real and tangible to an audience, even if they were playing characters in an imagined setting. Pantomime echoed the everyday lives presented in national and local news, and of interest to an audience, which Sullivan described as a 'notion of audience' (Sullivan, 2011, pp. 1-2). As quoted by Robinson from the *Manchester Guardian* (1888) 24 December: 5 (cited in Robinson, 2015, p. 70), 'the stage but echoes back the public voice.'

The *Aladdin* audience invented the Orient on a nightly basis. Pantomimes' authors thought carefully about what topical and thought-provoking inclusions to bring before their audience. The Birmingham and Black Country audiences imagined fantastically distant lands on plate, tea caddy or tray, and experienced this visually and through the spoken word on stage and in the book of words. The audience assimilated and digested the cultural fashions of a past age and made them anew, into profitable invented landscapes and people, with a disregard for the real world of the Far East.

These impressions, old and new, reinforced and underpinned the Victorian social and strict moral codes of respectability in public and at home. At home, British imperialism and respectability were emphasised. Productions of *Aladdin*, alongside newspapers, art and literature and decorative goods appealed to an audience, because of the exposure they offered to Chinese exotic culture.

Although *Aladdin* was part of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* tradition of Arabic storytelling, it was always located in ancient China, even when other oriental components entered the story. *Aladdin* productions rendered a notion of what China and its people and culture were like, i.e. a sense of Chineseness.

A number of academic authors have used the word 'Chineseness'. Seth Ellis (Ellis, et al., 1985) in *Cultural Values and Behavior: Chineseness Within Geographic Boundaries* and, more recently, Kuo Yi Hsuan Chelsea (2015) in *On Building Chineseness* and Witchard in Part 2 of 'The Lamp of Young Aladdin' in *Thomas Burke's Dark Chinoiserie* (Witchard, 2009, pp. 23-90). Witchard argued that pantomime mirrored the then state of play between the Chinese and the British (Witchard, 2009, pp. 23-40). It confirmed those facts that were important to an

audience, and in turn defined those oriental influences, which were part of the framework in which the audience lived and worked, their social values, their political stance and their economic wealth.

Millie Taylor, Tracy Davis and Jacky Bratton have demonstrated the significance of pantomime as a nineteenth-century form of popular theatre (Taylor, 2007, p. 171; Davis et al. (eds.) 2003, p. 2; Bratton, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 88).¹⁷ The pantomime was the longest-running production of the theatrical year, and could stretch to three months. It generated vast profits for the theatre, because of the large attendance to see local talent rather than productions on tour or from outside the area (Robinson, 2015, p. 174).

As in London, regional pantomime was financially lucrative for managers and producers of local theatres, and ultimately allowed theatres to continue operating for the whole year, as described by Courtneidge and Davenport Adams (Robinson, 2015, p. 199; Adams (1882), 6 September, p. 5 cited in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 45). *The Manchester Guardian* provided evidence that theatres relied on the pantomime, and this reliance was discussed by a number of academic authors (Davis, 2007, p. 74; Davis, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 2 and newspapers like the *Manchester Guardian* (1889) p. 7 (cited in Robinson, 2015, p. 126).

Sullivan argued, through her study of the Theatre Royal, Birmingham pantomimes from 1865-1866, and confirmed by Littlehales' diary (1864-1866), that the theatres

¹⁷ Authors from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided a broad view of regional (provincial) pantomime and included R. J. Broadbent (1901) *A History of Pantomime*, which gave a valuable overview of pantomime and the touring companies. In addition, a work by A. E. Wilson entitled *Christmas Pantomime: the Story of an English Institution* (Wilson, 1934, pp. 171, 221) and Allardyce Nicoll's *A History of English Drama 1660-1900, Volumes* (Nicoll, 1955, p. 233) and *Volume V* production listings (Nicoll, 1959, pp. 223-850).

survived for the whole year due to the success of the annual production (Sullivan, 2011, p. 25).

Radcliffe described how music hall stars, alongside the products and product advertising were commercially successful additions to pantomime and regularly appeared in pantomime scripts and book of words (Radcliffe, 2006, pp. 105, 151).

Broadbent alluded to the music hall when he wrote:

Music Hall "stars", whose names will draw the most money (Broadbent, 1901, CH XXI).

For the ceramic and decorative art manufacturers, their annual profits were reliant on the fashions and the popularity of such items as the willow pattern plate. The inclusion of fashion and objects, as Claire Cochrane (2011), p. 60 (cited in Robinson, 2015, p. 212) observed were part of the economic factors generated by commodities that affected the pantomime. For example, ceramic sales were at their height in the 1850s and 1890s when pantomime productions and theatres were experiencing an economic boom, and the power of the British Empire was high. The advantage of staging pantomime outside London, and further north was that the Lord Chamberlain's Office in London was too far away to check productions for licensing purposes.

The ability of manager, author or actor to flaunt the rules testified to their skill in knowing the trends exhibited by a discerning pantomime audience.¹⁸ W. H.

Swanborough was, at the time:

¹⁸ Broadbent wrote that pantomime writers of note were Thomas Dibdin, R. Pocock and Cecil Sheridan (who wrote thirty-three pantomimes) and pantomime luminaries were J. R. Planché, E. L. Blanchard, W. Brough, Mark Lemon, H.J. Byron, Wilton Jones, and John Francis McArdle. It was only Byron and Blanchard who appeared in my regional listings (Broadbent, 1901, CH XIX).

The enterprising lessee of this popular establishment [the Prince of Wales]. Last year he accomplished so much [Aladdin]. His spectacular effects were of so novel and pleasing a kind, his cast so strong, and his subject so good, that little short of the powers of Aladdin's lamp would suffice to realise the stupendous expectations of which Midland counties nurserydom has formed of this forthcoming production (Birmingham Journal, 19 December, 1863: 8).

From the mid-nineteenth century, managers in London, such as Swanborough and Milton Bode were attracted to the expanding industrial areas of Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Stoke-on-Trent and Walsall. They purchased theatres, organised touring companies, sold licences for scripts, scenery and costumes and provincial rights (Jackson, 1989, p. 240) or had business interests in local places of entertainment (Littlehales, 1864-1866).

In the mid-nineteenth century, Swanborough was responsible for bringing two Chinese productions to Birmingham, one of which was *Aladdin* (1861) at the Prince of Wales, Birmingham. He was an experienced entrepreneur and confident that his production of *Aladdin* would be applauded by Birmingham audiences. As illustrated in this quotation from the *Birmingham Journal*:

About the Prince of Wales, Birmingham for Mr Swanborough actuated doubtless, by a sense of the weighty responsibility upon him, has gone to work on a truly Titanic scale, and find the building [...] restricted, inadequate for [...] his vast conceptions [...] to enlarge his boundaries [...] of breaking through His walls [...] additional width of about 11 feet" (*Birmingham Journal*, 1863, 19 December: 8).

In 1870s London, Russell Jackson argued, actor-managers fought hard to separate internal politics and the wider significance of political elements in the pantomime (Jackson, 1989, p. 240). In Manchester, Robinson discovered,

pantomime moved away from political references. The local authors of Manchester pantomimes in the 1890s were conscious that they did not want to include political content (Robinson, 2015, pp. 201-202), but this was not the case in the Birmingham and Black Country theatres.

Sullivan did establish that Birmingham had a local flavour and did not always follow the London trends when it came to pantomime (Sullivan, 2005, p. 2). Sullivan argued that the quotation from Stephen Fiske's article in 1874 reflected on the portrayal of politics. Fiske was a contemporary of mid-nineteenth century pantomime authors and wrote:

If we consider the subject for the moment, it will be seen that the Politics of the Pantomimes are most important indications of the Politics of the People. Whatever is said in the Pantomimes must be popular, or it is promptly hissed, and as promptly cut by the manager. As we shall presently notice, the author must put aside his own opinions and try and reflect as nearly as possible the opinions of his audiences. Then, being played for many nights, before thousands of persons, the Pantomimes become a Political Power [...] and every now and then a weak government tries to control them [...]. Those efforts failed, as they always must fail in a free country; and now the Pantomimes are as political as ever. Fiske (1874) *The Hornet* (cited in Sullivan, 2011, pp. 218-219).

Local Birmingham and Black Country *Aladdin* pantomimes reflected local politics through their Chineseness. Local politics had relevance and public opinion was strengthened by *Aladdin* productions' visual and textual references to the exotic and the everyday.

While Sullivan pointed to Birmingham theatres having their own local elements, and Fiske to the strength of opinion held by theatre audiences, this absorption of ideas extended my arguments to local products and Davis recognised this:

Pantomime in the Victorian era was not only an all-pervasive form of popular entertainment, but functioned in shaping perceptions of the contemporary world (Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 1-2).

These perceptions would have included Victorian views of the Empire's politics and its exotic peoples, as outlined by Mayer (1969) (cited in Taylor (2010), in Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 185-186) and the Chinese engagement in war with Britain during the First and Second Opium Wars.

Catherine Hall, Sonya O. Rose and Edward Said connected the consumer with imperial, oriental goods (Hall and Rose, 2006, p. 167; Said, 1978, p. 67). For the audience this was a two-way relationship and a continuous loop of interdependency inspired by the exotic fashions that they desired to purchase. They then found it augmented and reinforced by the pantomime. Pantomime was not just a performance of a script, but of a series of ideas relevant to local communities. It used imperial culture to fuse the national to the local. I would reason that pantomime fused the imperial and the local to the home.

Thomas Richards stated that narratives of the late nineteenth century were full of fantasies surrounding empire 'united not by force, but by knowledge'. Richards and Thad Logan agreed that from the mid-nineteenth century onwards a new type of culture developed, where possession of goods and commodities was important (Richards, 1990, Introduction; Logan, 2001, pp. xiii-xiv, 183).

Commodities were evident in the popular novels of Charles Dickens, who described parlours and cupboards full of exotic items in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (c. 1870) and *Our Mutual Friend* (1864). Their existence mirrored how local consumers related to the national and how consumers relied on the interdependence of international consumer goods.

Aladdin productions' references to consumer goods and trends, such as the willow pattern plate, tea products and Japanned objects illustrated this international and local relationship. The cultural commoditisation and fashioning of the Far East, exemplified through the willow pattern plate, not only enforced the centrality of the local theatre to the local trade, but assigned local trade as essential to national imperial identities.

Since historians like John MacKenzie have discussed the work of Said, there has been a move to contemplate the more modern political aspects of Orientalism during the conflicts of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in the Middle East. Ideas expressed by Said still resonate with an understanding of Orientalism and national identity in the nineteenth century (Said, 1995, pp. 2-15). His groundbreaking book discussed the British relationship with the Middle East. As a starting point, it offered further analysis of the pantomime texts within a local context.

Although authors, such as Edward Ziter (2003), Irwin (2012) and MacKenzie (1994; 1995) extended Said's work towards a more theoretical enquiry, MacKenzie asked questions not only of the content, but also of the form of history they encountered. Through these other academics, the discourse was adapted for the theatre genre and examined the much closer rapport an author had with an audience. Chang discussed the act of transference of Chinese ideas to British, and British to Chinese, and the fact that these ideas were a reflection and critique upon the local products the audience came across (Chang, 2015, p. 4). *Aladdin* remained a constant in these debates within a given timeline within this thesis, and engaged with the local economy and its Chinese elements.

The common shift in pantomime from exotic to everyday references, in Birmingham and Black Country adaptations, revealed the British relationship with China. The China that audiences would have associated with paintings and decorative arts was part of the intricacies of the local economy and society.

Since the 1990s, research has concentrated more on the political and imperial aspects that encircled Orientalism in the nineteenth century, rather than the social features and commodity-driven culture. Such research has questioned the academic perspectives of the political imperialism advocated by Said. The perception was that the British believed themselves superior to other foreign people, including the Chinese. For Britain in China, this idea of domination was evident when the British Government faced embarrassment, on failing to annex China as a colony. Over time, Britain only succeeded in securing port space, alongside other European countries (Schama, 2002, p. 221).

Said, in his theory of 'imagined geography', argued for a perceived geography that supported his arguments with regard to the oriental discourse and the British and European domination of the Middle East. Said's work concentrated on the Middle East, where in later pantomimes Orientalism contrasted British domination of the Chinese and the introduction of Japanese influences. Said explained how the past and the present, through stories and history from travellers, military people, administration and trade, increased the exposure of British people to empire and become intermingled (Said, 1993a, p. 93).

As the century progressed, geographical awareness gave way a desire for more historical accuracy (i.e. a real China, not an Arabic version of China), and there was

a move towards a truer interpretation of reality (Ziter, 2003, p. 124). My analysis considers how pantomime created this reality and this unreality.

Ziter contemplated a much more generic and geographical approach to empire. He posited that space defined meaning that is personal to the individual. So if placed within an oriental setting a person immediately identified that space as oriental. This spatial element was how individual societies determined in advance what kinds of meanings they used to compartmentalise spaces, and how race and national identity affected these spaces (Ziter, 2003, pp. 4-5).

Richard Peet had reasoned that geography was a discipline that an authority needed to help define race and ownership. He discussed Said's theory 'imaginative geography' and concluded that the Orient became more than 'what was known about it' (Peet, 1985, pp. 309-333). The consumer endowed the Orient and its geography with another meaning. Ziter and Arif Dirlik considered how Said contemplated that this might arise from how history, the past and the present become intermingled with their own meaning (Ziter, 2003, p. 5; Dirlik, 1996, p. 118). Eurocentrics agreed that the British Government shaped and imposed on the public an impression of what the Chinese were like, and had imagined what the Chinese accomplished from the information available to them. The audiences were encouraged to imagine the Chinese within the pantomime and in other areas of everyday Victorian life.

European powers categorised Chinese people, along with other foreign people, as subordinate and of a lower social order. Benedict Anderson presented a theory of 'Imagined Communities' (Anderson, 1983, pp. 4-8, 32-33), which was useful to my argument. Anderson's theories supported the imagining of Chinese people and their culture in the pantomime. For example, Thad Logan depicted the Chinese people,

described by later authors, as defined in *Aladdin* and *The Arabian Nights'* *Entertainments*, as a mixture of Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and Middle-Eastern traits (Logan, 2001, p. 110).

A visitor to aristocratic homes in Britain in the Victorian period, including in Birmingham and the Black Country, would have seen how this developed, as on display would have been many pieces of 'blue and white' china, wallpaper and interpretations of Chinese inspired people and gardens (Chang, 2010, p. 19). The European taste for acquiring imperial chinaware and exotic plants exposed people to Chinese culture.

The objects incorporated into *Aladdin* productions began with Chinoiserie products from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries (Impey, 1977, p. 10), and later in the nineteenth century products, of Orientalism and the Aesthetic Movement. The willow pattern plate pantomimes mirrored the fashionable taste for Chinoiserie; the mid-century *Aladdin* pantomimes reflected Oriental biased humour and the Aesthetic Movement's fashionable tastes in later *Aladdin* pantomimes contributed to the blurring of oriental tastes.

As a genre, Chinoiserie was not concerned with the real China, but a fantasy image of China in decoration and design. Although the Portuguese traded from Macao from 1557, China later closed its borders. The Chinese Government then made it difficult for foreigners, including the British, to travel in China (Schama, 2002, pp. 241-242; Impey, 1977, p. 34). After the First and Second Opium Wars, China reopened its ports. This absence of China in everyday life naturally conjured up for the British public a popular view of China in their imagination that authors then created for the stage.

Witchard's insightful work on oriental pantomimes, like *Aladdin*, argued that the theatre directed, as well as mirrored, audiences' attitudes to the Chinese (2009, pp. 58 -59). Peter Yeandle implied that this gave pantomime a 'privileged' position in regards to the 'exotic' in Victorian theatre. He pointed to Linda Colley's work on the 'other', and how the construction of the 'other' on stage was as much about what they were, as what the spectators were not, and their interaction provided collective identities (Yeandle, in Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 129). Ziter emphasised that this collective identity raised an audience's expectations that certain foreign 'others' would be in certain geographical spaces (Ziter, 2003, p. 6).

For Anderson, the Chinese people occupied invented landscapes, but an audience engaged with a theatre building, as a place of imagination and community. Sullivan introduced her idea of a 'notion of audience' in relation to Birmingham audiences (Sullivan, 2005, pp. 2-3), but I apply this as a 'notion of space'.

Space as an idea is important and renders Sullivan's 'notion of audience' too reliant on texts. My ideas align with the theories of Te-han Yeh (Yeh, 2011, p. 24). Yeh defended Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, in which he argued that theatrical space was a producer and product of actors, play texts and audiences (Lefebvre (1991), in Yeh, 2011, p. 5). In addition, pantomime authors alongside actors created and interpreted the play text and the space in which the actors performed the pantomime.

Authors or theatre personnel wrote stage directions, which to some degree are a reliable source of information. The markings on galley proofs and personal scripts and notes also allowed scenic and in-text stage directions to have gravity and authority.

In *The Mandarin's Daughter or the Story of the Willow Pattern Plate* (1851), Francis Talfourd and W. P. Hale's interpretation of the willow pattern set design included a picture of Chinoiserie and idealised Chinese landscapes. Many Birmingham and Black Country *Aladdin* storylines incorporated the willow pattern plate, and in the style of the plate, *Aladdin* used distinctive designs of Chinese buildings and gardens, derived from decorative goods, but also the influences of garden designers.

Kew Gardens in London was one of the first to plant exotic Chinese trees and from their extensive collection, aristocratic garden collections emerged on a Chinese theme (Chang, 2010, p. 29). Gardeners at major venues grew exotic specimens next to indigenous varieties, as part of Chinese entertainment complexes in popular leisure attractions.

Mid-seventeenth century leisure pursuits included pleasure gardens like Vauxhall Gardens, London (Witchard, 2010, p. 18), and eighteenth-century Molineux Gardens in Wolverhampton (Poster, 1866; History Website, 2014) lasted into the mid-nineteenth century. Such gardens attracted vast visitor numbers from all levels of society. Other examples of oriental inspired gardens in Staffordshire were Trentham Gardens and Biddulph Grange (Turner, 2005, pp. 9-12, 365). Alton Towers, near Newcastle-under-Lyme in Staffordshire, had a pagoda (1830s) (Loudon (1834) in Kelsall, 2007) and Shugborough Hall, in the same county, featured a Georgian Chinese garden building. Such oriental gardens were visual evidence of Chinese influences that appeared in the imagined landscapes of the pantomime and willow pattern plate designs.

Exhibitions were another key component, parallel to garden design, which influenced the Chinese style of pantomime (Chang, 2015, p. 7). Chinese junk owners moored their boats on the Thames as floating exhibits, and their exhibitions featured in the media. Similarly, the 1851 Great Exhibition brought an influx of Chinese goods.

A contemporary visitor attraction that existed at the same time as The Great Exhibition (1851) was Wyld's Great Globe, a leisure facility, until 1862, which featured Chinese magicians, described in the *Morning Post* (1854): 18 April; 5 (cited in Morosetti (ed.) 2015, pp. 79-80). Later pleasure gardens, theatres, exhibitions and arts copied the Chinese style of exhibition (Ziter, 2003, p. 18). Bridget Orr noted in relation to the 1851 Great Exhibition, London:

The vast fabric [...] on Arabian Nights structure [...] belongs to [an] enchanted land than to their gross material world of ours (Orr (2008), in Calloway, 2011, p. 28).

In order to appreciate the visual importance of The Great Exhibition it is important to consider it on a national scale. Visitors would have talked about the exhibition, read about it, or visited it as one of the six million people who entered the Crystal Palace (Learning Victorians, 2013). Visitors equated to one in five of the British population.¹⁹

The companies of Birmingham and the Black Country exhibited a variety of ceramic goods, which included the willow pattern plate. Exhibitions, as a means of visual reference for an audience, created a 'sense of Chineseness', and were as prominent in promoting oriental ideas, as the pantomime productions and the

¹⁹ Britain's population was nearly 28 million people (Population Statistics, 2014).

descriptions of the Chinese in newspapers and magazines. The result was that the pantomime *Aladdin*, as well as visual elements on vases and tea caddies referenced how foreign people and the 'other' appeared to an audience.

The 1862 Japanese Exhibition in London and the later Paris Exhibition of 1867 contained Japanese exhibits, and promoted Japonisme as the new influence on oriental fashion. The Paris Exhibition of 1867, which coincided with the year of Charles Millward's production of *Aladdin* in Birmingham, contained more Far-Eastern than Middle-Eastern objects and displays than the Great Exhibition (1851). At the Great Exhibition and the Paris Exhibition, vendors incorporated a variety of luxury oriental goods, furnishings, fashions and commodities from the 1850s, marking them as oriental goods in consumer markets.

As a theatrical entertainment, the creators of *Aladdin* incorporated these elements and treated the 'sense of Chineseness' not only in a different way, but also as an exhibit that attracted audiences. The exhibitions of the later nineteenth century reinforced the visual history of the past and recognised authenticity, rather than the real China, as a reality marker (Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 93). As Bratton has also pointed out, the creation of the Orient had little to do with actual events, as theatres and exhibitions served up the 'other', closeted and protected in the theatrical environment, and controlled by the management in charge (Bratton, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 88).

In conclusion, in my literature review I have identified that there have been few studies of Birmingham and Black Country pantomime compared to those of London and its environs, which has skewed research in a southerly direction. I have utilised one pantomime story *Aladdin*, which provided parameters and scope in which to

study Chineseness, as just one example of how audiences accepted change within the spaces afforded by theatre and their homes or places of work.

Chineseness, in *Aladdin*, placed geographically distant places on stage that were isolated from the real world. The stereotypical, often satirical, pantomime texts used popular commodities and decorative arts, to display racist attitudes and material wealth.

The central paradox was that the exotic elements, compared to the everyday factors of local pantomime, revealed both differences and similarities in British colonial imperatives and Britain as a significant trader in oriental concepts.

Chineseness in pantomime theatre was a changing form, one that was historically and culturally comparative to its local theatre and audience.

At a local level, this study identifies the regional gaps in pantomime's extending of British supremacy, social hierarchies, and the infiltration of commodity culture. The domestication of the Orient and the questioning of gender assisted in supporting a style of regional pantomime that rivalled London.

I have combined three case studies through my primary sources and have adopted secondary research to provide a theoretical and statistical perspective. This has allowed me to evaluate and corroborate Chineseness of an exotic nature within the everyday elements of pantomime, to test my hypothesis about a local perspective on Chineseness within Victorian Birmingham and the Black Country, in the nineteenth century.

The Cruickshank production of *Aladdin* (et al., 1813) in London was biased towards the account of China, fashioned in the *Arabian Nights' Stories* or *One Thousand and One Nights* and embraced not only the Arabic connotations of this

relationship, but China as an imagined location. The real China this created for audiences has either intentionally been used to produce later *Aladdin* productions or disregarded by managers, writers, producers and designers for other oriental interpretations of Chineseness for a number of reasons that Chapter One to Three explore.

I have set my research objectives and the significance of my thesis in academic knowledge bases. I have outlined my methodology, and reviewed contemporary and more recent primary texts and literary pantomime genres framed within the context of locality and industry.

My research balances on the cusp of a mid-century regional divide looking back to Cruickshank's *Aladdin* (et al., 1813), and forward to the work of Byron (1861), Millward (1866) and other pantomime authors.

The three products I have chosen are; the willow pattern plate from Staffordshire and Shropshire; tea, incorporating the local tea merchants who transported it in from Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol and London, tea's merchandising, and tea's connection to the British diet; and, lastly, the revived influence of the Japanning industry in Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Bilston.

It is important to have an overview of how the *Aladdin* story entered British pantomime in Birmingham and the Black Country and set the parameters, evidence and methodologies for *Aladdin* pantomime's context in this local economy. I outline below a background to the three products contained in the next three chapters, to place each product in its historical context.

INTRODUCING BIRMINGHAM AND THE BLACK COUNTRY

INDUSTRY AND PRODUCTS

THE WILLOW PATTERN PLATE

In Chapter One, I address how the regional pantomimes of *Aladdin* constructed and represented the willow pattern plate, creating an unreal China. Firstly, I explore the willow pattern plate's historical context by examining *The Mandarin's Daughter* (1851) by Francis Talfourd and W. P. Hale. This was a Christmas production of the willow pattern plate story that pre-dated *Aladdin*, and which contained a prologue and subsequent narrative and epilogue that framed the design of the plate; its domestic elements within the pantomime and the plate's design as a cultural and social icon.

The willow pattern design was the creation of either Thomas Turner at the Caughley factory, or Thomas Minton, in Turner's employ as an apprentice engraver c. 1780-1790 (Portanova, 2013, p. 5; Copeland (1980) cited in Cadman, 2013, email; Bushell, 1977; Williams, 1932; Shaw, 1829). Robert Copeland and Katie Cadman agreed that the willow pattern, created around 1788/1789, was attributable to Thomas Minton (Cadman, 2013, email; Copeland, 1998, p. 1).

Cadman, Assistant Curator at the Ironbridge Museum, through the work of Copeland (1998) (cited in Cadman, 2013, email) confirmed that Josiah Spode created the full willow pattern (Copeland, 1998, p. 1). Therefore, there is debate as to whether Caughley's design was the true willow pattern, as it certainly contained many of the design features recognised in the *Aladdin* pantomimes' references.

In 1785, there were over 200 pottery manufacturers in Staffordshire who employed over 20,000 workers, and most potteries produced a version of the willow pattern design (*British Heritage Travel*, 2014). The design was associated with the

potteries situated in Shropshire, South Staffordshire and the Black Country. Famous potters such as Josiah Wedgwood, Thomas Turner, Josiah Spode, William Copeland and Thomas Minton, and a number of local manufacturers copied this Chinoiserie style and produced ceramic goods that people wanted to purchase (Cadman, 2013, email).²⁰

Thomas Minton exemplified the rags-to-riches story associated with the young hero of *Aladdin* and the willow pattern plate. Thomas Minton sold the design to a number of local pottery manufacturers, including Spode and Copeland. The willow pattern launched his career and he acquired his own pottery works in 1793, on his return to Stoke-on-Trent from London.²¹

The inspiration for Chinese-styled designs was available in pattern books such as *A Treatise on Japanning and Varnishing* (Stalker and Parker, 1688), *The Ladies Amusement or Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy* and *A New Book of Chinese Designs* (Edwards and Darly, 1754). Edwards and Darly (1754) (cited in Cadman, 2013, email) said it did explain why so many local factories' products were so similar. The design of the plate guaranteed its popularity and existed in its final form around 1849 (Copeland, 1998, p. 1; O'Hara, 1993, pp. 423-424).

Aladdin's audiences may have fantasised over designs like the willow pattern plate, but the story itself was not in print until 1836 in *Bentley's Miscellaneous* and

²⁰ Active potters during this blossoming of the Chinoiserie style were Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795), Thomas Turner (b. 1747 and an active potter from 1775 to 1799), Josiah Spode (1733-1797), William Copeland and Thomas Minton (1765- 1836).

²¹ He sold the design to several Shropshire and Staffordshire manufacturers (Honey (1933): Jewitt (1878); Ward (1843) and Shaw (1829) (cited by Cadman, 2013, email). Interestingly Minton was nearby in company warehousing and accommodation in London when O'Keefe's production appeared at Covent Garden in 1788.

later in *The Family Friend* in 1849 (O'Hara, 1993, pp. 424-425). These stories were in sharp contrast to how the pantomime texts and the real world portrayed the Chinese.

The aforementioned production *The Mandarin's Daughter*, by Talfourd and Hale was Swanborough's first Christmas production with Chinese tastes. The willow pattern plate was a new storyline for Christmas and was about the iconic, locally made design. This particular Christmas play was important to this study, as the story of *Aladdin* and the willow pattern plate were very similar. *The Mandarin's Daughter* describes a poor boy meeting a rich girl, a father who objected to their marriage, and an evil and rich government official. These similarities in *The Mandarin's Daughter* referenced Victorian theories about evolution, race and the placement of people in society.

In turn, *Aladdin* pantomimes mirrored society's awareness of the evolutionary theories of Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and in addition the books *Origin of Species* (1859) and *By Natural Selection* by Charles Darwin (1809-1882). This was how the categorisation of people developed (i.e. by race and stereotype).

Therefore, in Chapter One, I consider the pantomimes of the 1850s to the mid-1860s, especially Charles Millward's *Aladdin* of 1866. These pantomimes used the willow pattern plate story to reference the hierarchies in society and the 'other'.

The post-1850 *Aladdin* productions in Birmingham and the Black Country assisted in investigating social and cultural aspects, especially the willow pattern plate's contribution to commodity culture, and its adoption at all levels of society. The plate's cultural qualities contributed to the renewed interest in blue and white chinaware.

These types of antique oriental goods were collectively known as Nanking and Japanese wares. The resurrection of the willow pattern plate had a 'trickledown' effect, with the influx of Japanese ideas, across all levels of society.

Millward was quick to elevate these interpretations of China in *Aladdin*, where the willow pattern plate references anticipated a technological future. His pantomime looked forwards, and not backwards. Along with other pantomime authors, he created an image of China that was not a true reflection, but a hybrid of what it was like to be Chinese. His inspiration to employ the willow pattern plate, as a part of *Aladdin*, inspired other authors of pantomimes well into the 1890s. The willow pattern plate and its inclusion within *Aladdin* towards the end of the nineteenth century brought exotic China into the home, and assisted in launching my ideas in the remaining two chapters.

Millward typically incorporated politics, landmarks and people into his exotic pantomimes, and referenced not only national events, but also smaller local events and places where people lived or shopped, a trend adopted by Talfourd, Hale, Byron, Frank Dix, Frank Green, and Thompson and Courtneidge. A number of pantomime authors were from journalistic backgrounds and their role as media people, for many years, added to their commercial acumen and their ability to write pantomimes for Birmingham and Wolverhampton theatres.

TEA

In Chapter Two, I discuss how the presence of tea referenced in the *Aladdin* productions linked international and local trade, social mobility and race. During the mid-nineteenth century, international politics had enormous repercussions for the tea trade and tea at home. Liberal Birmingham greatly favoured Chamberlain and the

Free Trade agreement, which featured in many of the pantomime scripts. It was a level of involvement that, Sullivan has suggested amounted to collusion with local politicians (Sullivan, 2011, p. 17). During the Victorian period, Witchard explained, pamphleteers and politicians stereotyped the Chinese as 'ridiculous, uncivilised personages and worse' (Witchard, 2009, pp. 56-57).

Witchard, in her historical observation of Chineseness, in relation to Chinoiserie and London, recounted that Chinese characteristics equated with the degradation that came with race and vice. It mirrored the outward degeneration of British society and its imperial decline. Suitably related tea puns in the pantomime centred on evolution and the origin of species, evidence of literary and theatrical stereotypes.

I discuss the question of these and other variations in pantomime, particularly the inclusion of commodities associated with tea and tea products as a vehicle for humour at the height of British supremacy and war with China in the 1840s and 1850s.

The history of tea assisted in understanding Britain's position when trading internationally with China, India's relationship with China and the role of tea in the home. The authors Mayer (1969) and Davis (Davis (ed.) 2010) wrote extensively on London theatrical and pantomime contexts that reflected on the Empire and trade, but never outlined in detail the trading aspects of tea within productions. However, they mentioned the first of many Widow Twankays/Twankeys. Twankey was a type of tea (Frow, 1985, p. 115) and at the height of the Second Opium War (1856-1860), 90 per cent of the tea drunk in Britain was from China (Witchard, 2009, pp. 56-57). This coincided with Byron's production from London at the Prince of Wales,

Birmingham (*Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 1862, 25 October: 8).²² This production had ramifications for all future *Aladdin* productions in choosing tea as a means of parody across the international divide, between the British and Chinese 'other'.

India was a British colony and Britain exported a great deal of opium via India to China; in return China exported tea to Britain. China gradually closed its borders and Britain had nowhere to export its opium product. As a result, Britain reverted to war with China in The First and Second Opium Wars (1839–1842; 1856–1860).

Eventually, Britain forced China to concede (Schama, 2002, p. 221), but ensured that India was able to cultivate tea (Emmerson, 1992), so that supplies of tea were available for the British aristocracy and the British public. As the productions of *Aladdin* satirised tea and the Chinese at times of war, regional audiences experienced the same humour as London audiences. The political view of the Chinese was popular with audiences, and displayed the complicated relationship both Britain and the audience had with China and Chineseness.

In opposition to this stance, idealised images of the Chinese appeared on tea packaging from Twinings and Horniman's (Williams, 1990, p. 20). Actors were dressed to mimic those images on tea packaging on the Birmingham and Black Country stage. The fusion of everyday imagery and the art of photography linked the exotic China with the everyday popularity of tea and new technologies (Hollingsworth, 2009, p. 159).

²² Catherine of Braganza introduced tea to European tastes on her marriage to Charles I. The British aristocracy were the first to acquire a taste for tea, and from the seventeenth century, tea came to Britain from China, to meet expensive aristocratic tastes. By the time Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837, the Boston Tea Party episode was over 60 years old (Schama, 2003, p. 378). Tea imports rose from 30 million pounds a year in the 1830s to 80 million pounds in the 1860s, and 200 million pounds in the 1890s.

In Chapter Two, I consider how photography was a means of visualisation and interpretation and its importance as a cultural development of commodities and material wealth. The amount of local advertising that accompanied productions was evidence of this material wealth (Kate Newey, 2012). From 1850, many *Aladdin* productions incorporated photographic images in their books of words and posters.

Later advertising encouraged the drinking of foreign goods such as tea, and the acquisition of objects, such as the willow pattern plate, for the parlour. The domesticating of the parlour is a key theme in my second chapter. For Logan, the Victorian parlour was one of social identity, comfort and aesthetic surroundings and added to the dominance of Europe and its cultural victories over the 'other' (Logan, 2001, pp. 76,197).

I recount how the author Byron and a number of others constructed their ideas and words through product placement within *Aladdin*. The names of the characters recalled the fact that the drinking of tea was a popular leisure activity, as can be seen in the trade directories of the period, where teahouses outnumbered coffee houses (see *Trade Directories*, Appendix E). The Widow Twankay drank tea in the *Aladdin* story not just as a mother, but as lower class person with a desire for advancement in society, while reinforcing where drinking tea placed her in society.

Therefore, Chapter Two examines how tea acted as an agent of story and social comment structured primarily around the relationship between Widow Twankay/Twankey, Aladdin, and the Emperor and the Princess. For instance, in many of the pantomimes Widow Twankay/Twankey was desperate to rise in society.

The use of tea's everyday and familiar appeal reiterated and reinforced the oriental aspects of this theatrical experience, and reflected the economic factors resulting from war, trade and advertising.

JAPANNING AND JAPANESE CULTURAL INFLUENCES

The importance of Japanning and its associated culture, discussed in my last chapter centres on the use of visual references in the pantomime as an expression of Chineseness.

I have established that the pantomime included the oriental styles of Chinoiserie through its incorporation of the willow pattern plate in text, costume and set, and increased the importance of oriental strands in the decorative arts of the Victorian period. Pantomime used Chinese visual references from ceramics, literature and paintings featuring the oriental 'other', but these gradually transmuted into Japanese trends. These visual references introduced to the audience the fan, the kimono and the styles of female and male dress found on vases, trays and screens. They extended what an audience accepted as oriental.

I include Japanning as a transition to other visual Japanese oriental strands, contained within my everyday ceramic theme and exotic elements. This transition allowed the expansion of ideas on the commercialisation of Chineseness in the pantomime and of decorative goods in the late nineteenth century. This commercialism contrasted with the idealised China on the willow pattern plate within the parlour and the home. I explore the contradictory stances of how the British viewed the Chinese and the Japanese as part of Chapter Three. Arguments, surrounding commercialisation, contemplated the exotic portrayed in *Aladdin* from a consumer's accumulation of Far Eastern and oriental objects made by local people.

The revival of 'blue and white' in the 1860s, and the mounting interest in Japan's artistic influence and the Japanning trade, assisted in moving my argument on from the willow pattern plate's domestication in Chapter One within Chapter Three. The regional evidence that did not exist according to authors Newey and Richards (2009-2012) is now becoming part of the regional picture of pantomime, at a much more universal level than just London.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Japanware companies, since the 1750s had created an industry of considerable size, similar to that of the ceramic manufacturers (Calloway and Federle Orr, 2011, p. 39). Japanning manufacturers created decorative pieces, such as trays and leisure goods and exploited the waterproof qualities of Japanning. The Wolverhampton based company Loveridge and Perry manufactured Japanware from the eighteenth century. In 1790, Edward Perry built his Jeddo Works in Wolverhampton.

The factories benefitted from the increasing value placed on design. Charlotte Gere cited the Design Reform Movement in the 1840s and the South Kensington System, followed by The Great Exhibition of 1851, as the training ground for designers who combined reformed Gothic with Japonisme, ancient Egypt, Moorish Spain, Chinese, Indian and Persian art and English eighteenth-century styles (Gere, 2010, p. 16).

The 1850s and 1860s saw pantomime clearly swing towards a Chinese and/or Japanese inspired style in the theatre, fashion and decor. The Aesthetic Movement's pioneers, such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and James McNeill Whistler, revitalised the reframing of blue and white, disregarding whether the designs were antique, old copies or reproductions. This interest in old China revived the Japanning trade and

resulted in the production of black lacquer trays, fans and screens from the 1860s to the 1880s. The Japanning trade referred back to those visual references of Chinoiserie and old patterns books and produced its British version of Chinese images, alongside Chinese and Japanese imports.

The design of the willow pattern remained constant and unchanged throughout this period, a reminder of a nostalgic British era, as well as framing an imagined Orient. Interestingly, Newey reflected on pantomime as the embodiment of contrasting poles of popular modernity and the cultural memory of mythical earlier times (Newey, 2012). The phenomena of sunflowers, Japanese fans, peacock feathers and simplicity of line and colour represented the Aesthetic Movement, in contrast to that of the Victorian interior decorating style of 'clutter'.

This marked simplicity in the works of the Aesthetic Movement blurred oriental classification, and ideas transferred over into arts and crafts. I investigated this blurring process alongside contemporary Victorian oriental ideas. These ideas were fashioned by Japan and referenced alongside the Japanning trade and in the later productions that toured from London. I argue that these blurred the oriental discourse and created a further hybrid of ancient China tinged with the nostalgia for a number of everyday items that were Japanese.

These latter pantomimes verged on the Edwardian era and were about the authors', writers', and producers' abilities as wordsmiths to mirror contemporary fads and fashions. Within an oriental setting, they included local trades-people in processional elements, their audiences' business networks, and men and women's cross-dressing roles. All of these questioned the local Victorian network of relationships and moral codes. Such Japanese-inspired theatre as the *Mikado* may,

Serena Guarracino argued, have mocked Victorian society's repressive attitude towards sexuality (Guarracino (2015), in Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 212).

So, as legitimate theatre moved to the style of domestic drama on stage, the pantomime stage reflected the vases that women brought into the parlour that displayed exotic women, and from a male perspective, the female images within the parlour and home. This suggested that Chineseness and sexuality were more repressive and more important than gender identity in these productions.

The three chapters reveal how audiences encountered China within their existing knowledge base, as to how and why authors used locally referenced oriental-inspired products to disseminate ideas about Chineseness. I argue that the background to these regional theatre productions strengthens academic understanding of regional Victorian pantomimes, and the changing representations of Chineseness within local political, cultural and social aspects of nineteenth-century Birmingham and the Black Country.

CHAPTER 1

ALADDIN AND THE WILLOW PATTERN PLATE

The year 1850-1851 was pivotal to my regional study, as after this date several *Aladdin* pantomimes in Birmingham and the Black Country incorporated references to the willow pattern plate. The inclusion of the willow pattern plate was valuable in understanding the rise in Chineseness in local politics and society, compared to changes in attitudes to oriental culture and fashion.

The willow pattern design in *Aladdin* pantomimes set the ancient world of China in the present everyday sphere of an audience, and referenced their attitudes towards British supremacy, evolutionary ideas, racial and social differences, stereotyping, consumerism and the home.

I engaged with the theories of authors Elizabeth Chang (2010), Marina Warner (2011; 2002), Jill Sullivan (2011; 2005), Sadiah Qureshi (2011) and Patricia O'Hara (1993), which assisted in revealing how the use of the willow pattern plate design in the *Aladdin* pantomimes retained a fixed nostalgic love of, and blurring of oriental tastes. In addition, they revealed the way in which these pantomimes continued to encourage an anti-Chinese feeling and the complex relationship of international and local economies. Later *Aladdin* pantomimes used the willow pattern plate to applaud advances in technology and celebrate the domestic interior, which reflected contemporary fads and fashions in the theatre and the home.

In order to evaluate and analyse these connections I investigated the unique correlation of the exotic and everyday in *The Mandarin's Daughter* and the *Aladdin* pantomimes in the region, and their connections to the locally manufactured oriental willow pattern design. As a primary source, *The Mandarin's Daughter* (1851) by

Talfourd and Hale was important; as it was the earliest Christmas production, I have discovered containing references to the willow pattern plate in Birmingham and the Black Country.

There was plenty to experience in 1866, two *Aladdin* productions in March of that year, at the Prince of Wales Theatre, Birmingham, and at the Exchange Assembly Rooms (*Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 10 March, 1866: 6). Later in December at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham there was a backcloth created for *Aladdin* by James Roberts and his assistants. An advertisement for the production described a plate scene before the transformation as "SCENE 8/A Chinese Village/Taken from a very fine 'Old Plate'" (*Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 28 December 1866: 4). At the same time, Daly's Crystal Palace Concert Hall had a new production of *A Chinese Valet* 'introducing the Celebrated/Willow Pattern Plate Scene' (*Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 19 November, 1866: 1). The next production in which the willow pattern appeared was *Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp* (1879) by Frank Green at the Prince of Wales, Birmingham.

Sixty per cent of the *Aladdin* pantomimes at the Theatre Royal Birmingham, between 1850 and 1914, mentioned chinaware or directly used the willow pattern plate imagery. Subsequently, the willow pattern design featured in sets and costumes within J. J. Blood's *Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp* (1889) at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham. This production may have had a plate feature in the scenery before the transformation scene (Sullivan, 2012, email). The design also appeared in Robert Courtneidge and A. M. Thompson's *The Grand Christmas Pantomime Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp*, at the Prince of Wales (1901) and their *Grand Pantomime*

Aladdin at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham 1910).²³ In Wolverhampton, the willow pattern appeared in two Grand Theatre *Aladdin* productions in 1911, the first produced by Milton Bode and written by George M. Slater, the second Chas Constants and Stanley Rogers' *Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp*.

The key Christmas burlesque *The Mandarin's Daughter* was first produced at the Strand Theatre, London by W. H. Swanborough. This production toured and was available as a Thomas Hailes Lacy's play edition at 'all good music shops' (Hailes Lacy, 1851, Front page). *The Mandarin's Daughter* was key to understanding the relationship between the willow pattern plate story and its incorporation into the *Aladdin* pantomimes at a regional level. Chim-pan-see, the narrator, identified that the story was from the familiar and everyday willow pattern plate:

CHIM

On my dragon I came, but conceive my surprise!
Round a public house kitchen on casting my eyes
I perceived, upon table, stand, dresser, and shelf,
In earthenware, china, stone-hardware, and delf,
Drawn longways and shortways, drawn outside and in,
On plate, cup and saucer, dish, basin, tureen,
A picture, which is but a full illustration
Of an olden love story, well know in my nation.
(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 17-24)

He reflected the audience's knowledge about the origin of this local design:

²³ Sullivan also listed *Aladdin* productions that post-date Charles Millward's production from 1867-1868 at the New Theatre Royal, Bristol containing willow pattern plate scenery, and the 1886 *Aladdin* at the Theatre Royal in Nottingham included a plate scene 'by Mr McLennan Scene 11' prior to the transformation scene (Sullivan, 2012, email).

CHIM

The legends of China, to find that unknown
Was the story from which all the picture had grown!
For when I told the story, they said "You be blowed,
That's the old willow pattern of Copeland and Spode.
(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 27-30)

The people of the pottery towns in Stoke-on-Trent would have agreed that Copeland and Spode manufactured the willow pattern, but historically this was not entirely accurate. Caughley and Spode were earlier manufacturers of similar designs. Thomas Minton designed the willow pattern plate for the Staffordshire, Shropshire and Black Country potteries, and his design dates back to around 1788-1789.²⁴ The design incorporated Chinese people and landscapes in a style known as Chinoiserie.

Minton supplied the design to a number of potteries in the 1780s and 1790s, including Copeland and Spode. Genius and his fellow characters at the end of Millward's *Aladdin* (1866) also remarked on the plate's popularity remarking on the scenery on stage:

SONG

Air – "There was a little man".

GENIUS.....

Familiar though the view,
There displayed may be to you.
(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 4-5)

²⁴ As described in my Introduction (pp. 27-29) Wolverhampton and many parts of the Black Country were part of Staffordshire and Shropshire.

The Mandarin's Daughter (1851) by Talfourd and Hale, and *Aladdin* (1866) by Millward, through the plate design, revealed how the politics of the pantomime operated separately from fashion and culture.

This was evident in *The Mandarin's Daughter* (1851) whose choice of story line was from the willow pattern plate, a familiar object to the theatre's audience. Sullivan (2011) p.15 (cited in Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 127) reflected that such an object was a reference to culture and fashion which was within the 'audience's experiences and understanding of the world'.

Millward was a well-known author of the Theatre Royal pantomimes and perhaps recognised the literary and visual value of a cultural icon such as the willow pattern plate. Millward would have been well aware that the willow pattern plate was a locally produced product that used local pattern books to provide China's visual illusion. He would have related his local experiences to his audience of merchants, ceramic factory owners and frontline workers.

In this chapter, the theories of Said (1978; 1989) support the imagined landscapes and people of China that local manufacturers created as part of that visual illusion. The academic historians Benedict Anderson (1983) and John Mackenzie (1995; 1986; 1984), discussed in my Literature Review (pp. 42-45), supported the ideas of Said. Their ideas feed into concepts about superiority and the cultural and commercial exchanges that took place, as identified by authors such as O'Hara (O'Hara, 1993, p. 423). Imagination and superiority were repeated components in the *Aladdin* pantomimes after the First and Second Opium Wars of the 1840s and 1850s, and demonstrated the British aggression towards the Chinese. The willow pattern plate, with other oriental decorative elements prevalent in *Aladdin*, reflected the

growing trends of later productions to bring the willow pattern plate into the domestic sphere.

Hall and Rose's theorisation of tea considered by them to be a product served with jam and bread, was equally applicable to my analysis of the 'everyday' and the 'exotic' in pantomimes which featured the willow pattern plate (Hall and Rose, 2006, p. 183). Imagine the woman of the house who served up her cup of tea in willow pattern cups, on willow pattern saucers, alongside willow pattern plates on which she placed jam and bread.

In order to contextualise the above ideas within the pantomime a description of *The Mandarin's Daughter* and Millward's *Aladdin* will help to establish a basis for the productions of the 1850s and 1860s and the popularity of the plate's design.

THE MANDARIN'S DAUGHTER OR THE STORY OF THE WILLOW PATTERN PLATE

The Mandarin's Daughter (1851), performed at Christmas, and at the time available through good music shops, contributed to the static representation of the willow pattern plate, and was an invented British design depicting Chinese landscapes and people. It referenced the mid-century emergence of racial attitudes, the intellectual debates about human evolution in Britain and endorsed the importance of the plate as an established cultural and social icon in the domestic sphere of the home.

In *The Mandarin's Daughter*, Chim-pan-see introduced the drop scene of the willow pattern plate by stepping out in front of a drop cloth of the blue and white plate's design. He outlined the story of the first half of the plate (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, p. 4) as if it was an accepted story, known to many in the audience watching:

CHIM

At finding the English so ready to treasure

The legends of China.

(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 26-27)

He related how the Mandarin's daughter locked in her rooms was destined to marry her father's choice of suitor. She was in love with Chang, a lowly secretary, in the employ of the Mandarin. Chim-pan-see revealed that the couple arranged to run away together, and escape the Mandarin's influence.

A later song by Chim-pan-see in the second act described the lovers' escape over the bridge. They then lived on an island together away from the influence of the Mandarin. The original suitor of the Princess discovered them, and the couple had to part.

The Family Friend's rendition of the story, published in 1849 (O'Hara, 1993, p. 425), was a basis for this willow pattern plate story. This magazine, for the housewife published throughout the nineteenth century, covered cooking, gardening and sewing, and scientific facts, world news and stories.

Nevertheless, *The Mandarin's Daughter's* story differed from *The Family Friend* version of the plate, as the turtle doves or swallows were not included. In other willow pattern designs, the birds represented the lovers, who die in a fire. The Gods took pity on the couple and changed them into birds, and placed them in celestial heaven together.

ALADDIN BY CHARLES MILLWARD

There was a song in Millward's *Aladdin* (1866) which incorporated the plate before the transformation scene at the end of the pantomime. The author matched the

characters of *Aladdin* to the story of the willow pattern plate parts, in a double transformation scene at the end of the evening's performance. Morosetti suggested that authors would have been fully aware of the transformation scene's topicality as a propaganda tool in nineteenth-century performances to guarantee attendance (Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 8).

Aladdin by Millward (1866) started as a traditional pantomime where the story outlined in the introduction was the main part of the night's entertainment. There was a traditional harlequinade after the main 'fairy' story in which the actors converted into the characters of the commedia dell'arte, through what was known as the 'transformation scene'. Unexpectedly, Millward introduced his willow pattern song before the opening of the harlequinade. Through this song, the *Aladdin* characters changed into the willow pattern plate roles, and then in turn transformed into Harlequin and the other commedia dell'arte parts. For example, the hero Aladdin, became Harlequin and his bride or partner, transformed into Columbine. What was remarkable about the song that Millward included how the characters sang their version of the willow pattern plate story to their audience.

This production of *Aladdin* used the willow pattern design to imagine the landscapes and people of China, in set and in text, and became Chinese in style, rather than Arabic. *Aladdin* and *The Mandarin's Daughter* shared ancient China as a fixed location through the design of the plate.

The original designer of the plate, Thomas Minton, chose an intriguing story similar to that of *Aladdin*. The stories shared the star-crossed lovers, a poor boy meeting a rich girl, tyrannical merchants or advisors, poor and weak fathers in power,

the crossing of one life to another, the inclusion of jewels, riches and palaces, and the reconciliation of the lovers.

Why did Talfourd and Hale use the willow pattern plate story as a basis for a Christmas production? Then, some fifteen years later, why did Millward choose the story to include within his production of *Aladdin*? The timing of the productions was important for Talfourd and Hale. Talfourd and Hale wrote *The Mandarin's Daughter* at a time when The First Opium Wars (1839–1842) were still in the living memory of their audience. This was a period when, O'Hara argued, negative ideas about the Chinese circulated at a time of politically troubled years before and after The Opium Wars (O'Hara, 1993, p. 425) at the height of popular *Punch* cartoons and press coverage from the Far Eastern war.

The *Aladdin* of 1866 coincided with the height of the Aesthetic Movement's interest in blue and white (Calloway and Federle Orr, 2011, pp. 39- 44, Staley, 2011, pp. 278-279). The later *Aladdin* pantomimes echoed this reawakening of blue and white ceramics, and reflected back nostalgic, popular stories and fashions of the period, like the willow pattern plate.

Millward was familiar with Talfourd and Hale's work, as six years prior to the regional production of *Aladdin*, in 1860, the authors knew each other through the Savage Club in London (Savage Club, 2015),²⁵ and regionally Millward became known to Birmingham audiences for his authorship of seventeen Theatre Royal, Birmingham pantomimes (Appendix A; Sullivan, 2011, pp. 216-219). The willow pattern plate was a locally made item, and as there is no record of each author's

²⁵ The Savage Club, founded in 1857, had members who were gentlemen from literature, fine art and the theatre (<http://www.savageclub.com> [online] [Accessed 16 December 2015]).

choice, my only evidence as to their decision was in the production's book of words and associated newspaper cuttings.

I have made assumptions based on the choice of words used in the text and Sullivan's ideas about 'notion of audience' in regional pantomime studies she made of Birmingham and Nottingham productions (Sullivan, 2005, p. 2). Sullivan discussed a 'notion of audience', an idea about how local people viewed ideas, through the topical elements that managers and authors included in the pantomime. This argument helped relate the text of *Aladdin* to how product placement and commodity culture brought the willow pattern to local audiences. A member of the audience might have purchased a willow pattern plate as chinaware or as an oriental object for the home. Members of the audience might have been employers or employees from the ceramics industry.

Sullivan argued that using the script and newspaper cuttings helped build up a picture of the audience who attended the pantomime, and a reflection on how the manager attracted that audience through the manager's approach to promoting a visit to the theatre (Sullivan, 2011, pp. 218-219).

Recent studies by Qureshi proved this point. She considered posters and newspaper promotions of the Zulu warriors in *The London Illustrated Times*. She explained at length how cartoons included the Bantu language of the Zulu warriors of Southern Africa, within the cartoon conversation. It was an inclusion that she purported audiences read and understood so that they could access the humour of the cartoon (Qureshi, 2011, p. 180). Her argument adds weight to Sullivan's (2005) and my ideas concerning an audience's knowledge of China and Chineseness. An audience understood that the Manchu rulers in China insisted that Han Chinese wore

pigtails, as in *The Mandarin's Daughter* (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 7-9) or in *Punch* cartoons (see Figure 1). Audiences were receptive, but not static.

Sullivan cites *The Hornet* newspaper article by Stephen Fiske (1874) (cited in Sullivan, 2011, pp. 218-219) that pantomimes, while political, also mirrored and activated their audiences. Although Sullivan's research indicated that in pantomime this was true, I agree that it was also about reflecting those issues familiar to an audience.

Equally, regional theatres' authors and managers were independent and flexible, and had their own political loyalties. In the period 1848-1870, Eric Hobsbawm supported the idea that international and domestic politics were closely related (Hobsbawm, 1975, p. 82). Sullivan argued that contemporary political ideas and stances were commonplace in pantomime (Sullivan, 2011, pp. 216-219). These playwrights wrote for local people, who worked in local industries that produced the Chinese-styled goods.



Figure 1: 'A Chanson for Canton' (1858) *Punch*: 10 April: 151.

In addition, amongst the authors, managers and their clientele, many families bought the willow pattern plate in local shops or by mail order. Talfourd and Hale

used the story as if it was well known. It was popular fiction in *The Family Friend* (1849), and read within the family home, a story set in ancient China.

For Millward, the willow pattern plate story was a good oriental plot that aligned itself well with the *Aladdin* story. The way in which the authors set their stories in ancient China allowed them to play with a number of sensitive and topical issues. Whereas *The Mandarin's Daughter* included racial references and stereotypical Chinese characters, Millward's *Aladdin* production used the willow pattern plate as a catalyst to close the pantomime and connected *Aladdin* to the transformation scene. The willow pattern plate song included topical references to communication and technological progress, known to the audience and blended this into the traditional and nostalgic pantomime.

This blending of the past in Chim-pan-see's part in *The Mandarin's Daughter* placed this ancient story in the present lives of his audience, as indicated by the author's inclusion of The Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 15-16). The exhibition was a good example of how, in that same year, the might of empire was apparent in the oriental pavilions, which framed Chinese culture as seen through British eyes. Similarly, in the theatre, *The Mandarin's Daughter*, surrounded by the proscenium arch of the theatre stage, was as a border or frame to the British view of empire and the Chinese. In the same manner, the border of the willow pattern plate framed a British view of China.

The exhibitions signified the huge changes taking place within the Empire and China, and mirrored their depiction in the theatre and on decorative goods. The Great Exhibition, repeated by organisers in 1862, was prior to Millward's *Aladdin*

production. This later exhibition combined a number of oriental and British-inspired Indian, Chinese and Japanese goods.

In sensing and prompting this change, Chim-pan-see blurred and anticipated the Orient in *The Mandarin's Daughter* as he 'geographised the plate for the audience' (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction: 55). He went on to describe the set's location as a place 'somewhere in China' and in a sense of time 'out of mind'. It was geography of no particular place or time zone. The theatre set was a blend of pure oriental invention.

CHIM

Song—Air, "Alteration".

For some time you might look in a geographical book,
Without obtaining a word of explanation,
As to what the name might be for the river that you see,
Or as to where its source, or whither its destination,
But it's all the same, for what's in a name?
Is Mister William Shakspeare's very just observation.
So, if you please, for the present, just to keep all things
pleasant,
We'll say it somewhere in the Celestial Nation.
(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, 3, 56-64)

This was not only a nostalgic reference to the story and the British author and theatrical icon of Shakespeare, but the manufacture of the willow pattern plate was also part of an author merging ideas. It was a measure of uncertainty, so that the audience were not quite sure where they were, now, or perhaps many years ago in ancient China. The blurring continued in Millward's *Aladdin* Scene 8, A Chinese Village when Genius said:

GENIUS

A story I'll relate,
From this willow pattern plate,
Of events and scenes which have just taken place, place, place.
(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 1-5)

As Millward's Genius spoke the phrase 'events which have just taken place, place, place' the production reminded an audience that the production was very firmly in the present. The songs used by Talfourd, Hale and Millward remained contemporary because they used widely-known songs to support their far away locations. Often the present, Warner remarked, as in this situation, sustained through a mutual relationship of popular songs and music (Warner, 2002, p. 17). Said noted that even in other Middle-Eastern-influenced productions, the words used in songs were often the British vernacular (Said, 1993a, p. 428).

What I was able to trace was how the growing interest in empire within *Aladdin*, and its inclusion of the willow pattern plate linked the old to the present. The first aspect that emerges from my study was the absence or the inclusion of birds within the original plate design.

In *The Mandarin's Daughter* account of the story the birds were missing, which followed an older version of the plate, where there was no mention of the birds, probably referring to an older Caughley, Brossley or Spode ceramic design. By 1840, the willow pattern design incorporated the two turtle doves or swallows in the centre of the plate.

Patricia O'Hara explains that of the two early written references from Lemon and *The Family Friend*, the latter from a cultural basis was the one on which subsequent willow pattern stories were based (O'Hara, 1993, pp. 424-425). She noted that Mark

Lemon's farcical rendition in *Bentley's Miscellany* (Lemon, 1838, pp. 61-65) under Charles Dickens' editorship was the earliest she identified. O'Hara acknowledged there were probably other willow pattern stories in circulation, now lost, but that the 1838 edition could well have been a basis for *The Family Friend* version (1849) pp. 124-127, 151-154 (cited in O'Hara, 1993, pp. 425-426). She favoured *The Family Friend's* account as a more academic discourse that included the customs and explanatory notes attributed to *Asiatic Transactions* by Sir William Jones (1824) (cited in O'Hara, 1993, p. 427). *The Mandarin's Daughter's* version idealised the plate and set the scene for the use of the plate's design in future *Aladdin* productions.

The story in *The Family Friend* version contained the birds and described the lovers' journey to heaven (a fuller transcription appears in Appendix F):

[One] of their interviews came to the old man, [Mandarin] who [...] forbade his daughter to go beyond the walls of the house... He also built a suite of apartments adjoining the banqueting room [with] no exit but through the banquet hall [...] [he] betrothed his daughter to a wealthy friend, a Ta-jin, or duke of high degree, whom she had never seen [...] Chang [...] besought her to fly with him [and taking the Ta-jin's jewels they] stole behind the screen [...] passed the door [...] descended the steps, and gained the foot of the bridge, beside the willow tree [...] the three figures on the bridge [...] [They escape by boat]. The jewels were sold [...] With the money thus procured [...] [Chang and] purchase[d] a free right to the little island [The Ta-jin] obtained an escort of soldiers to arrest Chang-and with these the Ta-jin attacked the island [killing Chang]... Koong-see in despair [fled] [...] to her apartments, which she set on fire, and perished [...] In pity to Koong-see and her lover, [...] [they] were transformed into two immortal doves. *The Family Friend*, 1849, pp. 124-127,151-154 (cited in O'Hara, 1993, pp. 424- 425).

Since this was one of the earliest accounts traced in print and also because *The Mandarin's Daughter* post-dates *The Family Friend* by a couple of years, it would

seem logical to render these two as significant occurrences to make the story interesting enough for Millward to use it in a Christmas pantomime.

In the song from Millward's *Aladdin* (1866) there are two birds, but altered to the eagle and the dove, and I argue that this related to the might of the British Empire. The plate's birds were traditionally two turtle doves or swallows, which signified the two lovers. The traditional story ends with the two lovers changed into birds by the celestial gods. It would suggest that Millward used a more recent modern and local version of the plate's story, the one described in the national magazine *The Family Friend* (*The Family Friend*, 1849, pp. 124-127, 151-154). Millward's bird reference fashioned a story of the design in a much more political and striking pose, as in his *Aladdin* song Genius promotes the design of the plate as approved by the eagle and the dove. The plate was a British-made product, and a copy of Chinese imports.

GENIUS

And the dicky birds above,
Are the eagle and the dove,
A-giving their *assent* [approval] to the design –ign-ign!
(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 10-12)

Why change the birds to the eagle and the dove? The dove constituted peace; the eagle imperial might. This represented the imperial strength of ancient Rome, or as in the *Punch* cartoons of the period, modern Germany, France, or the United States of America. The eagle and the dove might have depicted the military might of Britain, as an imperial power and the bringer of peace to her dominions, in the style of Imperial Rome.

Genius stated that the eagle and the dove have approved the 'design-ign-ign'. If the eagle denoted the United States of America, this might have been a signal that

in, approving the design, the birds signified this overseas power's approval of international collaboration with Britain.

The communication cables laid by the Great Eastern ship from Britain to America supported this idea of the eagle representing the United States of America, because the Emperor also mentioned the Atlantic Ocean, which connected Britain to the United States of America. China was associated with the Indian or Pacific Ocean. The Great Eastern ship when added to this information concerning the eagle intimated not only Britain's relationship with China, but in addition Britain's rapport with the United States of America.²⁶

These two interpretations placed Britain in a position of imperial power over the Chinese. The story of an eagle and a dove, from a British perspective, was not the marriage of lovers, but of empire and peace, connecting the ideologies of colonisation and imperial might and in the manner of the oriental discourse the British establishing empire and rule over the 'other.'

Irwin agreed with this aspect of the oriental discourse, the idea that the British considered themselves superior to 'other' nations. This idea about the West, he argued, originated before Said's oriental concepts in the Islamic perspectives offered in the work of the Hungarian Ignac Goldziher (1850-1921) and the German Orientalist Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933) (Irwin, 2006, p. 30).

In *Orientalism*, MacKenzie argued, Said insisted that superiority, through colonisation of the East, especially the Middle East, 'rendered a particular relationship with the West' (MacKenzie, 1984, p. 60). Primarily Europeans believed themselves superior to people from other countries, especially in the Middle East,

²⁶ Throughout the American Civil War (1861-1865), Britain maintained good relations with the United States of America

and, for my purposes, the Far East. Said suggested that this period was static, but I agree with MacKenzie that this was a period of great change. This was a change, in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, which corresponded with a growth in understanding Britain's relationship with the Far East (MacKenzie, 2009, pp. 9-22).

MacKenzie and Suzanne Marchand proved that civil wars in Europe assisted in constructing a Western view of the East and 'otherness', but I argue that more poignant was Warner linking such developments through colonial wars (MacKenzie, 2009, Introduction; Marchand, 2009, Introduction; Warner, 2011, p. 360). The willow pattern plate's inclusion in *Aladdin* demonstrated this colonial change in Britain's relationship with China, and Britain's reliance on trade. The British Government secured trading terms for opium and tea with China, although eventually by design India proved a better place for Britain to grow tea than China. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* highlighted worldwide trade in this quotation from *The Manchester Evening Gazette*, which read:

China and India are quite out of the market. The scale of which was being assessed through the sale of goods to these countries and the taking up of cotton" ('Manchester Evening News' in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 15 October, 1851: 1).

These newspaper articles, in line with other media, exposed Britain's reliance on foreign trade and colonial gains. As late as the 1879-1880 Christmas holiday season, the *Aladdin* at the Prince of Wales in Birmingham ended with a *Ballet of All Nations* glorifying Britain's Empire and peaceful intentions (Green, 1879, p. 21). In *Aladdin*, Millward manipulated the image of China on a daily basis over Christmas and beyond by reference to British naval presence. His inclusion of these elements through the placing of birds, water and boats within the concluding transformation

song, echoed the British technical advancements and British naval supremacy at sea.

In the earlier production of *The Mandarin's Daughter*, Chim-pan-see described how the water in the plate's story passed under bridges, or how characters travelled by water and how islands connected to one another. White space between these scenes directed the eyes of the viewer around the plate.²⁷ The Emperor said in subsequent lines that he was not afraid of *Neptune*, which was a reference to British naval might at this time, and the threat of Europe.

Chim-pan-see outlined the plate in spatial and geographical terms, layering the story from right to left, and front to back. This is similar to the layering of theatrical flats in a set, or the production of 'white space' on the plate, his words building layers, both in plot and story. As in advertising, 'white space' sells, and the plate, like a theatre production, presented the story in sections, as a pantomime split into acts and scenes, which divided and directed the story (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, pp. 1-61; 1, 3, 149-182). The plate in visual terms and Chim-pan-see's song separated the sections of the story in similar ways.

Millward's *Aladdin* divided the willow pattern plate story into verses, and recounted each character's involvement with each part of the plate's story. This created a visual and textual white space for the Millward's version of the story to embed such ideas in an audience's mind. It assisted in merging *Aladdin* and the willow pattern plate stories, and emphasised the use of contemporary imagery within the ancient exotic story.

²⁷ 'White space' is a term used in advertising to describe how leaving space around text or pictures is visually important as it draws the eye to rest on what is important or next [online] [www.definitions.net/definition/white space](http://www.definitions.net/definition/white%20space) [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Millward empowered the audience by using the willow pattern plate story to frame his message of empire and, while he challenged tradition, he reinforced the idea that the British were superior to 'other' foreign people. This superiority for Millward included the Great Eastern, a new metal ship that carried 4000 passengers, that was able to travel to India, China and Australia without the necessity to refuel. The ship broke down on its maiden voyage in 1858, then became a service ship in 1866, and used to lay a communication cable across the Atlantic. The transformation willow pattern plate song gave the impression that the ship was on its way to China. This ship represented the 1860s and the might of technology and communication and not the world from the 1850s, confined within an exhibition's four walls or within the script of *The Mandarin's Daughter*. While the Genius mentioned the ship in Millward's song, the Emperor, in the confines of his court, denied the ship's existence:

EMPEROR

No Great Eastern there you see

But a yacht that's owned by me.

(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 13-14)

The Great Eastern, as the Emperor's yacht, I argue, demonstrated the British relationship with China, after a period of war. Their renewed trade was on different and unequal terms, particularly in the export of tea, which by the 1860s favoured Britain, as Britain decided to import tea from India.

The British, like many European countries, had wished to colonise China, or at least have a foothold on importing and exporting to China. China granted the British access to certain ports, but China was never a colony for the British. The Emperor said:

EMPEROR

For I'm not afraid of Neptune, not bit-bit-bit
I'm the sovereign of the seas
One who never feared a breeze.
(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 15-17)

In these lines, the Emperor clearly said that he was not afraid of *Neptune*, which was a reference to British naval might in the 1850s, and the threat of Europe. He said, 'I'm the Sovereign of the seas', a statement that he deemed put him in control, as if he represented a British leader in power. The underlying suggestion is that what was known about China in Britain differed from the real China. The character denied what was happening around him, and indicated to the audience that the British Empire was not as powerful as the audience would like to believe. The Emperor did not wish to admit that the ship existed, as a prized vessel of British manufacture that travelled to the Far East in one journey without stopping. The yacht implied that the Emperor denied that the British have the upper hand in this global relationship.

The British Empire connected the visual experience of China and its people to Britain. The message conveyed through *The Mandarin's Daughter*, and *Aladdin* was that the British themselves controlled the sea and trade. Millward, who wrote for Birmingham audiences (Sullivan, 2005, p. 140), challenged Britain's superiority, not only through his inclusion of the eagle and the dove and his analogies for superiority and peace, but also through the subconscious and subtle texts of his Chinese characters. For my argument, the Emperor and the Vizier are interchangeable; each could represent Britain or China. The Vizier revealed his purpose in life when he said:

VIZIER

A prime minister I am,
And my royal liege I cram
With speeches fair and pleasing for the mob, mob, mob.
(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 25-27)

The lines of the Vizier implied that the Emperor was a puppet ruler, who believed he had power. At this point in the pantomime, the Vizier or prime minister controlled the Emperor through speeches and fine words. This text indicated that the Vizier was in the role of the British Empire. The Emperor believed his people treated him favourably, whereas, the Vizier suggested that the people did not overwhelm the Emperor with favour (Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 18-24):

EMPEROR

It's rarely they a royal face can see, see, see.
(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 24)

In *Aladdin*, the Emperor referred to the bridge and his cheering people, as he believed the population benefited from the rare occasion he emerged from the palace. This was probably a fabrication on his part; the Vizier may have misinformed his puppet emperor. In Millward's song from *Aladdin*, the Vizier described the Emperor as a man of 'few words'. The Vizier manipulated the Emperor's speeches to please the mob (Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 25-27). He controlled the Emperor for his own ends, i.e. the marriage of his son Tching (Pekoe) to the Princess.

I suggest that the bridge represented the Emperor's relationship with his people and subsequently the understanding the Emperor had with his Vizier. The bridge divided the court and the people and journeys across the bridge signified the movement of characters from bad to good, from evil ways to reconciliation. The

people on the bridge cheered, but were they really cheering their Emperor? If the audience viewed it from his perspective, they would question whether the crowd was jeering or cheering. The bridge not only represented the relationship with his people, but also his inability to communicate with them.

The Emperor, I maintain, was in denial and had been living in an unspoiled and protected view of the world from his palace. The responses from Europeans, who visited China and the British Army's observations on the Summer Palace in 1860, revealed that the real-life Emperor did lead a very secluded and protected existence (Chang, 2010, p. 19-20). The fact that the Emperor saw himself as a superior being, and hid from view, suggests that he may not have properly communicated with his people (Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 23). At this time Queen Victoria (1837-1901) lived a secluded life after the death of her husband, Prince Albert, in 1861. Similarly, her counterpart the Regent and Dowager Tzu-hsi (1835-1908) in China hid from her people. Queen Victoria had made her first official public engagement, when out of mourning for Prince Albert, in Wolverhampton in November 1866. This was just before Millward's *Aladdin* pantomime played at The Theatre Royal, Birmingham. It was a logical step creatively for Millward to place this history in some context. These hidden-from-view observations post-date The Opium Wars and the tea trade with China, and the rise in middle-class wealth.

The authors of *Aladdin* pantomimes did not favour the character of the Emperor, a reference to the British prejudice towards the Chinese ruler. Britain was at war with China at this time, and categorised the Chinese as a subordinate race. Millward placed characters against each other and engaged the audience with more than one set of double meanings, to create ambiguity as to his characters' motives. The

misguided belief of the Emperor, that his people loved him was a misinterpretation of his relationship with the British. His representation indicated that the real Emperor believed that he was a superior being and 'sovereign of the seas'. Millward used the double-edged irony of pantomime to mock the Emperor and ensure the audience knew who was in control and, who was not. Said expressed these political ideas of control and power in geographical terms:

Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons, but about ideas and forms, about images and imaginings (Said, 1993b, p. 7).

This argument of Said projects images and imaginings far beyond those of military and commercial trade. I would argue that it was in this panorama of ideas, described by Said, which allowed *Aladdin* and the willow pattern plate to coexist in their everyday and exotic forms, within the pantomime and the home. The idea of invented landscapes in the work of Said (1978) is useful in understanding how Britain and Europe viewed what they considered civilised worlds, China, the Far Cathay and the 'other'. Said used the phrase 'imagined geographies', a phrase first encountered in Hobsbawm within his deliberations about nations and imagined boundaries.

Hobsbawm argued that imagination created nations and he reasoned international and domestic politics were close to each other in the period 1848-1870 (Hobsbawm, 1968, p. 82). His analysis of this period in Europe was that many countries became nation states. This attitude considered the nation as taken for granted, with a coherent territory and defined geographical space (Hobsbawm, 1968, p. 84).

The dominance of institutions and the culture of the ruling class or the supposedly educated class created an undercurrent of dominance. Ideologically he claimed, for

example, that the Czechs were a nation that questioned nationhood. He surmised that they had radical, democratic and revolutionary tendencies (Hobsbawm, 1968, p. 85). I propose that there was a difference. One aspect relates to founding nations, while the other was to have nationhood. The politics constructed from the founding of a nation overlapping with its imagined nationhood.

Benedict Anderson also had a theory of 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1983, pp. 4-8, 32-33) and Michel Foucault (1967) (cited in translation Miskowiec, 1984, p. 3) used the term 'imagined spaces'. They share the view of Said in his *Culture and Imperialism* that geography was as much about physical boundaries as it was about ideas, forms, images and imaginings (Said, 1993, p. 7).

Said's perceived geography supports ideas about how invented nations and cultures become part of the oriental discourse. The theory of 'imagined geographies' was equally supported by MacKenzie (1986), Ziter (2003), and Hall and Rose (2006). Said's post-1980s research opened up the oriental debate. MacKenzie argued that international politics formed the geographical world. This involved the moving of national boundaries to suit imperial growth, an opinion shared by Hobsbawm (MacKenzie, 1975, p. 82).

MacKenzie considered Anderson's theory of 'imagined communities' and the work of Said, whom he applauded for his suggestion that there must be multidisciplinary approach and contrapuntal readings to verify the oriental theory. It made imperialism only one element of Western culture and the cultures of others.

Local and regional identities, he posited, are different to Said's views when described in the light of Anderson's research. This rendered Said's utilitarian approach as redundant (MacKenzie, 1983, p. 140). Said (1978) maintained that

Orientalism was unchanging, where MacKenzie depicted the discourse as evolving (MacKenzie, 1995, pp. 2-15).

My research proves that visual oriental elements in *Aladdin* productions changed across the nineteenth century. Thomas Richards and Thad Logan said that narratives of the late nineteenth century were full of fantasies surrounding empire united not by force, but by knowledge (Richards, 1990, Introduction; Logan, 2001, p. 183). As with media, literature, travel and war, the knowledge contained in *Aladdin* theatre productions, as an invented landscape, belonged to an imperial British power. The negative depiction of the Chinese on the stage, because of imposed British imperial influences, was still at variance with the perfect scene of the willow pattern plate.

It is important to understand why this British supremacy, displayed in the text, was both in keeping and in marked contrast to the imagined and idealised buildings and landscapes of China depicted on the willow pattern plate, and on the stage. Text rather than images determined the historiography of visual elements in *Aladdin* pantomimes. Firstly, imagination was part of visualising Chineseness, and expressed the British audacity in capturing the Chinese likeness in the willow pattern plate, and on stage, as an act of supremacy. Secondly, how the expression of these buildings and landscapes represented a person's aspirations and advancement in British society, within lower and middle-class circles. The buildings and landscapes also expressed rule over the 'other'. *The Mandarin's Daughter* again assisted in supporting my arguments for these concepts within later *Aladdin* productions to determine how the authors incorporated the willow pattern plate.

ALADDIN AND IMAGINED CHINA

I evaluated this imagined British China on stage through the willow pattern plate to determine degrees of British supremacy, Chineseness and transformation in local society.

The architecture displayed in *The Mandarin's Daughter* and on the plate distinguished between society's rich and poor. Koong See, the Princess, described as living in a palatial residence on two storeys, appeared in three excerpts.

CHIM

And those are the rooms where his daughter, Koong-see,
Is shut up, as she's found in the first scene to be,
Whence she looks on the garden and looks on the trees
That wibbledee, &c.

And that is the house where the deputy, Chang,
By transposing the words may be said to out-hang,
Who looks up at the rooms where the lovely Koong-see
Is shut up as, &c.

(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 42-49)

Later in the script, within another song, these couple of lines verified Koong-see and Chang's social status:

KOONG

Down in the street, my love,
...Up to your room, my love.

(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, 1, 35-37)

and from a later song in Part II of *The Mandarin's Daughter*:

CHIM

Now that house on the bank, which, from its size and rank,
Appears to be to the opposite one very like a poor relation.
(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 2, 3, 168-169)

Koong-see lived in a two-storey dwelling, which defined her status as of high birth and defined her socially superior to Chang. In contrast, Chang's house was lowly and one-storey because the text describes how he gazed upwards to where Koong-see resided. In Millward's production, the Widow compared Aladdin to Chang from the plate, noting his lowly birth and she identified Aladdin as the Princess's chosen suitor (Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 32-33).

In this fantasy landscape, there was a distinction between high and low birth. Two-storey buildings were for higher ranks in China, and most buildings in Peking were single-storey. There was a difference between the design of the plate and the photographs of the Summer Palace and Peking during The Opium Wars (Chang, 2010, pp. 161-162).

In previous oriental productions of *Aladdin*, there appeared to be no distinction, as to architecture between London and China. The street scene pictures of the toy theatre sets did not reflect the single storey buildings of China. The sets were copies of those pre-1850 productions that had two-storey buildings entitled the 'Streets of Peking', reminiscent of London streets (see Figure 2).

Dating toy theatres is difficult as toy theatre plates and designs have been lost. In the mid-century, Pollock and Webb reprinted the early versions of Parks and Green's portraits and prints of Joseph Grimaldi. These collectable prints sold at the time of the early *Aladdin* (1813), when Grimaldi performed as the character Kasrac. This dates these picture sets to the early-nineteenth century. The toy theatre's costume sheets confirmed the oriental Chinese costumes of the period, and helped in dating the theatre sets.



Figure 2: Toy theatre drawing of the Street in Peking. Webb, William (c. 1830s) *Aladdin* [paper].

This visual evidence did not conform to those in the willow pattern design. There was a clear move, even in this invented Chinese world, in *The Mandarin's Daughter* and *Aladdin* (1866), to move towards a real depiction of China as in this early evidence of a British willow pattern plate (see Figures 2 and 3). This mid-century period clearly marked a depiction beyond the old Arabic-styled *Aladdin*, to one that embraced the knowledge of China acquired through the plate, magazines, newspapers, and military people's feedback from The Opium Wars, between 1849 and 1860 and The Great Exhibition (1851).



Figure 3: Single and two storey buildings as part of the willow pattern plate design. Spode (c. 1850s) *The Willow Pattern Plate* [ceramic]. Author's own.

The oriental buildings and the bridges depicted on the plate were still imaginary and of British design, and featured in *The Mandarin's Daughter* and *Aladdin*. As part of the *Aladdin* story, bridges represented how wealth was determined and how wealth moved from poor to rich and rich to poor.

In *The Mandarin's Daughter*, Chim-pan-see referred to the bridge in the second-half of the production, foretelling that circumstances were about to change.

CHIM.

You see we've as yet been on this side the plate, (*points*)
But we now make a move, and you'll find that the state
Of affairs is quite changed .
So, being well versed in all Eastern topography,
I'll once more clear the way of our story's geography;
You shall follow the pairs who've the wide world before 'em,
And I'll act as the bridge, not the "Pons Asinorum."
Song—Air, "Alteration".
(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 2, 1, 10-17)

Pons asinorum was a term with two metaphorical meanings, a bridge or a test, in Euclid's *Fifth Proposition* in *Book 1* of his *Elements of Geometry*. The most popular explanation was that it tested the level of intelligence in a person. A bridge symbolised a crossover to the intellectualised ideas that followed in the pantomime and drove an idea forward. The song called 'Alteration', although not specifically identified in the archives as a song, denoted transition from one aspect to another.

Chim-pan-see said he was the bridge and in effect remained neutral, and not intellectual, a reference to his lowly status. He directed his audience over the bridge and took the story from one side of the bridge to the other. The lovers escaped over the bridge forming a critical part of the pantomime rhetoric. They banished 'evil' intent when they crossed over the bridge, which signified that good had triumphed over evil and that at the end of the pantomime story everything had been resolved.

The perceived architecture of buildings and bridges were part of the greater garden landscape, the visual representation of China and Chineseness. Such gardens were prevalent in the design of the willow pattern plate and part of the story

of *Aladdin* relating to the Emperor and his people. These invented landscapes in the oriental pantomime were an important part of the British interpretation of an imagined China.

The early translation of the *Arabian Nights* by Galland related how the cave contained trees that were heavily laden with fruit for the picking (Galland (1704-1717) in Orr, 2008, pp. 37-38). Richard Burton described Antoine Galland's literary expertise, as his ability "to transplant into European gardens the magic flowers of Eastern fancy" (Burton in Orr, 2008, pp. 37-38).

Gardens in the Chinoiserie style of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century had mixed foreign plants with British species to create exotic British gardens. In *The Mandarin's Daughter*, He-Sing, the Mandarin, had a house, described as having lovely gardens and trees which 'wibbledee wobbledee go in the breeze', having verdure and shade, and being 'such a paradise'. The 'wibbledee wobbledee' trees of *The Mandarin's Daughter* correspond to the multiple trees that appear on the willow pattern plate (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 41).

In contrast, in Charles Millward's song, the buildings, gardens and trees from the plate design as represented on stage, also indicated a cave within the trees. The Widow described the trees as where Ka-Foo (Abanazar) had buried Aladdin in the magical cave.

WIDOW

A vagabond one day,

Came and stole my boy away,

And buried him alive behind those trees, trees, trees.

(Millward, 1866, 1, VIII, 37-39)

When Millward wrote his *Aladdin* song he viewed trees as a mixed blessing, laying more emphasis on Aladdin being trapped in a cave hidden in the trees than on a cave as a place of rich jewels (Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 39-45). The relationship between buildings and gardens was very important to the story of the willow pattern plate, and the arbours and gardens were important to Millward's characters. The songs told of fantasy gardens and ones that had magical properties. These visual perceptions on stage of gardens and buildings were part of the British landscape. They visually addressed the popularity of oriental goods in regional gardens such as Biddulph Grange and Alton Towers and reflected the willow pattern designs and other locally produced oriental English goods (Biddulph, 2012; Lost Heritage 2017; Loudon (1834), in Kelsall, 2007).

The fantasy gardens in each song served different purposes. They allowed the lovers to meet and escape in Talfourd and Hale's *The Mandarin's Daughter*, and the garden was a prison and gave Aladdin access to magic in Millward's *Aladdin*.

Millward's character Aladdin referenced trees in this manner:

ALADDIN.

I'm the boy that's bold, not good,

I've been buried in that wood.

(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 43-44)

The trees around the cave were where Ka-Foo (Abanazar) had buried Aladdin. The trees surrounding the cave mirrored those on the willow pattern plate. This confirms that the set used by Millward was the same as the design on the willow pattern plate. This verifies that oriental imported trees had grown up as imaginary Chinese trees within the British landscape, and that they were part of the cultural passion and fashion for idealised trees mixed with native species. The willow pattern

plate trees were a view of Chinese landscapes that competed with the mixed trees of the everyday British landscape and were not a true representation of China.

The everyday exotic of the willow pattern plate drew into a darker place within the cave. Aladdin, trapped in the cave, reflected on his own circumstances, which were similar to those of people trapped in the lower classes. In the cave, Aladdin discovered trees laden with riches beyond his dreams, which included the location of the Genie of the Ring, and later the Genie of the Lamp. The willow pattern plate's stylised trees were reminiscent of the cave's trees laden with rich baubles and shapes, as if they were rich jewels. Aladdin continued the tree theme when he said:

ALADDIN

But I hav'nt hopped the twig yet, be it known, known, known.

My Princess from peril's snatched,

I've been 'gainst" my uncle" matched

That I'm the better of the two he'll own, own, own.

(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 45-48)

Aladdin employed the true tree-punning style expected in pantomime when he said "hav'nt hopped the twig yet". Aladdin spoke of saving the Princess from his uncle and the circumstances suggested a brighter future. In fact, author Bridget Orr (Orr (2008) in Makdisi et al (eds.) 2008, p. 118) demonstrated that the meaning of some theatre has become invisible, as the historiographic evidence was not there. She considered that Galland's plays became popular, not because of powerful monarchs or slavery, but because of the history of orphan stories, whose benefactors or beneficial situations guaranteed them a future beyond poverty (Orr (2008), in Makdisi et al (eds.) 2008, p. 118). The popular novels of Charles Dickens, in particular *Oliver Twist* (1837), in literary terms supported this idea.

Aladdin practised a 'trickledown' economics, one where his wealth confirmed how audiences might have entertained the idea that they could 'do better' in life (Orr 2008) in Makdisi et al (eds.) 2008, p. 127). The story *Aladdin* told of a young man who by good fortune married a Princess, and had a magical genie to grant his every wish; *Ali Baba* told of a man who found wealth hidden within a cave and *Sinbad* (or *Sindbad*) told of an adventurer who by magic and good fortune built up wealth through his many adventures. These pantomime stories were in vogue, and class status and social mobility emerged as a dominant component in Victorian theatre and echoed the 'rags to riches' story of the industrial revolution (Warner, 2011, p. 360). The ceramics industry in Staffordshire, Shropshire and the Black Country mirrored such middle class success.

In human geographical terms and moving on from Hobsbawm, Anderson argued that communities are able to create themselves where national tendencies 'invent nations where they do not exist and communities are distinguished by the style in which they are imagined' (Anderson, 1983, pp. 32-33). Actors and audiences as part of the imagined communities, on stage and in real life, created an Orient that echoed their own lives. In the pantomime, the question was whether in building a nation by using imagination was in fact a representation of the Empire protecting itself from chaos, or whether it was acknowledging economic downturn. If the latter then the Empire would be admitting that, it had difficulties abroad to its people at home. There is the counter argument that the original *Arabian Nights' Stories* were invented by the Arab storytellers, and possibly indirectly managing the Western vision of the East.

Nation-building and the pantomime were milestones of social and cultural change. Jackson argued, that alongside circus, pantomime appealed across barriers of class and age (Jackson, 1989, p. 10). Local pantomime was both conformist, in agreeing with the anti-Chinese sentiment and subversive in promising an idealised Orient, as visible on the willow pattern plate. It contained points of reference beyond the metropolis of London, and, as Sullivan pointed out, far enough away from the licensing of the Lord Chamberlain's office to satirise the Orient (Sullivan, 2005, p. 177). This was another reality, invented and idealised, where oriental and exotic values endorsed by theatre audiences crossed over into the commodities of everyday life, which contributed to the bizarre pantomime experience.

The concept of imagined communities outlined by Anderson is useful for considering how imagined people were part of the same geographical ideology. Usually, on the willow pattern plate, there are three people in the plate design. This was also evident in *The Mandarin's Daughter*, but Millward added to his *Aladdin* more characters to tell the story of the plate. The characters within Millward's song, invented though they were, within the context of the *Aladdin* story, transformed themselves as part of the willow pattern plate into characters of the harlequinade. The 'imagined' Chinese people on plate and stage were the nearest that some of the audience would ever come to experiencing people from the Far East.

Chinese characters in *The Mandarin's Daughter* and *Aladdin* had aspirations, even though they were Chinese. A local theatre audience absorbed the Chinese vision before them, and was able to follow an inferior person like Chim-pan-see moving from animal to human in *The Mandarin's Daughter* (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 16). It is plausible that theatre audiences would begin to accept the

repeated interpretation as true, even if invented, as productions constantly used similar sets and costumes, and playwrights increasingly added Chinese and 'other' races into their productions of *Aladdin*.

The narrator, Chim-pan-see said that he was no relation to the chimpanzee in Regents Park, and through his speech and his actions suggested that he was human, even Chinese. The chimpanzee of Regent's Park, recorded by Charles Dickens, lasted only six months in its British environment in 1835 (Dickens cited in Blunt, 1976, p. 4). These pantomimes or plays, described by Gilbert (1866) (cited in Stedman, 1996) were part of a long tradition in theatre of animal parts, and reminiscent of the touring animal and freak shows of the era (Goodall, 2002, pp. 51-53).

It is interesting to note that in the first half of the nineteenth century, Staffordshire potters produced figures of *Polito's Travelling Show* (1810) and *Wombwell's Circus* (1825-1850). They introduced three Mandarin figures into the mantelpiece tableau, alongside animals and acrobats. Polito and Wombwell were entertainers who frequented the region (see Appendix B: 2). Their ornament not only portrayed Chinese people as a freak show attractions, but remained an enduring image of Chineseness that was fixed between 1800 and 1850 (Staffordshire Figurines, 2012).

Evolutionary theories, racial difference and stereotyping formed part of Chim-pan-see's human difference. Sullivan's 'notion of audience' would define the character as being one with whom his audience could empathise. Chim-pan-see, placed in a fictional Chinese setting, was very different from characters presented in the regional Arabic and Persian versions of *Aladdin*, performed prior to 1850 in Birmingham and

the Black Country (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 1-14). The character challenged and questioned the perceptions that an audience held.

Effectively, in *The Mandarin's Daughter*, Chim-pan-see described himself as the 'other', and was a personification of the monkey or ape, as outlined by Jane Goodall (Goodall, 2002, p. 45). This is supported through Robert Chambers' *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*¹ (Chambers (1844) cited in Goodall, 2002, p. 42) and Herbert Spencer's (1820-1903) and Thomas H. Huxley's (1825-1895) ideas about evolutionary discourses. This colour of a person's skin placed them on a list. White people were at the top of the list and black people at the bottom, with the Chinese, as yellow-skinned, listed-half way down.

Audiences viewed the ape and the 'other' and compared them, but each was subordinate to the European human (Huxley (1894) *Collected Papers*; Spencer, 1996). The understanding of the difference between animals and humans was part of identifying those who were 'other' in Victorian society. Victorians considered the monkey and the ape (chimpanzee) to be a different species and believed that the human species had descended from the chimpanzee (O'Neil, 1998; Goodall, 2002, p. 1). Audiences, at all levels of society, understood that the human had descended from the ape and the monkey (Miller, in Kemmer et al, 2012, p. 157; Mackenzie, 1984, p. 60).² These debates on evolution and natural selection were concurrent with imperial nationalism and expansion. This expansion through military campaigns from 1850, MacKenzie argued was part of the visual culture in newspapers, advertising and theatre and was responsible for inciting racial tensions (Mackenzie, 1984, p. 60).

Talfourd and Hale in *The Mandarin's Daughter*, with their choice of a chimpanzee amalgamated evolution and the natural selection of species with the racial debates of

the era. Chim-pan-see said he reported to the Emperor of China and belonged to the pigtail of *Tartory's Cham*.

CHIM

I am conjuror, wizard, magician, black doctor,

Of spells and love potions a potent concocter.

(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 9-10)

The phrase 'Black Doctor' (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 9) indicated black people, perhaps 'voodoo', and suggests that he was everything an audience would have expected him to represent, a person of a lower order in society. As John MacKenzie outlined, concerning global rule, it is people's belief that they are 'uniquely qualified to rule and co-opt the other' (MacKenzie, 1995, p. xii). Thus, MacKenzie's theory would indicate that the British, represented by the Emperor for the audience in Chim-pan-see's rhetoric, were superior to the ape, the Chinese and the 'other'.

Christian societies perpetuated the ideas concerned with origin of the human species and line of descent in local articles within newspapers and magazines (MacKenzie and Finaldi, 2011, p. 68). Media linked the concept of apes and humans for the reader and heightened racial tension. People linked by print, Anderson stated, "rapidly think about themselves and others in new ways" (Anderson, 1983, p. 36).

Victorian society began to observe the 'other' in new ways, argues Elizabeth Hope Chang, for example, through photography, which blurred the truth about the Orient (Chang, 2010, p. 142). The photography of the Summer Palace in Peking, a complex of buildings and gardens, which the British destroyed in 1860, was an example of

photography portraying the British in power over the 'other'. The news that reached Britain regarding war increased racial tensions at home. This was positive for the British and negative for the Chinese (Chang, 2010, p. 19). Chang supported this with evidence from the work of Jonathan Crary and Nancy Armstrong (Chang, 2010, p. 19). Crary insisted that photography drove the modern vision, and not the way that people chose to see the photographs (Crary (1990), in Chang, 2010, p. 142). Armstrong and Crary both sought to explain that the Victorian population's visual perception of China predated the dawn of photography. Victorian photographers captured their view of China. This was not necessarily a true representation of China argued Armstrong (1999) and Crary (1990) (cited in Chang, 2010, p. 19), but photography changed how China appeared on stage.³

Text references to pigtails and yellow faces and the willow pattern plate, combined with the visual knowledge of China accessed through photography, changed how Chinese dress transferred onto the pantomime stage, especially in the latter-half of the nineteenth century. However, again the willow pattern design was depicting a different Chinese person, to the actual depiction of Chinese people in texts.

At a regional level the popularity of Chinese components in the *Aladdin* productions appeared in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*. In 1866, in one week, *Chang the Giant*, his wife, *Lady Chang*, *Chung Mow* and *Celestial attendants* appeared in over three Birmingham establishments. Chang's Chinese group performed in *Aladdin* productions at the Prince of Wales Theatre, Birmingham, at the Exchange Assembly Rooms and at Days Crystal Palace, Birmingham (*Aris's Birmingham Gazette*(1866) 10 March: 6). These productions suggested to an audience the

existence of 'exotic peoples' or those who were different. These ideas crossed over into contemporary theatrical and artistic genres, to create a type of 'freak culture'¹ which theatre management recognised as financially lucrative (Qureshi, 2011, p. 8; Kember et al., 2012, p. 9).

The social developments of these Chinese performers and in the manner of Chimpan-see framed a pretend landscape. The echo of colonies, foreign peoples and Chineseness remained in the lower levels of society in later *Aladdin* pantomimes, even though society moved on from supporting slavery. The exotic of Chinese people and their language, within the everyday theatre, exposed the British audiences to racism and superiority. This provided a basis for the British position in reviving Chinese connected themes, at a time of war.

The Opium Wars framed the Orient in everyday lives and influenced the theatre management's change from Arabic to Chinese related pantomime productions. This was in contrast to the framed border of the willow pattern plate whose central design remained as static representations of China. Racial elements of pantomime established British superiority; mirrored British society and placed the Chinese in British society's hierarchy. Morosetti noted that by modern standards Victorian audiences might not seem as reactionary to exotic performances as one would expect. Modern observers would imagine the managers were exploitive and the audience members racist, unaware of what the stage performance communicated to them. If a Victorian audience were not aware it was racist, Morosetti concluded that they were aware of the political content and they did understand the 'tricks' the message in the pantomime conveyed (Morosetti (ed.) 2015, p. 8).

The bad reputation of the Chinese embodied in these pantomimes, and there were no exceptions, confirmed how audiences jeered at evil characters again and again, and reinforced a stereotype of a Chinese person compared to those Chinese that appeared on the willow pattern plate.

Although a Christmas production and a storyline based on the willow pattern plate, the willow pattern plate had a strong connection for Birmingham audiences. The production stereotyped the Chinese from a British perspective. Chim-pan-see, as the magician, recounted who he was and why he was there. He was, in character lists, tabled as a 'Chinese Puzzle' in one piece indicating that he was Chinese (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, p. 1). This not only indicated his animal origins and his black and evil nature, but that he was Chinese and by association with the story and his description of himself, a disliked character, and by inference 'other'. He was able to manoeuvre within the confines of his responsibilities to the Emperor, but this type of freedom only served to demonstrate his subjugation under Chinese rule. This reflects on the mid-century interest, in intellectual circles, and in the public arena, in racial differences and people subjugated and treated as the 'other'.

This racial difference was effectively marking Chim-pan-see and the Chinese as a fixed image, a stereotype. The predominantly white British audience held a visual reference of the Chinese, which they used as a comparison with their own lives. This included Chim-pan-see with a Chinese pigtail, which placed him in a lower class not in Western terms, but a Han Chinese as in China, under *Manchu* rule (Chang, 2010, p. 19). However, he was not Han Chinese. Chim-pan-see was an ape, did not belong to any community, and considered neither an animal nor a human. Chim-pan-see transformed into a human as if from one society to another, distinguished by

his social development rather than his biological. This was social ridicule in a public domain of the unknown or different. An audience understood this humour as in the example offered by Sadiah Qureshi about Punch's depiction of the language of the Zulu warriors (Qureshi, 2011, p. 180).

The Manchu dynasty dominated the Han Chinese in China and insisted they wore a pigtail, a reference to their lowly status in Chinese society. In this pantomime's setting the pigtail also labelled the Chinese as bad and 'other'. A bad person depicted on stage was the black character, and magician, Abanazar, disguised as a Chinese person in this text from 1901. The Emperor said:

EMPEROR. Oh, I see. Ah-You-Liah. No al Me Liah. These Chinese Names are so confusing.

(Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, 2, 1, 141-142)

The Emperor described Chinese names as 'confusing' but he was the Chinese character and a Chinese nation's leader. He was a pampered person in Chinese society, a privileged Manchu,³ but he was ignorant and rude. The line is as disdainful as the contemporary phrase, that 'all foreigners look alike'. The Emperor was superior as a Manchu leader, in charge of Chinese people. The name as an expression that caused confusion, was chosen by the playwright intended or not, to reinforce British superiority (the Emperor) over foreign peoples.

In describing himself as different, the Emperor became a metaphor for either the British or Abanazar as the 'other'. It was a way of indulging an audience as to British superiority while reinforcing the oriental 'other' on stage. This has further impact on the phrase chosen by Abanazar, as British society in the nineteenth century considered the Chinese to be dishonest (Auerbach, 2009, pp. 4-5). The name Ah-uh-liah was a threatening and degrading choice of name in this Chinese willow

pattern-inspired setting. Stereotyping emerged, not only in the character of Chim-pan-see in *The Mandarin's Daughter*, but in that of *Aladdin* by Millward, echoing good to evil, 'other' to white and Chinese to white.

In Millward's *Aladdin*, Ka-foo (Abanazar) blamed the willow pattern plate for his demise, for he said the plate 'has gone against him' and the 'bank burst' a reference to his ill-gotten wealth through international trading by sea. This writing represented stereotypes of bad people e.g. the Targin in *The Mandarin's Daughter*, Ka-Foo in Millward's *Aladdin* and his equivalent Abanazar as black or 'other' in *Aladdin* productions. The transformation scene in *Aladdin* placed the characters within a predefined traditional grid. The Emperor became Clown, Aladdin and the Princess became the magical Harlequin and Columbine. The traditional elements of pantomime dictated where an author included stereotyped characters in their plot to maximise the story's impact.

Stereotyping was prevalent in Victorian literature, for example, Charles Dickens used stereotypes in his writing, such as the Jew, Fagin, in *Oliver Twist* (1837) or John Jasper in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870).¹ The Chinese images transformed into a more intelligible day-to-day environment, where theatre, actor, willow pattern plate and song framed the 'fairytale'. Authors assisted an audience to descend a path of familiarity and intimacy populated with Chinese landscapes and people.

To summarise, the Chim-pan-see character illustrated how it was possible to transform from an ape, into a socially acceptable alternative, albeit a subordinate one. It had a voice, acquired human traits, and described a desirable object, in this case the willow pattern plate. Chim-pan-see reinforced social norms for a subordinate 'other' or for those who were racially different in society, and assisted in

framing the manifestations of the exotic landscapes and peoples, within a pantomime theatre and on an everyday plate. Later *Aladdin* productions incorporated the willow pattern in the home and on stage and continued the tradition of combining everyday manufactured goods with imported exotic ideas.

I have reasoned that oriental influences in *Aladdin* productions, that surrounded the imagined landscapes and people of China, are evidence of perceived British supremacy. The theories of evolution and the descriptions of genetic change given in the *Origin of Species* by Darwin (1859) and the work of Thomas H. Huxley (1894) were later theorised by Goodall, MacKenzie, Anderson and Said (Goodall, 2002, pp. 42 and 59; MacKenzie, 1995; 1986; Anderson, 1983; Said, 1978). Their ideas explained the development of racial difference and how the British believed themselves to be superior to the Chinese.

In parallel, there was a tendency in literature and pantomime to stereotype characters. It defined, in the mid-nineteenth century, the difference between earlier *Aladdin* pantomimes being Arabic in origin and later Chinese-derived interpretations replacing them. Pantomime authors used the idea of superiority and the cultural and commercial exchanges of the First and Second Opium Wars to emphasise the British aggression towards the Chinese. This aggression allowed the British to improve trade and commodities to generate wealth.

ALADDIN AND LOCAL TRADING

Faster communication generated trade and wealth, which brought the world of Chinese people and landscapes to Birmingham and Black Country audiences' homes. Millward's pantomime song (1866) included world events, such as the Great

Eastern ship, alongside national news such as The Great Exhibition and local knowledge, as included in the design of the plate.

In 1866, on a subliminal level, the Great Eastern ship suggested macro and micro economies in trade, while it improved and expanded communication channels across the world. The world was in effect becoming smaller, and on the doorstep to trade for a larger proportion of merchants, traders and consumers. Songs and text in *Aladdin* uncovered how communication worldwide and across the British Empire had increased. This brought Britain greater control over its Empire through enhanced communication methods and new technology.

MacKenzie and Finaldi proposed that the 1850s were the beginning of the rise in global communication (MacKenzie and Finaldi, 2011, p. 68; MacKenzie, 1984, p. 253). The willow pattern plate communicated its story through its transfer print just as the story and performance transferred a favourable impression of China to an audience. The macro to micro transference of ideas about China, such as the ancient China to the modern, mirrored the transference of exotic to the everyday. It allowed China and the East to become closer to the British public. Cabling enabled the media to connect and communicate world events faster through print and telegraph (Witchard, 2009, p. 105; Chang, 2010, pp. 14-15; Warner, 2011, p. 434). At home and abroad, print, Qureshi and Anderson argued, linked people, in this research this is to China (Qureshi, 2011, p. 95; Anderson, 1983, p. 36). The annual topicality of Chineseness, not only emerged in the pantomime through the old and modern, but also through people trading ideas and goods.

In *The Mandarin's Daughter*, Chim-pan-see was eager to explain to his audience the trading links to the plate and China, i.e. where the plate was from and its history.

The world of commodity culture through trade with others, and different people and merchants, such as the Vizier featured strongly in *Aladdin* and the plate stories.

There were a number of characters, who were evil and some acquired great wealth. The Vizier, his son, the Emperor, the Widow and Ka-Foo (Abanazar), and their counterparts in the willow pattern story, obtained their wealth through trade or commerce 'sprinkled' with a little pantomime magic.

In productions of *Aladdin*, Abanazar took Aladdin to the visit the market, taking him aside to dress him as a merchant, before travelling with him to the cave. Later productions referred to the market place, Frank Green's 1879 the Prince of Wales Theatre production, in Birmingham described:

Scene 1 Market Place in Pekin.

(Green, 1879, p. 1)

In addition, in a later *Aladdin* pantomime:.

Scene 2 Market Place in Old Pekin by J Foster

(Slater, 1911, Programme)

The rise in commodity-driven culture was typically evident in the shop scenes, which often featured the owner Widow Twankay meeting Abanazar, the supposed uncle of Aladdin. Such scenes could be the journey to the cave via the market, a shopping trip, or in some circumstances, a bit of comic business, where the Widow decided to go shopping with the Emperor.

The following three instances of the later nineteenth century willow pattern-inspired productions of *Aladdin* incorporated a shop scene:

PART II

Scene 1. WIDOW TWANKEY'S SHOP

CHORUS OF ASSISTANT.

(Possibly Blood, J. J. (1889) *Aladdin*, a nineteenth century unidentified Birmingham script, Galley Proofs, no page number)

Later, in 1901, the *Aladdin* at the Prince of Wales, Birmingham contained a similar theme:

EMPEROR. That's all right. Send them on.

WIDOW (hanging up picture sign; "Trust is dead,") Cash forward.

Enter ABANAZAR to cashbox.

EMPEROR. I haven't any change with me. Send the bill on with the goods.

WIDOW. No. I think, if you don't mind, we'll take the money first.

EMPEROR. Oh very well, how much is it

WIDOW. £309 4s 11 ³/₄ d/

EMPEROR. Vizier, lend me £309 5s 0d

VIZIER But, your Majesty.

(Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, 2, 1, 256-266)

In this 1901 production, the Emperor visited Widow Twankey's shop. It was clear that the Emperor was attempting to connect with his people by interacting with them, and engaging with trades people at a local level. This expressed a move towards scenic devices that referred to Victorian commodity culture.

Part II

Scene 1 Shop of the Widow Twankey designed by Gordon.

(Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, p. 5)

In addition, a later production in Birmingham, Courtneidge and Thompson's 1910 *Aladdin* portrayed the same local trade:

Act 2 Scene 1 Shop of Widow Twankey.

(Courtneidge and Thompson, 1910, p. 7)

The bringing together of *Aladdin* and the willow pattern plate reflected the rise of the mid-century interest in objects and more retail outlets opening in town and city centres. Shopping allowed consumers to acquire and familiarise themselves with oriental furniture and ceramics for the home. For example in the unidentified *Aladdin* from 1889, Aladdin said:

ALAD: I held the shilling in this – (*bus*) no, *this* hand,
Walked up the Bull Ring.
(Possibly J. J. Blood (1889) *Aladdin*, Unidentified Birmingham Script,
Galley Proofs, page unknown)

The *Aladdin* pantomimes evidence the emergence and embracing of ‘modern’ consumer culture in a regional context. This regional *Aladdin* text’s references to trade and product also connected literature, fashion, science, leisure and tourist industries.

This increase in new mass markets in the burgeoning industrial population of Birmingham and the Black Country exposed how pleasurable pursuits such as buying objects became essential exotic goods. These markets also positioned pleasurable pursuits, such as theatre and shopping as acceptable forms of currency and witnessed blurring between oriental and social boundaries.

I argue that the willow pattern in productions of *Aladdin* indicated how products or objects were part of the everyday for local Birmingham and Black Country audiences, and such everyday objects started to inform the exotic, rather than the exotic informing the everyday. The positioning of familiarity firmly in the exotic of the willow pattern plate achieved, as described by Newey, the placing within the pantomime of local references to landmarks, names and towns known to a regional audience

(Newey, 2012). *Aladdin* pantomimes connected trade and shops, under the auspices of the willow pattern plate, and drew closer to the home and parlour. Warner argued that geography was about a cultural and commercial exchange route from the East to the West (Warner, 2002, pp. 369-370).

I have revealed through my evaluation of how these pantomimes referenced the merchants who imported or exported goods from or to the Far East, and brought Chinese and exotic ideas to British shores. The imported chinaware brought the politics of empire into the commonly held knowledge of China. The Far-Eastern decorative goods and the images they characterised developed local markets, as in my example of the design of the willow pattern plate. Authors alluded to this foreign and ancient China displayed in the willow pattern on the stage and at home.

ALADDIN AND THE WILLOW PATTERN PLATE'S DOMESTICATION

The willow pattern plate assisted in domesticating the *Aladdin* story. It represented not only its local manufacture and my argument encompassing the landscapes, geographies and people of China, but also the position held by products, and the purchasing of beautiful things for the home in Victorian society.

Audiences chose not only to attend a pantomime that referenced their lifestyles, but also subconsciously, in doing so acknowledged the might of the British Empire. It entered their lives, in what appeared to be apparently a seamless experience. The willow pattern plate's domestication reflected the final indoctrination of the British public's tastes and alongside fashion and culture, expressed ideas about the British Empire.

Thomas Richards and Thad Logan agreed that familiarity from the mid-nineteenth century onwards was part of a new type of culture developed where possession of

goods and commodities became more important (Richards, 1990, Introduction; Logan, 2001, pp. xiii-xiv). Logan placed an emphasis on the decorating and design choices of consumers. He pointed to how consumers incorporated foreign objects into the home, which in turn domesticated the objects (Logan, 2001, pp. 186-187). 'Stuffing a parlour' was how Logan described women's acquisition of objects for the home (Logan, 2001, p. 203) and this dictated that the foreign goods in the parlour added to European domination and cultural victories over the 'other' (Logan, 2001, p. 197).

Authors incorporated British domination into the pantomime, which counter balanced the audience's domestication of the plate's design. The Widow's cottage represented this domestication in the 1879-1880 *Aladdin* at the Prince of Wales Theatre, Birmingham in which the Genius stated:

Scene III Exterior of the Widows Cottage with view of the Willow Pattern plate.

Genius The Guardian Genius of the Pantomime.

This is the Widow's house, and on the pillow
She rests beneath the shadow of the willow, -
The only plate she has; and it's Slattern,
Her son Aladdin not a perfect pattern.

(Green, 1879, 1, III, 7-11)

The Genius, in the same production, used suitable cups and chinaware punning n regards to the widow, acting within a space resplendent with the willow pattern plate design.

SCENE XI – THE WILLOW PATTERN PLATE

Genius – Here comes Aladdin’s mother, of whom I,

When in her cups religiously fight shy-

Widow.-

That’s why I came alone, they must be cracked.

(Green, 1879, 1, 11, 7-11)

This was comparing the *Aladdin* story to the willow pattern plate. In the shadow of the plate, the Widow was a shadow of her former self. Alternatively, the plate may have represented the fate that lay ahead for the Widow and her son. The plate was the only object she compared herself to and she inferred a perfect rendition of an old tale of love. Aladdin, her son, at this point in the story, was not perfect, like the plate.

The plate's design, in reality, was for the audience a true and faithful representation of China. The references in the text to cupboards and china ‘a-ware’ gave an impression of a domestic interior, information, which drew the audience’s focus on the Widow’s plight and her domestic situation.

The Widow’s lowly status and ambition to own a perfect willow pattern plate that pictured ancient China marry well with the theories of Hall and Rose (2006). The Widow’s ambitions surround her consumption of tea, being part of society, her passion for beautiful objects and her domestic comfort. Hall and Rose claimed that British people expected access to tea from the Far East and to plantation sugar from the West Indies (Hall and Rose, 2006, p. 183). The Widow Twankey did not totally triumph in her ambitions.

Millward used the willow pattern plate as a metaphor to describe a progressive society, which used new technologies and means of communication, albeit through a British idealised willow pattern design invented by British manufacturers.

The visual representations of the exotic willow pattern plate, first mentioned by Chim-pan-see, appearing within the public and domestic interiors of later *Aladdin* productions, formed part of the set designs for palaces, gardens and kitchens (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 19-25). This willow pattern was part of *Aladdin* (1911) in Wolverhampton, in:

Scene 7 The Gardens of Widow Twankay's Palace J. Markwell Davis.
(Slater, 1911, Programme)

and:

Scene 11 The Willow Pattern Palace of Aladdin J. Markwell Davis
(Slater, 1911, Programme)

Further changes were to come to this exotic domesticity and the domestic world presented on stage, in the form of science. The later oriental pantomimes of *Aladdin* and the willow pattern plate incorporated buildings and everyday technologies.

The 1905 *Aladdin* at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham, by Frank Dix, featured the flight of a motor car in Act 1, Scene 3 (Dix, 1905, p. 45). In 1910, the Theatre Royal, Birmingham's, *Grand Pantomime Aladdin*, by R. Courtneidge and A. M. Thompson, in Act 2, Scene 4 featured the title 'An Airy-plane on Hockley Heath' (Courtneidge and Thompson, 1910, p. 66).

The imagery was exotic and imagined, the plate was familiar, but as MacKenzie described the oriental discourse, like pantomime, always in change (MacKenzie, 2009, pp. 9-22). Genius in Millward's pantomime said:

We may find something new in it to trace, trace, trace.
(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 6)

Many changes denoted by wand-like objects were common to both *The Mandarin's Daughter* and *Aladdin* by Millward. Chim-pan-see, the Enchanter, waved his wand to open up the front cloth of the willow pattern design (Talfourd and Hale, 1851, Introduction, p. 5).

The Genius, in Charles Millward's song, used a wand to facilitate the transformation for the willow pattern plate scene that included Harlequin and his friends.

GENIUS. As I was on the point of saying- are all here!

ALL. We are!

GENIUS. Then for a change we'll make all else

Great Geni of the Lamp, we now appeal

To you. The Transformation Scene reveals:

If Mr ROBERTS is prepared, all right,

To Fairy Land with him we'll now take flight.

(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 68-74)

The willow pattern plate and the harlequinade were established visual forms. On this occasion, they incorporated the Orient; put the story of Millward's *Aladdin* in the present and transposed it from the exotic *Arabian Nights*' story to the invented ancient willow pattern story.

'Then for a *change*' was how Genius, in Millward's *Aladdin* requested a traditional end to the pantomime by way of transformation. The wand in Millward's *Aladdin* was the bringer of change, but the word *change* was italicised, as it contained a double meaning (Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 68). The harlequinade was a traditional spectacular element of change in the pantomime. Genius sarcastically jibed, 'oh well it really isn't a change', but this double transformation dispensed with pantomime tradition, and

took old ideas and reinvented them. The idea of the willow pattern plate transformation scene came before the normal harlequinade change took place.

The Genius appealed to the greater Genie for the transformation scene and the *Aladdin's* characters changed to those that are part of the willow pattern plate story. Genie then requested that Mr. Roberts take them to fairyland.

It was in the willow pattern plate transformation song that the characters of the willow pattern plate changed into the notable characters of the harlequinade, Harlequin, Columbine, and Clown. Aladdin became Chang the scribe, who then changed to Harlequin, and the Princess became the willow pattern plate's Princess, and then Columbine. This change prompted a move from an imagined China, to another ancient China to Fairyland. Perhaps it replaced the purpose of Harlequin to resolve bad situations, allowing love to flourish and representing progress and a triumphant outcome for the future. An audience, when leaving the theatre, believed everything was possible and their aspirations happily fulfilled.

SUMMARY

The pantomime of *Aladdin* acted annually as a mirror and a receptacle for referencing and understanding the Orient within Birmingham and Black Country society, politics and commodity culture, through a regionally produced design the willow pattern plate.

The comparison of Chineseness within the two passages from *The Mandarin's Daughter* and *Aladdin*, not only supports my discussions about an imagined British interpretation of Chineseness and British supremacy at a local level, but how Chinese people were treated in the region. Actors engaged with the Chinese culture on stage, representing how the Chinese appeared on locally-made ceramics and

associated oriental goods. The two songs and the adjacent text linked local pantomime to local industry.

The Mandarin's Daughter and Millward's *Aladdin* productions were signifiers of the ancient and exotic merging and increasingly informing the everyday understanding and knowledge base of their audience in their topical and challenging rhetoric.

Aladdin originally from Arabic sources, had become a Chinese version by the time of the fixed willow pattern plate designs of the 1840s and 1850s. Both the songs and the adjacent text shared a similar story and a set of character parts within their respective Christmas productions. The song in *The Mandarin's Daughter* remained in the ancient times of the willow pattern plate and referenced recent and not-so-recent ideas and places. The song in Millward's *Aladdin* moved the willow pattern story from ancient times to the present.

Millward's song represented progress, moving the exotic into an everyday sphere. In this production of *Aladdin*, Millward contradicted his audience's awareness of the willow pattern plate story. The audience experienced many contemporary ideas, for instance the overstatement of Empire and British supremacy, the origins of man and beast, and the position of the Chinese in British society.

The world felt globally smaller, positioned through a rising educated merchant class with local and global interests. They maximised the commercial opportunities available to them such as the improvements made to Victorian transport and communication

The pantomime authors identified these significant social and cultural ideas and repositioned them for audiences in Birmingham and the Black Country. For example,

the domesticity in these pantomimes acknowledged that while some of these concepts for an audience occupied a global or a national stage, at a local level such ideas also corresponded with trading links to local products and wealth generation, increasing an audience's knowledge of Chineseness. The *Aladdin* authors developed the concepts of commodity and domestic culture through the stage designers' willow pattern-inspired homes and exotic palaces. *Aladdin* productions had theatre sets that contained dwellings with kitchens and cosy parlours.

The incorporation of contemporary issues and social debates into *Aladdin* pantomimes was important within a regional context, as such issues incorporated London productions, but also the growing importance of locally-produced goods within a local context and referencing. Audiences had a level of sophistication and an understanding of Chineseness that placed the exotic past and present alongside the forward-thinking topicality and progress suggested by Millward in 1866.

CHAPTER 2

ALADDIN AND TEA

Pantomime authors incorporated popular and locally produced Chinese-related willow pattern plates, but also included locally packaged tea within the pantomime *Aladdin*. My analysis in this chapter connects how regional audiences constructed China and Chineseness from tea, encountered in the pantomime, and in their day-to-day lives in Birmingham and the Black Country.

In my Introduction, I discussed visual referencing of China and its people within texts, and tea is a natural development of these ideas as a popular everyday item. *Aladdin* pantomime's inclusion of the willow pattern design and tea products was remarkable, because of the proximity of these productions to the manufacture and distribution of these two products in the nineteenth century within Birmingham and the Black Country.

In this second chapter, I discuss a style of pantomime introduced by author H. J. Byron in his *Aladdin the Scamp and his Wonderful Lamp* of 1861. Witchard reasoned, that such a production put provincial theatre as on equal footing as London theatres, and in my thesis a production that contributed to regional theatre histories (Witchard, 2009, p. 30).

Witchard was one of a number of authors who discussed in depth their theories about tea's connection to Byron's *Aladdin* (Forman, 2013, p. 165; Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 2; Featherstone (2010), in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 174; Witchard, 2009, pp. 58-60; O'Hara, 1993, p. 424; Frow, 1985, p. 115). Witchard wrote little beyond the mid-century historical facts of the Opium Wars, and the repercussions of these wars on trading links. She did evaluate Byron's *Aladdin* and some later, solely London,

productions, but none performed in Birmingham or the Black Country in relation to tea (Witchard, 2009, pp. 58-60).

Byron and other *Aladdin* pantomime authors such as Dix (1905), Courtneidge and Thompson (1901; 1911), Percy Milton (1897), Stanley Rogers (1894) and Green (1879) employed the subject of tea as a vehicle for humour and, as an integral part of the pantomime's referencing of Chineseness. Tea in pantomime echoed Britain's international and cultural exchange of ideas concerning China. It dictated a position of power, a superior relationship of Britain to the 'other' and the development of home markets.

Within the pantomime, I reveal how the role of tea in home markets identified the aristocratic class and placed this class against the merchant and lower classes. Tea accentuated the rise in society of the middle and the lower classes, as well as contributing to the portrayal of women in the parlour.

Birmingham and Black Country *Aladdin* pantomimes referenced political and mercantile connections with overseas markets, through the willow pattern plate. The willow pattern plate's incorporation into the pantomime moved *Aladdin* productions away from their Arabic origin, and evidenced the change in Chineseness from 1850-1870. Similarly, local pantomime and tea shared many common traits of imperial expansion, as to the political, social and economic aspects, which dominated Britain's policies in the nineteenth century.

Tea's relationship with Britain differed from that of the willow pattern plate, which was a British copy of a Chinese plate and produced in Birmingham and the Black Country. However, tea was not a copy; it could only be grown elsewhere. In the Introduction, I established that tea plants later grew in India, Ceylon and Sri Lanka. It

grew within the realms of the British Empire, for it to be more easily imported to meet public demand. Although the focus of government and traders moved to these new places to grow tea, for theatre audiences tea was essentially a product of China and was not a copy. Public demand did not affect the location in *Aladdin*; it remained set in ancient China and tea products included as if they came from China within the texts and books of words in names, characterisations and scripts.

In her book, *Thomas Burke's Dark Chinoiserie*, Witchard acknowledged that pantomime provided an account of far-off places mixed with the familiar, and this aligned with my ideas about foreign tea and its popularity in home markets. She claimed that *Aladdin* provided an example that not only verified the action of Victorian times but Victorian attitudes to China, and the interests and desires of the West (Witchard, 2009, p. 24). Byron reinforced these attitudes in his choice of tea names for his characters, which mirrored the characters' personalities and reflected the power of tea's history. Byron combined the Empire's sphere of influence in local markets with the local diets and social structures of his audiences.

ALADDIN, TEA AND TRADE IN THE EMPIRE

Byron chose Twankay, Pekoe, Souchong and Tee-To-Tum, and as recognised by Witchard, Congou and Bohea as tea names for his characters or descriptions in his pantomime script and book of words (Witchard, 2009, p. 68). The authors Dix (1905), Courtneidge and Thompson (1901; 1910), Milton (1897), Rogers (1894) and Green (1879) continued Byron's innovative punning by using tea names at a local level, which contributed to the anti-Chinese aspects of pantomime.

Byron's groundbreaking *Aladdin* production at the Prince of Wales, Birmingham performed in October 1862, followed its success at the Strand, London the year

before, and was the first to use a major tea theme. He created ancient China from a British perspective, mainly through his choice of a name for his main character Widow Twankay.²⁸

The Widow or Widow Mustapha had long been the names given to Aladdin's mother from 1813-1850 in London, Birmingham and the Black Country. Although 'Mustapha' was mentioned in Hailes Lacy (Hailes Lacy, 1866, No. 750) and in Millward's *Aladdin* (Millward, 1866) the name related to her husband and the Arabic version of the story (Galland, 1706, Grub Street version).²⁹ The name had varied slightly with 'Widow Whankey' making an appearance in 1836 (*The Ladies Magazine*, 1836), which referred to a nineteenth-century euphemism for something old or stupid (OED, 2015).³⁰

²⁸ Note that the spelling of the Widow's name in Byron's production of *Aladdin* was 'Twankay', and later becomes 'Twankey' (Frow, 1985, p. 115).

²⁹ Authors used other Chinese-sounding names for the Widow in Birmingham and the Black Country, before Byron's *Aladdin*, such as 'Ching-Ching' (Frow, 1985, p. 115) and 'Chee-kee' (Green, 1879). The Widow was also called 'Wee Ping,' 'Chow Chow' and 'Tan King' [online] www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/pantomime-origins [Accessed 22 October 2011], but none of these were truly related to tea.

³⁰ *Cartwright's Monthly Review* (1897) August (cited in Williams, 2010, p. 203) mentions *The Arabian Nights* at the Theatre Royal. Kate Newey (2011) researched the Twankay tea name for the Widow to a much earlier source. Newey's ideas were also outlined by Simon Sladen in his article 'There is Nothing Like a Dame' following the Society for Theatre Research Lecture by Kate Newey at Swedenborg Hall, Bloomsbury (Newey, 2011, 27 March). Newey located the beginning of Widow Twankey's name in *Old Nick the Railway King, or Harlequin and the Chinese Queen of the Golden Pagoda* (Marylebone Theatre, December, 1845). This suggests that the Widow first emerged as an Empress Twankey Tea Nah, Empress of China adopting her husband the Emperor's name Emperor Twankey Tea Noh. Newey argued that this was 'early evidence of the Pantomime Dame'. This was sixteen years before Byron's use of the name. According to my research this name does not appear in any *Aladdin* texts in the Birmingham and Black Country national or local theatre archives research I have completed prior to Byron's *Aladdin*.

I agree with Witchard and Davis, that the Byron production was the first *Aladdin* of significance that changed the Widow's name and incorporated several tea ideas (Witchard, 2009, p. 68; Davis, 1984, p. 4). Byron chose the name Twankay for his oldest and crankiest female character, the old and forgotten Widow, often played by a man. Byron's production listed the Widow as:

THE WIDOW TWANKAY (Aladdin's mother, "who" to quote the Arabian Nights, and rather old, and who, even in her youth, had not possessed much beauty).
(Byron, 1861, p. 4)

The Widow Twankay appeared in the character listing as 'old' and 'had not possessed much beauty' (Byron, 1861, p. 3). There was an understanding of a long life 'well travelled', like the Twankay black-brick teas that had transported satisfactorily over long distances.³¹ For the first time, next to her name, the description said, 'to quote the Arabian Nights', an immediate connection to the Widow and the original source of *Aladdin* in *The Arabian Nights or One Thousand and One Nights* (Galland, 1706, Grub Street version; Mack, 1998, p. 1684; Lundall, 2009).

The inspiration behind the name of the Widow came from one of the oldest teas introduced to Britain, Twankay (Davis, 1984, p. 4). The importation of large quantities of black teas, like Twankay, branded it as a cheap, old and ragged leafed tea, hinting that the Widow Twankay was 'past her best'. It became the tea of the poorer classes and captured the 'far away' of oriental China within the home.

³¹ Twankay started as a popular green tea from the Tuon Ky District of China and later became a black leaf variety. In the 1850s, large clipper ships (Schama, 2002, p. 240) transported large cargoes of tea in the hope of gaining larger sums of money for their precious tea cargo in London. The famous Cutty Sark was one of the fastest tea clippers of the era.

Bridget Orr talked about *The Forty Thieves* from *The Arabian Nights' Tales* and the fantastical cave representing ill-gotten wealth and mystery. There was a celebration in these productions of ordinary people and the working class. She deemed that these magical forces in pantomimes, like *Aladdin*, brought a sense of political order, through their storylines, unlike the contemporary politics that actually were taking place in Victorian Britain. Orr argued that early nineteenth-century productions, such as the 1814 *Harlequin Sindbad or the Valley of the Diamonds*, had sought to redress the balance for the impoverished working classes. Her findings suggested that wealth in these pantomimes came through luck and magic, and provided opportunity for this class to rise to great social heights.

The unobtainable fruit is the thwarting of destiny to relieve poverty not with food, but with material wealth (Orr (2008), in Makdisi and Nussbaum, 2008, p. 117).

By 1850, newer, lighter and younger Indian tea varieties with a different taste had come to Britain (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, pp. 113-115). Therefore, in the same way, Widow Twankay portrayed as older and left on the shelf, became overlooked for newer younger females. There were other clues within the text as to the Widow Twankay's character, such as her 'heavy frame' (Byron, 1861, 1, II, 82) and 'the Widow's *bitter cup*' (Byron, 1861, I, 2, 82). She acknowledged her past position in life, and the bad treatment she had received, which made her bitter. The mention of bitterness immediately indicated that this was a metaphor for the Widow, as Twankay tea was a bitter beverage. Macfarlane and Macfarlane ascertained that a monk, Eisai, brought black teas back from China to Japan.³² In the 1190s, Eisai

³² The tea's details appeared in Eisai's two-volume work *Kissa-yojo-ki* or *Notes on the Curative Effects of Tea* (1211).

reckoned this tea tasted sharp, sour, sweet, and salty and had a bitter flavour that was excellent for general health (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 53). The Widow certainly had vigour, and she had survived her husband's demise. She suffered her idle son *Aladdin*, but she was old and bitter, and sharp with her tongue.

The portrayal of Chinese characters such as the Widow as inferior, metaphorically through tea appeared to mock the lower classes in local society who drank this lower-graded tea. The drinking of Indian tea or 'other' imports was encouraged, at a time of war with China, when Chinese tea was in short supply and intentionally downgraded to a poorer tea variety.

The enduring affiliation of authors use of the Widow's name can be seen in the description in the *Evening Express and Star*, under the heading 'Wolverhampton Amusements' where the reviewer for the Theatre Royal wrote about Mr. Ramsey Danvers, who concluded the pantomime evening as Widow Twankey in *Aladdin*:

A new burlesque, "Aladdin up to Date," which is really a pantomime on a small scale. [...] Mr Danvers takes the part of Widow Twankey, and it can be easily imagined that the audience were treated to an abundance of fun (*The Evening Express and Star*, 16 April, 1889: 6).

Byron set the parameters of fun and ridiculing the Chinese relationship in the pantomime for the later Charles Millward's *Aladdin* and other renditions at a local level in Birmingham and the Black Country. Witchard described Byron's *Aladdin* as almost 'revolutionary' and 'to prove the definitive *Aladdin*' (Witchard, 2009, p. 68). Many scholars attributed Byron's choice of names to his burlesque style of writing (Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 2). Maybe Byron heard about 'Whankay' or based the name on a reference similar to that discovered by Newey (2011) and used the concept for the

other characters in this production, to express a sense of Chineseness, at a time when Chinese people were unpopular and seen as 'other'.

A number of authors adopted Widow Twankay (or Twanky/Twankey/Twanki and other tea names), within their productions, during the second half of the nineteenth century in Birmingham and the Black Country.³³ In 1894, Stanley Rogers included the characters Twankay and Pekoe in *Aladdin, The Naughty Young Scamp Who Ran Off With The Lamp*, and Milton's *Aladdin* in 1897, on the 27 December at the Grand Theatre Birmingham, included Sweet-tea and Ri-ty.

Milton Bode, who produced the *Grand Fairy Pantomime Aladdin* on 26 December 1911 at the Wolverhampton Grand Theatre, and written by George M. Slater at the Wolverhampton Grand Theatre, used another tea name: Wong Ti (possibly a satirical reference to India). The unidentified, but possibly J. J. Blood, script of 1889, carried not only the names Widow Twankey and Pekoe, but Tea-sing.

³³ Versions of the Widow Twankay, ran alongside Pekoe the Vizier's son as evidenced in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, in *Aladdin* at the Prince of Wales, Birmingham in 1862 (*Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 1862: 8), and the 1879 Prince of Wales, Birmingham *Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp* by Frank W. Green, and at the 1885 *Aladdin* at the Star Theatre (Prince of Wales), Wolverhampton. The choice of names carried on with the 1894 Theatre Royal, Birmingham *Aladdin, The Naughty Young Scamp Who Ran Off With The Lamp*, by Stanley Roger and the 1897 *Aladdin* by Percy Milton at The Grand Theatre, Birmingham. Additionally the 1901 *Aladdin Or The Wonderful Lamp* by A. M. Thompson and R. Courtneidge at The Prince of Wales, Birmingham, and the 1903 Stanley Rogers' *Aladdin Or The Naughty Young Scamp Who Ran Off With The Lamp* at the Alexandra Theatre, Birmingham, starring Oliver J. Round as Widow Twankey. The list continued with Frank Dix's *Grand Oriental Pantomime Aladdin* of 1905, at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham; Chas Constant's *Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp*, by Stanley Rogers in 1911, at Wolverhampton's Grand Theatre. Further evidence: The Theatre Royal, Birmingham in the Grand *Pantomime Aladdin* production in 1910, by Courtneidge and Thompson and Milton Bode's *Grand Fairy Pantomime Aladdin* of 1911 at the Wolverhampton Grand Theatre, which was written by George M. Slater; the names were also included in the 1911 *Aladdin* at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham by Courtneidge and Thompson.

Another Tzing-sounding name, Ah-sing, was included in a 1910 *Aladdin* at the *Theatre Royal*, Birmingham (Courtneidge and Thompson). Ah-sing, the Grand Vizier's brother, befriended Aladdin and Aladdin's 'streetwise' friends. Ah-sing was a play on 'mucking about' or 'to arse about' which described the lazy Aladdin and his friends on the streets of Peking. This degraded the Chinese character further, labelling Aladdin as lazy (OED, 2015).

The suggestion that different tea types and sounds expressed a character and the lowly 'other' was evident in *Punch* cartoons of the period. Byron was adopting a style of pantomime that, like such *Punch* cartoons, expressed a raft of social and political ideas about being Chinese. *Punch* featured a cartoon of 'Dah-bee and Cob-den the great Chinese warriors' shouting 'Bohea' and 'Pekoe', which were the names of teas popular at the time. This made fun of Lord Darby and Lord Cobden, but also the Chinese, as in the pantomime, at a time of British and French wars with China in Canton (Victorian Web, 2014) (*Punch*, 1857, p. 185).³⁴

Witchard wrote that the *Punch* names of Bohea and Congou were used by authors in other *Aladdin* productions (2009, pp. 58-59). The pantomime delivered these tea names in a derogatory way. The characters that remained pure and unmarked in *Aladdin*, such as Aladdin and the Princess Badroulbador, retained their Arabic names and were the most liked characters in the whole of the pantomime, with few negative traits. The Arab storytellers gave the characters Arabic names, not

³⁴ This featured Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby (1799-1869), Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865) and Richard Cobden (1804-65). The cartoon referenced reform in home politics, represented by Palmerston and the sailors, and the warriors represented China in the war against the British and French in Canton, China (*Punch* (1857), p. 185 cited in Victorian Web, 2015).

Chinese, before the translations that came to Britain and authors of *Aladdin* adopted the same. It ensured that these characters remained in a positive light and apart from the 'bad' or Chinese characters with derogatory tea names, within national and regional contexts.

The British were effectively assigning to the Chinese the same classifications as the Arab storytellers before them, pandering to their audience's identities. The lesser characters' tea names expressed negativity towards China. Byron's next choice Te-To-Tum, was one of these lesser characters, an attendant (Byron, 1861, p. 2). Te-To-Tum punned 'totally tea' and reflected the importance of the teetotal ethics of the Temperance Movement against the drinking of alcohol.³⁵ Te-To-Tum aligned with tea and the teapot, a teapot being the object from which an attendant would pour tea. This idea in a European context implied that a Chinese person waited on others. This also played on a meta-theatrical approach adopted in these pantomime texts, where names had ironic or double meanings. Te-To-Tum referred to the well-known character Fe-Fi-Fo-Fum, a giant in *Jack and the Giant Killer* or *Jack and the Beanstalk*. Te-To-Tum character was a servant and Chinese, and low in the hierarchy of acceptable society.

Byron expressed Chineseness and hierarchies in other ways. In the text, the Emperor used Congou tea to celebrate his daughter's betrothal to Aladdin. The Congou variety had been a highly prized tea. Byron used the tea name Congou to place the British in a position of control in the example below. The Princess rejected Abanazar's advances, and Aladdin has arrived to add poison to a cup that Abanazar

³⁵ An exhibition on tea at the Potteries Museum, Stoke on Trent covered the temperance movement and stated that the movement started in the 1830s. 'Drink and be Merry Tea, Temperance, Pubs and Potteries', *Exhibition* 16 March – 30 June 2013, The Potteries Museum, Stoke on Trent.

was to drink from, at the same time that Pekoe realised that he has lost the Princess to Aladdin:

EMPER. (seated) Now then, let all be revelry and joy
Let tea from every fountain flow till late,
And round the congou let all congou regate;
Let all the rich confectionery shops,
Dispense for nothing their best Lollipops;
Let all the public sights be opened free;
Peking be wrapped in universal spree
Death to the publican who makes tea weak
(à la King in Hamlet) Let the tea kettle to the trumpet speak,
The trumpet to the cannonier without:-
Now the King drinks to young Aladdin! (Byron, 1861, 1, 5, 189-189)

The reference to kettle signified a kettle drum and referenced Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. In the quotation from Hamlet, Claudius prompted the fight between Hamlet and Laertes.

CLAUDIUS
Set me the stoups of wine upon that table.
If Hamlet give the first or second hit
Or quit in answer of the third exchange,
Let all the battlements their ordnance fire!
The king shall drink to Hamlet's better breath,
And in the cup an union shall he throw
Richer than that which four successive kings
In Denmark's crown have worn. Give me the cups.
And let the kettle to the trumpet speak,
The trumpet to the cannoneer without,
The cannons to the heavens, the heavens to earth,
"Now the king drinks to Hamlet." Come, begin.—

And you, the judges, bear a wary eye.

(No Fear Shakespeare, 2012, 5, II, 254-266)

Byron has amusingly changed Shakespeare's kettle line, and has prefixed kettle with 'tea'. The kettle described was a tea kettle rather than a drum and has peaceful connotations. This reference to kettle in Byron's *Aladdin* denoted celebration and signified that tea drinking was more important than war with, or negativity towards, the Chinese.

In the style of Claudius poisoning Hamlet, Aladdin poisons Abanazar. Pekoe and Aladdin, then as suitors, could claim the hand of the Princess. This not only pandered to the revival of Shakespeare in serious legitimate theatre of the period, but also developed a level of sophisticated humour that identified an audience's level of knowledge about Shakespeare and their familiarity with tea in everyday life.

The following lines, spoken by the Vizier in hushed tones to his son Pekoe, followed the Emperor's quotation above:

VIZIER (to PEKOE) A day of vengeance you may have my boy.

(Byron, 1861, 1, V, 188)

The Vizier suggested in these lines that Pekoe might have his revenge. This reference to *Hamlet* referred to the fight that took place in Shakespeare's play between Hamlet and Laertes (à la Pekoe and Aladdin for the Princess) and the similarity of poison put into Hamlet's cup at the end of the play. Yet the previous quotation from the Emperor indicated that he wanted to bring the people in his realm together to celebrate and serve them. O'Hara agreed with the merchant and empire stories in *The Mandarin's Daughter* (1851), contained British traits or symbolism, for

example, here reminiscent of the Emperor's relationship with his people (O'Hara, 1993, p. 424).

This reference, to the variety of tea, reflected other qualities. In the early nineteenth century, this lighter and bitter tea, Congou, was a high-class product (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 83). At this time, green tea was favoured over black tea. Congou, Congu or Gongfu, a type of Keemun, grew in the Qimen district of Huanshan City, in Anhui or Anhwei, in eastern China. As a black tea, it was the most expensive in the West, and relatively new, first created in 1875 by Yu Quianchen.³⁶ Congou tea became the most celebrated ingredient in British Breakfast Tea.

The Emperor's selection of Congou tea, balanced in tea tastes, confirmed his intentions for a peaceful celebration. The fact that Congou tea formed the basic component of English Breakfast tea, a British staple, would suggest that the text reflected a British view of the Chinese. Metaphorically, tea represented Britain and suggested that Britain was capable of having a calming effect on the Chinese. However, as I have described above, the last line is the same as Hamlet; in drinking to Hamlet, Claudius was presenting a cup of poison.

Shakespeare, as an everyday literary figure, now placed within this exotic story was indicative of Britishness. If the Emperor was a personification of a power such as Britain, the poisoned cup offered was in fact a poisoned chalice to the Chinese realm.

Bohea, alongside Congou teas, was another expression of Chineseness and a subconscious reference to British power. Cornelis Bontekoe's (alias Cornelis

³⁶ An ex-civil servant who researched the black teas of Fujian.

Dekker) (1679) (cited in Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 68) in his *Tractaat* on tea, coffee and chocolate, that Bohea tea possessed an antiseptic quality that made for a soothing anecdote in the pantomime (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, pp. 68-69). Robert Morrison (1782-1834) in his Chinese dictionary (1815) described Bohea as a black tea of the Oolong variety, from the Wuyi Mountains Fujian, in northern China. Bohea tea was still a relatively high-class tea (Morrison, 1815, pp. 3-4), but gradually became recognised as an inferior tea. This British superiority downgraded Chinese tea over time, but also reflected the trading relationship between Britain and the Far East. Byron concentrated on Chinese characters from aristocratic and royal circles, which represented the politics of the British Empire and its trading links with China. This representation was through the interaction of the Emperor and the Princess with other characters and the tea trade revealed these links.

The Emperor introduced himself, not as a god-like ruler, but as someone who was troubled, human in his predicament at the top of this social hierarchy, in debt, and very reliant on money from the Vizier. The Emperor had to consider betrothing his daughter, the Princess, to the Vizier's son Pekoe, and compromising his position.

Similarly, the Princess contemplated what would happen to her if they became poor and in debt. The Vizier was a middle-class merchant who hoped to make a profit from the Emperor's debt and his son's marriage. This guaranteed the Vizier his continued position of power at court, and his offspring Pekoe the possibility of rising up in court circles. Pekoe, the Vizier and Abanazar were the rising middle-class and traders in products. Byron chose to show the Emperor's position in subtle ways:

EMPER:

Prepare to see your father in the Blue-

Or, rather in the *Greys* (Byron, 1861, 1, I, 246-248)

Here the italicised emphasis of 'Greys' by the character clearly indicated a joke based on Earl Grey tea. Earl Grey manufacturers added bergamot, which made it cheaper, and a sad imitation of more real and expensive teas. The tea was a creation of Earl Charles Grey of Great Britain, who was Prime Minister of England from 1830 to 1834. The Emperor considered teas of high flavour, but poorer quality. Blue referred to feeling sad, while also being the colour of the most popular blue and white Nanking chinaware of the period, from which people drank Earl Grey tea. The Emperor was despondent because the Vizier, to whom he owed money, controlled him.

Byron used tea puns to illustrate how reliant the Emperor was on trade and others for his wealth. The Emperor hid his debt from those at court. The choice of Earl Grey mirrored the Emperor, fabricating his impressive wealth when below the surface he had nothing. Similarly, as Earl Grey tea was a poor-quality tea, the Emperor was a poor ruler. It also revealed what was happening in tea markets internationally, nationally and locally. When Byron's pantomime *Aladdin* first came to Birmingham, tea imports had nearly trebled in 30 years to 80 million pounds and by 1890, had almost trebled again (Witchard, 2009, pp. 56-57). Tea was more easily accessible to a wider population and a variety of teas available to suit the tastes of different groups of people.

The Emperor expressed his concerns about taking a further loan, in connection to China:

EMPER. But must I see my china go to pot?
(Byron, 1861, 1, 1, 96)

The Emperor was in debt and he had asked the Vizier for another loan. The Vizier offered a loan at 3 per cent interest, and pointed out taxes had doubled twice before. The tea pun had a double meaning, the connection to 'china', was the word chinaware shortened to 'china', and a lower case 'c' referred to the product and the country of origin China, which Witchard argued, became a staple joke (Witchard, 2009, p. 68). The phrase 'to pot', not only referred to a teapot or chinaware, but also to the slang term 'go to pot', an old saying relating to the last remnants of meat, often meat past its best, being placed in a pot (phrases.org.uk, 2014). This means the Emperor represented 'old meat', or it could refer to his ancient country, then considered backward and decaying by the British.

The Emperor was concerned that the country would endure hardship if he did not take out the loan. This also mimicked British intervention in China, as personified by the Vizier. I argue that the Vizier represented the British in this situation, as he referred to 'public duties' (Byron, 1861, 1, 1, 79) and in a later line, the 'Roy'll exchequer is so very low?' (Byron, 1861, 1, 1, 83).

Talfourd and Hale's *The Mandarin's Daughter* (1851), and the *Aladdin* pantomimes by Byron (1861) and Millward (1866) all have the Emperor in a position of debt to his Vizier or chief minister. The Emperor, in Byron's version, was unable to pay the Vizier for the loan at 3 per cent. In order to persuade the Emperor to take the loan the Vizier discussed how percentages might reach ridiculous heights. The Emperor said:

EMP This is much worse than seventy per cent.

(Byron, 1861, 1, 5, 41)

Then the Princess arrived in a palanquin, a form of transport, which denoted wealth. Although this was in stark contrast to the Emperor's debt, he did not disclose

his debt to his daughter or the court. Pekoe then innocently espied the wealth the Emperor displayed and concluded that the Princess was to have a 'wondrous dowry'.

The implication is that the Vizier was of a merchant class; O'Hara has indicated that the equivalent character in *The Mandarin's Daughter* was a trader in goods and money. The Vizier represented the British in this relationship and the Emperor the Chinese (O'Hara, 1993, p. 424). If the Vizier represented British merchant classes, then his terms represented those concerned with the trade of opium and tea. Tea trade arrangements, which varied over time, primarily concerned guaranteeing imports to Britain of tea in exchange for opium exports to China from India.³⁷

In Byron's *Aladdin* production, some four years before Millward's *Aladdin*, identification of international trade reinforced Chineseness (Sullivan, 2005, p. 140). It challenged Britain's superiority over China, but mimicked a social structure familiar to the theatre's Victorian audience through a representation of the Chinese class structure. Pekoe expressed his relationship with the Princess thus:

PEKOE: If in this s-pek-oe you've a preference share.

(Byron, 1861, 1, 1, 114)

Pekoe used 's-pek-o-oe' as a pun on his name to describe his relationship with the Princess. Pekoe explained how he would treat the Princess to numerous gifts (Byron, 1861, p. 11). He used the phrase 'a preference share', which was a means of trading first used by the East India Company. This choice was important to my argument since the East India Company were the first to export tea from China before the British Government intervened and took over the company in 1858.

³⁷ I discuss this on pp. 56-58 and p. 80.

A preference share was paid or accrued as a fixed dividend. In comparison, an ordinary share paid variable dividends and had a voting right for the owner. Pekoe proposed that the Princess might have a 'preference' for him. If she chose him, she would give up her rights as his wife and have a fixed interest in him. If, therefore, Aladdin was the ordinary share, in this punning, then he would forever fulfil the Princess's needs and treat her with respect.

A later *Aladdin* pantomime by Dix (1905) referenced the very aspects of trade on an international and local level that affected Chinese tea imports to Britain. In this pantomime, Abanazar offered an alternative cure:

Abanazar: Allow me, my friends to introduce to your notice my patent proprietary peripatetic. Please all, never known to fail! A few drops on the baldest head induces a growth of strong and beautiful hair!

Mrs. T: Good gracious! Would you sprinkle a little on our garden?

Abanazar: Not only this, but should you suffer from corns, warts suffer no more... you have only to cut off the affected part and you will suffer no more.

To statesmen it is invaluable. It will make a Free Trade agreement into a Protectionists platform without incurring shares at the bank approved British style. What do I ask. Two shillings? Very well then one penny - one penny (Nobody purchases). What no customers. Wait a moment. I have here some patent clothes pegs. You hang your clothes on the line in the garden, before going to bed, and the next day someone pinches the lot. Now these clothes pegs [...].

(Dix, 1905, 1, 4, 22-34)

This idea of a cure, mimicked those qualities attributed to tea, and moved the text from world affairs in politics around Free Trade and Protectionism, which showed liberal tendencies, to domestic and personal medical or social problems of a more

everyday nature. Abanazar was from a merchant background, but had a dubious pedigree. He trapped Aladdin into working for him.

His later reference to 'patent pegs' perhaps alluded to Widow Twankey as a washerwoman, but also the relationship of Britain to China, as Britain took trade away from China, and China did not immediately notice. British perspectives dominated this relationship with the Chinese (Dix, 1905, 1, IV, 34-36). In the one-sided negotiation of international politics, Britain forced China to import opium in exchange for tea. Abanazar represented Chamberlain on the one hand and party politics on the other by offering a medicine that could cure a statesman's problems, in an attempt to improve the state of contemporary politics.

Birmingham and the Black Country, as a Liberal-held area, favoured the Free Trade agreement. In the quotation, Abanazar used the word 'protectionist'. The difference between free traders and protectionists was that free traders kept tariffs to a minimum and protectionists imposed tariffs, which gave a balance of import to export. They echoed the overseas policy employed by the British Government to control the trade of opium, tea and the supply of sugar from the colonies to Britain.

Abanazar offered a cure for everything, free trade or protectionist, to guarantee the supply of goods, such as tea, to British shores. It inferred that he could not attract customers. It allows reflection on how some audience members understood certain politicians to be, as illustrated in this next example from the late nineteenth century. In this late, possibly Blood (1889) script, the author included politics in the closing scenes of the story of *Aladdin*. The Princess returned to court and her father and the Chinese policeman announced that they would take control of the pantomime. The Genii and the Gems, to their credit, resolved everything:

GEM. Your search for enlightenment raised all this storm.

ABAN. A storm in a *tea-cup* only- I'll reform-

All politicians now do-or allege it-

WID. I'll *drop my cup*- not break it, though, but pledge it.

(Possibly Blood, 1889, Galley Proofs, page unknown)

Abanazar described how this fuss over his various antics during the pantomime was nothing and pledged to reform, as do politicians to gain the vote. Abanazar intimated that politicians never keep their word. Abanazar compared politics to a 'storm in a *tea cup*', effectively a 'great deal about nothing.'

Dix identified merchants alongside politicians in *Aladdin* (1905) seen in this quotation:

Emperor. The troubles which I have to bear are really quite unique

Vizier. Our revenues are falling, and they get worse every week.

Aban. Then why not tax all foreign goods as we're advised to do?

Omnes. Keep your eye upon Chamberlain and he will pull you through.

Emperor. In India of late we've had a very anxious time.

Vizier. And Broderick's Indian policy is like a pantomime.

Aban. But fortunately there's a man we know as staunch and true.

Omnes. Keep your eye on Kitchener and he will pull you through.

Emperor. Some people think that pantomimes are very often rot,

Vizier. Because the comics all agree to spoil the author's plot.

Aban. And if at present you believe that accusation true,

Omnes. Keep your eye on the Book of Words, which will pull you through.

(Dix, 1905, 2, 1, 122-133)

This described not only the Emperor's debt, but also how he represented a British leader, rather than a Chinese one, as he declared that there had been anxious times in India. The Vizier compared Broderick's Indian policy concerning Tibetan relations with Russia, to a pantomime. It appears as if the Emperor's identity was either

Chinese or English, an interchangeable aspect to suit a British perspective within the pantomime.

This British perspective on the government's relationship with China in everyday politics opened the tea divide between Britain and India on one side and China on the other. Kitchener and Broderick were members of the Conservative Party, whereas Chamberlain was a Liberal Conservative

The bias appeared to be towards the Conservatives, as they were 'able to pull us through'. In pantomime terms, the inclusion of political views alongside a reflective meta-theatrical reference is significant. It suggests that policies were farcical. The pantomime author's conscious topicality and political rhetoric confidently referenced Broderick's Indian policy and the resulting 'tax [on] all foreign goods'. Parliament debated Far-Eastern imports, from Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston's treatment of the Chinese through to the First and Second Opium Wars, the sanctions imposed and the later policies of Joseph Chamberlain.

The East proved an ever-changing marketplace for the acquiring and selling of tea. Chang stated that the arguments for and against the import of tea and the export of opium to China depended on understanding Chinese objections to the physical commodity. For example, China was defiant towards Britain, yet Chang did not see this defiance as having a moral or economic benefit (Chang, 2010, p. 11). I maintain that it was of economic benefit to Britain, as a world leader, to be concerned with the power and profitable economics of trade. The effect this policy had for the British Government was to force the Chinese in to submission so that they exported tea to Britain (Travis and Sanello, 2002, pp. 78-79).

The pantomime had a topsy-turvy relationship with fact and fiction; traditionally pantomime resolved everything in the end. The Emperor asked the audience in this pantomime to consult the book of words. The pantomime resolved the oriental conundrum, whether political or social, at the end of the night's entertainment.

Middle-class entrepreneurs flourished in this political climate, which favoured home markets and perhaps those people who sat in the audience of the theatre. In satirising tea, British influence abroad was glorified. The authors made it appear through the hierarchies of tea and Chineseness that Britain engineered its outcome abroad. The international exotic tea from faraway China, made comparison to and contrasted with that of the local British tea trader in Birmingham and the Black Country and the daily consumption of tea. The Bohea and Congou varieties of tea proved unpopular and later inferior.

The pantomime *Aladdin* developed the British view that China had changed. Britain considered China undeveloped and not as civilised as the West. British international and mercantile links developed this idea of British superiority through this imagined Chineseness.

ALADDIN, TEA AND ENDORSEMENT OF CHINESENESS

Byron, in 1861, included Horniman's tea and several other teas in his *Aladdin* script, a foretaste of the tea advertising that continued in *Aladdin* productions way beyond the 1914 pantomime season.

This included tea-related trading puns, testimonials to oriental exhibitions and advertising within the books of words, connected to Britain's trade with China.

Abanazar alluded to exhibitions in order to impress Aladdin in Byron's production of 1861. Abanazar recommended that they go to the free exhibitions where he would suitably dress Aladdin:

ABAN.

To all the exhibitions you shall go, my boy, with me,
(*aside*) Especially to all the exhibitions that are free:

There is the Museum, and the Tower,
And the Vernon Gallery, the Tunnel too;
(Byron, 1861, 1, 2, 5-8)

Concurrent with this pantomime from 1851, The Great Exhibition (1851), courtesy of the East India Company, included a Chinese pavilion, which allowed foreign visitors to mingle with the British public (Witchard, 2003, p. 43). It was American and British tea merchants who provided the Chinese pavilion (Witchard, 2009, pp. 65-66) an act by commercially-minded businesses that almost treated the Chinese as a commodity.

The Chinese pavilion promoted China at a time when Britain was at war with that country, and so exhibitors were unlikely to promote it strongly, added to which China was not part of any British colony. Exhibitions in the later nineteenth century, in Birmingham and the Black Country included oriental tea pavilions. These were the Exhibition of Staffordshire Arts and Industry at the Molineux Gardens in Wolverhampton on the 11 May 1869, the Wolverhampton and Staffordshire Fine Arts and Industrial Exhibition of 1884 and the Arts and Industrial Exhibition of 1902, which combined the industrial expertise of Birmingham and Wolverhampton.

If tea was at an exhibition or in a tea garden and presented in a Chinese cup, Macfarlane and Macfarlane argued, this suggested that the drinker liked Chinese

things. Some items to which drinkers were drawn included new designs, lacquer, silks and Chinese gardens (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 81). Chang asserted that this cultivated an understanding and an interest in the space where tea drinking took place, which returned 'geographical distant concerns about global British commodities of trade back to urban spaces' (Chang, 2010, p. 112). In this context, these were the theatre, public spaces and the home.

This negativity towards China promoted its existence, and authenticated any representations presented to the public at exhibitions. The official catalogue of the Wolverhampton Exhibition of 1884, which opened on 30 May, publicised Cant's Tearooms in Birmingham and O. E. McGregor's Midland Café (History website, 2014).³⁸

Subsequently, due to exhibitions and advertising, tea drinking expanded into retail outlets in both key centres of Birmingham and Wolverhampton to meet the increased demand for leisure activities from a growing population from the mid-1850s.

The Prince of Wales, Birmingham's *Christmas Pantomime Aladdin* carried advertising for Priory Tea. It stated, 'Most popular tea in the Midlands' (Courtneidge and Thompson, 1901, pp. 18, 38, 42) and 'All good judges drink Priory Tea' (Courtneidge and Thompson, 1901, p. 30). The use of the words 'popular' and 'judge' not only referred to the judge, a person of wisdom, authority and high standing in society, but also addressed the drinker as a discerning individual.

Aladdin was still set in China, but suspended in time, and Witchard described such aspects as 'the contrasting views of China', when at the turn of the twentieth

³⁸ Cant's Tearooms were on 18 and 19 Dudley Street and 90 High Street Birmingham. O. E. McGregor's Midland Café advertised that they were opposite the Prince Consort in Wolverhampton town centre, and offered tea from '11 a.m.-5 p.m' (History website, 2014).

century *Aladdin* was still a fantastically Chinese pantomime (Witchard, 2009, p. 65).

This was at a time when Britain imported tea from India.

During the period of 1873-1896, tariffs favoured imports from countries within the British Empire, such as India, which marked a strong downturn in overseas markets and an emphasis on local or national industries. Colonial Indian teas, for example, Hindoola tea appeared in block advertisements at the top and bottom of pages in the book of words for Frank Dix's pantomime *Aladdin* (1905).³⁹ This began to change the allegiance of the audience from Chinese to Indian teas.

As if it reinforced its authenticity, Hindoola tea advertised its product with the phrase 'beware of imitations'. The book of words for Dix's *Aladdin* (1905) included Hindoola tea in 80 per cent of its advertising and the advertisement described the brand as 'Always up to date' and promoted it as 'the largest sale in the Midlands'.

Local commercialisation of tea's taste with the words 'specially adapted for the Welsh water' confirmed its suitability for an audience.⁴⁰ Such phrases affirmed its credibility as an everyday product and its association with local traders and wholesalers, and endorsed further with the catchphrases like 'The talk of the trade', 'Enjoys marvellous popularity' and 'Sales ever increasing'. This reinforced colonial gains and ironically, even though tea originated in China, these advertisements plied 'Beware of imitations' adjacent to 'The only packet in the running' (Dix, 1905, pp. various).

³⁹ A block advertisement was at the top or the bottom of the page (a header or a footer). It was a rectangular or square space in which the advertisement appeared and it was often exclusive to that space.

⁴⁰ The Midlands, of which Birmingham and the Black Country form a part, received supplies of water primarily from Welsh sources from very early on in the nineteenth century.

Such a large amount of tea required a network of wholesalers and traders around Britain. Indian-based teas predominated, but advertisements in the book of words also appeared for Typhoo and Mazawattee (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, pp. 24-25). Landlords served tea at their public house establishments from quite early on in the Birmingham and Black Country region. Later *Aladdin* texts made mention of this:

Scene 6 A well-known Restaurant in Birmingham.
(Dix, 1905, p. 5)

There were several references to tearooms within the *Aladdin* pantomimes, such as at the *Halfway House*, Wolverhampton, which offered tearoom facilities (Rogers, 1911, Programme, 2, 3). Tea drinking took place in exhibitions, public houses and tearooms and often prior to visiting the theatre (Orr, in Makdisi and Nussbaum, 2008, p. 117). Pantomimes staged tea drinking in comic situations and provided a visual tearoom in the physical space of the theatre for regional audiences.

Tea drinking had been popular in tea gardens since the 1850s, at Duddeston, Birmingham and in Wolverhampton at the Molineux Gardens (History website, 2014; Poster (1866)). Therefore, tearooms formed part of product placement and advertising to an aspiring audience.

Thomas Twining opened the first teahouse, The Golden Lyon, London in the late seventeenth century (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 81).⁴¹ Birmingham and Wolverhampton entrepreneurs followed suit and opened up tearooms and tea gardens. In 1795, in Birmingham, the Aston Cross Tavern opened; the Apollo Tea

⁴¹ There was a prolific growth of tea establishments in London at popular venues such as Vauxhall, Ranelagh, Marylebone, Cuper's White Conduit House and Bermondsey Spa (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 80).

Gardens started later, in 1840, and the Beach Gardens alongside the Vauxhall Gardens in 1854 (Williams, 1990, p. 5). The age of the tea pavilion, tearooms and the outside exhibition brought Chinese ideas into the home.

Tea was a prominent trade and therefore a visual reference to China in the local Birmingham and Black Country nineteenth-century economy, and was evident in the trade directories that demonstrated the growth in establishments, which offered tea rather than coffee.

In 1818, *Wrightson's New Triennial Directory* recorded over 25 tea dealers (Wrightson, 1818). By 1862, seven large wholesalers supplied tea locally (Williams, 1990, p. 13). The directory registered over 50 tea dealers, some traders having more than one address, which identified that some had expanded by the time of the listings in the 1896 *Kelly's Directory*.⁴² Liptons, along with Lyons, opened many new tearooms.⁴³

The popularity of teahouses was evident in the variety of teas, the branding, and the advertising of retailers and restaurants, which filled the pages of the programmes and book of words. The variety of tea names featured in the gardens of Aladdin's palace in the Theatre Royal, Birmingham production of *Aladdin* (1910):

⁴² There were 53 Tea Dealers listed alphabetically at 94 addresses covering Stoke, Staffordshire locations, Wolverhampton and Birmingham. There were 33 listed as belonging to some form of retail chain. There was one based in central Birmingham, ten in central Wolverhampton, seven in central Walsall and the rest in various locations around Staffordshire (Kelly's Trade Directory, 1896, p. 827). Companies named were the Universal Tea Co., the Victorian Tea Co., Star Tea Co. Ltd., Peoples' Tea, London Tea Co., and the Home and the Colonial Tea Co.

⁴³ Liptons carried two full column advertisements in *The Evening Express and Star* on (1889) 10 August: 1 and (1889) 23 December: 1. The Lyons' Corner Houses traded in the later nineteenth century (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 82).

Scene 2 GARDENS OF ALADDIN'S NEW PALACE

CHORUS OF TEA GIRLS

Hail, to Glorious Tea;
Hail the poor man's luxuree,
Pekin, Souchong or Canton,
India, Burmah or Ceylon.
Hail, Glorious Tea,
Welcome to glorious Tea.

(Courtneidge and Thompson, 1910, 2, 2, 1-6)

In this quotation from 1910, tea came from many countries. There seemed no distinction for the tea chorus as to what was Chinese or what was Indian. Although there were other colonial teas named, they refer to tea as a poor man's luxury for all levels of society.

Why would authors perpetuate the Chineseness of *Aladdin* rather than move towards depicting Indian tea varieties? The path that most *Aladdin* pantomimes took over time was to move from Arabic roots, to Chinese referencing, as in Byron's production. Later productions still referenced tea as Chinese, even though advertisements favoured Indian teas.

The drinking of tea remained Chinese, as opposed to other oriental influences, not only in its taste, but also as a Chinese tea that the lower classes in society drank. Tea had an ingrained association with the willow pattern and other decorative items. This loyalty to China was supported by the fact that chinaware was referred to as china, not Indian.

Tea's Chineseness subconsciously reinforced the decorative arts, literature and theatre in an all-encompassing oriental discourse. This included fashion and tradition as well as cultural pressures mixed with a nostalgia that perpetuated this Chinese

theme. Tea was an international product and a locally traded product, incorporated into a regional pantomime as an exotic product and as a familiar commodity. The inclusion of tea by Byron and others in pantomime went further in presenting comment on local British society, social acceptability and tea's depiction in society.

Davis stated that although Byron included people from the news and current affairs, there was no 'evident social or political satire' (Davis, 1984, p. 12). However, I disagree, Byron consciously made political puns and social comments; indeed, Byron's tea references, within the social sphere, had different meanings from those I identified in my first chapter on the willow pattern plate. The willow pattern plate references emphasised the contemporary social division on evolution, the origin of species, the classification of people by race and the Chinese position in the hierarchy of society.

Byron chose to consider hierarchies of class and set *Aladdin* within a British context set within 'exotic' ancient China, as another way of reflecting the 'other'. The audiences of Byron's *Aladdin* performances at The Strand were mostly middle or business class (Davis, 1984, p. 21). Similarly, Sullivan recognised that understanding the composition of audiences is inherently difficult; she argued that the same types of audiences might have attended the theatres in Birmingham and the Black Country (Sullivan, 2005, pp. 27-28).⁴⁴

Byron achieved such social commentary in the pantomime by incorporating money, as in the Emperor's debt, marriage, as in the Princess's betrothal, and class

⁴⁴ Historians of the Victorian era have documented this prevalent hierarchical cultural definition of Victorian society (Schama, 2002; Longstreth Thompson, 1988, pp. 87, 149).

as in Pekoe and Mrs. Twankay's aspirations (Davis, 1984, pp. 1; 19).⁴⁵ Byron's use of the British and Chinese relationship worked not only on a political level, but also on social level, where predominantly middle or business class audiences took home an impression of China.

In London, Byron's plays mocked the working-class people who lived south of the River Thames (Davis, 1984, p. 1). Davis claimed that this enforced a sense of social worth on his audience (Davis, 1984, p. 21), but this would only have been effective if the audience aspired to be higher in society. Widow Twankay (Twankey/Twanky/Twanki), Pekoe and other names are important to my argument. Their names metaphorically referenced how British society understood the Chinese and their culture, as tea taken daily was a lesson in social status.

Early local trade was in Twankay types of black tea, as they were teas that transported well. Tea stored more easily than coffee at home and became the staple drink (The Potteries Museum, 2013). As transport both at sea and on land improved new and more exciting teas came onto the market, and offered a choice of expensive green teas, such as Pekoe and Souchong.⁴⁶ The new young green teas of Pekoe and Souchong were part of Byron and Dix's younger and enterprising characters' realisations and are an example of authors using theatrical material to illustrate the British class structure.

Pekoe, as a character, on Byron's title page of the book of words listed him as a young suitor for the Princess (Byron, 1861, p. 2). He represented a middle-class son

⁴⁵ Davis also pointed out that Byron was inspired to write by the work of Talfourd (Davis, 1984, p. 1). Talfourd with Hale wrote *The Mandarin's Daughter* (1851) discussed in Chapter One.

⁴⁶ The tea imported to Birmingham and the Black Country came by road, canal and sea, with boats transporting tea from Bristol up the River Severn and from Liverpool down through the Manchester Ship Canal.

of an industrialist, with available leisure time. The Princess described Pekoe, her suitor selected by her father, the son of the Vizier, thus:

PRINCESS: Oh! Flowery Pekoe, after all you've said.
(Byron, 1861, 1, 5, 154)

Pekoe, Pico or Peco was young and from the merchant class and often the Princess's suitor, or the lover of the Princess's servant girl, and the friend of Aladdin. As a type of tea, Pekoe, as the character in *Aladdin*, was the equivalent of a young beverage, made of buds and first leaves. Pekoe tea was expensive and highly prized and exported by China in the nineteenth century for its inherent value.

This was an innocent young man, possibly a virgin, and like the first buds of the tea bush, who was about to experience emotions and the world for the first time. He was trying to break away from his father's influence, and was described in the character listings as the Vizier's 'hope' and his 'own pride,' (Byron, 1861, p. 2).

Pekoe said:

PEKOE: within this *china mug*-this *s-peking eye*.
Let's drown a tea-cup to our future, do?
PRINCESS. Thankee, I don't *teek-up*
With such as you.
(Byron, 1861, 1, 1, 95-97)

The author incorporated word-play and puns with the words '*china mug*-this *s-peking eye*,' 'drown a tea cup' and '*teek-up*'. The word 'mug' had been long associated with the face. In addition, the mug was the preferred drinking vessel for the lower classes. On saying these words Pekoe was referring to himself, and his Chineseness, through the phrase '*s-peking eye*', not only making a connection to his

face, but the fact that he had his eye on the Princess, and that it was a Chinese 'eye' from Peking in China.

Pekoe's second reference, to a Chinese vessel, a tea-cup, acts as a contrast to his own situation of moving from a lower level to the Princess' level in society, who preferred to drink her tea from a cup. Drowning in a tea cup, could refer to Pekoe's misfortune, for if he did not marry the Princess he would be unable to reach those aristocratic and royal circles that drank from a higher class of drinking vessel, the tea cup.

The Princess confirmed this with her phrase '*teek-up*', which not only refers to the higher class of drinking vessel, the cup, but equally puns on the fact that she did not take up with those who might be of a lower class. Pekoe was a middle-class rising star and by the mid-nineteenth century there existed, like Pekoe, many wealthy middle-class sons. Some families were involved with the tea trade, others with ceramics and Japanning, and a son from this manufacturing background might have relied on his family's wealth. Such young men frequented the theatre (Mitchell, 1996, p. 177; Mangan, 2006, p. 31). They often featured in popular Dickens novels, such as *Dombey and Son* (Dickens, 1848). Davis compared Byron to Dickens, who wrote for a middle-class audience, incorporating domestic stories and morals, which reflected the requirements, and embodied the attitudes of his readers (Davis, 1984, p. 30). A middle-and-lower class audience would have understood how the merchant class (Vizier, Pekoe and Abanazar), and those lower in society (*Aladdin and the Widow*) might become upwardly mobile.

In contrast to the families of the Emperor and the Vizier, *Aladdin and the Widow* were from the lower classes and on many occasions acted as if they were from

higher birth. Their characters and their references to tea displayed a loss of status, marriage, and their aspirations as part of the lower classes in society. This was apparent in Byron's *Aladdin* (1861) when the Widow, who was symbolic of a poor-quality tea in the British home, visited a restaurant. The Widow continued to talk after the Genie had asked imps to bring the Widow 'two teas - two toasts' (Byron, 1861, 1, 4, 20):

WIDOW. (R, reviewing) Might I suggest a half-a-pint of shrimps?
(a table with rich dishes rises).
(Byron, 1861, 1, 4, 21-22)

The emphasis was on a rich table of food, in an upmarket establishment, but text references to the Genie calling down a pipe with their order was reminiscent of a common urban chop house (Byron, 1861, p. 22).

The Genie was able to provide Aladdin with even the most ambitious dishes to which the young man aspired, while at the same time the Genie perhaps ridiculed the Widow's choice of shrimps. This accentuated their lower class, their positions in life and the Widow's aspirations for a better standard of living.

This reference to the Widow and her wish to rise in society reflected on how by the 1860s all social classes drank tea. It was a staple beverage served within most British parlours, with a variety of teas available, and a mixture of healing properties attributed to them. Tea was important for its restorative properties and social graces (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, Introduction). Nonetheless, unlike the willow pattern plate that was visually Chinese in style, a British invention and a copy of Chinese imports that sold profusely, tea was an expensive import.

Society, at the time, would have judged on the Widow and her son Aladdin to be of more lowly birth working in the service industries, to which many Chinese in Britain

would eventually belong. However, in the 1860s, it symbolised for the paying audience that they could aspire to higher ambitions.

The Theatre Royal, Birmingham staged a *Grand Pantomime Aladdin* (1889) in which Aladdin referred to the improved status granted to him and his mother when Ben-Zine,⁴⁷ the Genie appeared in Aladdin's home and acted as their slave:

ALAD. This aint the gent, Ma-What a fuss you're making

We've met before –

Ben-Zine bows again.

WID. What very nice behave.

BEN-ZINE. I'm at your service.

ALAD. Ma, it's our new slavery!

BEN. (à la dining room waiter) Give out your order, Gents,

WID. He's a waiter – Tea, with- ahem, just the least-

Pantos pouring spirits in [...] ⁴⁸

(Blood, 1889, unidentified page).

In *Aladdin*, tea drinking took place on a number of occasions in reference to locally named establishments, even at a regional level, the rising lower classes understood and saw visiting such a place as part of their journey into social acceptability.

The notion of such a high-class tea for the Widow was not lost on other punning used by Byron in his *Aladdin* (Byron, 1861). For example, there was a scene, in which Aladdin mentioned high tea with 'Come to tea', which implied a high afternoon

⁴⁷ The genie's name was a volatile mixture of a lighter aliphatic hydrocarbon. It is a constituent of petroleum, like paraffin, and used as a solvent or spirit.

⁴⁸ Here there was a pun on spirits as to their ignitability; it was an apt name for a genie, punning on the volatility of pantomime humour as if 'pouring of the pathos' into the lines by a benevolent spirit. It emphasised the ridiculousness of the situation.

tea. This happened when he surprised Abanazar with a visit to the magician's African palace where the magician had imprisoned the Princess:

ALADDIN: 'Come to tea'.
(Byron, 1861, 1, 7, 22)

Aladdin invited himself to Abanazar's home and considered himself of higher status. 'Come to tea' illustrated how the characters acted as if they were high in the social ranks. It also reflects the social and cultural development of the regions, in terms of the coexistence of far away locations and public perceptions of acceptable public places to drink tea.⁴⁹ In this 1897 production, the landlord opened the pantomime and talked about the celebrations surrounding the betrothal of the Princess to the Vizier's son:

LANDLORD: My refreshments are tip top,- my tea is never slop.
(Milton, 1897, 1, 1, 15)

The 1897 *Aladdin* production by Milton at the Grand Theatre, Birmingham contained advertising for such establishments. Hughes, in Birmingham, advertised at three addresses, at 143 Corporation Street opposite the Grand Theatre, Birmingham, at Vale's on Cannon Street and on Needless Alley, while Mrs. Pope's Hen and Chickens was opposite the Prince of Wales, Birmingham (Milton, 1897, p. 12). The Prince of Wales' *Aladdin* production in 1901 advertised the Vale's Bar, opposite the theatre, the Windsor, and the Hen and Chickens (Courtneidge and Thompson, 1901, p. 24).

⁴⁹ In the 1896 *Kelly's Directory* there are listed the restaurants open in Birmingham in the late nineteenth century. Kelly's Directory listed in the shopping and theatre areas establishments such as the Turtle Restaurant at 98 Bull Street and Union Passage, Birmingham, that were established in 1769 and Benson's Ltd., serving food from '12 noon – 10 pm'. It clearly marked a number of venues as belonging to a chain or group of retail outlets in Birmingham (Kelly's, 1896, p. 42).

The Widow Twankey enjoyed this leisure activity and she was trying to improve her status in society. In earlier productions, she worked in a laundry or as a tailor, but later as a schoolmistress. This moved her up from the lower class occupations in society, to a more professional occupation. Her rise in status measured by her visits to restaurants and establishments to partake of tea:

Mrs. T: Hot please with a little lemon and sugar.

(Dix, 1905, p. 37)

Widow Twankey requested lemon and sugar with her tea.⁵⁰ The choice of lemon and sugar was usually associated with higher levels in society. High-class green teas benefitted from the addition of lemon and sugar, not something added to the black teas of the lower classes. The Widow mimicked the airs and graces of those much higher in society.

A 1911 programme for *Richard The Third* advertised a forthcoming *Aladdin* at the Grand Theatre, Wolverhampton:

Monday Next March 6th 1911 For Six Nights and Saturday Matinee Charles Constant's Grand Spectacular and comic PANTOMIME ENTITLED ALADDIN AND HIS WONDERFUL LAMP (Grand Theatre, 1911, p. 4).

Around this *Aladdin* advertisement was publicity for restaurants or eating establishments included Harleys, J. Mc Gregor's two Midland Cafés in Queen Square, and The Imperial at Princes Square, not far from the theatre. The British adopted ceremonies surrounding tea drinking in the nineteenth century, explained Okakura (1993) (cited in Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 62), and further

⁵⁰ Marion Cabell Tyree provides the oldest known recipe for sweet and iced tea in 1879, in a community cookbook (Republished 1965) *Housekeeping in Old Virginia*. Louisville, Kentucky: Cookbook Collectors Library.

assimilated the Chinese to the British way of life (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 80). The British middle classes ritualised drinking in public spaces and the home, in spaces that mirrored exotic Chinese decor. Tea was the ultimate in defining this relationship as the taste of China.

Byron's *Aladdin* was a production that was so significant in changing ideas that created a cultural synergy that brought a real Far-Eastern product, tea, into an unreal British vision of China on stage. Everyday British scenarios, such as restaurants or tearooms appeared in a space, which was oriental and Chinese.

Tea was prominent in the pantomimes after 1850 and created an oriental space on stage, as fantastically Chinese, as that on plate, teapot, tea caddy and tray. China on stage gave tea an air of respectability for British audiences. It empowered them and reflected their liberal views and acquisition of chinaware for the parlour (Sullivan, 2011, p. 211; Richards (2010), in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 24).

Tea packaging from 1840, rather than being a receptacle made from a cone of paper, made the association of tea from the wholesaler to the tea caddy more meaningful, as it contained additional fantastical representations of the Chinese (Ziter, 2003, p. 124). Ancient China as on the willow pattern plate, tea caddy and packaging remained part of the locations used in *Aladdin*. Chinese influences were still part of *Aladdin* after 1850, when Indian and Japanese teas were popular.

Byron was often original in his choice of material. Davis considered Byron's work a window into what Victorians loved and expected (Davis, 1984, p. 26). I argue that Byron engineered his word art over many burlesques, grounded in scientific fact in alliteration, repetitive childlike phrases learned by rote, reinforcement and psychology (Chang, 2010, p. 74). The advertising placed in local newspapers used the same

methods; for example, in one advertisement, the promoter had filled the whole of a column with a repeated advertising phrase (*Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 15 March, 1866).

Byron's repetitive use of word-play that reinforced Chineseness, echoed this advertising trend and its authentication of product and source. He did not separate facts and fantasy, which made it difficult to define realism when the real China had closed to visitors, and the British were so intent on building up their own visual and social picture of China. The deeply set vision of China was difficult to divide from the real, i.e. ways of seeing China and ways of making meaning about China were mixed together (Berger, 1973, p. 23).

Aladdin, as a pantomime, endorsed tea across all levels of society and wrought a suggestion of Chineseness, not just copied like the willow pattern plate, but this time acquired, experienced and tasted. These were exotic tastes in a British manufactured china cup. The political opinions and mercantile quips in *Aladdin* demonstrated that tea still had authority and created a close social culture. Tea in pantomime took a journey that cut across international trade, wholesalers, commodity culture, retail packaging and the contents of the domestic parlour.

ALADDIN, TEA AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Advertising, starting with Horniman's Tea had a phenomenal presence in the pantomime and the book of words. Horniman's Tea was one of the first branded and packaged teas and described in the first scene of Byron's *Aladdin*. The Mandarins declared that advertisements said 'tea not green' and the Vizier replied:

Vizier (R) I've seen em-headed "Horniman's pure tea."

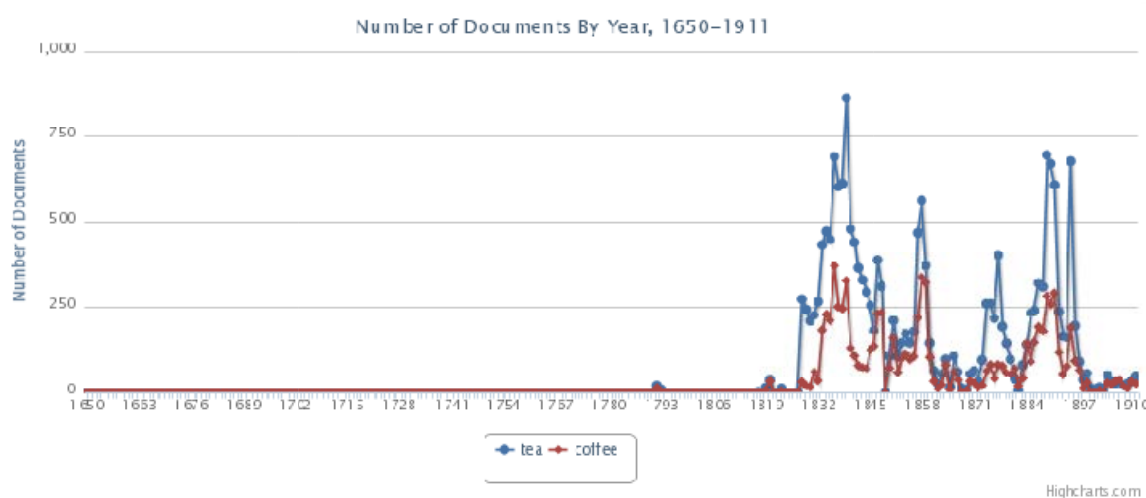
(Byron, 1861, 1, 1, 16)

He then added that it was 'hornimentally' used (Byron, 1861, 1, 1, 17). This indicated that tea was decorative and deficient in taste. The pantomime advertised Horniman's Tea as fashionable and emphasised its appearance, rather than its taste. Through the Vizier's character, Byron taunted the middle-class business people and their tastes. This adds gravitas to my argument with regard to the social aspects of tea drinking. The audience contained people from the business community and it made sense, when 85 per cent of the profits per year for a theatre came from the pantomime, for those who were tea wholesalers and retailers to utilise the pantomime to advertise tea (Booth, 1981, p. 371; Tredennick, 2011, pp. 81-83).

Witchard briefly touched on the notion that advertising commoditised tea, and that in choosing to name characters after teas, authors were objectifying them, in the same manner, as the branding and packaging of tea within later advertising as part of the production or book of words (Witchard, 2009, p. 68). Thomas Hailes Lacy packaged Byron's *Aladdin* pantomime for sale and commoditised pantomime and tea for the consumer at home. Chang discussed how material objects, such as tea, occupied physical spaces and provided narratives that called forth imaginings about China and its representation (Chang, 2010, p. 180). Advertising encouraged Birmingham and Black Country people to visit and buy Chinese-related pantomimes as books of words or as toy theatres. The pantomimes mentioned the types of tea audiences could purchase alongside the representation of Chinese people, and their lives and culture.

Magazines and media informed audiences about Chinese-related things and instructed the reader in teas' qualities and preparation. The lifting of restrictions by the Chinese government in the 1850s allowed people to travel and reside in China,

and encouraged a marked rise in literary references to China. For example, entering the keywords ‘coffee’ and ‘tea’ based on all the newspapers in the *Cengage* database in 2012 produced a graph of the number of instances the word tea and coffee appeared in the media during 1611-1910. It indicated that tea consumption peaked from the start of Queen Victoria’s reign through to the 1850s and the early 1860s and again rose in popularity from the 1870s to the 1890s (see Graph 1).



Graph 1: Tea and Coffee References in the Media 1611-1914. © *Cengage*.

Locally, Chang said tea, porcelain and opium produced domestically or in British colonies marked the extent of British people’s understanding of Chinese people and their culture, even at the end of the nineteenth century (Chang, 2010, p. 180).

The social networks of the 1880s incorporated tea drinking in restaurants, public houses and teahouses and there was a wide consumption of tea at home.

This was evidenced in the advertising of tea and its inclusion in popular songs, which Hall and Rose described as homely and global (Hall and Rose, 2006, p. 181) in their ideas incorporating the ‘tea and jam’ diet. Homeliness was part of Thompson’s and Courtneidge’s *Aladdin* (1901) at the Prince of Wales, Birmingham. Widow Twankey

drew attention to that homely feel when she recalled how her husband came home after five o'clock for his tea:

Widow [...] His father was a most respectable working man – a journeyman pirate. Went to work at seven [...] and stuck to it all day, boarding ships and cutting throats, till the 5 o'clock bell rang for them to go home to tea.
(Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, 1, 2, 10-14)

People drank Chinese tea in the workplace and at home in the parlour. In the 1840s, the high tea was an aristocratic habit of taking afternoon tea between lunch and a very late dinner.⁵¹ By the mid-century, the British presence in China saw an increase in tea imports⁵² and a resulting economic success for this trade.

By the 1850s, tea drinking became important to those of the working class in factories, workshops or mines. This class saw tea as having restorative powers, to which could be added milk and imported sugar from the colonies to fortify its qualities (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 87). At the end of the eighteenth century, Sir George Staunton ascertained that every Englishman consumed a pound in tea a year; some estimates doubled this and by the law of average, each individual probably consumed two cups per day (Fortnum and Mason, 2014).

By the end of the nineteenth century, it was ten cups per day, five times the early eighteenth century figure. Therefore, the working class adopted a strong bond with the high tea, and the mug of tea and bread (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p.

⁵¹ The taking of tea in an afternoon was an elite pastime, and initiated by Anna Russell, Duchess of Bedford in the 1840s (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 83).

⁵² The opium trade alone was worth £1.2 million per year and was crucial to the international import of tea to Britain. The opium exports increased a thousand times between 1780 and 1830 (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 111). The First Opium War was from 1839 to 1842 and the Second Opium War was from 1856 to 1860. Britain was at war in India and the Crimea from 1853 until 1856.

94).⁵³ Britain's foreign policy affected tea imports, and thus the daily lives of its people.

However, coffee was an alternative drink, considered inferior to tea.⁵⁴ This was apparent when Aladdin was below ground in Byron's production and considered himself to be of equal status to coffee, which implied he was inferior in society. Aladdin worried that his status would remain lowly (Byron, 1861, I, 3, 52). He referred to his lower-class status a little later in the text:

ALAD

Ont me a good sized hunk of bread and cheese?

(Byron, 1861, I, 3, 105)

In this quotation, Aladdin at home with his mother, ordered the staple diet of the British population. There was again the parallel of exotic location to common, familiar food. Here Aladdin requested food:

ALAD.....tea and toast for two.

(Byron, 1861, I, 4, 19)

The inclusion of tea and toast reflected on the diets of the poor, to which Hall and Rose have claimed one could easily add jam (Hall and Rose, 2006, p. 183).

⁵³ There was a population of 10.5 million in 1800 for which 20 million pounds of tea was imported (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 69), and by 1871, this figure had increased to five pounds per person. At this time, the population stood at 26 million, which accounted for 130 million pounds of tea. The figure rose even higher when the population had reached 35.5 million by 1900 (Population Statistics, 2014). Originally, the price of tea in 1660 was £3, 10 shillings a pound, and by 1670, this had dropped to £2. Thomas Garraway, the owner of a coffee house known as Garraway's, in 1660 advertised tea at £6 and £10 per pound (The History of London, 2013). The price fell to £4, 3 shillings and 2 pence per pound around 1690 (Clark, 2004; Hersh and Voth, 3 September 2009 at www.voxeu.org (2014)). The cost of tea by 1711 was 5 shillings per pound (www.tea.co.uk, 2014). By 1800, Twinings Hyson tea sold for £3 per pound and by 1859 4s per pound retail (Broomfield, 2007 pp. 61-66).

⁵⁴ Coffee was a masculine drink (The Potteries Museum, 2013).

As references to tea moved into the latter-half of the nineteenth century, they included jam. In Green's 1879 production at the Prince of Wales, Birmingham, the Widow said:

WIDOW: You were always my lamb, though you stole all my jam
And I've been a good mother to you.
(Green, 1879, 1, 5, 66-67)

The other quotations confirmed poorer people ate tea and jam, and proved that tea and jam were a measure of what the public could afford and what was socially acceptable at different levels in society (Courtneidge and Thompson, 1910, p. 31). For example, Aladdin judged high society by whether the Princess required 'jam' (Courtneidge and Thompson, 1910, pp. 29-30).

In the mid-eighteenth century, the beginnings of tea and jam dependency were already apparent; it cost 5.35 pennies per head per week for bread and 7 pennies per week for tea and sugar, and purchased by those lower in society (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 70). Hall and Rose studied how much the British population relied on tea and jam and the need for tea to come from other foreign places within the colonial control of the British Empire (Hall and Rose, 2006, p. 183).

At the time that Byron's production reached Birmingham, at the height of the Second Opium War, Chinese teas were popular and included Horniman's Tea and types of Bohea, Congou, Twankay and Pekoe teas which together accounted for 90 per cent of the tea drunk in Britain (Witchard, 2009, pp. 56-57).⁵⁵

From around 1840, well-known companies such as Horniman's Tea, and later Twinings, sold packaged tea. Packaging was a simple innovation introduced by John

⁵⁵ Tea imports to Britain rose from 30 million pounds a year in the 1830s to 80 million pounds in the 1860s and 200 million pounds in the 1890s (Witchard, 2009, pp. 56-57).

Horniman in 1826. The idea of pre-packed tea took a while to develop, but later changed the whole retail tea industry.

Davis has pointed out how in the 1850s, the pantomimes evidenced the gradual move of tea culture in the London theatre from the Gothic, Orient and remote locations to producers offering audiences melodramas that brought tea closer to home often performed as a domestic interior. The closeness of home held itself within the homely pun at the end of the night's entertainment in Byron's *Aladdin*:

But we shall thank you if you'll "crack it up."

(Byron, 1861, 1, 7, 96)

The exotic Chineseness of tea within a cup was a possession held close and familiar, as in the lines above, punned at the close of the performance to bring cheer and laughter to the close and familiar world of China in the pantomime *Aladdin* (Byron, 1861, p. 42).

The period of 1860-1870, Chang insisted, was the most stable time within China, as it had conceded more to Britain (Chang, 2010, p. 126). This stability in the *Aladdin* pantomimes of the 1870-1890s encouraged promotion and advertising, of not only tea drinking establishments within texts and book of words, but also the types of retail teas and their availability.

At home, customers benefited from packaged tea; as they knew they bought a reliable, known brand and did not have to depend on what the grocer selected from his tea chests. The Co-operative Wholesale Society (1863), Brooke Bond (1869), Denishams (1884) and Liptons (1888) all sold packet tea. Packet tea produced for home consumption outsold loose tea by the early 1900s and brought tea drinking into the Victorian parlour.

The parlour supported a platform of British industry in the host's choice of objects within the room. Not only was the choice of tea described, but sugar, milk, spoons, saucers, sugar bowls, milk jugs, tea caddies, tables, biscuits and cakes, side plates, chairs and screens. Outwardly, the tea industry expanded to include grocers, tea tasters and auctioneers (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 93). I would also include the tearooms and restaurants visited by Widow Twankay. In 1751, Charles Deering, could have been describing Widow Twankay in his book about Nottingham:

The People [...] are not without their Tea, the Use of which is spread to that Degree, that not only the Gentry and Wealth Traders drink [...] even a Common Washerwoman thinks she had not had a proper Breakfast without Tea [...] (Deering, 1751 cited in Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 71).

The washerwoman and the drinking of tea were important references in the domestic sphere, which had no high or low class distinctions. Chang argued that James McNeill Whistler and Dante Gabriel Rossetti encouraged the collecting of antique and home-produced chinaware for the parlour in the late nineteenth century, at all levels of society. Therefore, the drinking of tea and the collecting of objects referenced in the pantomime reached across all classes (Chang, 2010, p. 73).

Over the nineteenth century, Chang reasoned, art and literature also visualised China in a more 'domestic present' rather than a 'foreign past' (Chang, 2010, p. 73). This heightened the commoditisation of objects within the parlour as observed by A. S. Byatt in 'A form of Fetishism' (*The Guardian*, 2011, p. 6). He discussed how the evolution of collecting objects helped differentiate 'one man from another, one society from another' and applied equally to the commodity of tea. Freud and Yapp, Byatt asserted, would have seen collecting as fetishism. Yallop argued that collecting was

'a compulsive urge to do things bigger and better, to bring so many elements as possible, under one protective umbrella, to control, to regulate and to extend' (Yallop cited in Byatt, *The Guardian*, 2011, p. 6). This interest in China fuelled a middle class curiosity for China in exhibit, stage, newspaper, magazine and advertising (Chang, 2010, p. 72).

The housewife, or in this case Widow Twankey, was in a parlour of objects from the empire, surrounded by Chinese or Oriental objects, including the willow pattern plate and antique blue and white cups and saucers, from which she drank Chinese imported tea. As Chang stated this literally and metaphorically bought to Britons daily experiences of Chineseness (Chang, 2010, pp. 10-11). For many, the eating of jam and the drinking of tea took place in the parlour or kitchen. It was in the parlour, too, that having purchased a book of words, a family or friends acted out the parts as home entertainment.

One of the key publishers of this period was Thomas Hailes Lacy, who published a version of Byron's *Aladdin*. Hailes Lacy's advertisements within his *Aladdin* publication demonstrated how he promoted his plays. He maximised a publication's earning potential, promoting the many reasons as to the parlour play's quality, but also the added benefits of purchasing prints and photographs of the costumes and actors. For example, on the front page:

Lacy's Dramatic Costumes:
Parts 1 to 6 (with Six Plates) each,
Coloured 2/6 Plain 9d.
(Byron, 1861, Front cover).

Aladdin was an exotic pantomime acted out by amateurs in the parlours of homes across Britain, with photographs advertised on the front cover too.

Photographs Portraits of the Popular Performers of the day 1s 6d post free
(Byron, 1861, Front Cover).

Although Byron identified Widow Twankay as a washerwoman, Witchard intimated that she was a harassed English housewife, cross-dressed in Chinese clothing, a topsy-turvy comment on social mobility and sexuality (Witchard, 2009, p. 40). Thomas Hailes Lacy's advertisement for Byron's play, within his collection of productions for the home described on the front page as 'Home plays,' marries together the Chineseness of the Widow, her home, her parlour and her domestic environment.

AT HOME EDITION FOR THE PARLOUR
(Byron, 1861, Front Cover)

The Front cover outlined the type of plays available:

An Evening's Entertainment consisting of
An original Comedy, a Burlesque, and Farce.
Home Plays for Ladies, comprising
Female Characters only, complete in 2 parts.
Charades
Drawing Room dramas
Plays for the parlour.
(Byron, 1861, Front page)

The importance of tea, and how Widow Twankey positioned herself in society for an audience, was contained in this quotation from Thomas De Witt Talmage:

She who wields the teapot has a powerful weapon in her hand [...]
(De Witt Talmage (1879) cited in Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 85).

This established the importance of matriarchal women, like Widow Twankey, in the home. The Widow's conversations illustrated this point in the pantomimes from

1850 until 1911, for example, when she interacted with Souchong and other characters named after tea in *Aladdin*. Davis maintained, as did Witchard, that the Widow was typical of the British housewife equally at home in China and at the court of the Emperor (Witchard, 2009, p. 40; Davis, 1984, p. 4).

In Byron's version, Jimmy Rogers played the Widow, and with his 'skimp form,' grief stricken face and gaudy make-up epitomised Byron's Widow (Davis, 1984, p. 4). Davis described how Rogers dressed for his part as the ugly sister Corinda in Byron's *Cinderella* in 1860. This may have incorporated what would become the Widow's best-known characteristics when he performed as the Widow, in *Aladdin* six years later:

the glaring, glowering eyes, the cat-like propensities of spitting and scratching, the thin and sparse ringlets [...] and then when the figure emerged [...] little touches of the artist that should not pass unnoticed [...] Unidentified clipping, British Library (cited in Davis, 1984, p. 4).

The resulting ekphrasis of tea as names, characters, descriptions and references within the pantomime and at home strengthened aspects of existing Victorian life. Chang said, for example, that 'the tea cup and tea of fiction' reinforced that placed on the actual parlour table (Chang, 2010, p. 84). Leigh Hunt stated in his essay that tea drinking was associated with books and leisure. Hunt argued that the 'tea cup [is a] representation of themselves, which are the only ones properly known' where he was concerned with the societal change that took place through commodity exchange:

all of a sudden the remotest nation of the East, otherwise unknown, and foreign [...] should convey to us a domestic custom which changed the face of our meaning [of] refreshment a Chinese infusion. Hunt (1834) (cited in Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, pp. 84-85).

This was not only people sharing tea internationally, nationally and within the home, but sharing the taste associated with China. The taste of exotic China was within a British-made cup, upon which British manufacturers had visualised China from a British perspective. It identified, Chang said, through the ideas of Arjun Appadurai, that the willow pattern; and, for my purposes here, tea, were commodities, national possessions with their own social lives (Chang, 2010, pp. 71-74). For example, there was an early mention of Souchong in the first scene of Byron's *Aladdin*:

SCENE FIRST: Ante Room in the Emperor of China's Palace.

THE VIZIER discovered drinking tea with several MANDARINS.

To the early leaf of the rough Souchong.

Is like nectar to me-nectar to me-nectar to me.

(Byron, 1861, 1, 1, 10-13)

In the 1897 production of *Aladdin* by Percy Milton, the tea Souchong appeared in the following song:

SINGING GIRLS

Merry singing girls are we, as you take your cup of tea,

We will gaily dance and sing, you'll find we are not shy,

As you sip the famed Souchong.

(Milton, 1897, 1, 1, 52-54)

In later productions, Souchong emerged within the text not only as a tea, but also as a character. *Aladdin*, in the Byron tradition of tea names, in a Thompson and Courtneidge pantomime from 1901, dressed as a female, announced:

ALADDIN. Yes, little Souchong from Know-Chow-Cheo.

(Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, 2, 2, 308)

At the *Theatre Royal*, Birmingham, Aladdin performed as a cross-dressing servant:

Aladdin enters dressed as a woman servant.
(Courtneidge and Thompson, 1910, p. 25)

A man dressing as a woman had a double identity, and which was both good and bad. The Emperor ordered all of his subjects to look away, as the Princess passed by to her bathing. As Aladdin was therefore unable to enter the presence of the Princess as a man, he disguised himself as a young female, Souchong (Courtneidge and Thompson, 1910, p. 35). Souchong, like Twankey, was a clever use of a tea name to lampoon the Chinese and made an immediate impression on the audience, while continuing pantomime's tradition for including topical ideas and an air of familiarity.

Souchong was a very expensive black tea and dried over smoked pine.⁵⁶ Fortnum and Mason prized this commodity and sold Souchong as an expensive brand named tea (Fortnum and Mason, 2014). In the same vogue, the choice of character name, Souchong, suggested that the character was exclusive and someone who would be highly prized by the Princess as part of her entourage. Its earthy and smoky aroma brought in the suggested undertones of the male, Aladdin, disguised as Souchong.

Aladdin's Souchong was a young, vibrant girl who lightly teased the palate. Souchong tea was not as young as Pekoe tea in flavour, it was softer and mellow, a poor-quality green tea with an older, smokier flavour (Macfarlane and Macfarlane, 2003, p. 85). It was an excellent choice by Thompson and Courtneidge to use a

⁵⁶ This originally occurred to speed up the process to service an army, in Chinese history, that passed through the Wuyi Hills in the Qing era.

feminine green tea as a disguise and a foil for Aladdin, dressed as a woman (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, 2, 2, 308).

Radcliffe argued that contemporaries questioned whether women could play men. Beerbohm and Davenport were convinced that men could play women's roles (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 122-124). Women dressed as men, and men dressed as women, which in pantomime was a common occurrence. In *Aladdin*, women often played male leads. Men played the cranky old Widow in *Aladdin* or for example, the mother and the ugly sisters in *Cinderella*.

Why was this important to an everyday theatre audience? Audiences were familiar with the many storylines of Shakespeare and the traditions of women dressed as men. It was in the style of Garrick, argued Radcliffe (2010) (cited in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 118), that men disguised as women were part of that 'topsy-turvy' world of Victorian pantomime represented by Widow Twankey. The Widow sat betwixt two worlds within *Aladdin*, that of ancient China and the everyday of the parlour. As Radcliffe pointed out, Dan Leno as an actor managed his early burlesque style and modified his act to a more domestic style towards the end of the century. Thus, the Widow brought order to chaos in the real and fictitious world of pantomime.

The burlesque style of the 1850s was not a threat compared to the female impersonator (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 124). Radcliffe cited quotations from Beerbohm and W. Davenport Adams in her analysis of such roles (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 122-124). I would agree with Radcliffe's criticism that pantomime came from a masculine viewpoint. Radcliffe suggested that these roles helped men in the audience deal with their anxieties about women. The dame was no threat to them, but her young counterpart, the principal boy challenged political authority and

solemnity in the 1850s, 'a carnival view that contextualised pantomime and accepted prevailing ideas' (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 118). The character of the young Souchong challenged prevailing ideas. As a female, Souchong signified not only how Aladdin used his cunning to rise to higher social standing, but the character played out that 'topsy-turvy' relationship within pantomime, a representation with which Beerbohm and Davenport felt uncomfortable.

Whether Aladdin dressed as a woman, or the Widow Twankey was a male actor, Souchong brought femininity to this tea-related theme. The Widow domesticated the choice of tea and drew attention to her association with the lower classes, her home, kitchen and parlour. The woman's parlour was where a female and family or friends might act out the Hailes Lacy's copy of the pantomime *Aladdin* (Logan, 2001; Richards, 1990), which was somewhat at odds with the challenging male to female role-play of Souchong, but in agreement with the male contemplation of the female form.

Widow Twankey brought femininity to the parlour, for the man, within the pantomime, but a woman playing a man was not conceivable in the male bias for nineteenth-century contemporaries like Beerbohm. The drawing together of *Aladdin* and the parlour drew the tea of the stage to tea at home. At home, the tea and jam diets of the poor relied on imported goods (Hall and Rose, 2006, p. 183). This comparison illustrated not only the journey that tea took through *Aladdin* pantomimes, but also the journey that Chineseness made in supplanting other oriental tea flavours, cultural tastes and social comment. Real imported tea was Indian and then Japanese, yet considered Chinese. It was still drunk from

chinaware, while having a fashionable co-existence with *Aladdin*, a pantomime that retained its Arabic title.

The puns in *Aladdin* alluded to Chinese tea being contained in a china cup, from the Far East, and a story that depicted ancient China. Byron's *Aladdin* incorporated an exotic drink in everyday places, ideas around social status, and the aspirations of an inward-looking audience often from parlour rich environments, who had liberal views.

The audiences of the 1860s and 1870s watched touring theatrical productions from London (Sullivan, 2005, p. 2). Regional audiences by the 1870s were introspective, parochial and jibing at authority (Davis, 1984, pp. 12-14). This social identity and the comfort of tea in aesthetic surroundings relied on the coexistence of the extremes tea presented; its exoticism conformed to certain social values in public and in the home.

SUMMARY

Tea references in the pantomime charged the political agenda. Audiences exited the pantomime with definite negative attitude towards the Chinese, a change which Witchard recognised as national tendencies that were different and in contrast to the real China (Witchard, 2009, p. 65). *Aladdin* was a mirror held up to the daily lives of its audience and its incorporation of tea names, characters, puns and sets moved it beyond Witchard's statement. Tea brought together the exotic and the familiar, and embedded the Far East beyond that of the willow pattern plate, into the home and parlour. British manufacturers in Birmingham and the Black Country produced the willow pattern plate for home markets, whereas in contrast tea was from fantastically distant lands.

Tea was a product of taste and smell, an exotic product of the senses. Millie Taylor compared this to the allusive fantasy that was the Far East portrayed in *Aladdin* (Taylor, 2007, p. 185). The willow pattern plate and tea descriptions assisted in transforming fantasy into the certainty of the everyday. Tea, like the willow pattern plate, reflected the changing politics and trading links and the social respectability and domesticity of Birmingham and Black Country society. Tea in *Aladdin* revealed changing attitudes, over the nineteenth century, to the Chinese and Chineseness.

Pantomime characters, pantomime scripts, characterisation, costume and sets revealed Chineseness through British society's reliance on foreign goods and chinaware and tea's domestication in home markets. Tea reflected, as the willow pattern plate, a western view of the Orient. Throughout the nineteenth century, *Aladdin* pantomimes contained tea references that were often contradictory and derogatory.

Even Byron subjected his audience to such confusion. He was clear that tea had an important part to play in his production, his characters, scenic titles and script, but he was confused over the Chinese leader's identity.⁵⁷ Japan and Africa, Chang notes overshadowed China in British eyes by the end of nineteenth century (Chang, 2010, p. 179). For the second-half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, people drank Indian tea. However, the tea drinking and location in *Aladdin* remained confusingly Chinese.

Umberto Eco in *Serendipity* (Eco, 1998, Introduction) explored the idea of false tales replacing other tales and these tales then would be true. This applied in the case of the willow pattern plate or tea, or in the telling of Chineseness. The idea is

⁵⁷ Chinese leaders names used were Emperor, Sultan, Cham, and King (Byron, 1861, pp. 4, 5, 7, 30).

that false tales exist, based on a fact and that somewhere there is an original authentic concept or object that is true, to which one could make a comparison. The result is that the false object considered false, is based on an original authentic object that actually exists (Eco, 1998, pp. 24-25). The imagined Far Eastern locations of China portrayed in the willow pattern plate were even more evident in the elusive product of tea, which relied on importation from exotic lands to satisfy society's home comforts.

Tea, within the pantomime context, joined the other Chinese related objects and tastes within the domestic environment, perpetuating Chineseness with its added dimension of exotic taste and social status. Tea drunk in a china cup endured its falsehood, as a product still associated with China even when later grown in India by tea manufacturers and advertised as from India.

Aladdin, the willow pattern plate and tea all share a false history, an unreal, exotic world encapsulated within the stage and the familiarity of home. The British government's policies in mercantile spheres initiated and brought home the depiction of the Chinese and their Chineseness, and Britain's perceived superiority over the Chinese and the 'other'. In economic terms, these product falsehoods drove the economic factors of success locally in spreading oriental ideas that gained commercial ground through lucrative product placement. These falsehoods socially levelled society through the consumer's acquisition of the willow pattern plate and tea, while inspiring those audience members to advance socially.

My next chapter considers Chineseness through the values pantomime authors placed on locally Japanned objects and Japanese influences.

CHAPTER 3

ALADDIN, JAPANNING AND JAPANESE CULTURAL INFLUENCES

INTRODUCTION

Aladdin pantomimes from 1879 to 1914 in Birmingham and the Black Country were more product-related than previous productions. Authors utilised the Chineseness of the pantomime and locally manufactured Japanware to express the audience's everyday attitudes to local politics, social and cultural values. Japanning, Japanese culture and their related visual arts acted as a backdrop within the text, the costume and the scenery of these later pantomimes, and I evaluate how they blurred Japan and China into the oriental discourse.

Nationally, Japanned objects were fashionable with no real distinction for audiences as to their history, and had a powerful industrial presence and affiliation with Birmingham and the Black Country. This local interest in Japanese styles coincided not only with national trends in fashion, but also the period in the region when growing employment opportunities were available at new Japanning factories.

Shoolbred and Loveridge opened their factory in the 1840s and John Marston in 1859, and Robert Stroud opened his Nippon (Japan) works in 1865 to meet the national demand for lacquered goods (Black Country History, 2014). Local workers adorned Japanned objects with designs of landscapes, wildlife and, typically, female figures, reflecting ancient oriental China and Japan for display in the home.

The Japanned or lacquered ware that people collected took the form of lacquered tea caddies, tea trays, scuttles, tables, dressing tables, beds, boxes, parasols, fan handles and fan sticks and small furniture for the parlour. Local *Aladdin* pantomimes visually referenced the characters from Japanese objects, and not only connected

them to the pantomime and local industry, but taking Oriental ideas onto the stage allowed them to infiltrate the very core of British social and cultural tastes.

The industry adopted the lacquered Japanning process early in the seventeenth century, greatly influenced by the Chinese oriental designs in circulation through John Stalker and George Parker's *A Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing* (Stalker and Parker, 1688).⁵⁸ Stalker and Parker's treatise was a document on Japanning, and as a pattern book influenced other oriental trades. *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* (1834) noted the industry had moved to Birmingham, Walsall, Wolverhampton and Bilston in the 1830s, just prior to Queen Victoria's reign.⁵⁹ The Japanning trade adopted Japanese ideas and added them to objects that the middle classes collected, and in turn pandered to the aspiring tastes of the working class.

All of the manufacturers exhibited nationally and locally, and many presented their wares at The Great Exhibition of 1851. Henry Loveridge and Company, for example, supported Wolverhampton's Local Art and Industry Exhibitions of the later nineteenth

⁵⁸ Local companies such as Loveridge and Perry had manufactured Japanware from the eighteenth century. Robert Stroud and Co., Wolverhampton built The Nippon works in 1865. Nippon or sometimes Nippon means 'Japan' i.e. Japan Works and Stroud and Co. employed more than 300 people (blackcountryhistory.org, 2014).

⁵⁹ The original area of manufacture was in Pontypool, Wales. The pantomimes fell within the main manufacturing area for Japanware of Birmingham and the Black Country. Specialist books on Japanning are Jones, Yvonne (2013) *Japanned Papier Mâché and Tinware c. 1740-1940*. London: Antique Collectors Club; Dickinson, George (1925) *English Paper Mâché*. London: The Courier Press; Toller, Jane (1962) *Papier Mâché in Great Britain and America*. Newton, Mass.: C. T. Branford and DeVoe, Shirley (1971) *English Paper Mâché of the Georgian and Victorian Periods*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

and early twentieth centuries (1869, 1902) and the Staffordshire *Fine Arts and Industrial Exhibition* (1884).⁶⁰

Manufacturers, and the people who worked in the Birmingham and Black Country Japanning industries, were aware of their connection to Japan, as, to a certain extent, were the visitors to the pantomimes and exhibitions in the region. In analysing and evaluating Japanese references within *Aladdin* productions, I have been able to determine the position Japanning and Japan achieved as an active agent in replacing Chinese ideas with Japanese.

Witchard wrote that the pantomime mirrored an audience's 'foibles' and 'chided' their shortcomings (Witchard, 2009, p. 24). In the text, from a British perspective, the Japanese character emerged as superior to the Chinese. It was a mirrored response to the incorporation of ideas about British imperial strength. *Aladdin* productions for Witchard renegotiated the changes taking place for the Chinese and China in London, through the adoption of Japanese culture (Witchard, 2009, pp. 78-79). Japan in the pantomime locally corroborated this Chineseness further through the blurring of oriental strands. Audiences were encouraged to reflect on the 'good' Japanese compared to that of the 'bad' Chinese. The close relationship with local trades and visual referencing of Japanning and Japan became consumer-led. Japan replaced China in the oriental discourse.

There were three key areas in the *Aladdin* productions, which revealed this Japanese development of Chineseness; these were local industry and trade

⁶⁰ Henry Loveridge and Company received a First Prize at the London Dairy Show, and a First Prize and a Silver Medal at the International Inventions Exhibition (1885) in Kensington (blackcountryhistory.org, 2014).

promoting Japanese ideas in consumer advertising, the growth of Japanese fashion trends in pantomime costumes and in-text references, and the cross-dressing of characters in the Japanese kimono.⁶¹ These ideas resonated with an audience's social understanding of British supremacy, men and women's fashion, gender and sexuality.

ALADDIN, LOCAL INDUSTRY AND TRADE IN JAPANESE IDEAS

The inclusion of processions in *Aladdin* pantomimes combined references to local political and social life and the network of local Japanning related organisations. Processing seemed to be an accepted part of other theatrical pantomimes in the region. In a similar style, Quaglieni and Allen's Grand Circus processed through the town and advertised in *The Evening Express and Star* the same week as the production of *Aladdin* (*The Evening Express and Star* (1885) 28 December: 1).

Processions were included in pantomimes from the late 1860s (Davis (ed.), 2010, p. 100) and Sullivan described trade processions as popular in Birmingham too, where celebrated trades were linked to political authority (Sullivan, 2011, p. 156). She stated that the *Aladdin* parade appeared in the *Birmingham Daily Mail* as follows: 'great imitations of [...] almost every article of Birmingham manufacture are brought on by active youngsters' (*Birmingham Daily Mail* (1879) 27 December: 3 (cited in Sullivan, 2011, p. 154).

The unidentified *Aladdin* script, possibly a version of J. J. Blood's *Aladdin* (1889) contained processions (possibly Blood (1889) Galley proofs, no page numbers). In the *Aladdin* production (1885) at the Theatre Royal, Wolverhampton there was a

⁶¹ Kimona was an alternative spelling used in Thompson and Courtneidge's *Aladdin* (1901).

procession reported in *The Evening Express and Star* (*The Evening Express and Star* (1885) 26 December 1885: 17). In addition, the 'Wolverhampton Reviews' in the same described how the lead roles witnessed a procession of 'Stars of the past and future':

THE PANTOMIME AT THE WOLVERHAMPTON THEATRE ROYAL

Before a large and appreciative audience [...]. The good geni, Lestrine, however, having taken Aladdin into her care, comes upon the scene and declares her intention to protect her 'charge'. 'Stars of the past and the future,' are here introduced. They consist of the most eminent characters of the day, and include the local members of parliament, viz, Messrs. Villiers, Fowler, Hickman and Staveley Hill. The likenesses are exceedingly good [...]
(*The Evening Express and Star* (1885) 26 December: 3).

The actors in this production dressed as local politicians, eminent men in the town. Local politicians were industrialists in iron production and Japanning trades and many married into local Japanning family businesses (see Appendices E and G). Charles Villiers (Whig party mid-to-late nineteenth century), and Henry Fowler (Liberal, late nineteenth century) were in the tinsplate and Japanning industry. Alfred Hickman and Alexander Staveley Hill (both Conservative, mid-to-late nineteenth century) married into families that had Japanworks. In addition, Mayors of Wolverhampton, incorporated into these processions, were from the Japanning and related trades.

Between 1883 and 1887, at the time of the *Aladdin* pantomimes, three of the five mayors elected in Wolverhampton had direct trading links or family connections to the industry. From 1879 to 1914, 46 per cent of the Mayors elected, some more than once, were owners or family members of the local Japanning workshops (see Appendix G) (Wolverhampton Council, 2016). Jo Robinson wrote 'products and

theatres mapped an area' (Robinson, in Davis, 2010, pp. 138-139). Research in Nottingham demonstrated how 'the reliance on its [their] core topography of potential audiences permitted direct referencing to local communities and iconography of regional identities' (Sullivan, 2011, p. 129). These aspects of local theatre in Birmingham and Wolverhampton featured in *The Evening Gazette and Star*, which carried this review of the 1885 production of *Aladdin* at the Theatre Royal, Wolverhampton:

A procession descriptive of every trade, marches into the street, and the widow obliges the assemblage with a lively song.
(*The Evening Express and Star* (1885) 26 December: 3).

Sullivan, apart from politically connecting trade processions to regional cities, like Birmingham, concluded that processions brought into the theatre regional status and success, borne out of civic pride (Sullivan, 2011, p. 129). They reflected the manufacturers' and their audience's pride, and the stage of the theatre returned that pride to the audience.

As for the politics of theatres and audiences in Birmingham, this was evidenced by Sullivan in *The Politics and the Pantomime* as liberal at the Prince of Wales (pro Gladstone) and radical at the Theatre Royal (pro Chamberlain) (Sullivan, 2011, pp. 217-218). Actors may have lived locally, contributing to the rich tapestry of oriental knowledge and local political display. Therefore, local politicians and local trade connected the everyday to the exotic, as many were local Japanning company owners and workers.

In my first chapter, I argued that pantomime and politics, as described by Sullivan, reflected and activated their audiences (Sullivan, 2011, p. 219). However, melodrama shaped theatrical attitude, Davis argued, in the contemporary world

(Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 2). Janice Norwood also indicated that the regional Britannia Theatre, London⁶² attracted large audiences to the pantomime, who understood these melodramatic contemporary issues (Norwood, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 78).

Dongshin Chang's ideas about intercultural connections with China, marry well with everyday objects surrounding the Chinese and British relationship. He described, in theoretical and theatrical terms, how the British culture adopted the Chinese one, and how the stage depicted the cultural and social attraction to China and not its engagement in war (Chang, 2015, p. 10). China in the process of inter-culturation, Chang argued, differentiated at various historical moments in terms of ideas, texts, and customs. In the context of *Aladdin* pantomimes, the costume visually created such an intercultural performance (Chang, 2015, p. 18).

Yet in the pantomime, the anti-Chinese rhetoric remained, because over time information accumulated about the Opium Wars. Chang explains that the Tartar was replaced through British characterisation as the aggressor within the pantomime by the early twentieth century and the Chinese character, feminised, reflected the intercultural formation of China's femininity and what Chang calls 'trivialization and exoticization' (Chang, 2015, p. 10). British authors and through performance British actors amalgamated Chinese and British ideas (Chang, 2015. p. 5).

Nonetheless, the civic pride and processional elements within the pantomime introduced the concept of different cultures merging. That blending translated through the pantomime, not only in terms of the everyday to Chinese, but British to Chinese, and Japanese to British. Equally, that blurring compared trade and politics, and theatre and industry.

⁶² Hoxton became part of London in 1889.

The association of trade with China concentrated on material goods and less on culture, due to a lack of real Chinese texts or theatre (Chang, 2015, p. 10).

Therefore, the open trading, linked with Japanese fashions, easily replaced China in the British psyche and continued to place Britain in a superior position to the Far East.

Where audiences were close to this anti-Chinese feeling in the mid-century productions of *Aladdin*, the later pantomimes reflected the domestic and nostalgic curiosity in the Far East. Where world events greatly fuelled the anti-Chinese stance, the cultural tastes of domestic markets were to make *Aladdin* productions not only domesticated in line with the domestic dramas of light theatre, but more Japanese. Jason Edwards, Imogen Hart and Arjun Appadurai quote Neil McKendrick and John Brewer in how 'consumer objects became, with the growth of wide-scale consumption an 'expression and guide to social identity' (Edwards and Hart, 2010, p. 124; Appadurai, 2001, pp. 3-4).

In 1894, the description of characters listed in the book of words for *Aladdin* by Stanley Rogers described the Widow:

WIDOW TWANKAY, his mother, a bit of ancient *China*, who wears the *willow*, even in her *cups*.

(Rogers, 1894, p. 3)

Not only did this mention the willow in reference to Twankey's archaic underwear, but also in reference to her choice of chinaware, added that she was like a bit of 'ancient china'. This same pun, in a slightly different manner, appeared in this scene from the 1903 *Aladdin* by Stanley Rogers performed at the Alexandra Theatre, Birmingham. When the Emperor met the Widow, he commented on her appearance:

EMP

Who is this ancient bit of crockery? (Rogers, 1903, 1, 2, 98)

This, too, engaged with the similarity of depictions of the Chinese on chinaware as objects and in their visual representation on stage. The Widow in a later production of *Aladdin* (1910) considered consumer objects when she said (1910):

Widow. Emperor! is he one of
those long things with whiskers, like we've got on our tea caddy?
(Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910, 1, 5, 43-45)

In this quotation from A. H. Thompson and Robert Courtneidge's *Aladdin*, the Widow exclaimed that the Emperor was identical to the image she had seen on her tea caddy (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910, p. 40). This *Aladdin* production referenced the visual elements of the tea caddy, a consumer product and an item that even in her lowly station as a Widow and laundress Twankey could afford to own. The tea caddy was an integral part of the parlour table with popular lacquered items and accoutrements. The Widow's line made a direct reference to the exotic Far East that an audience would have associated with Chineseness. It additionally helped audiences to understand the Widow's direct comparison to those Japanese influenced items produced and manufactured in the region. Ah-Sing, the Vizier's son (in other *Aladdin* productions named Pekoe) followed the Widow's allusion to the tea caddy with 'Exactly' (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910, 1, 5, 54). This would have confirmed to an audience that the word 'exactly' corresponded with the Far-Eastern individuals they found on japanned objects within the home.

The *Aladdin* pantomimes adopted ancient China for the premise of their story. However, by 1910 many of the japanned or lacquered objects, such as the tea caddy pictured Japanese designs. The Widow Twankey may have noticed the

resemblance to her tea caddy at home, but she may not have identified it as produced in Britain, and preferred instead to assume it was from China or Japan.

The British Victorian public often confused China and Japan, by association with the Far East, and blurred the differences between the two countries. The blurring of identity is also part of having acquired an object; the collector replaces how the object came into being with the consumption of that object. Bill Brown has maintained that 'Things' provide people with ideas. They inform a person's history, society, nature and culture or give a person a glimpse of the past. Ideas allow objects to have their own histories (Brown, 2001, p. 6; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p. 215; Macleod, 2005, pp. 3-4). The visual appearance of women and men from Japan in landscapes on vases and other objects is part of that consumption (Figure 4).

Local Japanning workers copied and applied these visual representations of Japan to objects made in Birmingham and the Black Country (Armstrong, 1974, p. 24). The lacquered box on the left (Figure 4) has an image containing Chinese figures while to the right-hand spill jars have Japanese figures. British Japanners adopted Japanese designs to compete with other decorative goods. In this consumer-led society, profit was also vital for producers of *Aladdin* pantomimes. This was noted by Davenport Adams (1882) (cited in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 5) that theatre management relied on the annual pantomime production to make the theatre financially viable over the complete theatrical year. Japanners were reliant on good trading links to sell their wares. It was essential that they conveyed a positive image of the trade and its country of origin, Japan, to ensure their profit margins.

Local identities were important (Anderson, 1983, p. 5; MacKenzie, 1993, p. 177) as the pantomime reflected the influence of the Japanning industry and its suppliers. They shaped the landscape with their manufacturing processes and advertising, sustaining the cultural aspects of their towns and cities.



Figure 4: Satsuma Vase (c. 1885) [ceramic] 30 cm. Authors own. Lacquered goods. L to R: Lacquered Box (c. 1830) Chinese box [papier-mâché] 10cm x 15 cm. Authors own; A Pair of Spill Vases 1880-1890, decorated with Japanese figures, made in Wolverhampton [papier-mâché] 20 cm. Image courtesy Wolverhampton Arts and Culture.



ALADDIN AND CONSUMER ADVERTISING

This visual referencing for a growing retail market was characterised through the representation of Japanese goods referred to in the pantomime, including contemporary ceramics, paintings and advertising. David Worrall commented that from the 1830s retailers, financiers and theatre management cashed in on that consumerism, with page advertisements appearing from the 1870s. He argued:

Pantomime is in part a materialistic form [..] encouraging consumerism and participating in the capitalist ethos of an industrial society (Worrall, 2006, p. 265).

From the 1870s, several books of words contained advertising for Japanese goods at local retail shops and local exhibitions, which reinforced the existence of Japanese geography and people in the minds of consumers in Birmingham and the Black Country.

On the front page of *The Evening Express and Star* on Friday, 28 December, 1888, adjacent to the advertisements for the *Aladdin* pantomime, appeared advertisements for Bon Marche and C. W. Cross listing Japanese goods for sale. They were in Darlington Street, Wolverhampton just down the hill from Queen Square, close to the theatre district and popular shopping areas of Wolverhampton.

Carrie Griffin described audiences exposed to these ideas as 'active customers' (Allen, Griffin and O'Connell (eds.) 2011, p. 111). Griffin stressed that pantomime nurtured the 'active customer' and this was an indication of the audiences' personal buying habits, as part of the local community, that went beyond advertising, and aligned the theatre with local manufacturers and retailers.

The theatre itself considered a commercial product too, upheld Millie Taylor, and shaped by market forces (Taylor, 2009, pp. 21-22). This indicates that the theatre's

active consumers dictated their materialistic wants and perceptive needs. For example, F. J. Batchelors' advertisement included a lady wearing a Japanese kimono-styled dress in the book of words for the Thompson and Courtneidge's *Aladdin* pantomime at the Prince of Wales, Birmingham (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, p. 14). Griffin stressed that this type of advertisement was in line with the middle class and family orientated audience who attended the pantomime (Allen, Griffin and O'Connell (eds.) 2011, pp. 110-111). As in Nottingham, Birmingham consumers would have seen this distinct increase in advertising for an assumed middle class and family groups (Sullivan, 2011, pp. 110-111).⁶³

The book of words for the *Aladdin* production (1905) at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham contained an advertisement for Turner, Son & Nephew of Albion House, New Street and Worcester Street. They were 'Importers of Novelties in Foreign dress Fabrics, Millinery, Flowers and Feathers'. It was deliberate, argued Sullivan, for female fashion to be displayed alongside leading actresses (Sullivan, 2011, p. 129), evident in the later production of *Aladdin* (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910) at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham. This production's book of words displayed a turbaned lady with a long, flowing silhouette in an advertisement for Watkins (Courtneidge and Thompson, 1910, facing p. 39), opposite a picture of Miss Ethel Negretti, performing as the Princess.

Theatrical Japanese-related advertising reinforced these sources of oriental fashions. In the programme for 26 December 1911, for Milton Bode's *Aladdin*,

⁶³ Advertisements in Birmingham from 1870 to 1900 included clothes, pianos, photos, tailors, boots, restaurants, opera glasses, furniture removers, wines, spirits, furniture makers, retailers and household removers.

Wolverhampton, an advertisement appeared for 'Prospective Bookings' for Robert Courtneidge's *A Girl from Japan* (Courtneidge, 1911) and a new Japanese play *The Mousme* (Courtneidge, 1911) advertised by the General Manager Mr. Harold Maligny. Beside this advertisement appeared another for *Aladdin* running for 'Eleven Nights and Four Matinees' (Bode, 1911). *The Mousme* play was as familiar as the other Japanese related productions *The Mikado* (Gilbert and Sullivan, 1885) and *The Geisha* (Jones and Hall, 1896).

The Mikado (1885) by W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan, and *The Geisha* (1896) by Sidney Jones and Owen Hall, were popular touring productions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Maligny included details in the pantomime's promotion, such as 'Beautiful new costumes used in *The Girl from Japan* have been specially designed by Mdme. Mary Rayne and other famous London costumiers' (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910, pp. 2-3). J. A. Chell Ltd. placed next to this, publicised their Japanese lacquerware and stated that they were 'a purveyor of fire screens, slipper boxes, fancy tables, palm stands, tea trays and framed pictures'. Chell, situated in the Queen's Arcade, Wolverhampton, included the words 'originality in design', 'best finish' and 'very lowest prices' and sold exotic consumables that were affordable across everyday society in Wolverhampton (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910, p. 4). The *Aladdin* pantomimes reflected these changes in consumer buying habits, not just for Japanese objects, but also for Japanese clothes across society.

ALADDIN AND THE KIMONO

Japanese culture and consumables, such as Japanware, referred to in on-stage advertising, and in the text or book of words, were evident in the fashionable dress the characters in *Aladdin* wore.

Fukai described Japonisme, or Japanese designs, as emerging slightly later than in other Western arts and, crucial to my argument, he wrote, that their 'relation of fashion to industry', obviously marked them as important to local trading networks and to the stage costumes' (Fukai, 2012).

At the mid-century international expositions, Japan appeared well represented. In the second-half of the nineteenth century, Japanese goods were available to consumers in London.⁶⁴ One of the most prolific items of fashionable dress was the Japanese kimono, which could be worn by men and women, whereas the copies in Western fashions were more gender-specific (Martin and Koda, 1994, p. 178).

In the 1860's, the wider skirts of fashionable Victorian ladies started to narrow and emphasised the back of the skirt with a bustle in the style of the obi,⁶⁵ which tied the kimono around the waist and to the back of a Japanese lady's attire.

In 1867, the *Journal des Demoiselles* in October of that year carried an illustration of clothes referred to as 'Japanese style' (Fukai, 2012). Advertisements for the Japanese Exhibition at St. George's Hall were repeated across the front page of the *Wolverhampton Chronicle*, next to the theatrical listings for the pantomime season (1868, 23 December: 1). Dress shops stocked the latest 1870s kimonos, often

⁶⁴ A black kimono with a pink outer robe and sash appeared in three of James McNeill Whistler's paintings: *Caprice in Purple and Gold No. 2: The Golden Screen* (1864), *Rose and Silver: The Princess From the Land of Porcelain* (1864) and *The Balcony* (1867-1870).

⁶⁵ An obi is the sash that tied around the woman's waist and at the back in Japanese fashion.

portrayed in the mixed oriental paintings by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and James McNeill Whistler (Figure 5) (Chang, 2011, p. 173).⁶⁶ These examples depicted the draped kimono with the nape of the neck showing and the tied sash and flowing robe of the Japanese woman. This mirrored the popular Japanese images on tiles, for example, in this Maw's tile manufactured in Ironbridge, Shropshire, and the Japanese woodblock. The idea of shopping featured in the *Aladdin* pantomimes and exposed audiences to fashionable kimonos and Japanese dress.



Figure 5: L: *Japanese Lady* (1880s) Maw and Co. Ltd. [ceramic] c. 40cm. © Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust. R: McNeill Whistler, James Abbott (c. 1865) *La Princesse du pays de la Porcelaine* [painting]. Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

⁶⁶ On a regional basis as late as 1872, James Abbott McNeill Whistler was designing for Fredrick Leyland in Liverpool (Staley, 2011, pp. 278-9) and Christopher Dresser designed for Coalbrookdale in the heart of ceramic manufacture (Staley, 2011, p. 151). The Pre-Raphaelite painting *Blue Bower* (1865) by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* (1864) by James Abbott McNeill Whistler both contained mixed oriental elements. Whistler collected Japanese prints from the Kabuki theatre, which included Japanese actors as acrobats and courtesans in the 1860s.

The Emperor, in the Prince of Wales, Birmingham production of *Aladdin* (1879) indicated in the text that European clothes were a favourable mode of dress in the 'West Cut'. *Aladdin* also mentioned 'Nichols' referring to the latest Japanese-inspired fashions of the late 1870s (Green, 1879, 2, 8, 60-62). The 'West Cut' implied a British and European interpretation of the kimono and Japanese fashions, perhaps an indication of British cuts being seen as superior to those of the East. The unidentified script, possibly a version of J. J. Blood's *Aladdin* (Blood, 1889) from Birmingham in Scene 10 and featured a section in which Abanazar wooed the Princess with Parisian fashions, labelling them 'up to date' (Blood/Unidentified, c. 1889, Galley proofs).⁶⁷ 'Nichols' referred to Harvey Nichols, a successful store in Knightsbridge, London, and, added to this pun. The Princess also referenced Charles Fredrick Worth, a renowned fashion designer of the 1870s who specialised in fashion, and designed for actresses' both day wear and stage costumes. As the 'father of haute couture', his work appeared in fashion magazines of the period, and his work was admired in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁶⁸

Abanazar suggested that *Aladdin* ransacked the Arcade (The Great Western) and Corporation Street in Birmingham.⁶⁹ Corporation Street was an important shopping district in late-nineteenth century Birmingham. Abanazar compared the everyday

⁶⁷ It is of interest here that Liberty and Company of London promoted kimonos from the beginning of the 1880s in such women's magazines as *Harper's Bazaar*. The August 1898 issue of *La Mode Pratique* contained an article about Japanese woman's etiquette, and for the first time described the wearing of the kimono and the obi (Fukai, 2012).

⁶⁸ Charles Fredrick Worth was a famous fashion designer who trained in Paris, and known for his fashionable designs in the 1870s. He designed theatre costumes and everyday clothes for leading actresses of the day including Sarah Bernhardt, Lillie Langtry, Nellie Melba and Jenny Lind (the Metropolitan Museum of Art (2000-2017)).

⁶⁹ The planning and building of Corporation Street came in 1882 after the demolition of slum areas in Birmingham (Dargue, 2008-2016).

fashions in Birmingham to those available in Paris and London. In a later *Aladdin* by Milton (1897) at the Grand Theatre, Birmingham, the Spotter advised dressing Aladdin in high fashion from Europe (Milton, 1897, 1, 5, 91-93). The staff in 'Scene VI Interior of Birmingham shop' wore western dress when off-duty (Milton, 1897, 1, 6, 14-18).

These shopping references and advertisements clearly confirm a great interest in Parisian fashions and those adopted from Japan. This element of Chineseness encouraged pantomime audiences to recall the best places to shop for the latest oriental-styled fashions. Over time, the kimono on stage changed in design for the Princess, the Widow and jugglers.



1813



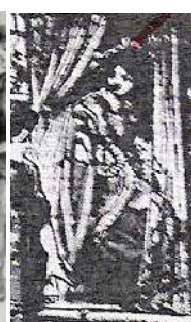
1874



1885



1885



1910

Figure 6: L to R. Princess in *Aladdin*. Webb, William (c. 1830s) *Aladdin*, Toy Theatre Drawing of Characters [paper] © Toy Theatre Gallery. Walter Crane (1874) the Princess in *Aladdin, The Frog Prince and Other Stories* [paper]. *The Mikado* (1907) poster cover for a re-issue of a 1907 recording [lithograph] Courtesy of Gilbert and Sullivan Archive. Illustration of Princess' Costume, *Gazette Newspaper* (1885) [paper] broadsheet. Author's Own. Front Cover. Thompson, A. M. and Courtneidge, R. *Aladdin* (1910) Theatre Royal, Birmingham Book of Words [paper] 15 x 10 cm. Reproduced with the permission of the Library of Birmingham.

The Princess' attire from 1813 (Figure 6) was described in Cruickshank's production of *Aladdin* (Cruickshank et al., 1813), and in the 1836 book of words for *Aladdin*, which was part of the Theatre Royal Collection at the Library of Birmingham (Cruickshank et al., in Daniel, 1836, p. 6). The costumes reproduced for the toy theatre market and the drawings of the Princess in the toy theatre sheets were Arabic and Mongolian in style.⁷⁰

The later Walter Crane drawing of *Aladdin* was an illustration in *The Frog Prince and Other Stories* (1874) and presented the Princess with a loose garment tied at the waist, with long sleeves in the Japanese fashion. What was extraordinary about this picture was that the attendants were dressed in Japanese kimonos with obis and Japanese hairstyles. The adjacent lithograph of *The Mikado* pictured the loose-fitting garments of the Japanese (1907).

The kimono was a loose garment, which allowed freedom of movement as seen in the next picture of the Princess in *Aladdin* (1885). She is dressed in the Japanese kimono style of the Victorian period with sleeves and tied waist. It has the fashionable low collar band, which exposed the nape of the neck, with an overlapping closure and trailing hem. The elegant lady looking back in photography and print was in the pose of the Japanese woodblock print (Stinchecum, 2007, p. 8). This is evident in ceramics and the poster for the play *The Mousme* (1909) (Figure 7): The Japanese kimono sleeve was straight, with a deep armhole, as opposed to the British armhole, which curved to fit the shoulder and arm (Guillaume, 1996, pp. 65-66).

⁷⁰ *Aladdin* by Cruickshank, Daniel and Farley was reproduced by Green (1831) and later versions by West, Skelt, Pollock and Webb. www.toytheatre.net [online] [Accessed 3 June 2016].



Figure 7: L to R: Detail from Satsuma Vase (c. 1880) [ceramics] Authors own. Poster for *The Mousme* (1909) [paper]. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The programme from the 1910 *Aladdin* at The Theatre Royal, Birmingham (Figure 7) carried a front-page drawing of the Princess emerging from a palanquin. She wore a kimono with long open sleeves and tied with an obi.

The Widow, or Widow Mustapha, in earlier versions of *Aladdin* pantomimes (Figure 8) wore Arabic and Mongolian inspired dress (Cruikshank et al., 1813), where the Widow Twankay at The Strand (Byron, 1861) wore the plainer clothing of the Chinese. This was the tea-related *Aladdin* that appeared at the Prince of Wales, Birmingham in 1861. The next type of costume worn by the widow typically followed the style of Dan Leno (Blanchard, 1885) dressed in kimono-styled clothing with loose sleeves, central panelling and full skirts. Many designers copied this, and Widow Twankey, played by Tom Leamore in the last image dated 1899 wore similar clothes



Figure 8: L to R: The Widow Mustapha from Webb, William (c. 1830s) *Aladdin*, Toy Theatre Sheet [paper] © Toy Theatre Gallery; Jimmy Rogers as Widow Twankey. Strand Theatre (1851) *Aladdin or The Wonderful Scamp* [paper] © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum; Dan Leno as Widow Twankey in Blanchard, E. L. (1885) *Aladdin* at Drury Lane [paper] © Courtesy of its-behind-you.com; Dan Leno as Widow Twankey, *Graphic Newspaper* (January 1897) [paper]. Author's own and Tom Leamore as Widow Twankey (1899) [card] Laniardo and Bell, King Street, Manchester. Courtesy of The Music Guild (2015).

to Dan Leno. The calling card by Laniardo and Bell (1899) (cited in www.themusichallguild.com, 2015) showed Leamore wearing a full kimono, he carried a large folding fan and his garment crossed over at the front. He appeared at The Empire, Birmingham three times in March 1900, July 1903 and again in February 1910. Across these latter decades, the design of the Widow's costume became Japanese in style. In addition, the Japanese juggling acts that appeared in *Aladdin* productions in the region supported the Japanese-*Aladdin*-styled trends for mixed oriental strands.⁷¹

⁷¹ Japanese Jugglers appeared at the Royal Gardens, Vauxhall (The Japanese Brothers (1834) Playbill for The Pavilion, Whitechapel, Friday 19 December) and Ranelagh Gardens in London,

The Quaglieni and Allen's Circus advertisement on the front page of the 16 April 1889 in *The Evening Express and Star* advertised they had engaged Pongo the Great Monkey Man, The Royal Japanese, Three in Number, Brothers' Kendall's, Musical Clowns, and The Midget Japs (*The Evening Express and Star*, 1889, pp. 1, 5). Theatres hired Japanese Jugglers and continued with the engagement of the Zanettos in *Aladdin* (1889) at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham (Blood, 1889).

The Zanettos were pictured wearing kimonos as the Japanese Jugglers in the 1901 *Aladdin* production by Thompson and Courtneidge (Figure 9) (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, pp. 35, 91). The press usually referred to them as the 'Japanese Jugglers'. In Scene II, they were in the palace performing as a star act (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, p. 91). The management on this occasion decided to advertise the act as Japanese Jugglers in a Chinese context. Brown's *Thing Theory* is useful in understanding Thompson and Courtneidge's decision. Brown suggested that observing what an author chooses to leave out, is as important as observing what an author chooses to leave in (Brown, 2001, p. 6).

Why did the pantomime not call this act the Chinese Jugglers? They were British actors who pretended to be Japanese. It might be to appear more exotic, and to capitalise on the popularity of Japanese items in Britain. Japan had a comparatively more recent history with Britain than Britain had with China. Yet there was animosity between the Chinese and the Japanese (BBC News, 2014) and it was unlikely in real life that a Japanese juggler would have been performing in a predominantly Chinese setting.

although they may have been British actors dressed up in Japanese costume. Andrew Cobbing wrote that in 1867 twelve Japanese jugglers arrived in England (Cobbing, 1998, p. 26).

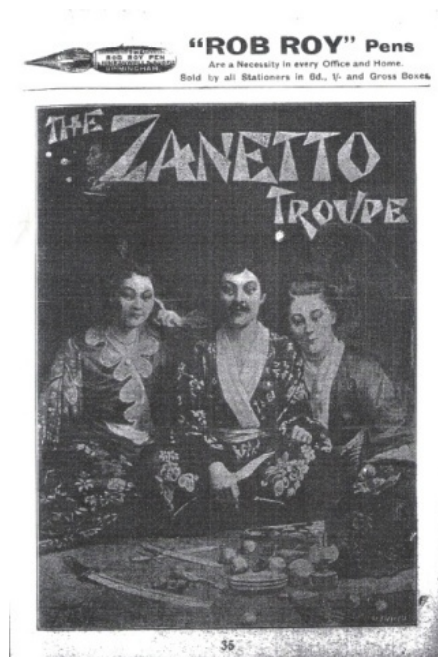


Figure 9: 'The Zanettos' Advertisement. Thompson, A. M. and Courtneidge, R. (1901) *Aladdin*, Prince of Wales, Birmingham, p. 35 [paper] Reproduced with the permission of the Library of Birmingham.

Other photographs of the era picture the Zanettos (Figure 10) at the turn of the century in Japanese-style kimonos. The male impersonator to the left displays Japanese sleeves, he has an open Japanese folding fan and a kimono tied at the waist with an obi. Although authors may have utilised whatever the theatre considered oriental, the Zanettos wore kimonos and introduced themselves as the Zanetto Troupe, and not as the Japanese Jugglers. This blurred the boundaries between Chinese and Japanese elements in the pantomime. These contemporary Japanese fashions dictated commercial interests and manufacture; even though Britain and Japan were interested in being modern nations, they intermittently looked to the past.



Figure 10: The Zanettos (c. 1900) [photograph] [online] www.TheRoyalZanettos.com [Accessed 14 June 2015]. Courtesy of Jane Koszuta.

The kimono manifested itself in the social and cultural mix of regional Victorian pantomime through the cross-dressing roles it afforded actors, not only as a display of Japanese trends and Chineseness, but also blurred sexuality.

ALADDIN, CROSS-DRESSING AND JAPAN'S EXOTIC SEXUALITY

I have established that the kimono was a fashion item, but *Aladdin* authors recognised that it had sexual allure that they could parody. Authors were consciously entertaining their audience with Chineseness within the pantomime in how they portrayed Aladdin disguised as a woman in a kimono, how Aladdin performed in a kimono as a geisha and how the Widow dressed in a kimono mimicking a geisha.

These characters questioned the relationship of male to female and vice versa through this display of sexuality. For example, Aladdin introduced himself in his disguise to the Princess in Frank Dix's *Aladdin* (Dix, 1905):

ALADDIN

Not allowed to see the Princess What a scheme! (Going up steps places his hand accidentally touches kimono). What did he say?

Boys mustn't, but girls may. Ha! Ha! Ha! Hip! Hip! Hurray! Boys
mustn't, but girls may. Exit with Kimona laughing.
(Dix, 1905, 2, 2, 286-289)

Aladdin contemplated his move into a female disguise, with the suggestion of the girl/boy cross-dressing relationship in his quip 'Hurray! Boys', and his inclusion of the word 'mustn't', which suggests a sensual and tantalising situation.

Dix positioned the kimono as a high society garment (Dix, 1905, 2, 2, 301-316). The 1910 Thompson and Courtneidge *Aladdin* book of words acknowledged the kimono's high status, as it pictured Miss Olive Moore (Figure 11) acting the part of the Princess wearing an oriental kimono. Yet she wore her hair in an everyday Edwardian style (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910, p. 33), purposefully combining ancient China and the everyday fashionable kimono.

The kimono continued to appear in *Aladdin* productions towards the end of the century and perpetuated this fictitious oriental world of *Aladdin*. The crossover of ideas gazed backwards to a nostalgic interpretation of China (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910, p. 33).

Witchard designated the negativity towards the Chinese as a 'scapegoat' for Edwardian social ambiguity, the breakdown of their social order, and sexual and racial threats. Japan offered an alternative model to this (Witchard, 2009, pp. 78-79). It reflected fashionable tastes and replaced the negative attitudes of the British towards the Chinese people and culture, with the positive and pro-Western Japanese kimono.

Kimonos were worn by British women in the home as fashionable attire and worn as a looser, less corseted style of dress by those in the Aesthetic Movement. The collecting of japanned goods with images of Japanese women, and the kimono worn

in the domestic environment, especially the parlour, assisted in legitimising the exotic settings of the pantomime and this form of dress.

It was Aladdin, as a female impersonator, who then chose to dress in a kimono as a Chinese character and principal boy to disguise his character's masculinity (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, p. 49). This Japanese kimono in pantomime has a double meaning. It was not just a costume designated as Chinese from the story's perspective, or as a highly prized garment, but repeatedly represented a change in sex or disguise for cross-dressed roles, and allowed, Denisoff has argued, thoughts to develop in an audience's mind (Denisoff, 2001, p. 9).

Natalie Zemon Davis argued that cross-dressing allowed men to experience male attitudes to women and thought processes of women. The pantomime costume offered the performing artist this authority and did not appear as neutral (Zemon



Figure 11: Miss Olive Moore as the Princess in *Aladdin* by Robert Courtneidge and A. H. Thompson (Courtneidge and Thompson, 1910, p. 33), *Aladdin* [paper] Reproduced with the permission of the Library of Birmingham.

Davis, 1975, pp. 124-151). That authority could be sexual in the pantomime, but often went below the social radar, where the pantomime questioned 'otherness' and sexuality.

In *Slap on Slap Ever: Victorian Pantomime, Gender Variance, and Cross-Dressing*, Jim Davis reflected on male and female impersonation as a manifestation of gender variance in everyday life. He argued for more subtle shades of meaning when reflecting on cross-dressed actors, across heterosexual, gay and lesbian gazes. The idea is that the principal boy is not just a boy as in Jacky Bratton's eyes (Davis, 2014, p. 229), but for Davis a character who 'transmutes' back into a girl. Davis pointed out that the principal boy posing just as a boy, was therefore a problem for Bratton (2003) (cited in Davis, 2014, pp. 227-229). Equally the actor based the dame role, said Davis, as observed in Dan Leno's case, on real women.

Although such cross-dressing was associated with gay and lesbian tendencies, it could hide the idea that there was an emerging transgender identity too. He warned against dismissing the multifaceted functions of cross-dressing in society and the multiple interpretations that can be extracted (Davis, 2014, p. 219).

Davis, a lead author in this field of pantomime, contemplated the reasons for cross-dressing in and outside the theatre. He argued that spectators responded from a slightly different perspective. He referred to how in the first five years of childhood the male wore female clothes (Davis, 2014, p. 219) and how in literature fetishist cross-dressing changed to a more homoerotic manifestation.⁷² Equally,

⁷² Davis quoted from *Jack Saul's Sins of the Cities of the Plains: or, The Recollections of Mary-Ann* (2006) First Edition 1881). Altrincham: Olympic Press Saul et al., (1881) p .3 (cited in Davis (2014) p. 219).

Shakespeare's plays were popular during the Victorian period and included other descriptions of cross-dressing.

Davis described the Boulton and Park Case (1871), where two men were in public looking like men but dressed as women, and visited performances of cross-dressing at theatres and music hall. This was not only a reflection of homoerotic desire, but also a lost girlhood, which focussed on the female performer as, a male, rather than on her as principal boy (Davis, 2014, p. 220).

Davis identified Harriet Vernon as principal boy at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham not only having an attractive figure, her femininity evident, but smoking a cigar, a glass in one hand in a very male stance, and, as he put it, being 'a good time girl and parody of male behaviour'. He pointed to Peter Pan as the character that never grew up, much the same dilemma that faced the principal boy. The characters displayed an impish innocence and one that Davis noted that did not differ if the actor was eighteen or forty, as they offered the best of both worlds for admirers in the audience (Davis, 2014, p. 223).

Davis also argued that classification of different genders and sexual preferences was more dominant in the last decades of the nineteenth century than previously.⁷³ Michel Foucault (1980) p. vii (cited in Davis, 2014, p. 223) did not believe in categorising gender or sex, which, Davis argued, united Foucault's belief that categorising gender linked it to immoral behaviour. This might explain a more prominent gender categorisation, and if that classification was blurred, the very argument Davis made that underpinned the Boulton and Park Case of 1871 (Davis, 2014, p. 218).

⁷³ Davis cited Germany as the source of the link between cross-dressing and homosexuality (Davis, 2014, p. 223).

As the principal boy was open to multiple interpretations, so, arguably, was the dame. The judge in the Boulton and Park case, Davis recounted, made it clear that wearing feminine clothes, as a man, was acceptable on stage, but not in public (Davis, 2014, p. 223). This is in accordance with Radcliffe's argument that there grew connections, with which Davis agreed, between cross-dressing and homosexuality (Radcliffe, in Davis, 2014, p. 224).

If Mother Goose and the principal boy remained young for too long, and convincing, they might have aroused male desire. The male impersonator, Davis indicated might be questionable in this scenario. However, Dan Leno played his female roles as real characters (Radcliffe, 2006, p. 97; Davis, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 14). Marjorie Garber stated, 'Just to ignore homosexuality would be to risk radical misunderstanding of the social and cultural implications of cross-dressing' (Garber, 1993, pp. 113-114). Tracy Davis wrote that the male frequently negated female sexuality in the dame's role, but that a woman cross-dressing was alluring. The Widow in a more sexual persona, played away from this negation, Davis expressed that, however clothed, a female body was hardly ever sexless (Davis, 1991, pp. 113-114).

Davis was of the opinion that there are multiple interpretations in viewing gender due to its 'multiple gazes and responses' (Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 226). Where Davis was not proposing that the whole of a pantomime audience were cross-dressers, there needs to be an ongoing discussion about gender variance in Victorian society. Davis argued for a much more subtle interpretation of ideas surrounding cross-dressing, homosexuality and the reactions of the paying audience than Radcliffe, regarding Leno's younger Mother Goose (Davis, 2014, pp. 224-226). The

psychology behind the exotic Widow Twankey, as a young Japanese woman, compared to Aladdin as a young Japanese woman, within the context of *Aladdin*, allowed Widow Twankey to remain a starker comparison to Aladdin as the principal boy.

At the end of the pantomime their disguise was rectified, which while resolved in the topsy-turvy atmosphere of pantomime left open unresolved cross-dressing issues for the audience, within the fantastical world of China and their interpretation of this British version of China. In the theatre the audience watched a more exotic version of cross-dressing, to the one acted out in public, or behind closed doors at home, the latter a point made by Davis in the Boulton and Park case (1871) and in the Bulloughs' influential study of cross-dressing (Davis, 2014, p. 218). The Bulloughs' study highlighted the increased number of men living as women, in the late nineteenth century, a fact discovered after their deaths. There were cases in Wolverhampton concerned with medical printing along with the Hicklin case in Birmingham (1868), which came under public scrutiny and were highly publicised in the local press (Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2017). The existence of such accounts suggests a fascination with non-theatrical cross-dressing (Davis, 2014, p. 75).

The theatre, as the home, contained cross-dressing in an acceptable form, which added to the psychological sexual tension (Davis (ed.), 2010, p. 75), when compared to the exotic within the *Aladdin* productions. The cross-dressing characters' impersonations may have created sexual tension, but they equally ridiculed women, especially in the Widow or the Dame's role. This suggests that Chineseness and

sexuality were more repressive and more important than gender identity in these productions.

Natalie Zemon Davis thought that symbolic sexual inversion and the individualist woman in literature and theatre, demonstrated the concept that cross-dressing ridiculed the woman to establish social and gender order (Zemon Davis, 1975, pp. 124-151). It solicited the question, was pantomime acting as an agent of power in the transmitting of ideas about Japan and Chineseness? Was it questioning society's decisions, needs, and desires?

The actor, a principal boy, remained a girl dressed as a boy, dressed as a girl, and a favourite with the audience. By the 1870s, the costume of the principal boy rose higher up the leg and indicated a change in standards (Stedman, 1996, p. 23; Davis, 2014, p. 220). In the 1901-1902 Thompson's and Courtneidge's pantomime, where Aladdin was dressed in a kimono, people admired Aladdin as a woman. They stopped to stare at him (Thompson's and Courtneidge, 1901, p. 39). This enabled Aladdin to see the Princess pass on her way to the baths and as he talked to Pekoe he described himself as:

ALADDIN: I am little Souchong of Kow Tow.
(Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, 2, 2, 66)

A kimono labelled a woman as different or Japanese. In this situation, Pekoe's encounter possibly questions this cross-dressing, and the attraction of the 'other' as sexually arousing. This was an environment where men ruled and controlled women. It placed inexperienced women, for example *Aladdin's* 'Souchong' named after a young type of tea, whatever the encounter, in a submissive role (see Chapter Two pp. 169-171).

In addition, 'Kow-tow' referred to bowing to the Chinese Emperor, which views Aladdin's character, in a submissive role for a woman to that of a man. The dominance of the male in disguise and as a geisha within this oriental fantasy questions not only the woman's submission, but, with the turn of the twentieth century, her place in society and the home. Male dominance prevailed in the *Aladdin* pantomimes and increased the importance of women, for men in regional society, inside the home. The enclosure of women in their parlour, full of beautiful decorative oriental items, kept them occupied within the home and their minds off affairs of politics or state.

Aladdin in Dix's *Aladdin* (1905), was dressed in a kimono, and delivered a speech including a political comment concerning fiscal policy. The clothes were more interesting to the Princess, as a woman, than fiscal policy (Dix, 1905, p. 41), giving an indication of male dominance in this writing and of trivialising the women's role in political discussions and society.

ALADDIN – Would the Fiscal policy interest you?

PRINCESS – No let's talk about clothes.

(Dix, 1905, 2, 2, 301-306)

The passage from *Aladdin* continued:

PRINCESS – You know I rather like you. What a pity it is that you're only a girl.

(Dix, 1905, 2, 2, 313)

A male audience at this point identified with the Princess's heterosexual status as a woman. The use of the word 'only' not only heightened the lines that Aladdin had spoken, but the value placed by women on men. She could have said 'What a pity it is that you're a girl.'

ALADDIN – Yes I'm beginning to think it is.

PRINCESS – You know if you were a nice boy I should love to hug you. But there's no fun in kissing girls.

(Dix, 1905, 2, 2, 314-316)

Now the Princess was emphasising that there were different sexual desires, and an emphasis on kissing, not a common habit in Chinese society, but common in British society. A visiting Chinese Mandarin reported in *The Evening Express and Star* on Friday, 19 April 1889, was surprised that women kissed men, and that young women could be seen unaccompanied (*The Evening Express and Star* (1889) 19 April: 5). The Princess expressed her chaste position, that she was only attracted to men (Dix, 1905, p. 41).

Although there is no evidence that she knew it was 'no fun' kissing girls, maybe she had tried to kiss a girl before. Aladdin continued:

ALADDIN – I think so. Try me, I tell you. Just shut your eyes and give me a good kiss – one, two, three (PRINCESS shuts her eyes and ALADDIN slips from kimono and kisses her)

Go on! Go on! How's this for overtime

(Dix, 1905, 2, 2, 316-18)

The Princess was tempted to try a kiss, but the statement does not make it clear if this was her first time kissing a girl. Aladdin persuaded her to kiss him and then, in a sexual manner, dropped his kimono disguise. This is reminiscent of little girls dreaming and playing in the protected environment of the court. The Princess perhaps was naughty and had previously let her sexual preferences taunt her. Radcliffe asserted that it questioned sexuality when a disguise like this was removed (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 122).

PRINCESS – (opens her eyes and recoils) Oh oh. It's a boy.
(Dix, 1905, 1, 2, 301-316)

Through this passage, Aladdin played a British female actor, as a Chinese male character, yet disguised as a Chinese lady in Japanese dress. The Princess' parting words and recoiling might have been an innocent reaction to the shock of finding the female character a boy, or interpreted as the Princess kissing a girl, one of her own sex. This display of Chineseness in a Japanese disguise was a mirror to Victorian society, a suggestion of a world dominated by men and British values, and not those of China or Japan.

The result of all this sexual tension heightened emotional responses for a male audience, and created humour from the cross-dressing components for women and children. Pantomime engaged, Davis wrote, with family values, childhood, social harmony and orderliness, making sense out of chaos, whereas later pantomimes, Davis noted, lost these qualities (Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 8).

In the later pantomimes, the arrangement of cross-dressing in its male and female forms questioned Victorian moral codes, sexuality and acceptability in the relationship between theatre, actors and audiences. This idea rose to greater significance when the cross-dressing became associated with the Japanese geisha. In this thesis' data set, Aladdin first spoke the word 'geisha', in a cross-dressing role in the 1901 Birmingham and Black Country *Aladdin* pantomime at the Prince of Wales (Thompson and Courtneidge, 1901, p. 19).

The authors made it difficult for their audience to differentiate between Japanese, Chinese and geisha and its association with prostitution. Witchard described the dark side of Chinese prostitution in *Thomas Burke's Dark Chinoiserie*, a book about

opium and prostitution in London associated with the Chinese in the area known as Limehouse (Witchard, 2009, p. 155). The geisha, because of her oriental connections, became associated with prostitution.

Japanese geisha ladies trained as courtesans in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. The geisha wore a kimono and a back-tying obi and, in this form, was respectable. They were highly trained professional singers and dancers, who knew how to serve tea, played instruments, performed cultural dances, and were clever in the art of conversation. They were respectable courtesans and not prostitutes, as prostitutes wore their obi to the front, for speed of service. Victorian paintings and literature did not display such obis.



Figure 12: Tom Leamore as Widow Twankey (1899) [paper] Manchester: Laniado and Bell Ltd. Courtesy of The Music Hall Guild (2010).

Although as a respectable female Japanese form in an ancient Chinese tale, the question arises again, as in Chapter Two, about the significance of pantomime's

cross-dressing roles for an audience. The Widow bordered on the edge of respectability. The audience were not certain of what they saw or heard.

For example, Tom Leamore (Figure 12) carried an open 'folded' Japanese fan, a sign of respectability. In the 'language of fans', holding the fan in his right hand, open and near his heart, was saying 'I love you'. His calling card conveyed his warm greeting to an audience. This was an excellent advertising ploy, but in doing so, oriental elements and gender etiquette remained mixed.

Certainly, the Widow favoured dressing fashionably, but she was far from being a neutral role model, as wearing a kimono questioned her sexuality as a cross-dresser, a geisha, a matriarch and a role model. Whereas Caroline Radcliffe claimed that Widow Twankey was a non-threatening rendition of the female form, the exotic Chinese/Japanese setting challenged this neutrality (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 125-127).

In the 1903 *Aladdin or the Naughty Young Scamp Who Ran Off with the Lamp* by Stanley Rogers at the Alexandra Theatre, Birmingham, Aladdin found his mother wearing a kimono.

Alad. (putting his hand over her mouth) Fie! Mammy, such ugly
words spoil your fashionable mouth.

Widow (smiling) Do you really think it fashionable, Aladdin.

Alad. Of course. All old things are the rage at present.

(Rogers, 1903, 1, 1, 149-153)

This quotation confirms that antique Japanese kimono styles were in fashion and the author used double punning. His mother was old and wearing fashionable dress, and wore young geisha make-up apparent from the phrase 'fashionable mouth'. The

author's choice of words intimated not only the fashion, but that the mouth of a geisha was unsuitable for the Widow's older face.

Fashion promoted the Japanese styles, displayed in such magazines as *Les Modes*, which compared the Parisian Japanese fashions to those on stage. The magazines referenced the 'yellow peril', a definition of Far-Eastern cultures again blurring Chineseness.

Through Japan's appearance on the stage, the "Yellow Peril" has swept Paris and Parisians [...] kimono sleeves and cross-over kimono closings [...] suit the Empire silhouette perfectly [...] completely contemporary, completely Parisian. (Les Modes, 1907, 8, 12)

Sharon Aronofsky Weltman discussed the similarities and contradictory ideas in how women were treated. She described how Ruskin thought pantomime reinforced different genders by the exaggeration of sexual difference (Aronofsky Weltman, 2007, pp. 33-34). Herbert Beerbohm Tree said it was easier to portray a woman as a man (Radcliffe (2010), in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 124).

Dan Leno, Butler suggested, chose neutral roles and challenged the nineteenth century heterosexual ideas and subversive identities (Butler (1990) pp. 2485-2501 (cited in Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 124). Aronofsky Weltman favoured a blurring of gender and race, where categorisation in the pantomime and story collectively collapsed (Aronofsky Weltman, 2007, pp. 33-34). Aladdin and the Widow blurred these boundaries.

The kimono in Victorian society was associated with women's fashion. It was an extension of an existing leisure garment, the kaftan, for men. The kimono in Japan was an androgynous item of clothing. The kimono reinforced a neutral gender, yet

for male pantomime authors the kimono was a sexual Victorian garment that they could include in the pantomime.

In the 1910 Theatre Royal, Birmingham production of *Aladdin*, Abanazar showed Widow Twankey a kimono and acknowledged that it was from Japan, and had belonged to a Japanese Princess.

Aban. [...] Come from a Japanese Princess. I travelled a long way to secure that!

Widow. Ay, we know - Shepherd's Bush!

I wouldn't mind buying that for a tea-gown. How much were you asking for it?

(Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910, 1, 2, 156-160)

Abanazar drew attention to the kimono belonging to a Japanese Princess, and brought the exotic of Japan into the everyday fashionable British landscape. The Widow continued:

Widow: Give it here before it gets to a sovereign. Eh, I shall look fine in this!

(Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910, 1, 2, 180-181)

As a more humorous touch to the conversation with Abanazar, the Widow encouraged the price of the kimono up, not down, almost as if a metaphor for negotiating a price for sexual favours.

A tea-gown for Widow Twankey returns the discussion to the woman in the home. She adopted a form of Japanese-inspired tea-gown that had developed into the loose-fitting gown for entertaining close friends and family at home (Takeda and Durland Spilker, 2010, p. 43). This was the first time, in the productions researched, that Japan and the kimono appeared together in a local *Aladdin* pantomime's text.

An audience listening to Abanazar's first line were able to differentiate between Japanese and Chinese people.

The Widow teased and chided Abanazar, knowing him to be the typical travelling salesman. If the garment was from Shepherd's Bush, it referred to the Japan-British Exhibition, which closed in October 1910. The Japan–British Exhibition took place on the exhibition site from 14 May 1910 to 29 October 1910. It covered over 22,000 square metres of mostly Japanese goods, very few from Britain and had 2,271 exhibitors. This was a new idea on the Birmingham stage and one that promoted a 'before' Japan and an 'after' Japan, the old Japan to the modern Japan, and Japanese styles to women's fashion (Mutsu, 2001, p. 12).

A Tokyo (Tokio) correspondent, in *The Times*, 30 October 1909, outlined the Japanese preparations for the exhibition and the way in which the Japanese would exhibit:

[P]orcelain and pottery, lacquers, cloisonné and cloissonless enamels, bronzes, silver carving, paper, bamboo work, fans [...] designed and arranged so as to afford an intelligent conception of what Japan was and is [...] (*The Times* (1909) cited in Mutsu, 2001, p. 12).

From a Japanese perspective, the exhibition was a colossal undertaking to convince the British public of Japan's modernisation programme, compared to that of China (Mutsu, 2001, p. 12).⁷⁴ It was the largest exhibition in which Japan had

⁷⁴ The exhibition cost £180,000 in 1909, compared to the Paris exhibition in 1889, which cost only £20,000. This was because of the new Anglo-Japanese Alliance (Mochizuki, 1910, pp. 23-25).

participated and it attracted over 8 million visitors. This was double the population of London, or 1 in 50 of the population, and reported in local newspapers.⁷⁵

Therefore, whether Abanazar had acquired the kimono directly from a Princess or acquired items via the selling of goods at the exhibition in London, the Widow seized the opportunity to perhaps buy it and wear it as a tea-gown.

When exotic components, such as the kimono, introduced parody and irony to pantomime, the cross-dressing roles had a heightened significance. They made any text or costume more 'loaded' for the audience in the enclosed fantastical theatrical experience.

The Widow's role reveals a more masculine identity; it was obviously, from its articulation and impersonation, as Zemon Davis suggested, a burlesquing of the character and women (Zemon Davis, 1975, p. 153). When the cross-dressing character left their role as a man or woman, they released themselves from the moral Victorian social codes. However, in traditional pantomime style, once they returned to their other self, they restored chaos to social order, within this imaginary Chinese location.

Subsequently, Aladdin, in the production from 1910, failed to recognise his mother in the kimono. The text suggests that she would probably have been made-up in the geisha's white face make-up, as in the 1903 production.

Enter Widow

Widow: Eh, I do feel a fool in these things: I look more like a
little Geisha girl than anything else;

Alad: Hello: who's the little kimono I wonder? I must

⁷⁵ The population of the United Kingdom in 1909 was 40,634,200. (Lahmeyer, Jan, 1999/2003). The population of London in 1909 was 4,833,938 www.visionofbritain.org.uk (2015) and the population of England and Wales was 35,756,615, www.theguardian.com (2009).

investigate this. It's a little girl, why mother. *He laughs at her.*
(Thompson and Courtneidge, 1910, 1, 2, 202-205)

Aladdin clearly identified the kimono, and knew that this style of dress was associated with Japan. His reference to 'little kimono' described this piece of clothing metaphorically, as an object with its own personality. He then realised the lady was his mother. Widow Twankey could have been wearing the make-up of a geisha, as she admitted she was a 'little geisha girl' and a young exotic persona.

This old to young characterisation of the dame would have been reminiscent of Dan Leno in *Mother Goose* at Drury Lane, who was excellent at performing older females. Radcliffe claimed that Leno's Widow was a more restrained interpretation of the female character's sexuality (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 124). This *Aladdin* pantomime introduced exotic China, and characters emerged as more exotic when they wore the kimono. The reference to the geisha made the location and the person more alluring, a potent parody and a double one.

The dame's role controlled male desire and avoided the discomfort of stimulating homophobic and homosexual tendencies. There was a defined split between the female impersonator and the burlesques portrayal of what Senelick called 'neutral women' in music hall (Senelick, 2000, pp. 295-325). Senelick (2000) (cited in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 226) supported the neutrality of roles in the menopausal dame and the young principal, but Davis cautioned against this (Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 14). The description of Dan Leno's Drury Lane experiences has assisted in analysing how local audiences may have reacted to the text and to the cross-dressing roles.

Radcliffe explained how within the pantomime *Bluebeard* at Drury Lane, Dan Leno, as Sister Anne, changed himself into a younger female and gave a very

domesticated rendition of the dame (Radcliffe , in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 126). Radcliffe supported the idea that the impersonator feminised the role and appealed to the feminine emotions of men. Men, therefore, acquired a 'double consciousness' bearing in mind that often the audience often commented that they forgot Dan Leno was a man (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 127).

He played Mother Goose in J. Hickory Wood's pantomime of *Mother Goose* (1902) which post-dated *The Geisha* (1896), a musical composed by Sidney Jones.⁷⁶ From a distance, Leno's make-up was convincing (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 127-130). Hickory Wood, as in the Birmingham pantomime for *Aladdin*, had Mother Goose's son attracted to his mother in her young disguise and perhaps this offered comment on Victorian attitudes to incest.

Davidoff noted that incest emerged from the contrast of the dame's inappropriate behaviours compared to the real Victorian norm, and were a reinforcement of the very attitudes it parodied. Radcliffe and Davis agreed that those attitudes dealt with a predominantly middle-class audience (Davidoff, 2011, pp. 105-107).

Adam Kuper outlined that the liberal middle-classes of the North intermarried family members to first cousins and closely related family members, in an incestuous way (Kuper, 2009, p. 27). Davidoff wrote that it was common in London and the North, for cousins to marry. This reached its 'zenith' in the late Victorian period (Davidoff, 2011, pp. 105-107) and shaped individual psyches, and sexual and social identities cementing business, family, class and social ties (Davidoff, 2011, pp. 163-

⁷⁶ The demon challenges the Fairy to prove that Mother Goose is poor but happy. The golden eggs, from the golden goose, make Mother Goose young and beautiful, but at the end of the story, she returns to her old persona.

164). Japanning families intermarrying in the late nineteenth century, as earlier mentioned, was therefore typical of the period.

Family ties resulted in parallels to the exotically-dressed Widow in her matriarchal role. Radcliffe explained, in her study of Leno's young and old personas on stage, that female impersonations of Mother Goose or Widow Twankey were stock characters of the pantomime, as were those of Sister Anne, and the ugly sisters and the stepmother in *Cinderella* (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, pp. 124-127).

In China at this time, with Queen Victoria in Britain, there was a powerful female regent, the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi (Cixi) (1862-1908). She held power, as the Widow held sway over her son Aladdin. However, Aladdin acquired control, whereas Mutsuhito, the young boy Emperor in Japan, did not. His mother and the Shogun hierarchy controlled the power. This indicates that the pantomime *Aladdin* was part of male British fantasies. *Aladdin* productions demonstrated this male-dominated world, and as Radcliffe stressed, the dame was only from a male perspective (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 118).

Dan Leno was famous for lampooning, in the music hall, such characters as those from *The Geisha* (1896). The story of *The Geisha* centred on the love interests of visiting officers and English nobility to a Japanese port, a place geishas worked. The difference between *The Geisha* and *Aladdin* productions was that the white heroine of *The Geisha*, Molly Seamore, disguised as a geisha, engaged with those male fantasies on a stage that lay within the exotic home. Nevertheless, the kimono in the home brought this fantastical Chineseness to a feminised oriental space.

SUMMARY

The parlour for women was where objects, such as the kimono, the published plays by Hailes Lacy, and local newspapers became part of the fantastical consumer-led place of fashionable objects and attire, places and events. The continued success of the pantomime and the retail markets relied on this nurturing of nostalgia and consumables. The pantomime, as a local performance of Japanese exoticism alongside local Japanners, depended on that two-way relationship to generate business. Interdependency relied on an intercultural marriage of oriental influences and everyday needs.

This regional research has assisted in understanding Chineseness at a local level, where pantomime absorbed Japanese ideas through visual and textual references from other theatrical productions and fashion. It adopted high and low art and had an effect on national and local manufacturers' sales. It affected Japan's entry into the domestic domain of women, and women's relationship with men. In the late nineteenth century *Aladdin* productions association with Japanning and Japan took the two concepts of social status and commodity culture to a conclusion.

Visual allusions to everyday objects familiar to a theatre audience exposed them to Japanese people and culture and the inventiveness of British institutions. The pantomime and the cleverness of British manufacturers made it difficult for an audience to differentiate between reality and fantasy in *Aladdin*. Davis confirms that the pantomime was its own institution, and local pantomimes, even though they questioned the status quo of political and social issues, created both disorder and order (Davis, 2010, p. 16).

Davis suggested that later pantomimes lost a degree of social and political satire (Davis, 2010, p. 8). Nevertheless, pantomime stories like *Aladdin* absorbed ideas from year to year, and forced the concept of Chineseness to change gradually from the 1870s to the 1900s to a pro-Japanese stance within the text. I have calculated that between 1850 and 1915 at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham 10 per cent of pantomimes were *Aladdin* productions compared to only 5 per cent for *Cinderella*. Between 1894 and 1915, the newly-built Grand Theatre, Wolverhampton staged five *Aladdin* productions, which accounted for 23.8 per cent of their pantomimes.

The pantomime not only mixed the exotic of Japan into the oriental discourse, in addition it utilised its 'topsy-turvy' approach to incorporate daily life. Pantomime's confusion and paradox (Radcliffe, in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 118) was unquestioning in its reinforcement of nationalism, patriotism, imperialism, and the status quo of social hierarchies (Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 9). Pantomime illustrated how fashion, trade and politics came together, as part of this political agenda, and enforced British rule abroad and at home. These connections brought the world and the Far East closer to home, especially through the act of cross-dressing.

The suggestion of neutral gender in the physical bodies of characters was in contrast to what actors vocalised and performed on stage. This male pro-Japanese approach was explicit within the parlour environment. This is apparent through analysis of the cross-dressing geisha, who commanded attention in the form of women dressed as men, and men dressed as desirable women. At the end of the century, this contrasted with the female wearing a kimono in her parlour, protected within her exotic room of Japanese furniture, vases and oriental objects.

By the end of the century, the infiltration of trends from London productions meant that some local pantomimes' uniqueness, so deliberately developed by Charles Millward in the 1860s, started to vanish. For instance, authors Percy Milton, Frank Green (Foulkes in Davis (ed.) 2010, p. 62), J. J. Blood (1889), Frank Dix (1905), A. M. Thompson and Robert Courtneidge (1910) incorporated London texts at a regional level, but included local politics, local business and topical issues. They utilised the book of words or the stage to include topical and humorous references to shopping locations or cultural divides to maximise the advertising opportunities for local businesses.

In *Representing the Past*, Postlewait and Canning described narrative histories, which were often incomplete because of other agendas and ideologies (Postlewait and Canning, 2010, p. 374). Pantomime authors, managers and actors incorporated topical references of the moment, imbued with their own assumptions and attitudes about the Orient. In this context, Japanning and Japanese culture, included in a Chinese setting expanded the idea of Chineseness.

The London pantomimes may have introduced such ideas, but against this metropolitan backdrop, Birmingham retained a political and local stance on trading policies and shopping preferences, that were as much part of its audiences everyday as the latest Japanese fashion and décor.

In conclusion, the comparison of the exotic and the everyday through Japanning and Japan, within *Aladdin* productions reveals a theatre genre continually in flux. The pantomime changed to suit local and cultural needs, such as Japanese fashion and societal anxieties, and Victorian sexual choices.

Aladdin productions' satirical, political, cultural and social tone verified the oriental ideas that supported Chineseness. Chineseness assisted in upholding the already preconceived views that an audience held about China and Japan. *Aladdin* pantomimes I maintain were fantastically full of a concocted and invented exotic Chineseness, which acted as an active agency and mirrored the everyday opinions of Birmingham and Black Country audiences.

CONCLUSION

My study of the Victorian exotic *Aladdin* pantomimes offers a different and significant regional perspective in chronicling the changes in Chineseness, between the 1813 and 1914 Christmas theatrical seasons in Birmingham and the Black Country. These pantomime performances were at the centre of interconnecting exotic and everyday parallels and corresponding histories that linked local consumers, theatres and industries. I focussed on eight of the twenty-eight closely-read regional *Aladdin* scripts and books of words, as well as associated pantomime ephemera from the Victorian period, and created a list of 374 local pantomimes.

The real interest lay in how regional audiences approached the pantomime through their existing knowledge of China, how local product references in *Aladdin* productions disseminated ideas about Chineseness, and the importance of these ideas in local politics, society and culture in nineteenth-century Birmingham and the Black Country.

I drew conclusions from the investigation of these three questions and the corresponding concept, offered by Hall and Rose, of the 'near and far'. The theory determined the baselines for references to Chineseness in *Aladdin* pantomimes and everyday products that an audience identified as Chinese-related (Hall and Rose, 2006, p. 183). These included the willow pattern plate, tea, Japanning and objects relevant to Japanese culture.

China, as visualised through technology, industry and trade, provided an intercultural interaction with local industries, and companies who created Chinese products that local audiences placed within their homes.

The pantomime authors presented audiences with conflicting interpretations of these products. They challenged the loyalties of an audience with anti-Chinese sentiments, due in part to the consequences of the Opium Wars, and the ongoing poor international relations between Britain and China. In contrast, authors incorporated those visual representations of China that audiences' chose for beautifying their homes.

Nearby industries, which manufactured these products, were part of the 'near and far' and, for many in the audience, formed part of their working lives. Millward and Byron incorporated these products into their mid-nineteenth century regional *Aladdin* pantomimes to highlight imperial superiority and racial undertones.

My evidence proves how the referencing of the willow pattern plate in *Aladdin* pantomimes demonstrated that ruling an empire depended on war and trade across British dominions, and was a symbol of British supremacy. This agrees with Gregory Blue who argued that a lack of information about China in the early nineteenth century directed Britain towards being a nation that classified itself above the 'other' (Blue, 1999, p. 73). British supremacy was an active ingredient in local indoctrination, as demonstrated in the pantomime, where local authors referred to the British manufacturers. These British manufacturers believed their British-made products were of equal quality to or of greater quality than their Chinese equivalents.

While the references to local products in pantomime, like the willow pattern plate in pantomime, disseminated ideas about Chineseness, references to supremacy created an atmosphere of racial tension described by Makdisi as 'an inequality of power in these colonial markets' (Makdisi, 1998, p. 5).

Authors of *Aladdin* pantomimes texts echoed the desirability of China to consumers. Their self-reflexive models commented on the day-to-day life of their audience, on the desires of these consumers to improve their lives, while satisfying needs. Witchard argued that pantomime provided a reflection of the requirements of those audiences and agreed with Mayer that pantomime presented to an audience 'an immediate and specific comment on their daily lives' (Witchard, 2009, p. 24; Mayer, 1969, p. 2).

Huang suggested it was the business-orientated middle class, from which the willow pattern design emerged, that were attracted to the new charm of China. The established middle-class, Huang argued, by the mid-nineteenth century had no need to emulate the upper class (Huang, 2014, p. 219). Middle-class and lower-class audiences admired and disapproved of China at the same time. Such ideas coexisted with apparently no issues, and audiences seemed relaxed with these opposing concepts.

I argue that pantomime authors, in blurring the oriental of the real Orient and of the imagined Orient, performed a legitimate form of indoctrination, an integral component in self-reflexive forms of theatre. The pantomimes were not 'passive transmitters', a description adopted by Norwood in describing the Britannia, Hoxton (Norwood, 2016, p. 208). I argue that pantomime, in its self-reflexive form, mirrored its audience and changed to suit local culture and society.

Within the pantomime, tea brought people together at all levels of society and the drinking of tea, as a social activity remained popular and associated with China. By the mid-century, advertisements publicised tea, available in local retail outlets in Birmingham and the Black Country, as being from India. These advertisements

appeared alongside Chinese references and contradicted the understanding of audiences as to the Chinese origin of tea.

The advertising of Indian teas, on British terms, recognised that international wars directly supported British colonial trading, sustained tea imports, and British colonial aggression towards the Far East. The advertising and increased use of Indian tea varieties made Britain a prisoner of its own success, as at a local level tea assumed greater significance in the home.

Indian tea varieties continued to displace Chinese teas in local markets, but authors continued to choose Chinese characters to mimic the British class system. While the authors of the pantomimes may have used this context to mock lower class aspirations, they also suggested that social mobility was possible for the middle and lower classes. Tea's domestication on stage, reasoned through the work of Chang (2010) and Logan (2001), formed part of the rewritten regional interaction with cultural products and societal change, as gradually an audience understood social, as opposed to racial superiority. Dirlik demonstrated the importance of this domestication:

Historicity informed by the complexity of everyday life, accounts for not only what unites but also, more importantly, for diversity in space and time, which is as undesirable to national power as it is to Eurocentrism (Dirlik, 1996, p. 118).

Dirlik was useful to my argument as his theory assisted in proving that the everyday oriental elements challenged national concerns, with diverse oriental spaces and oriental strands, but also merged the past and the present.

The British government craved power and control. *Aladdin* productions united these British and European tendencies, yet recalled different spaces from ancient China, the willow pattern plate, exhibitions, teahouses and restaurants, and the home

to imagined spaces, which surrounded human traits such as representation of cross-dressing, transgender and gender. Oriental spaces blurred with time to merge with the everyday representations of home life. Pantomime was not a passive transmitter of these influences, and its bottom-up references assisted in altering local politics, society and culture.

Tea was an active ingredient in the classification of people, within the pantomime and the nearby economy, and was representative of the local social hierarchies both for the 'other' and for women. Nonetheless, Japan presented a more closeted, exotic and personalised view of domesticity. Even though the wider world opened up for audiences, with the introduction of media, transport and telegraphy, audiences existed in a somewhat protected environment.

In this protective 'bubble', the pantomime geishas actions, played out by the principal boy and Widow, questioned Victorian emotional responses to sexuality and gender. In ancient China, on stage, these gender issues implied impropriety. The acceptance by an audience of these undercurrents qualified how comfortable they were with these ideas, and that cross-dressing elements were traditional and longstanding elements of pantomime.

Likewise, although cases like that of Boulton and Park were prevalent in Victorian society, the Pre-Raphaelites and the 'Art for Art's sake' devotees continued to represent androgyny in poetry, art and literature. This was apparent in the Pre-Raphaelite idealised women with thick masculine necks, long jaws and masculine features, female heroines of ancient and tolerant Greece and Rome. These artistic concepts surrounded the arts often questioned gender and cross-dressing (Hardy, 2017), but as Davis (2014), Radcliffe (2010) and Zemon Davis (1975), pointed out

pantomime's cross-dressing humour simultaneously highlighted the woman's plight, namely their subordinate role in society and in the home.

All evidence considered in this research brought new insights into commercial products and local pantomime in a manufacturing area dedicated to oriental-styled goods. The 'top-down' authority of British supremacy met the 'bottom-up' of consumer demands, which dictated a very different set of ideas, a synergy, which arose from the topsy-turvy relationship that tea had with pantomime. It extended exoticism beyond the Western concept of an inferior 'other'. It illustrated how local fashion and culture operated separately to politics and trade.

In allying Japan with the pantomime, consumers extended and blurred the Orient at home, and highlighted the social mobility of the middle and lower classes. The reference to transgender and the role of women mirrors the marginalisation at a local level of these sections in society, marginalisation that the Chinese shared with 'other'.

The willow pattern plate, tea and Japanning were commodities in their own right, and fused politics and trade to the society and culture of Birmingham and the Black Country. The *Aladdin* pantomimes revealed a local strength and identity through product placement that economically fuelled a challenge to hit out at the negative trends toward the Chinese. The incorporation of Chineseness allowed local networks of theatre and business to increase, and as a manufacturing community, connections and closer affiliations with the oriental pantomime than other regions had experienced in the country.

These facts demonstrate that although the pantomime reflected national trends in these oriental strands, local products reflected a local bias that gave Birmingham and Black Country *Aladdin* pantomimes their own identity.

The societal synergy of combining pantomime and products revealed the relationship Britain had with China and pantomimes one-sided view of national events as offered by authors, amidst local products and consumer culture. I argue that the international and national industrial connections enlightened the populace of Britain as to the real China in a negative light, compared to home markets.

Aladdin pantomimes were a product of their time, where conflicting views of China, created a local cultural change. There was never one single image of China, but a gradual move over the early to mid-nineteenth century from a positive to a negative view of China. Chang described China as the 'familiar exotic' (Chang, 2010, p. 6) reflecting on aspects of British home markets.

In the latter-half of the nineteenth century, home markets adopted a British form of Chineseness in society and a cultural synergy that created an opposing positive, but imaginary, China through the local decorative arts. These local products made a difference to local pantomime and moulded the writing of *Aladdin* texts into a more positive format. The *Aladdin* productions moved away from Arabic, London and Chinese-inspired negative texts to balancing positive elements, which the decorative Chinese and Japanese arts brought to the productions.

Outside this oriental analysis, there are a number of local theatrical archives not catalogued. These regional theatre and pantomime materials may inform other pantomime histories in the region, and ideas surrounding rival theatres, cultural and societal change that was not possible to include in this thesis.

However, my research reveals the surplus of London pantomime performers engaged out of season, and how a number of theatres staged multiple and different pantomimes, their own and touring, in and out of season. In addition, listings reveal the proliferation of opera, comedy and Shakespeare's plays staged in Birmingham and Black Country towns and cities, during the Christmas season at the same time as the pantomime. The extended and augmented theatrical records also reveal one of the earliest regional productions of *Aladdin* outside London performed at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham on the 16 August 1813.

It is clear from my selection that authors successfully incorporated, within regional *Aladdin* pantomimes, Victorian values and roles encountered in the daily lives of audiences, the authors themselves and others. The Chinese fictional elements in the *Aladdin* pantomimes enabled an audience to forget about the time-confining elements of the real world. For an audience the real and tangible, versus the imagined and invented of Chineseness, dissolved the past and reinvented it anew. These fictional elements allowed Chineseness to continue as part of the new cultural changes that took place within the region.

APPENDIX A – LIST OF ALADDIN, EXOTIC AND ASSOCIATED LOCAL PANTOMIMES IN BIRMINGHAM AND THE BLACK COUNTRY 1813-1914

Please Note: Bold text signifies the influence of the *Arabian Nights*’ or exotic Pantomime listed against that date for statistical purposes. Entries from *A History of English Drama 1660-1900, Volume V, 1850-1900, Late Nineteenth Century Drama* (1959) by Allardyce Nicoll are quoted as page numbers. Research has uncovered the LCP, the Pettingell Collection and additional library and media references. Some dates have multiple pantomimes listed: others have dates that correspond to other dates outside of the Christmas Festivities. For some entries, the theatre had no Christmas pantomime or data was not available.

Theatre listings in Appendix A list pantomime productions for Birmingham and Black Country Theatres with sources, discovered during the writing of this thesis, but which are too numerous to duplicate in the bibliography.

Theatre Royal, New Street, Birmingham

1774-1794 (none listed), 1794-1820 (listed from 1813), 1820-1904, 1904-1915. (Closed 1956).

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1813-1814	<i>Aladdin Or, the Wonderful Lamp</i>	Possibly a version of Robert Cruickshank George Daniel and Charles Farley	<i>Birmingham Gazette</i> (1813) 16 August: 3. Fourteenth Night. Library of Birmingham. Also listed in the same publication <i>Don Juan or Liberty Destroyed</i> and <i>Robinson Crusoe or Harlequin Friday</i>, in which Mr Bristow played Clown. Nothing listed for December.
1814-1815	<i>Jewels New Set. Harlequin in Birmingham</i>		<i>Aris’s Birmingham Gazette</i> (1814) 22 August: 3. Nothing listed for December.
1815-1816	<i>Harlequinade Compiled From The Egyptian Catacomb, Fun and Magic and Mother Goose</i>		<i>Aris’s Birmingham Gazette</i> (1816) 26 August: 3. Theatre Royal Playbills, British Library Ms. 27051817. Nothing listed for December.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1816-1817	Forty Thieves		Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1817) 11 August: 3. Nothing listed for December.
1817-1818	<i>Don Juan Courtesy of Drury Lane First Appearance of Grimaldi for Seven Years Castles in the Air, Or the Clown's Gambols. Exerts from Harlequin in His Element</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1817) 27 May: 3 and (1818) 31 August: 3. Theatre Royal Playbills, British Library, Ms. 05061817. Starred Grimaldi and Son. Nothing listed for December.</i>
1818-1819	No pantomime listed.		Nothing listed for August or December.
1819-1820	<i>Puck and the Black Pudding c. 1820</i>		Theatre Royal Playbills, British Library Ms. 2899111.
1820-1821	No pantomime listed.		Nothing listed for August or December.
1821-1822	No pantomime listed.		Nothing listed for August or December.
1822-1823	<i>The Wild Man and Castles in the Air, Or the Clown's Gambols. Exerts from Harlequin in His Element</i>		Theatre Royal Playbills, British Library Ms. 02061817.
1823-1824	<i>Don Juan Ko and Zo the Rival Indians, Harlequin and the Three Wishes, Puck and The Black Pudding, Tipperty Witchet</i>		Theatre Royal Playbills, British Library Ms. 12121810. Grimaldi stayed a week August to September 1823. Production from 26-29 August 1823.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1824-1825	<i>Don Juan Or The Reprobate Destroyed</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1824) 28 June: 3. Also listed in the same publication <i>The Golden Axe Or Harlequin Woodcutter</i> from Mr Barrymore, Drury Lane and <i>Dick Whittington and Scenes from Other Pantomimes</i> .
1825-1826	<i>Hogarth's London Apprentices, Or Harlequin Industry and Idleness</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1826) 25 September: 3. Starring Harlequin Mr Goll and Clown Southey. Also listed <i>Harlequin and The Poor Robin</i> , <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1825) 6 June: 3.
1826-1827	<i>Don Juan</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1827) 7 July: 3. Starring Paulo as Scaramouch.
1827-1828	<i>The Island Ape</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1828) 24 July: 3. Mr Gouffe Man Monkey and Mr. Blanchard.
1828-1829	<i>Harlequin and the White Mouse or The Frog in an Opera Hat</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1828) 23 June: 3. An Adelphi Pantomime.
1829-1830	<i>Pillardoc The Wizard, Or Harlequin and The Magic Bottle</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1829) 2 November: 3.
1830-1831	<i>Harlequin Tom and The Piper's Son</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1831) 22 August: 3. On from 22 August.
1831-1832	<i>Cinderella and Pantomime</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1832) 27 June: 3. Starring Drury Lane's Mrs Byfield, and Paulo and Ellar.
1832-1833	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1832) 22 October: 3.
1833-1834	<i>Harlequin Ploughboy: Or The Golden Gift</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1833) 3 June: 3. Harlequin Mr Ellar, Clown Mr Paulo.
1834-1835	<i>Harlequin Taffy the Welshman</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1834) 12 May: 3. Clown Tagliana.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1835- 1836	<i>Usher Clown New Pantomime Stud of Cats, Geese and Donkeys</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1835) 28 September: 3. <i>Also Hickerty Pickerty, The Black Hen or Harlequin and The Silver Egg in Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1835) 27 April: 3.
1836- 1837	<i>Little Red Riding Hood</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1836) 23 May: 3. Starring Buffo Bros., Drury Lane.
1837- 1838	No pantomime listed		Nothing listed for August or December.
1838- 1839	<i>Mr Usher Clown of Drury Lane. Several Comic Exerts From Favourite Pantomimes</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1838) 24 December: 2.
1839- 1840	<i>Vol-u-vant or Tricks and Troubles</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1839) 10 June: 3.
1840- 1841	<i>Harlequin and the Knight of the Silver Shield</i>	Mr. De Hayes	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1840) 28 December: 3.
1841- 1842	<i>Harlequin Sinbad, Or The Valley of the Diamonds</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1842)21 February: 3.
1842- 1843	<i>Baron Munchausen, Or Harlequin and the Genii of the Green Island</i>	Mr. De Hayes	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1843) 2 January: 3. Clown Mr. De Hayes and Mr. Rignald, band Mr. Elton, and Scenery Mr. Laycock. Manager Mr. Mercer Simpson.
1843- 1844	<i>Princess Battledore, Or Harlequin Shuttlecock or the Island of Feathers</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1844) 15 January: 3. Sixteenth Night.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1844-1845	<i>The Dragon of Wantley</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1845) 20 January: 3.</i> <i>Also Bluebeard with Von Amburgh's Performing Elephant, Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1845) 3 February: 3.</i> <i>Aladdin review for Theatre Royal, Birmingham in Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1844) 7 October: 3, 30 September: 3.</i>
1845-1846	<i>Guy, Earl of Warwick, Or Harlequin Worker and the Famed Dun Cow and Dustmere Heath</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1846) 12 January: 3.</i>
1846-1847	<i>Lady Godiva and Peeping Tom of Coventry, Or Harlequin Workaholic</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1847) 11 January: 3.</i>
1847-1848	<i>Harlequin in England, Ireland, Scotland, Or the Rose, Shamrock and Thistle</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1848) 10 January: 3.</i>
1848-1849	<i>Baron Munchausen, Or Harlequin and the Genii of the Green Island</i>	Mr. De Hayes	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1849) 22 January: 3.</i> This pantomime and the next pantomime entry of 1849 appear the other way around in other listings.
1849-1850	<i>The Golden Regions of California</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1850) 28 January: 4.</i>

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1850-1851	<i>Queen Mab or Harlequin and the Golden Pippin, Fairy of the Silver Shell in the Pearly Lake</i>		LCP 23/10/1850 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 737. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1851) 13 January: 2. Also 'Review of <i>Aladdin</i> ' in <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1851) 15 October: 3.
1851-1852	<i>Jack in the Box</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1851) 23 February: 4.
1852-1853	<i>Don Quixote de la Mancha and the Sleep of a Hundred Years; or Harlequin the Omened Bird and the Fairy of the Golden Waters</i>	Mr. De Hayes	LCP 15/11/1852 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 669. Caroline Radcliffe and Kate Mattacks (2008) <i>Catalogue of the Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1852-1863</i> . Licence sent 15 November 1852 for performance at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1853) 3 January: 2.
1853-1854	<i>Jack the Giant Killer</i>	E. L. Blanchard	Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, pp. 779, 837.
1854-1855	<i>Robin Hood or Little John and Friar Tuck or Harlequin and the Goblin of Mindestone Moor with the Castle of 100 gates</i>	Edward Farmer	LCP 11/12/1854 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 742. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1854) 25 December: 5.
1855-1856	<i>Babes in the Wood or Harlequin King of the Fairies and the Cruel H'uncle</i>		LCP 26/12/55 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 827. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1855) 24 December: 4. Mr Simpson acquired the story with proprietor Mr Atkins as Stage Manager.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1856- 1857	<i>Old Mother Hubbard and her Dog or Harlequin Jack Horner and Margery Daw</i>		L28.1.440194 Library of Birmingham. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1856) 22 December: 4. Mr. Atkins the Superintendent of the production.
1857- 1858	<i>King Blusterbubble and the Demon Ogre or Harlequin Prince Honorbright and the Dwarf King of the Ruby Mines</i>	C.A. Somerset	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1857) 28 December: 4. Mr Atkins/Herr Wallerstein. LCP 14/12/1857 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 702.
1858- 1859	<i>The Wolf and Little Red Riding Hood</i>		L28.1.440195 Library of Birmingham. LCP 9/12/1858 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, pp. 739, 801, 845.
1859- 1860	<i>The House the Jack Built and How Lord Lovel; or Manor Brumen and The Fairy of the Avon</i>		L28.1.64579 Library of Birmingham. LCP 20/12/1859 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 694. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1860) 20 February: 3.
1860- 1861	<i>Gosling the Great, or Harlequin Prince Bluebell or, Baa Baa Black Sheep and the Fairy of the Spring</i>	Miss Keating	L28.1.64580 Library of Birmingham. LCP 10/12/1860 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 685.
1861- 1862	<i>Cinderella and her Cruel Sisters; Or The Prince, the Fairy and the Little Glass Slipper</i>		LCP 26/12/1861 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 829.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1862-1863	<i>Puss in Boots</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1863) 17 January: 4. LCP 26/12/62 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 736 and p. 844.
1863-1864	<i>Queen of Hearts and her Wonderful Tarts</i>		L28.1.64581 Library of Birmingham. Mr Mercer Simpson Proprietor and assisted by Mr Simpson Junior.
1864-1865	<i>Old King Cole</i>	M. Dutnall	L28.1.64582 Library of Birmingham. LCP Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 842. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1865) 11 February: 5.
1865-1866	<i>Sinbad the Sailor Or, the Red Dwarfs, the Terrible Ogre, and the Old Man of the Sea</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.64583 Library of Birmingham. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1866) 22 December: 5 and (1866) 9 March: 4. Jill Sullivan has a longer title and author credited. Also listed <i>Whittington and his Cat</i> (1865) by C. Horsman. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1866-1867	<i>Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.64584 Library of Birmingham. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1866) 22: 5 and 29 December: 4 and <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1867) 9 February: 4. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53064U. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1867-1868	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.243337 Library of Birmingham. LCP 26/12/1867 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 742. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1868-1869	<i>Forty Thieves</i>	Charles Millward/ indication also assisted by Harry Paulton	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1868) 26 December: 5. Manager Mercer Simpson.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1869-1870	<i>Bluebeard</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.64585 Library of Birmingham. LCP 26/12/1869 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 828. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1869) 25 December: 4. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1870-1871	<i>Dick Whittington and His Cat</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.64586 Library of Birmingham. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1871) 11 February: 4. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1871-1872	<i>Fair One with the Golden Locks</i>	Charles Millward	L2 8.1.64587 Library of Birmingham. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1872-1873	<i>The Fairy Fawn</i>	Charles Millward	L2 8.1.64588 Library of Birmingham. LCP 26/12/1872 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 831. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1873-1874	<i>Beauty and the Beast</i>	Charles Millward	L2 8.1.64589 Library of Birmingham. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1874-1875	<i>Ride a Cock Horse to Banbury</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.314833/4&64590 (3 Versions) Library of Birmingham. LCP 22/12/1874 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 741. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1875-1876	<i>Puss in Boots</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.64591 Library of Birmingham. LCP 22/12/1875 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 736. Manager Mercer Simpson.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1876-1877	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.67562 Library of Birmingham. LCP 21/12/1876 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 749. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1877) 24 February: 4. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1877-1878	<i>The Forty Thieves</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.202317 Library of Birmingham. LCP 26/12/1877 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 679. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53197P.
1878-1879	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.98582 Library of Birmingham. LCP 27/12/1878 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 742. Also listed <i>Babes in the Wood</i> (1878) by F. R. Goodyer and Hain Uthermann, Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53212R. Also listed the <i>Yellow Dwarf</i> (1878) by Robert Preece Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53210A. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1879-1880	<i>The Fair One with the Golden Locks</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.64592 Library of Birmingham LCP 27/12/1879 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 674. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53229M. Also listed <i>Jack and the Beanstalk</i> (1879) by F. R. Goodyer and Hain Uthermann LCP Ms. 53229D.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1880-1881	<i>Dick Whittington and His Cat</i>	Charles Millward	L28.1.64593 Library of Birmingham LCP 24/12/80 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 667. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53246F. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1880) 23 December: 5). Manager Mercer Simpson.
1881-1882	<i>Beauty and the Beast</i>	Charles Millward and T. C Clay	L28.1.64594 Library of Birmingham LCP 24/12/1881 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 646. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53265S. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1882-1883	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>	F. W. Green	L28.1.69240 Library of Birmingham LCP 23/12/1882 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 750. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53286J.
1883-1884	<i>Queen of Hearts</i>	Frank Hall and J. J. Blood	L28.1.64595 Library of Birmingham LCP 24/12/1883 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 739. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53308O. Also listed <i>The Queen of Hearts</i> (1884) by J. Wilton-Jones, Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. [1884].
1884-1885	<i>Dick Whittington and His Cat</i>	J. J. Blood	L28.1.92007 Library of Birmingham LCP 23/12/1884 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 668. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53330G.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1885-1886	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	J . J. Blood	LCP 19/12/1885 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946 and also cited (1886). Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53349D.
1886-1887	<i>Cinderella</i>	J. J. Blood	L28.1.92008 Library of Birmingham. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1887) 10 January: 4. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53372A.
1887-1888	<i>Goody Two Shoes</i>	J. J. Blood	L28.1.125961 Library of Birmingham. LCP 24/12/1887 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 685. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53393H. Also listed <i>Beauty and the Beast</i> (1887) by William Wade Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 239. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1888-1889	<i>Dick Whittington and His Cat</i>	J. J. Blood	L28.1.243338 LCP 11/1/1889 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 667. <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1888) 28 December, p. 1. Manager Mercer Simpson.
1889-1890	<i>Aladdin</i>	J. J. Blood (Library of Birmingham) and also listed Fred Locke and A. Jay-Penne (Allardyce Nicoll)	L28.1.243339 Library of Birmingham LCP 24/12/1889 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946; p. 639 Manager Mercer Simpson.
1890-1891	<i>The Forty Thieves</i>	J. J. Blood	L.28.1.112840 Library of Birmingham. LCP 24/12/1890 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, pp. 680, 832. Manager Charles Dornton.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1891-1892	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>	Geoffrey Thorn	L28.1.243340 Library of Birmingham LCP 13/1/1892 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 750. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53490L. Manager Charles Dornton.
1892-1893	<i>Cinderella</i>	Fred Locke and A. Jay-Penne.	L28.1.125962 Library of Birmingham. Manager Charles Dornton.
1893-1894	<i>Little Red Riding Hood</i>	Fred Locke	LCP 16/12/1893 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 710.
1894-1895	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	Fred Locke Music W. Humphreys	LCP 19/12/1894 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, pp. 743, 804, 845. Also listed is <i>Dick Whittington</i> LCP 1/12/94 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, pp. 667, 804, 839.
1895-1896	<i>Santa Clause and Cinderella</i>		Also listed is <i>Little Goody Two Shoes</i> (1895) by John Anderton Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53587.
1896-1897	<i>Dick Whittington and His Cat</i>		A/Panto 261 Pettingell Collection; <i>Dick Whittington and His Cat</i> .
1897-1898	<i>Forty Thieves</i>	Percy Milton	LCP 31/12/1897 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 680.
1898-1899	<i>Cinderella</i>		Birmingham Daily Gazette (1898) 29 December: 1. There is an indication of <i>Puss in Boots</i> (1898) by John Anderton, Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53674O. Manager Charles Dornton.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1899-1900	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>		LCP 28/12/1899 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 644. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i>, 18 January 1900: 8. There is an indication of <i>Sinbad the Sailor</i> (1899) by John Anderton, Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53699G. <i>The Era</i> (1900) 6 January: 7. Manager Charles Dornton.
1900-1901	<i>Dick Whittington and His Cat</i>	Robert Arthur	<i>The Era</i> (1900) 29 December: 8. Starring Miss Amy Dornton.
1901-1902	<i>NO PANTO: Theatre Demolished and Rebuilt</i>		
1903-1904	<i>NO PANTO: Theatre Demolished and Rebuilt</i>		
1904-1905	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>	A. M. Thompson and R. Courtneidge	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1904) 22 December: 1.
1905-1906	<i>Aladdin</i>	Frank Dix and Mr T. Davis	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1905) 11 December: 1. Produced by Robert Arthur.
1906-1907	<i>Queen of Hearts</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1906) 26 December: 1.
1907-1908	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1908) 4 January: 6. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1907) 19 December: 1. Managing Director Mr T. Davis Acting Manager Mr P. Rodway.
1908-1909	<i>Dick Whittington and His Cat</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1908) 21 December: 1.
1909-1910	<i>Jack and the Beanstalk</i>		<i>Birmingham Gazette and Express</i> (1910) 16 December: 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1910-1911	Grand Pantomime Aladdin	R. Courtneidge and A. M. Thompson	Birmingham Gazette (1910) 19 December: 1.
1911-1912	<i>Jack and Jill</i>		Advertisement, <i>Walsall Observer</i> (1912) 27 January, p. 1. <i>Birmingham Gazette</i> (1911) 21 December: 1.
1912-1913	<i>Goody Two Shoes</i>		<i>Birmingham Gazette</i> (1912) 24 December: 4.
1913-1914	<i>Little Miss Muffett</i>		<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> , 10 February 1914: 1.
1914-1915	Sinbad the Sailor	Robert Courtneidge	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i>, 11 January 1915: 1. <i>Birmingham Gazette</i> (1914) 24 December: 1.

Prince of Wales, Birmingham Pantomimes, Broad Street, 1856-1941

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1856-1857	No pantomime listed		None listed in local newspapers
1857-1858	No pantomime listed		None listed in local newspapers
1858-1859	No pantomime listed		None listed in local newspapers
1859-1860	No pantomime listed		None listed for August or December.
1860-1861	No pantomime listed		None listed for August or December.
1861-1862	Aladdin	H. J. Byron	From the Strand Theatre, London. Directed by Mr. Lauri. Swanborough owned and managed the theatre. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1862) 25 October: 8 and listed as <i>Aladdin</i> from the Strand (1862) 1 November: 4.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1862-1863	<i>Mother Goose</i>		'Swanborough production theatre enlarged...', <i>Birmingham Journal</i> , (1863) 19 December: 8.
1863-1864	<i>The House that Jack Built Or Harlequin Old Mother Hubbard and her Wonderful Dog, Or Jack the Giant Killer</i>	J. H. Tully and Mr Ward	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1863) 25 December: 1.
1864-1865	<i>Beauty and the Beast Or Harlequin Lion King, The Page, The Pumpkin and the Presidigitateur</i>	Martin Duttnall or Duttnall	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1864) 22 December: 1. <i>The Era</i> (1865) 1 January: 12.
1865-1866	<i>Little Bo Beep or Queen Butterfly Balland King Grasshopper's Feast in Birmingham in Olden Times</i>	Martin Duttnall	LCP 26/12/65 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 708. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53047. Also listed <i>Aladdin and The Wonderful Lamp</i> in <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1866) 9 March: 4. Managers Mr R. Rodgers and Mr C. A. Clarke.
1866-1867	<i>Lalla Rookh</i>	Messrs W. Brough and F. Talfourd	<i>Lalla Rookh</i> in <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1867) 9 February: 4. <i>The Era</i> (1866) 30 December: 5.
1867-1868	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1867) 28 December: 4. <i>The Era</i> (1868) 23 January: 1.
1868-1869	<i>Gulliver's Travels/ Babes in the Wood or Harlequin Robin Hood and The Brave Little Soldiers of Lilliput</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1868) 26 December: 4 and (1869) 16 January: 5. Actors Mr J. B. Watson and Nelly Smith.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1869-1870	<i>Little Red Riding Hood or Harlequin the Boy Blue and of Fairies of the Glowworm Drill</i>	Mr Charles Daly	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1869) 25 December: 5 and (1870) 29 January: 4 (continued on in newspapers till March 26, 1870).
1870-1871	<i>Jack and the Beanstalk, Or Harlequin Old Dame Trot and Her Comical Cat</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1871) 24 December: 8.
1871-1872	<i>Little Good Two Shoes</i>		<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1871) 7 January: 8.
1872-1873	<i>Twinkle Twinkle Little Star or Harlequin Jack Frost and Little Tom Tucker who Sang for his Supper.</i>	J. Strachan	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1872) 24 December: 1. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1872) 29 December: 5. Mr Rodgers Manager and Mr Raynham Stage Manager.
1873-1874	<i>Humpty Dumpty</i>		<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1874) 27 February: 6.
1874-1875	<i>Little Bo Beep or Harlequin Jack and Jill and Prince Truelove</i>		<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1874) 24 December : 8.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1875-1876	<i>Gulliver's Travels</i>		LCP 23/12/1875 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 686. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1876) 3 March: 7. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1876) 20 January: 4. Mr. Rodgers Manager and Mr. Raynham Stage Manager.
1876-1877	<i>The Frog that would a-Wooing Go, Or Harlequin Tommy Tadpole, Princess Fairstar and the Fairies of the Coral Cave</i>	Mr. Fred Maltby	LCP 21/12/76 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 681.
1877-1878	<i>Cinderella and Harlequin Prince Paragon, The Little Glass Slipper and the Demons of The Realms of Discord</i>	Frank Green	LCP 6/12/1877 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 658. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1877) 29 December: 1. Also listed <i>Bluebeard</i> (1877) by F. R. Goodyer and Hain Uthermann, Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53197R.
1878-1879	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>	F. R. Goodyer and Hain Uthermann	LCP 21/12/1885 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 644. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53212R. Manager Mr Appleby.
1879-1880	<i>Aladdin and His Wonderful Lamp</i>	Frank W. Green	LCP 8/12/89 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 639. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53226L. Proprietor and Manager Mr. James Rodgers.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1880-1881	<i>Little Red Riding Hood</i>		LCP 14/12/1880 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 710. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1880) 23 December: 5.
1881-1882	<i>Bluebeard or Harlequin the Trooper Free, the Fatal Key and the Boy of Curiousitee</i>		LCP 29/12/1881 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first Published 1946, p. 650. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1881) 20 December: 5.
1882-1883	<i>Sindbad the Sailor</i>		LCP 18/12/1882 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first Published 1946, p. 750.
1883-1884	<i>Cinderella</i>	T. F. Doyle	LCP 18/12/1883 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 658. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1883) 22 December: 8 and 19 December: 5.
1884-1885	<i>Ali Baba and The Forty Thieves</i>	T. Edgar Pemberton	LCP 10/12/1884 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 680. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1884) 20 December: 5. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53329D.
1885-1886	<i>Gulliver's Travels</i>	Harry Paulton	LCP 29/12/1875 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 686. <i>The Era</i> (1886) 27 February: 15. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53350M.
1886-1887	<i>Aladdin</i>	Harry Paulton	LCP 13/12/1886 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 639. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1886) 25 December: 5 and <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1887) 10 January: 4.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1887-1888	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>	The Mammoth Star Company	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1888) 18 January: 1. <i>The Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1888) 4 January: 1.
1888-1889	<i>Bluebeard</i>	Tom Anderton	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1888) 20 December: 5.
1889-1890	<i>Cinderella</i>	John Anderton	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1890) 15 January: 7. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53443E.
1890-1891	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>	Mr John/Tom Anderton	LCP 18/12/1890 Allardyce Nicoll (1959, Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 644. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1891) 5 January: 5. Listed as John Anderton. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53465D.
1891-1892	<i>Dick Whittington</i>	Mr John Anderton	23/12/91 LC Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 667. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1891) 14 December: 5. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms 53489N. Starring Vesta Tilley.
1892-1893	<i>Aladdin</i>	Mr Tom Anderton	6/12/92 LC Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 640. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1892) 21 December: 7.
1893-1894	<i>Bonnie Bo-Peep and Bonnie Boy Blue</i>	Mr John Anderton	LC 30/11/93 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 743. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1893) 22 December: 4.
1894-1895	<i>Aladdin The Naughty Young Scamp who Ran off with the Lamp.</i>	Stanley Rogers	Produced by Milton Bode. Also listed <i>Dick Whittington, The Era</i> (1895) 12 January: 27.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1895-1896	<i>Little Goody Two Shoes</i>	Mr John Anderton	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1895) 26 December: 5. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53587.
1896-1897	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>		LCP 31/12/1897 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 751. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53699G.
1897-1898	<i>Sleeping Beauty</i>		LCP 31/12/1897 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 751.
1898-1899	<i>Puss in Boots</i>		LCP 30/12/1898 also listed <i>Puss in Boots</i> LCP 30/12/1898 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 737. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53674O.
1899-1900	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>	Mr Hickory Wood	LCP 28/12/1899 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 750. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1900) 11 January: 1.
1900-1901	<i>Cinderella</i>	A. M. Thompson (Dangle) and Robert Courtneidge	<i>The Era</i> (1900) 29 December: 8.
1901-1902	<i>Aladdin or the Wonderful Lamp</i>	A. M. Thompson (Dangle) and Robert Courtneidge	24 December 1901, starring Tom Foy and Miss Olive Moore. Produced by J. F. Graham. Lessee Rodgers Ltd. Cited as last year's 'momentous production' <i>The Era</i> (1901) 28 December: 7. Designs by Wilhelm.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1903-1904	Robinson Crusoe		Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1903) 24 December: 4.
1904-1905	40 Thieves	J. Hickory Wood	Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1904) 22 December: 1. Starred Marie Campbell, Producer S. Rodgers.
1905-1906	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1905) 11 December: 1.</i>
1906-1907	The Gorgeous Christmas Pantomime Crusoe's Adventures		Aris's Birmingham Gazette (1906) 26 December: 1.
1907-1908	<i>Mother Goose</i>	Rodgers and Graham	<i>The Era (1908) 4 January: 6.</i>
1908-1909	<i>Little Red Riding Hood</i>	Mr. Collingswood	<i>The Era (1909) 30 January: 13.</i>
1909-1910	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>		<i>Birmingham Gazette ad Express (1909) 16 December: 1.</i>
1910-1911	No pantomime listed		Neither August or December.
1911-1912	The Forty Thieves	Produced by Robert Courtneidge	Birmingham Gazette (1911) 21 December: 1.
1912-1913	<i>Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star</i>		<i>Birmingham Gazette (1912) 24 December: 4.</i>
1913-1914	<i>Puss in Boots</i>		<i>Birmingham Daily Post (1914) 2 February: 1.</i> Starred Wilkie Bard.
1914-1915	The Fairy Pantomime Aladdin	G. M. Slater.	Evening Despatch (1914) 24 December: 2. Birmingham Daily Post (1915) 11 January: 1.

The Grand Theatre, Birmingham 1883-1915, Corporation Street

Date	Production	Author	Source/Notes
1883-1884	<i>Little Red Riding Hood</i>	J. Wilton-Jones	LCP Ms. 264. Also listed <i>George and the Dragon, The Era</i> (1884) 5 January: 11. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 264.
1884-1885	<i>Aladdin</i>	Mr. Capel or T.F. Doyle	LCP 20/12/1884 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 639. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1884) 20 December: 5. Widow Twanki (alternative spelling). Also listed <i>Aladdin</i> by T. F. Doyle, Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 53329B.
1885-1886	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>	Mr. Melville	21/12/1885 LC Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 644.
1886-1887	<i>Jack and the Beanstalk</i>	Mr Laurence, Mr Bentley and Mr Melville	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1886) 25 December: 5.
1887-1888	<i>Red Riding Hood and Forty Thieves</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1887) 23 December: 1.
1888-1889	<i>Bo Beep</i>	Melville	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1887) 24 December: 1.
1889-1890	<i>Puss in Boots</i>		LCP 16/12/1889 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 737. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1890) 15 January: 7.
1890-1891	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	Mr. Melville	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1890) 23 December: 6. Also listed <i>Sinbad the Sailor, Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1890) 7 April: 5. Easter Pantomime.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1891-1892	<i>Little Red Riding Hood</i>		<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1891) 28 December: 5.
1892-1893	No pantomime listed		No listings in newspapers.
1893-1894	<i>Cinderella</i>	Oscar Barrett	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1893) 24 December: 5.
1894-1895	<i>Jack and the Beanstalk</i>	Harry F. McClelland	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1895) 15 January: 7. A. Melville Producer and Manager. J. W. Turner's Opera Company <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1894) 21 September: 5. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 325.
1895-1896	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>	J. J. Blood	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1895) 26 December: 5.
1896-1897	<i>Dick Whittington</i>	Oscar Barrett	<i>The Era</i> (1897) 27 February: 10.
1897-1898	<i>Aladdin and The Wonderful Lamp</i>	Arthur and Percy Milton	LCP 31/12/1898 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, pp. 640, 807. Produced by Milton Rays.
1898-1899	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>		LCP 30/12/1898 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 744.
1899-1900	No pantomime listed		Opera listed in <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> .
1900-1901	No pantomime listed		Opera listed in <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> .
1903-1904	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1903) 24 December: 4.
1904-1905	Babes in the Wood	Mr. Melville	Opera.
1905-1906	<i>Grand Oriental Pantomime Aladdin</i>	Mr. Tom B. Davis	Ref: L28.1.243341 Library of Birmingham. Producer Mr. Robert Arthur.
1906-1907	No pantomime listed		<i>Cymbeline</i> by William Shakespeare. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1906) 26 December: 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1907-1908	No pantomime listed		None listed for December.
1908-1909	<i>The Toy Soldier</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1908) 21 December: 1. Starring the Toy Soldier of Pantomime Fred Walton.
1909-1910	No pantomime listed		None listed for December in local newspapers.
1910-1911	<i>Aladdin</i>	R. Courtneidge and A. M. Thompson	Starring Tom Foy.
1911-1912	No pantomime listed		None listed for December in local newspapers.
1912-1913	No pantomime listed		None listed for December in local newspapers.
1913-1914	No pantomime listed		None listed for December in local newspapers.
1914-1915	No pantomime listed		None listed for December in local newspapers.

The Alexandra Theatre, Birmingham, Hurst Street 1901 onwards

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1903-1904	<i>Aladdin</i>	Stanley Rogers	Produced by Mr. Lester Collingwood.
1907-1908	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1908) 4 January: 6.
1910-1911	<i>Dick Whittington</i>		<i>Birmingham Gazette</i> (1910) 19 December: 1.
1911-1912	<i>Mother Goose</i>		<i>Walsall Observer</i> (1912), 27 January: 1.
1912-1913	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>		<i>Birmingham Gazette</i> (1912) 24 December: 4.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1913-1914	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1914) 10 February: 1.
1914-1915	<i>Aladdin</i>		<i>Birmingham Gazette</i> (1914) 24 December: 4. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1915) 11 January: 1.

The New Theatre, Moor Street, Birmingham 1774-1956

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1862-1863	<i>Sinbad the Sailor and Lallah Rookh</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1863) 17 January: 4.

The Queen's, Birmingham 1885-1952

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1893-1894	<i>Jack and the Beanstalk</i>	William Walton	LCP 20/12/1893 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 698. <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1893) 22 December: 4. Also <i>Cinderella</i> , James Kiddie's Travelling Company, <i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1894) 6 February: 5.
1900-1901	<i>Cinderella</i>	Queen's, Birmingham	<i>The Era</i> (1901) 28 December: 7.

The Repertory Theatre, Broad Street, Birmingham 1913 onwards

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1914-1915	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>Evening Despatch</i> (1863) 24 December: 2.

The Grand Theatre, Wolverhampton Grand Theatre, Lichfield Street 1894 –

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1894-1895	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>		Grand Theatre Archives, Wolverhampton. <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1894) 22 December: 1.
1895-1896	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>	J. J. Blood	<i>The Era</i> (1895) 28 December: 17.
1896-1897	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1896) 26 December: 18. <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1896) 24 December: 1.
1897-1898	<i>Jack the Giant Killer</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1897) 21 December: 1.
1898-1899	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1898) 23 December: 1.
1899-1900	<i>Beauty and the Beast</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1899) 27 December: 1. Also listed <i>Robin Hood</i> , <i>The Era</i> (1900) 6 January: 7.
1900-1901	<i>Aladdin</i>		1900 poster for <i>Aladdin</i>, Grand Theatre Archive, Wolverhampton. Produced by Milton Bode who co-owned theatre with Mr. Ball. Also listed <i>Cinderella Express and Star</i> (1900), 1 January: 1. Billed as from 1 October - 31 December 1900 and 1 January - 30 March 1901.
1901-1902	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>	Stanley Rogers	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1901) 26 February, p. 1. Also listed Hickory Wood's <i>Babes in the Wood</i>, <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1902) 2 January: 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1902-1903	<i>Aladdin</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1902) 27 December: 1 and 24 December: 1.
1903-1904	<i>Puss in Boots</i>	Milton Bode	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1903) 23 December: 1. Also listed Dick Whittington by Robert Arthur in 1903-1904 Book of words for <i>Prince of Wales</i> , Nottingham. Pettingell Collection, Cadbury's Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
1904-1905	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1904) 19 December: 1.
1905-1906	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1905) 22 December: 1.
1906-1907	<i>Dick Whittington</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1906) 26 December: 1.
1907-1908	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1907) 26 December: 1.
1908-1909	<i>Aladdin</i>	Milton Bode	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1908) 24 December: 1.
1909-1910	<i>Red Riding Hood</i>	Milton Bode	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1909) 23 December: 1.
1910-1911	<i>Cinderella</i>	Milton Bode	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1910) 24 December: 1. Also listed <i>Aladdin</i> by Stanley Rogers. Produced by Charles Constant. <i>Aladdin</i> Programme (1911) 6 March. Grand Theatre Archive, Wolverhampton Grand Theatre.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1911-1912	<i>Aladdin</i>	George M. Slater for Milton Bode	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1911) 23 December: 1. Poster (1911) 26 December. Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies. General Manager Mr. Harold Maligny.
1912-1913	<i>Jack and the Beanstalk</i>	Milton Bode	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1912) 23 December: 1. Also available was <i>Jack and the Beans</i> new Edison Pantomime at the Picture House, Victoria Street, Wolverhampton
1913-1914	<i>Humpty Dumpty</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1912) 23 December: 1. This included early film of how to dance.
1914-1915	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1914) 24 December: 1.

The Theatre Royal, formerly the New Theatre, Wolverhampton Theatre Royal, Snow Hill, 1845-1894

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1845-1846	<i>Aladdin Or the Wonderful Lamp</i>	Produced by Arthur Mee (of London)	Poster (1845) 14 August. Theatre Royal, Wolverhampton Archives and Local History. James Munro as Manager.
1846-1847	No pantomime listed		No listings in local newspapers. August or December 1846.
1847-1848	No pantomime listed		No listings in local newspapers. August or December 1847, Manager Charles Dillon (of the London and Continental Theatres) and Henry Widdicomb (of the Theatre Royal, Haymarket).
1848-1849	No pantomime listed		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> and <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1848 and January 1849. 1848 - theatre under the lessee of Miss Charlotte Cooke.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1849-1850	<i>Bosjesmen Pantomime of Poisoness Snakes</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1849) 12 December: 2.
1850-1851	No pantomime listed		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1850 or January 1851. Theatre managed by Mercer H. Simpson (Lessee of the Theatre Royal, Birmingham). June 1851 - James Munro became manager again.
1851-1852	No pantomime listed		No listings in local newspapers. 'Temporary Notice' in the <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> by Mr Munro and Mr De Loude that the theatre reopens on 12-14 January for theatrical business. <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> 1851, 31 December: 1.
1852-1853	<i>Bluebeard or Female Curiosity</i>		Bill poster (1852) 5 April. Lessee Mr John Corbett Cooke. Acting Manager Eugene MaCarthy. Wolverhampton Archives and Local History.
1853-1854	No pantomime listed		January 1853 - theatre managed by Mrs W. Rignold. Acting Manager - Wood Benson Stage Manager – Mr. MacFarr.
1854-1855	<i>Harlequin King Ugley Mug or The Princess and the Pearl</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1854) 31 December: 12.
1855-1856	No pantomime listed.		No listings in local newspapers In December 1855 or January 1856. Opera listed, <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1855) 31 December: 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1856-1857	No pantomime listed.		Opera listed in <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1856) 31 January: 1. No listings in August or December.
1857-1858	<i>Richard Coeur de Lion taking in Wolverhampton on his Road to Palestine</i>		LCP 26/12/1857 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 845. April 1858 - theatre managed by J. Bedworth.
1858-1859	No pantomime listed		In December 1858 or January 1859. Opera listed, <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1858) 22 December: 1. No listings in local newspapers
1859-1860	No pantomime listed		September 1859 - theatre in the last week of the management of Miss Grace St. Ledger. December 1859 - theatre managed by W. M. R. Rignold. <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1859) 23 December: 1.
1860-1861	No pantomime listed		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1860) 26 December: 1.
1861-1862	<i>Harlequin Guy Faux</i>		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1862) 1 January: 1.
1862-1863	<i>Old King Coal</i>		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1862) 31 December: 1.
1863-1864	<i>Harlequin Sir Rupert the Reckless: Or: Lurline the Nymph of Lurleyburg</i>	H. J. Byron	<i>The Era</i> (1864) 3 January: 14.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1864-1865	<i>Hollybush Hall, The Track in the Snow, on Old Christmas Eve</i>		Re-opening of theatre. <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1864) 21 December: 1.
1865-1866	<i>La Sonnambula or the Slipper, The Sleeper and The Merry Swiss Boy</i>	H. J. Byron	<i>The Era</i> (1865) 31 December: 7.
1866-1867	No pantomime listed		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1867) 9 January: 1.
1867-1868	No pantomime listed		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1867) 25 December: 1. Also St George's Hall had numerous strips of advertising saying 'Japanese Exhibition', <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1868) 23 December: 1.
1868-1869	No pantomime listed		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1868) 30 December: 1.
1869-1870	<i>Puss in Boots, Little Bo Beep, Or King Punch and Baby and the Miller of Dee</i>		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1869) 22 December: 1. <i>The Era</i> (1870) 9 January: 14.
1870-1871	<i>Whittington and His Cat</i>	Mercer Simpson	<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1870) 28 December: 1.
1871-1872	<i>St. George and the Dragon, Or Old Father Time and the Seven Champions of Christiandom</i>		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1871) 27 December: 1.
1872-1873	<i>Cinderella or the Good Fairy and the Little Glass Slipper</i>		<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1872) 24 December: 1. <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1872) 25 December: 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1873-1874	<i>The House that Jack Built, Or Harlequin King Booketycrook, Old Mother Hubbard and the Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1873) 21 December: 7. <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1874) 7 January: 1.
1874-1875	<i>Little Red Riding Hood and Her Sister Bo-Beep, Or Harlequin and the Fairies of the Glowworm Glen</i>		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1874) 23 December: 1.
1875-1876	<i>Sleeping Beauty and Harlequin Philomei and the Wonderful Frog Who Would a Wooing Go</i>	Mr C. Hazlewood and Mr F. Muskerry	LCP 13/1/1876 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 751. <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1875) 29 December: 1.
1876-1877	<i>Babes in the Wood or Four, Or Harlequin Graceful and the Fair One with the Golden Locks</i>	Mr C. Hazlewood and Mr F. Muskerry	<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1876) 20 December: 1.
1877-1878	<i>Jack and The Beanstalk and See Saw Margery Daw or Harlequin the Man in the Moon and the Great Grim Grumble Grim</i>		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1877) 26 December: 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1878-1879	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1879) 5 January: 9.
1879-1880	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>		LCP 15/1/1880 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 743. Theatre Royal, Wolverhampton, Lessee Mr Lindo Courtney and Manager Chas Courtney.
1880-1881	Closed		
1881-1882	<i>Beauty and the Beast</i>		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1881) 28 December: 1.
1882-1883	No pantomime listed		No listings in local newspapers in December 1882 or January 1883.
1882-1883	Closed		
1883-1884	<i>Closed</i>		
1884-1885	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1885) 3 January: 17.
1885-1886	<i>Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp, or Harlequin the Genii of the Ring, and Widow Whankey's Whimsicalities</i>	Joint production of Mr. H. D. Burton and G. H. Gordon	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1885) Saturday, 26 December: 3. Wolverhampton Archives and Local History. Acting Manager Eugene MaCarthy.
1886-1887	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1887) 2 February: 1.
1887-1888	No pantomime listed		No listings in local newspapers In December 1887 or January 1888.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1888-1889	<i>Little Red Riding Hood</i>	Wilton Jones, Martin Byam and Andrew Melville	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1888) 28 December: 1.
1889-1890	<i>Aladdin Up To Date</i>	Mr. George Fife's Comedy and Burlesque Company	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1889) Wolverhampton 16 April: 1. Ramsey Danvers as Widow Twankey. Proprietor Mr Rodgers.
1890-1891	No pantomime listed		No listings in local newspapers in December 1890 or January 1891.
1891-1892	No pantomime listed		No listings in local newspapers in December 1891 or January 1892.
1892-1893	<i>Aladdin</i>	Mr Sidney Cooper	<i>Evening Express and Star</i> (1892) 27 December: 1.
1893-1894	No pantomime listed		No listings in local newspapers in December 1893 or January 1894.

Prince of Wales, Wolverhampton 1863-1905 (also known as The Star and The Hippodrome, then cinema)

Date	Production	Author	Source/Notes
1863-1864	No pantomime listed		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1863 or January 1864.
1864-1865	<i>Punch's Festival or The May Queen's Revelations</i>		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1864) 4 and 28 December: 1.
1865-1866	No pantomime listed		<i>The Era</i> (1865) 31 December: 7. No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> and <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1865 or January 1866. Prince of Wales advertised <i>A New Romantic Fairy Charade</i> by Fred Lawson in the <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1865) 27 December: 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1866-1867	No pantomime listed		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1866 or January 1867. Prince of Wales advertised <i>The Gypsy Princess</i> from Messrs Fred Lawson and Charles McCarthy in the <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1866) 26 December: 1.
1867-1868	No pantomime listed		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1867 or January 1868. The Prince of Wales advertised a <i>Benefit Concert for the Lifeboats</i> in the <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> , 4 December: 1.
1868-1869	<i>The Wonderful Lamp with Aladdin</i>	C. Hazlewood	<i>The Era</i> (1869) 17 January: 13. <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1868) 30 December: 1.
1869-1870	<i>Bluebeard or the Red Rover and the Genie of the Magic Key</i>	C. Hazlewood	<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1870) 12 January: 1. Proprietors Mr Hazlewood and Mr Brewster.
1870-1871	<i>Little Giselle the Dancing Belle and Harlequin Hilarious, The Demon Hunter and the Fairy Night Dancers of the Willi Lake</i>		<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1870) 28 December: 1.
1871-1872	No pantomime listed		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1871 or January 1872.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1872-1873	No pantomime listed		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1872 or January 1873. Prince of Wales advertised <i>Professor Atherton and his Troupe of Gymnastic Dogs</i> in the <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> , 24 December: 1.
1873-1874	The House that Jack Built		<i>The Era</i> (1873) 21 December: 7. <i>The Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1873) 24 December: 1.
1874-1875	Little Red Riding Hood and Her Sister Bo-Peep or Harlequin and the Fairies of the Glowworm Dell		As The Prince of Wales, <i>The Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1875) 3 February: 1.
1875-1876	No pantomime listed		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1875 or January 1876. The Prince of Wales Birmingham advertising in the <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1875) 29 December: 1.
1876-1877	No pantomime listed		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1876 or January 1877.
1877-1878	No pantomime listed		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1877 or January 1878. <i>The Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1876) 26 December: 1.
1878-1879	<i>The Rose, The Shamrock and The Thistle</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1879) 5 January: 9.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1879-1880	<i>Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp</i>	Frank W. Green	Plays, <i>Aladdin</i>. Pamphlet, Theatre Museum, Victoria and Albert, Bar Code 38041002525871.
1880-1881	<i>Little Red Riding Hood or The Fox and the Goose</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1880) 19 December: 11.
1881-1882	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1881) 24 December: 11. Also listed <i>Aladdin</i> in the 'Sports Section', <i>The Stage</i> (1881) 1 April, p. 7. Proprietor Mr. Thos Birrell. Manager Mr. H. S. Springate.
1882-1883	<i>Cinderella</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1882) 23 December: 1.
1883-1884	<i>Little Jack Horner</i>		<i>The Era</i> (1883) 22 December: 11.
1884-1885	<i>The Forty Thieves</i>	Mr MacDermott	<i>The Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1885) 7 January: 1. Local historian Ned Williams dates this to 1886 (2011) p. 157.
1885-1886	<i>Dick Whittington</i>		<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1885) 28 December: 1. Opening at the Star Theatre, Wolverhampton, <i>The Era</i> (1886) 2 January: 19. Manager Mr Hazlewood.
1886-1887	<i>Aladdin</i>	<i>The Star Company</i>	<i>The Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1886) 5 January: 1.
1887-1888	<i>The House that Jack Built</i>		As the Star Theatre, Wolverhampton <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1887) 26 December: 1.
1888-1889	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> and <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1888 or January 1889.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1889-1890	<i>The Babes in the Wood</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> and <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1889 or January 1890. As the Star Theatre, Wolverhampton Author H. C. Hazlewood <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1889) 3 May, p. 1. 'Review,' <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> , 16 April, p. 5.
1890-1891	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> and <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1890 or January 1891. The Royal Star advertised <i>Flashes</i> , a Musical Comedy 'Funnier than a pantomime,' in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1890) 26 December: 1.
1891-1892	<i>Dick Whittington</i>		The Royal Star, <i>Evening Express and Star</i> (1891) 23 December: 1.
1892-1893	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> and <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1892 or January 1893. The Royal Star advertised <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1892) 27 December: 1.
1893-1894	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> and <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1893 or January 1894.
1894-1895	<i>Babes in the Wood, Harlequin Ye Wicked Baron or Bold Robin Hood and The Merry Foresters of Sherwood Forest</i>		The Royal Star (POW) <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1894) 29 December: 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1895-1896	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> and <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1895 or January 1896. The Royal Star (POW) advertised the play <i>Fallen Among Thieves</i> by Frank Harvey in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1895) 21 December: 1.
1896-1897	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1894 or January 1895. The Royal Star advertised <i>Lady Godiva</i> in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1897) 4 January: 1.
1897-1898	<i>Aladdin</i>		As the Star Theatre, Wolverhampton <i>The Era</i> (1898) 29 January: 16. Also listed at the Royal Star, comedy <i>One of the Bravest</i>, in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i>, 27 December: 1.
1898-1899	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> in December 1894 or January 1895. The Empire Theatre advertised <i>Selebini Troupe</i> in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1898) 23 December: 1.
1899-1900	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		The Royal Star (POW) advertised <i>Luck of Life</i> by Mr Herbert Cecil's Company, <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1899) 24 December: 1. Also listed The Empire Theatre advertised <i>Brothers Luck in Turkish Delight</i> .

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1900-1901	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		The Royal Star (POW) advertised <i>Black Bishop</i> and <i>God of War</i> in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1900) 22 December: 1.
1901-1902	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> and <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> , December 1901 or January 1902. The Empire Theatre advertised the <i>Arthur Saxton Trio</i> in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1901) 26 December: 1.
1902-1903	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> , December 1902 or January 1903. The Empire Theatre advertised <i>Strolling Players</i> , <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1902) 24 December: 1.
1903-1904	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> , December 1903 or January 1904. The Empire Theatre advertised <i>Japanese Wonders Clowns and Bears</i> , <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1903) 23 December: 1.
1904-1905	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> , December 1904 or January 1905. Also The Empire Theatre advertised <i>Reef and Valentine</i> , <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1904) 23 December: 1.
1905-1906	<i>No pantomime listed</i>		No pantomime listings in <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> or <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> , December 1905 or January 1906.

Other *Aladdin* and pantomime productions in date order of when production appeared.

Year	Production	Theatre	Author (if known)/Source/Notes
1819	<i>OBI or Three Fingered Jack</i>	Theatre Royal, Stafford	<i>Stafford Advertiser</i> (1819) 16 January: 1.
1831	<i>Harlequin Ploughboy with Paulo and Ellar</i>	Theatre, Wolverhampton	<i>Staffordshire and Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1831) 17 August: 3.
1832	<i>Sindbad</i>	Theatre, Wolverhampton	<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser</i> (1832) 14 November: 1.
1833	<i>Puss in Boots</i>	Theatre, Wolverhampton	<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser</i> (1832) 7 August: 4.
1833	<i>Puss in Boots Harlequin and Everywhere</i>	Ryan's Circus , Broad Street, Birmingham	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1833) 3 June: 3. Mr Usher as Clown.
1839	<i>Show by Stars and Mons. Gouffe</i>	Theatre, Wolverhampton	<i>Staffordshire and Wolverhampton Chronicle</i> (1939) 29 May: 2.
1839	<i>Harlequin and Alice Gray</i>	Ryan's Royal Amphitheatre, Broad Street, Birmingham	<i>Wolverhampton and Staffordshire Advertiser</i> (1839) 29 May: 3. Also listed Gamer Gurton Mr King Clown. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1839) 17 June: 3.
1841	<i>Tyrolean Shepherd and the Swiss Milkmaid and Jack the Giant Killer</i>	Price and Powells Circus, Darlington Street, Wolverhampton	<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser</i> (1841) 4 August: 2.
1843	<i>Cleveland Street Race week with Pantomime and Farce</i>	Theatre, Wolverhampton	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1843) 16 August: 2.
1846	<i>Harlequin and The Fairy of the Magic Grotto</i>	Holloway's Theatrical Establishment, Market Place, Wolverhampton	Manager Mr Holloway. Playbill (1846) 10 July. Wolverhampton City Archives.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1846	<i>The Farmer's Boy</i>	White's New Royal Arena and National Olympic Temple of Arts, Darlington Street, Wolverhampton	<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser</i> (1846) 11 November: 2.
1853	<i>Equestrian Pantomime</i>	Cooke's Circus, Brierley Hill	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1853) 3 January: 2.
1862-1863	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>	New Theatre, Moor Street, Birmingham	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1863) 17 January: 4. Also listed <i>Lalla Rookh</i> , <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1863) 17 January: 4. <i>The Era</i> (1863) 4 January: 11.
1863	<i>Lalla Rookh</i>	Royal Music Operetta, Broad Street, Birmingham	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1863) 5 February: 1. Manager Mr Swanborough.
1863-1864	<i>Bluebeard</i>	Adelphi, Birmingham	LCP 22/12/1863 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 650 and p. 743. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1863) 25 December: 1.
1863-1864	<i>Lalla Rookh</i>	Holdings Music Hall	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1863) 25 December: 1.
1865	Harlequin O'Donaghue or the Fairy House of Killarney	Wolverhampton Circus	<i>The Era</i> (1865) 31 December: 7. Mr. John Croueste.
1867	<i>His Majesty the Tycoon from the Court of Jeddo, Japan</i>	Curzon Exhibition Hall	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1867) 28 December: 4. Imperial Japanese Company.
1876-1877	Prince Braveheart	Days Concert Hall, Birmingham	Author H. Spey. <i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1877) 20 January: 4.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1877-1878	<i>The Fairy Queen of the Golden Starlight</i>	Theatre Royal, Longton	LCP 18/12/1877 Allardyce Nicoll (1859 Second Edition), published 1946, p. 675.
1877-1878	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	Theatre Royal, Bilston	LCP 20/1/1877 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) published 1946, p. 742.
1879	<i>Cinderella</i>	Sangers Grand Cirque	<i>The Era</i> (1879) 5 January: 9.
1879-1880	<i>Will O' the Wisp</i>	Alexandra Palace, Walsall	LCP 18/12/1879 Allardyce Nicoll (1859 Second Edition) published 1946, p. 768.
1880-1881	<i>Ali Baba and 39 Thieves</i>	Theatre Royal, Bilston	<i>The Era</i> (1889) 19 December: 9.
1883-1884	<i>Cinderella</i>	Theatre Royal, Hanley	LCP 18/12/83 LC Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 658.
1884	<i>Saved from the Wreck</i>	Birmingham Concert Hall, Birmingham	<i>The Era</i> (1884) 5 January: 3.
1884-1885	<i>Puss in Boots</i>	Theatre Royal, West Bromwich	LCP 22/12/1884 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 737.
1886	<i>Cinderella</i>	Keith and Allen, The Circus, Wolverhampton, Quaglieni	<i>The Era</i> (1886) 2 January: 19. <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1885) 28 December: 1.
1888-1889	<i>Dick Whittington and his Wonderful Cat</i>	Rowlands New York Circus, Molineux Grounds	General Manager Mr. Henry Bertland Proprietor Mr. W Rowland. <i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1888) 28 December, p. 1.
1891-1892	<i>Aladdin</i>	Theatre Royal, Hanley	LCP 7/12/91 LC Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 640.
1892-1893	<i>Forty Thieves</i>	Grand Colosseum, Dudley	<i>Evening Express and Star</i> (1892) 27 December: 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1895-1896	<i>Dick Whittington</i>	Theatre Royal, Hanley	LCP 31/12/1895 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 667.
1896-1897	<i>Red Riding Hood</i>	Theatre Royal, Shrewsbury	LCP 26/12/1896 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 740.
1896-1897	<i>Jack and the Beanstalk</i>	The Colosseum, Dudley	<i>The Evening Express and Star</i> (1896) 24 December: 1.
1897-1898	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	Theatre Royal, Shrewsbury	LCP 31/12/1897 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 744.
1897-1898	<i>Dick Whittington</i>	Theatre Royal, Bilston	LCP 31/12/1897 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 667.
1897-1898	<i>Aladdin</i>	Colosseum Dudley	LCP 31/12/1897 Allardyce Nicoll (1959 Second Edition) first published 1946, p. 640.
1899	<i>Old King Coal</i>	Theatre Royal, Wednesbury	(1899) Facsimile of script, Dudley Archives.
1899-1900	<i>Dick Whittington</i>	Aston Theatre Royal, Aston	<i>Author Will Sley. Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1900) 20 February: 10. Also listed <i>Cinderella, The Era</i> (1900) 29 December: 8.
1899-1900	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	Her Majesty's Theatre, Walsall	<i>The Era</i> (1899) 30 December: 28.
1900-1901	<i>Bluebeard</i>	Her Majesty's Theatre, Walsall	<i>Walsall Advertiser</i> (1900) 12 January: 1.
1901-1902	<i>Cinderella</i>	Empire Palace, Wolverhampton	<i>Evening Express and Star</i> (1902) 2 January: 1.
1901-1902	<i>Little Red Riding Hood</i>	Dudley Opera House, Dudley	<i>Evening Express and Star</i> (1902) 2 January: 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1902-1903	<i>Sinbad the Sailor</i>	Her Majesty's Theatre, Walsall	<i>Walsall Advertiser</i> (1903) 21 February: 1.
1902-1903	<i>Cinderella</i>	Dudley Opera House, Dudley	<i>Evening Express and Star</i> (1902) 27 December: 1.
1904-1905	<i>Aladdin</i>	Dudley Opera House, Dudley	<i>Evening Express and Star</i> (1904) 19 December: 1. Also featured Babes in the Wood.
1906-1907	<i>Cinderella</i>	The Alhambra, Stourbridge	Director Herbert Barrs.
1910-1911	<i>Mother Goose</i>	Her Majesty's, Walsall	<i>Walsall Observer</i> (1911) 11 February: 7 and 13 February: 1.
1910-1911	<i>Babes in the Wood and Out Again</i>	The Grand Theatre, Walsall	Author Jack Haddon.
1910-1911	<i>Dick Whittington and his Cat</i>	Grand Theatre, Walsall	Williams Production. <i>Walsall Observer</i> (1911) 4 February: 1.
1910-1911	<i>Aladdin and his Lamp</i>	Imperial Hall, Walsall	<i>Walsall Observer</i> (1911) 14 January: 7.
1911-1912	<i>Grand Comic Panto Jack and Jill</i>	Grand Theatre, Walsall	Author Harry Roxbury. 'Advertisement, 29 January for 6 nights', <i>Walsall Observer</i> (1912) 27 January: 1 and 'Review' <i>Walsall Observer</i> (1912) 27 January: 7.
1911-1912	<i>Dick Whittington and his Cat</i>	Grand Theatre, Walsall	Messrs Day and Lauri, <i>Walsall Observer</i> (1912) 30 December: 1.
1911-1912	<i>The Babes in the Wood</i>	Dudley Opera House, Dudley	<i>Evening Express and Star</i> (1911) 23 December: 1.
1911-1912	<i>The Babes in the Wood</i>	Her Majesty's, Walsall	Author Harry Roxbury, <i>Walsall Observer</i> (1911), 23 December: 1.
1913-1914	<i>Jack and the Beanstalk</i>	Theatre Royal, Smethwick	<i>Evening Despatch</i> (1914) 2 January: 4
1913-1914	<i>Beauty and the Beast</i>	Bordesley Palace, Birmingham	<i>Evening Despatch</i> (1914) 2 January: 4.
1913-1914	<i>Aladdin</i>	Theatre Royal, Aston Cross, Birmingham	<i>Evening Despatch</i> (1914) 2 January: 4.
1913-1914	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	Her Majesty's, Walsall	<i>Walsall Advertiser</i> (1914) 24 January, p. 1.

Date	Title	Author	Source/Notes
1914-1915	<i>Cinderella</i>	Repertory Theatre, Birmingham	<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i> (1915) 11 January: 1.
1914-1915	<i>Babes in the Wood</i>	Imperial Theatre, Bordesley, Birmingham	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i> (1915) 11 January: 1. Made in conjunction with the Shakespeare Theatre, Liverpool.
Not known	<i>Bluebeard</i>	Dudley Opera House, Dudley	Poster Dudley Archives Author J. H. Wolfe Manager J. Maurice Clement.

APPENDIX B – ANALYSIS AND LIST OF LOCAL THEATRES IN BIRMINGHAM AND THE BLACK COUNTRY

Table of Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Theatres in Birmingham and the Black Country

'Travelling circus or theatre' is one that had no permanent pitch or building within a locality on a yearly basis. A theatre defines a wooden, iron or brick built establishment that existed all year round. Many theatres in Birmingham and the Black Country changed their names many times; some converted into cinemas and then back to theatres. Some only exist now as fleeting advertisements in newspapers, with little detail, as the local audiences knew where establishments were, and so theatre owners did not deem it necessary to include street names on posters or playbills.

Local newspapers and several other publications, which had such listings and include:

Local Newspapers

Ad news, Wolverhampton

Aris's Birmingham Gazette

Birmingham Daily Post

Birmingham Evening Mail

Birmingham Journal

Dudley Chronicle.

Evening Despatch

Staffordshire Advertiser

Staffordshire Post

The Evening Express and Star, Wolverhampton

The Sentinel, Stoke-on-Trent

Staffordshire Advertiser and Wolverhampton Chronicle

Walsall Advertiser

Walsall Observer

Wolverhampton Chronicle

Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser

Other newspapers

The Era

The Stage

Other Publications:

Clayton, David (1990) *Wolverhampton's Empire Palace of Varieties (1898 -1921)*.

Wolverhampton: D.B.C. Enterprise.

Douglas, Alton, Moore, Dennis and Douglas, Jo (1988) *Memories of Wolverhampton*

- *A Pictorial Record*. Wolverhampton: Beacon Radio.

Kirtland, Terry (2008) *Old Theatres of the Midlands*. Bognor Regis: Terry Kirtland

Publishing.

Lloyd, Arthur [online] www.arthurlloyd.co.uk

Macintosh, Iain and Sell, Michael (eds.) (1982) *Curtains!!! Or a New Life For Old*

Theatres. Eastbourne: John Offord.

Neale, William A. (2010) *Old Theatres in the Potteries*. Stoke: William A Neale.

Williams, Ned (2011) *Black Country Theatres*. Wolverhampton: Uralia Press.

Wolverhampton Borough Council (1972) *Wolverhampton*. Wolverhampton: Dudley

Wolf & Partners.

Appendix B.1- Analysis of Theatres in Birmingham and the Black Country

Totals are by area over the nineteenth century for travelling portable entertainments named in newspapers and publications surveyed, compared to permanent theatre buildings.

Area	1813-1850		1851-1870		1871-1914	
	Travelling/ Circus	Theatre	Travelling/ Circus	Theatre	Travelling/ Circus	Theatre
Bilston	1	0	1	0	5	4
Birmingham	1	4	0	4	2	13 (8 central)
Brierley Hill	2	0	1	3	3	3
Cannock	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cradley Heath	0	0	0	2	1	8
Darlaston	0	0	0	0	1	1
Dudley and Sedgley	3	1	3	6	4	3
Hednesford	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kidderminster	0	1	0	3	0	2
Oldbury	0	1	0	0	0	3
Redditch	0	0	0	0	0	1
Rugeley	0	0	0	1	0	0
Smethwick, Tipton and Old Hill	0	0	0	0	1	5
Shrewsbury	0	1	1	0	0	0
Stafford	0	4	0	0	0	2
Stoke-on-Trent (incl. 5 towns)	10	3	1	5	0	18
Stourbridge	1	3	4	6	3	2
Walsall	6	4	0	3	4	4
Wednesbury	3	0	3	1	2	4
West Bromwich	1	1	1	3	3	1
Willenhall	0	0	0	0	2	2
Wolverhampton	14	7	1	4	6	5

Appendix B:2 - Individual Theatre Listings for Cities and Towns in Birmingham and the Black Country.

Major towns or areas of interest are in capitals. Shaded areas in grey denote the time split for the numbers used in the preceding table 'Analysis of Theatres in Birmingham and the Black Country'.

Bilston

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Bennett's and Patch	Market Place (portable)	1850.
1850-1870		
Astley Circus William Cooke	Varied	1854.
1870-1914		
The Town Hall/ Assembly Rooms	Church Street	1872.
Theatre Royal, Bennett and Patch	Market Place	1874-1900.
Theatre Royal/ Hippodrome (c. 1914)	Mount Pleasant	1880/1902-1961.
Lawrence's Theatre	Unknown	c. 1880s.
Wall's Ghost Show	Unknown	c. 1880s.
The Waterloo Music Hall	Oxford Street	c. 1882.
Transfields Circus	Varied	1890s.
Captain Payne's Bioscope	Unknown	1898.
Lord John Sangers Circus	Market Place	1902.

BIRMINGHAM

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Moor Street Theatre	Moor Street	1740-1764.
The Theatre	King Street	1751-1779.
The New Theatre/ The Theatre (1774-1794)/ The Theatre Royal (1807-1820)/ Theatre Royal (1820-1904) (1904-1956)	New Street	1774-1956.
Ryan's Royal Amphitheatre	Broad Street	1833/1839.
Holdings Grand Concert Hall (1846)/ Birmingham Concert Hall (1871)/ Gaiety (1886)/ The New Gaiety Theatre (1897)	88-90 Coleshill Street	1846-1920 (cinema until 1969).
1850-1870		
The Prince of Wales Theatre Formerly - The Royal Music Hall/ Birmingham Music Hall/ Prince of Wales Operetta House (1865)	Broad Street	1856-1941(demolished 1987) W. H. Swanborough bought the Theatre from its original owner, James Scott, in 1862.

Theatre	Location	Dates
The Grecian Amphitheatre/ Theatre Royal	Moor Street	1861-1864.
The London Museum Concert Hall/ Canterbury Music Hall (1890)/ Coutts Theatre (1896)	Digbeth	1863-1900 (1912 Bull Ring Cinema, now restaurant and karate).
The Empire Theatre (1894)/ Day's Crystal Palace (1862)/ New Empire Palace of Varieties/ Empire Palace/ Birmingham Empire	Corner of Smallbrook Street and Hurst Street	1862-1893 1894-1941 (bombed, demolished 1951).
1870-1914		
Sangers Grand Cirque	Birmingham	1879.
The Grand/ The Grand Theatre of Varieties (1907-1930)/ Grand Cinema/ Grand Casino Ballroom	Corporation Street	1883-1930 (closed cinema 1933 and demolished 1963).
The New Star Theatre of Varieties (1885)/ Later - The Queen's Theatre and Opera House(1886)/ The Metropole Theatre (1900)	86 Snow Hill	1885-1911 (cinema till 1941) (demolished 1951- 1952).

Theatre	Location	Dates
The Theatre Royal,	Aston Road North, Aston	1893-1926 (cinema 1927 TV Studios (1955-1956), demolished 1970).
Tony Felix's Circus/ New Royal English Circus		1896 (two weeks).
The Birmingham Hippodrome/ The Tower of Varieties Circus (1899)/ Tivoli Theatre of Varieties (1900)/ Hippodrome Theatre of Varieties(1925) Hippodrome (Tivoli) Palace of Varieties/ Hippodrome	Hurst Street	1899 – onwards.
The Imperial Theatre/ Later - The Bordesley Palace Theatre (1900)/	Corner of Clyde Street and High Street, Bordesley	1899-1928 (cinema 1929- 1939, demolished 1957(1959?).
Carlton/ The Birmingham Coliseum and Gaiety Theatre/ Coliseum Theatre	Saltley	1900 1911 1921-1941 (demolished 1945 bombed during war).

Theatre	Location	Dates
Alexandra Theatre (1902)/ Opened as the Lyceum 1901	Hurst Street	1901 onwards.
Holloway Circus	Unknown	1905.
Palace Theatre	Summer Hill, Spring Hill	1905 (1911) – c. 1930 (demolished 1981).
The Old Rep	Station Street	1907 (1913, demolished 1980-1981)
Aston Hippodrome	Aston	1908-1960 (cinema) (demolished 1980).
Newtown Palace	Newtown Row	1912-1914 (Closed 1961, demolished 1990).
Repertory Theatre	Station Street	1913 onwards.
Elite Theatre/ Regent Cinematic Theatre	Bordesley Green/Crown Road	1913-1942.

Brierley Hill

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Wombwells Travelling Show	Unknown	1830s and 1840s.
Lowe's Travelling Show/ Theatre (1835)	Varied	1830-1835?
1850-1870		
Cooke's Circus Equestrian	Unknown	1853.

Theatre	Market Place	1856.
Latimer's Mammoth Theatres Travelling Show	Varied	1856/1867.
Public Hall	Later police station site Old Hill	1867.
The Victoria Music Hall	Unknown	1869?
1870-1914		
Town Hall/ Tivoli/ Queen's Hall	Bank Street	1874-1951 (demolished 1968).
Bennett and Patch/ Alhambra Travelling Show	Varied	1881.
Taylor's Prince of Wales Travelling Show	Varied	1882.
Livesay's Paragon Theatre Travelling Show	Varied	1886.
The Robin Hood	Pedmore Road	Late nineteenth century- 1990s.
The Palace	Church Street	1914-1920 (then cinema).

Cannock

Theatre	Location	Dates
1870-1914		
Hippodrome (1917-1926)/ Forum Theatre (1926- 1932)/(1962-1984)	Market Hall Street	1910 (1917) – 1932, 1962- 1984. (cinema 1932-1955, demolished 1984).

Cradley Heath

Theatre	Location	Dates
1850-1870		
Concert Hall	Unknown	1858.
Working Men's Club	Congreaves School, Four Ways	1864.
1870-1913		
Graingers Lane Theatre	High Street	1880s.
Cradley Heath Music Hall	Unknown	1881.
Worton's Music Hall/ Palace of Varieties/ Smith's Varieties	Graingers Lane	1881/1883/1887.
Prince of Wales Theatre Travelling Show	Varied	1883.
The Pavilion	Unknown	1886?
The Royal Britannia Theatre/ Alexandra Theatre/ New Alexandra Theatre/ Barnes' Palace/The New Palace	Spinners End	1907-1912 (then it became a factory).
New Theatre Royal/ Opera House (1900-1902)/ The Empire (1905-1914)	High Street	c. 1912 – 1937 (rebuilt 1930, closed 1937).
Royal Theatre	High Street/Bank Street	1913-1914 (cinema 1938)

Darlaston

Theatre	Location	Dates
1870-1914		
Lawrence Travelling Show	Wakes Ground	1883, 1892.
The Queen's Hall	Willenhall Street	1890-1910 (then cinema).

DUDLEY

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Public Hall	Sedgley	Early nineteenth century.
Cooke's Circus	Priory Street	1846-1849.
Wombwell's Menagerie	Market Place/New Hall Street.	1850s.
Astley's Circus William Cooke	Varied	1851/1854.
1850-1870		
Bennetts Bennett and Patch/ The Royal Alhambra	New Hall Street	1855, 1867, 1868, 1871, 1872 1880-1881?
The Dudley Arms/ Assembly Rooms	Himley	1860s?
The Malt Shovel Assembly Rooms	Dudley Street, Sedgley	1860s?
Latimers	Varied	1860s.
Wardaugh's	Varied	1860s?

Theatre	Location	Dates
Coliseum/ Lloyds Circus (1888)	Trindle Road	1888-1912 (1921 fire).
Opera House/ Hippodrome	Castle Hill	1899-1936 (fire).
Tony Felix's Circus/ New Royal English Circus	Drill Hall, Stafford Street	1899.
Market Inn	Market Place	1900s.
The Criterion	Market Place	1911-1915.

Hednesford

Theatre	Location	Dates
1870-1914		
Public Rooms/ The Empire	Hednesford	1881-1911 (exclusively cinema by 1914).

Kidderminster

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Westley & Pott's	Coventry Street	1836-
1850-1870		
The New Theatre	Worcester Street	1852 (1850).
Eagle Music/ Later - The Theatre Royal	Hall, Mill Street	1867.

Theatre	Location	Dates
The Oxford Amphitheatre/ Eagle Music Hall/ Later - The Theatre Royal	Green Man Yard Mill Street	1868.
1870-1914		
The Wooden Theatre Royal (1891)/ Opera House (1903)/ New Opera House/ Royal Cinema Deluxe (1926)/ The Playhouse Theatre, (1945)	Comberton Hill	1891 1903-1969 (demolished 1969).
Grand Theatre/ Grand Playhouse	Mill Street	1910-1929 (cinema).

Oldbury

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
The Bird Show Music Hall/ The Museum at the White Swan	Church Street	1867-c. 1901.

Theatre	Location	Dates
1870-1914		
The Gaiety Music Hall	Birmingham Street	1888- c. 1897.
Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens	Rood End Road	1884.
The Empire/ Palace/ Tivoli Grand	Church Street	1899-1915 (then cinema till c. 1927).

Redditch

Theatre	Location	Dates
1870--1914		
Redditch Palace	Alcester Street	1913.

Rugeley

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Town Hall	Wharf Road	Unknown.

Smethwick

Theatre	Location	Dates
1870-1914		
Lawrence Travelling Show	Varied	1880s.
Theatre Royal	Rolfe Street	1897-1932 (demolished 1936).
The Coliseum (c. 1900-1921)/ The Windsor (1930-1960)	Bearwood	c. 1900-1960.

Theatre	Location	Dates
Empire Theatre	St. Paul's Road	1910-1930 (then a shop and demolished 1957).
Prince's Hall	Old Hill	1912.
The Alhambra Regal Music Hall	Tipton	Unknown – 1960.

Shrewsbury

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Theatre Royal/ New Theatre (1834)/ (1898) Music Hall/ Picture House (1912)	Shoplatch	(1791)1834 1897-1932? 1945 (bomb damage rebuilt as shop).
1850-1870		
Latimers	Varied	1851.

Stafford

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Town Hall	Stafford	1778/1792.
Theatre Royal	Stafford	1798-1914.
The Theatre/Lyceum	Main Street	1792.
Shire Hall	Stafford	1798.
1850-1870		
Albert Hall	Crabbery Street	1912-1932 (cinema and then shop facilities).
Playhouse	Unknown	1914?

STOKE-ON-TRENT (Including the Five towns known as the Potteries)

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Royal Theatre/ Theatre Royal	Newcastle under Lyme (Spode and Wedgwood shareholders)	1788 –possibly up until 1910 (demolished 1960s).
Poynter’s New Theatre	Travelling Show location unknown	1835.
Snape’s Theatre (1840s- 1850s) Wedgwood Theatre (1896-1907) Hippodrome (1907(1911?)-1940s)	Travelling Show Wedgwood Street/Price Street, Burslem	1840s-1940s.
Batty’s Circus	Hanley	1840-1896.
Duval	Travelling Show	1850s.
Seagrave	Travelling Show	1850s.
Thorne	Travelling Show	1850s.
Matthew Wardhaugh	Travelling Show	1850s.
John Snape	Travelling Show	1850s.
Stephen Pickhull	Travelling Show	1850s
Theatre Royal/ People’s Hall (1850)/ Royal Pottery Theatre (1852-1857?)/ Theatre Royal and Opera House (1870 1887 1894 1951-2000)	Hanley	1850-2000.
Loore and James	Temporary wooden	1851.
Arthur Taylor	Travelling	1851?

Theatre	Location	Dates
1850-1870		
Royal Alma	Clayton Place, Longton	1854-1878.
Circus Music Hall 1864/ Peoples' Music Hall (1873-1878)/ Imperial Circus (1878- 1977)	Church Street, Hanley Wooden theatre Glass Street, Hanley	1864-1977.
Prince of Wales/ Theatre Royal (1871- 1879)/ James' Hall (1879-1882)	Sneyd Street/Victoria Street, Tunstall Ladywell/Harewood Street	1863 (1865)-1882.
Royal Victoria	Berry Lane, Longton	1868-1892 (demolished 1990s).
Sea Lion	Market Place travelling show in Hanley	1868 (Jenny Lind visited).
Lyceum Theatre	Burslem Wooden 1872 (Snape)	1871 -1872, 1877-1880.
1870-1914		
Gaiety Theatre of Varieties (the New Inn) (1873)/ Royal Alexandra Music Hall (1884)/ Empire Theatre (1890s- 1924) (1965)	Hanley	1873-1924 (demolished 1960).

Theatre	Location	Dates
Royal Britannia (1881)/ New Britannia (1882-1884)	Opposite Police Station, Burslem (Snape)	1881-1888.
Gaiety Theatre	Newcastle-under-Lyme	1883?
Golden Lion	Stoke-on-Trent	Unknown.
Queen's Theatre	Commerce Street, Longton	1888-1930s (cinema till 1997).
Lyric Theatre	Pall Mall, Hanley	1897-1964.
Victoria Hall (Back of Queen and Horses)	Hanley	1887 – ongoing.
Empire	Longton	1896.
Grand Theatre/ Empire/ Gaiety/ Pavilion Empire/ Queens/ George and Dragon	New Street, Hanley	1898-1932.
Grand Theatre/ Hippodrome	Stoke-on-Trent	?
Grand Theatre of Varieties	Trinity Street, Hanley	1898-1932 (cinema until 2000 and then nightclub).
Crown Theatre (1897-1899)/ Gordon Theatre and Opera House (1899-1919)	Wolfe Street, Stoke (Kingsway)	1899-1919 (Then cinema).
Garden Theatre	Stoke on Trent	1900-1929.
Grand Theatre/ Hippodrome	Leek	1909-1931 (Cinema) 1986 closed. (Demolished 2003).
Regent Theatre	Gower Street/Stone Road	1909-1936 (demolished 1990s).

Theatre	Location	Dates
Queen's Theatre	Part of Town Hall, Burslem	1911-ongoing.
Panoptican Theatre	Edensor Road	1911-1930s (then cinema, 1957 closed).
Coliseum Theatre of Varieties (Pat Collins)	Burslem	1914-1960 (1955 cinema).

Please note: Until 1910, the five pottery towns were separate. They were Tunstall, Burslem, Hanley, Fenton and Longton, and for this study I have added Stoke-on-Trent and Newcastle-under-Lyme, as this corresponds to the all the towns in that study set. I have treated them as one list, as audiences crossed over within the towns as they were all in close proximity to each other in the Potteries.

Stourbridge

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Stourbridge Theatre	Bell Street	1752/1773/1783.
The New Theatre	Back of the Talbot Inn	1792-1841?
The Theatre Royal/ The Royal Theatre/ Alhambra	Barlow's Yard	1843-1929 (1932) (demolished 1975).
Astley Circus William Cooke	Varied	1850s.
1850-1870		
Latimers Mammoth Theatre	Foster Street Barlows Yard	1856/1860/1862/1867 1866.
Union Hall	Enville Street and Queen Street corner.	Not known.
The Old George Inn and Concert Hall Music Hall	High Street	1860s.

Theatre	Location	Dates
The Corn Exchange	Crown Centre	1860s-1870s.
Maus's Circus	Foster Street	1866 (1850s and 1860s).
Taylor's Prince of Wales Theatre	Barlows Yard (Coach and Horses Yard)	1865/1866/1867/1868/1869-1873/1881.
The White Lion Music Saloon Music Hall	Market Street	1868.
William Mander	Varied	1869/1871.
Ginnetts Circus	Foster Street	1870.
Howes and Cushing's Great American Circus	Varied	1870s.
1870-1914		
Victoria Hall	Bell Street	1879-1882.
Town Hall	Wharf Road	1887.
Sanger Big Top		1895-1897.
Bostock and Wombwells Royal No. Menagerie	Varied	1900 (1890s).
Theatre	Location	Dates
Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show	Wollaston	1904.

WALSALL

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Green Dragon Music Hall	High Street	1750(1787)-1851.
Walsall Theatre	Old Square	1802-1845.
William Cooke's/ Samwell's	Goodall Street	1839 and 1850s.

Theatre	Location	Dates
Samwell's Circus	Goodall Street, behind racecourse grandstand near Walsall Meadows Lammas Grounds	1839/1874-1875.
Bennett's Theatre	Bloxwich	1840s.
Van Amburgh's Animals	Walsall	c. 1841.
Holloway's Splendid Establishment	Walsall/Bloxwich Racecourse/Walsall	1840s and 1850s.
Latimers Travelling	Varied	1849/1852.
The Castle Inn Music Hall	Unknown	1790s.
Astley Circus William Cooke	Varied	1849/1852.
1850-1870		
The Temperance Hall/ Later Empire Cinema	Freer Street	1866-1921.
Agricultural Hall/ St George's (1887)/ Imperial (1900/1902)	Darwall Street	(1860/1868) 1871-1915 (cinema 1915).
Crooke's Music Hall/ Alexander Theatre/ Gaiety Theatre/ Grand Theatre/ Theatre of Varieties	Park Street /Station Street	1870s – 1939. (Alexander Theatre, 1879).

Theatre	Location	Dates
1870-1914		
Bloxwich Music Hall/ Sandwell's Circus Royale	Behind racecourse grandstand near Walsall Meadows Lammas Grounds	1874-1875.
The People's Music Hall/ The Tivoli	High Street	1880-c. 1892-1900.
The Earl Grey Music Hall	Walsall	1880- c. 1893.
Rowlands New York Circus	Town End/Bradford Street	1890-1892.
Pat Collins	Varied	1892.
Transfields American Circus	Park Street/Darwall Street	1897-1901.
Her Majesty's	Town End Bank	1899-1937.
Guildhall	Goodall Street	Unknown.

Wednesbury

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Bennett and Patch's Alhambra	Varied	1840s and 1850s.
Douglas Travelling Show	Market Place	1848.
Latimers	Varied	1850s and 1860s.

Theatre	Location	Dates
1850-1870		
Wardaugh's	Varied	1860s?
Imperial Theatre?	Unknown	1862?
Holloways Circus	Varied	1872.
Low's Travelling Circus	Upper High Street	1872.
1870-1914		
Blue Ball Music Hall (The Vauxhall)	Hall End	1880- c. 1892.
Earls	(Possibly portable)	1883.
Theatre Royal/ Hippodrome/ Public Hall/ The King's Hall/ The Borough Hall/ The Rialto	Upper High Street	1892-1960.
Grapes Inn Music Hall	Upper High Street	Closed c. 1892.
Duke of York	Lower High Street	1890s -1892.
Bennetts and Patch	Varied	Late nineteenth century.

West Bromwich

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
The Stork Hall Music Room	Great Bridge	Not known.

Theatre	Location	Dates
Holloways	Temple Street	1837.
1850-1870		
Royal Exchange/ Theatre Royal	Walsall Street	1853-1879. 1879-1940 (demolished 1967).
St. George's Hall	Unknown	1859-1891.
Cross Guns	Heath End	1860s.
Bennetts and Patch	Varied	1869-1903.
1870-1914		
Bates and Wakeman's Theatre of Varieties	Slater Street (possibly portable)	1884.
Silvester's Circus/ Hippodrome/ Olympia/ Carter's Green Theatre	Corner of Shaftesbury Street and High Street in Carter's Green	Circus 1890s. Theatre 1906-1922 (demolished 1922).
Tony Felix's Circus New Royal English Circus	Varied	c.1897.
The New Empire (1914- 1927)/ Plaza/ The Kings	Paradise Street	1914-1973 (demolished 1973).

Willenhall

Theatre	Location	Date
1870-1914		
The Theatre Royal	Market Place, Willenhall	1893-?
Professor Walls Travelling Show	Willenhall Wake, Willenhall	1884.
Taylor's Theatre	Lane Head	1894.
Bennett and Patch/ Theatre Royal (1900-1924)	Market Place, Willenhall	1890s-1924.

WOLVERHAMPTON

Theatre	Location	Dates
1813-1850		
Town Hall	High Green (now Queen's Square)	1687 - 1800 (1840).
The Swan	High Green between Kings Street and Wheelers Fold (now Queen's Square)	1779 - 1841 (demolished 1877 for Lloyds Bank).
The Red Lion	North Street	1790.
Assembly Rooms	Queen Street (now Queen's Square)	1827-1841?
Ryan's Circus	Temple Street	Pre 1839.
Holloway's Theatre/ New Theatre	Temple Street	1839-1850s.
Wombwell's Wild Animal Show	Varied	1840s.
Price and Powell's Circus	Darlington Street	1841.

Theatre	Location	Dates
Van Amburgh's Animal Show	Church Street	1841.
Price and Powell Circus	Darlington Street Circus Buildings	1841.
Music Room	Cleveland Street	1841-1845.
Theatre Royal	Garrick Street, Snow Hill	1845-1894.
White's New Royal Arena and National Olympic Temple of Arts	Darlington Street Circus Building	1845/1846.
Bennetts	Horseley Fields	1848, 1869 and 1870.
The Royal Victoria Theatre	Horseley Fields (portable)	1848.
The Exchange	High Green (now Queen's Square)	1851-1896 (demolished 1898-1899).
Bell's Circus	Darlington Street Circus Building	1851.
Messrs Welch Hernandez & Co American Circus	Darlington Street Circus Building	1852.
Barnum and Bailey's Circus	Varied	1850s?
Dan Macarte	Darlington Street Circus Building	1853/1855.
Astley Circus William Cooke	Darlington Street Circus Building	1854.

Theatre	Location	Dates
1850-1870		
St George's Hall	Snow Hill	1858 -1870s.
Agricultural Hall	St George's Parade Snow Hill	1863-1900.
Jem Mace's Circus	Hartill's Field Dudley Road	1863.
Prince of Wales (then cinema) Later MacDermott's Star Theatre(1885)/ The Royal Star (1890s)/ New Theatre Royal/ Hippodrome(1904)	Bilston Street	1863-1931 (demolished 1982) Ned Williams said that Mr. Hazlewood wrote pantomimes for local theatres (2011, p. 157).
Boot and Star The Museum Music Hall/ The Gaiety/ The Empire Music Hall/ Empire Palace of Varieties (1898)/ Hippodrome	Queen Square	1860s 1870s 1897 1898-1956.
Wolverhampton Circus	Wolverhampton	1865.

Theatre	Location	Dates
1870--1914		
Watson's New Grand Circus	Darlington Street Circus Building	1879-1880.
Gaiety/ Queens/ Hippodrome	Queen's Square	1880s-1950s.
Mr. Myatt's Circus	Darlington Street Circus Building	1880.
Ginnett's Circus	Darlington Street Circus Building	1881?
The Circus, Wolverhampton, Quagelini Circus	Varied	1886.
Tony Felix Circus	Varied	1890s.
Grand Theatre	Lichfield Street	1894 – ongoing.
Quagelini & Allen's Circus	Varied	1894.
Tony Felix's Circus/ New Royal English Circus	Lichfield Street (portable)	1896-1897/1899.
Bob Vokes Variety	Lichfield Street (portable)	1897.
Pavilion	Tower Street	1909-1916.

APPENDIX C - LIST OF CHINESE RELATED PRODUCTIONS 1800-1860s

Date	Production	Theatre	Type of drama
1801	<i>The Eclipse of Harlequin in China</i>	Royal Court	Drama. Manuscript 10/8/1801
1811	<i>The Mandarin, or, Harlequin in China</i>	Astley's Amphitheatre	Pantomime, Royal Academy 8/7/1811
1812	<i>Whang-Fang, or, The Clown of China</i>	Sadler's Wells	Pantomime, Manuscript 11/5/1812
1812	<i>Sinbad the Genie of the Deep, or the Clown, Emperor of China</i>	Royalty	Pantomime, Manuscript 24/8/1812
1813	<i>The Brachman or the Oriental Harlequin</i>	Sadler's Wells	Pantomime, Manuscript 28/6/1813
1815	<i>Harlequin and Fortunio or Treasures of China</i>	Covent Garden	Pantomime, Manuscript 11/12/1815
1815- 1816	<i>Harlequin and Fortunio, or Shing-Moo and Thun-ton</i>	Covent Garden	Christmas Pantomime, 26/12/1815
1818	<i>Kouli Khan, or, The Terrific Signal</i>	Surrey	Melodrama
1820	<i>Xaia of China; or, the Fatal Floodgate</i>	Astley's Amphitheatre	Equestrian Melodrama
1820	<i>Kalsalem Prince of China</i>	Coburg	Ballet
1820	<i>The Six Voyages of Sinbad the Eastern Mariner or Harlequin Ordeal</i>	Coburg	26/12/1820
1822	<i>Disputes in China, or, Harlequin and the Hong Merchants</i>	Coburg	Pantomime, Manuscript 15/7/1822
1823	<i>The Chinese Sorcerer, or, The Emperor and His Three Sons</i>	Drury Lane	Spectacle
1826	<i>Pong Wong or, The Horoscope</i>	Haymarket	Extravaganza
1827	<i>The Conquest of the Golden Pagodas</i>	Astley's Amphitheatre	Spectacle
1828	<i>The Sacred Standard and the Chinese</i>	Coburg	Melodrama

Date	Production	Theatre	Type of drama
1830	<i>The Sorcerer's Three Golden Hairs or Harlequin Prince of China</i>	Sadlers Wells	Manuscript 31/5/1830
1830	<i>Dragon's Gift or The Scarf of Flight and the Mirror of Light</i>	Drury Lane	Melodrama
1833	<i>Chinese Wonders! Or The Five Days Fete of Pekin!</i>	Astley's Amphitheatre	Interlude
1844	<i>The Chinese Exhibition or The Feast of Lanterns</i>	Strand	LCP 26/12/1844
1845	<i>The Golden Lily or the Three Brothers of Bagdad</i>	Britannia	Author George Dibdin Pitt. LCP 29/9/1845
1845	<i>Chachechichochu or Harlequin in China</i>	Britannia	LCP 8/12/1845
1849	<i>Harlequin and Fairy Queen of the Magic Teapot of Chilti Ski Ki King of the Golden Pagoda</i>	Standard	LCP 19/12/1849
1851	<i>The Mandarin's Daughter</i>	The Strand	Christmas production
1856	<i>Aladdin</i>	The Strand	Burlesque
1857	<i>Teapot the Great</i>	Queens	Author P. King. LCP 21/12/1857
1860	<i>Harlequin and the Willow Pattern Plate or the Far Quarters of the Globe Cut in the Spree.</i>	Queens	LCP 5/10/1860, Allardyce Nicoll (1959), p. 688.
1869	<i>The Chinese Giant</i>	Unknown	Author P. Soutar. Allardyce Nicoll (1959), p. 817

APPENDIX D – LIST OF STATISTICAL DATA ON *ALADDIN* PRODUCTIONS

Calculations as to percentage of Oriental and *Aladdin* productions pre and post 1850 in Birmingham and the Black Country over the period 1813-1914.

1813-1914

Theatre Royal, Birmingham

Type of pantomime	Pre 1850	Post 1850
All Exotic Pantomimes	13.5%	30.6%
<i>Aladdin</i>	5.4%	6.45%
<i>Aladdin</i> (as a percentage of the exotic pantomimes)	40%	21%

Theatre Royal, Wolverhampton

	Pre 1850	Post 1850
All Exotic Pantomimes	Theatre built in 1845. No data pre 1850	14.3%
<i>Aladdin</i>		7.1%
<i>Aladdin</i> (as a percentage of the exotic pantomimes)		50%

Prince of Wales Birmingham

Type of pantomime	Pre 1850	Post 1850
All Exotic Pantomimes	Theatre built in 1846. No data pre 1850	39.6%
<i>Aladdin</i>		15%
<i>Aladdin</i> (as a percentage of the exotic pantomimes)		38%

The Prince of Wales Wolverhampton

Type of pantomime	Pre 1850	Post 1850
All Exotic Pantomimes	Theatre built in 1863. No data pre 1850	16.7%
<i>Aladdin</i>		11.9%
<i>Aladdin</i> (as a percentage of the exotic pantomimes)		71.4%

1883-1914

Grand Theatre, Birmingham

Type of pantomime	From 1883 – 1914
All Exotic Pantomimes	23.3%
<i>Aladdin</i>	13.3%
<i>Aladdin</i> (as a percentage of the exotic pantomimes)	57%

The Grand Theatre, Wolverhampton

Type of pantomime	From 1884 – 1914
All Exotic Pantomimes	47.6%
<i>Aladdin</i>	23.8%
<i>Aladdin</i> (as a percentage of the exotic pantomimes)	50%

APPENDIX E – BIRMINGHAM AND BLACK COUNTRY

TRADE DIRECTORIES DATA

Japanners

	Birmingham	Wolverhampton	Total
1818-1820	56	42	98
1850	217	58	275
1912-1914	69	42	111

Iron Trades

Year	Birmingham	Wolverhampton	Total
1818-1820	93	45	138
1850	135	72	207
1912-1914	-	34	34

Shopkeepers

Year	Birmingham	Wolverhampton	Total
1830/1838	332	92	424
1887	-	499	499

Brewhouses and Public Houses

Year	Birmingham	Wolverhampton	Total
1830/1838	410	407	817

Tea Related

	Birmingham	Wolverhampton	Total
1818-1820	11	31	42
1830-1838	21	11	32
1850	47	66	113
1912 to 1914	30	7	37

Coffee Related

	Birmingham	Wolverhampton	Total
1830-1838	-	8	8
1850	14	11	25

Directories used to compile this list are:

Barker's Wolverhampton Trade Directory and Guide (1887). Wolverhampton:

J. W. Barker. Wolverhampton Arts and Culture.

Bennett's Business Directory, Birmingham (1912-1914). Birmingham: Bennett.

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Kelly's Directory (1900). London: Kelly and Co. Ltd. Wolverhampton Arts and Culture.

Kelly's Directory (1896). London: Kelly and Co. Ltd. Wolverhampton Arts and Culture.

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Isaac Slater. Wolverhampton Arts and Culture.

The Commercial Directory (1818). Manchester: James Pigot, Fountain Street, and R. & W. Dean, Market Street.

Wrighton's New Triennial Directory (1818). Birmingham: W. R. Gitson, New Street.

APPENDIX F – THE *FAMILY FRIEND* VERSION OF THE *ALADDIN* STORY

(abridged).

On the right hand side is seen a Chinese house, of unusual extent and magnificence [...] This house belonged to a mandarin of great power and influence, who had amassed considerable wealth in serving the emperor in a department corresponding to excise. The work [...] was performed by an active secretary, named Chang, [...] the business of the master consisted in receiving bribes from the merchants [...] Chang completed his duties he was discharged. The youth had seen and loved the mandarin's daughter [Koong-See] [...] And on many an evening afterwards, [...] lovers' voices in that place might have been heard amongst the orange trees [...] the knowledge of one of their interviews came to the old man, who [...] forbade his daughter to go beyond the walls of the house [...] He also built a suite of apartments adjoining the banqueting room [with] no exit but through the banquet hall. [...] he betrothed his daughter to a wealthy friend, a Ta-jin, or duke of high degree, whom she had never seen [...] Chang [...] besought her to fly with him [and taking the Ta-jin's jewels they] stole behind the screen, passed the door [...] descended the steps, and gained the foot of the bridge, beside the willow tree [...] the three figures on the bridge [They escape by boat]. The jewels were sold [...] With the money thus procured, [...] [Chang] purchased a free right to the little island. [The Ta-jin] obtained an escort of soldiers to arrest Chang-and with these, the Ta-jin attacked the island [killing Chang]. Koong-see in despair [...] [escaped] to her apartments [...] which she set on fire, and perished. [...] [the gods] In pity to Koong-see and her lover, [...] were transformed into two immortal doves (*The Family Friend*, 1849, pp. 124-127, 151-154 in O'Hara 1993, pp. 424-425).

APPENDIX G – LIST OF WOLVERHAMPTON MAYORS 1850-1914

Mayor	Date in Office	Trade/Business or Occupation
Alderman John Jones	1878-1879 1879-1880 1880-1881	Three terms of office as Mayor. Son of Japanner Edward Jones, b. 1835. Ironmaster. Opened West Park, the first of Wolverhampton's large parks for industrial exhibitions.
Herbert Owen	1881-1882	Solicitor.
Alderman Francis Davis Gibbons	1882-1883	Agricultural Artificial Manure Manufacturer.
Councillor John Brotherton	1883-1884	Master Tube Manufacturer.
Alderman John Annan	1884-1885	Chief Engineer and Manager, Wolverhampton Gas Company.
Joseph G. Wright	1885-1886	Ironmaster.
Alderman Thomas Vincent Jackson, FRCS (Edin.)	1886-1887	Surgeon. First member of the medical profession to become Mayor.
Alderman Joseph Jones	1887-1888	Ironmaster. Brother to Alderman John Jones Mayor 1878-1881.
Fredrick Edward Manby	1888-1889	Surgeon.
Alderman John Marston	1889-1890 1890-1891	Motorcycle and Car Manufacturer (Sunbeam).
James Saunders	1891-1892	Iron Broker and Agent.
Charles Tertius Mander	1892-1893 1893-1894 1894-1895 1895-1896	Manufacturing of Varnish for the Japanning and Paint Industry. Created baronet 1911. Longest number of consecutive terms as Mayor (Four).
Alderman Stephen Craddock	1896-1897	Craddock Bros, Boot and Shoe Manufacturers of Wolverhampton.
Alderman Alexander McBean	1897-1898	Iron Merchant.
Alderman Price Lewis	1898-1899	Master Tailor.
Alderman Samuel Theodore Mander	1899-1900	Varnish manufacturer to the Japanning and Paint industry.

Mayor	Date in Office	Trade/Business or Occupation
Alderman Price Lewis	1899-1900 (until November)	Master Tailor.
Alderman John Walton Hamp	1900-1901	Surgeon.
Councillor Charles Paulton Plant	1901-1902	Wine Merchant and Brewer.
George Rennie Thorn	1902-1903	Solicitor and Lay Preacher.
Alderman Levi Johnson	1903-1904	Brewer and Wine Merchant.
Richard Evans Willoughby Berrington	1904-1905	Civil Engineer.
Albert Baldwin Bantock	1905-1906 1906-1907	Iron and Coal Merchant.
Councillor Fred Evans	1907-1908	Not known.
Councillor Edward Lewis Cullwick	1908-1909	Harness Manufacturer. Died in office.
Councillor Fred Evans	1908-1909	Not known.
Councillor John Grout	1909-1910	Physician and Surgeon.
Councillor Charles Thomas Richards	1910-1911	Pawnbroker and Jeweller.
Councillor Thomas William Dickinson	1911-1912 1912-1913	Fruit Merchant and Farmer.
Councillor Frederick Howard Skidmore	1913-1914	Auctioneer and Valuer.
Councillor Albert Baldwin Bantock	1914-1915	Iron and Coal Merchant. Transport and Canals.

Note. Thirty-one mayors served the borough from 1878-1915. Eleven mayors (37%) were part of or related to the Japanning industry and served 19 (46%) of the 39 terms in office [online] www.mayor.cityofwolverhamptoncouncil.co.uk/ [Accessed 23 January 2016].

APPENDIX H – TOPICAL SONGS QUOTED WITHIN THE TEXT

The Mandarin's Daughter by Talfourd, Francis and Hale W. P. (1851)

Chim-pan-see's Speech and Song – Part I

CHIM.

Good people! Two duties as mine I have reckoned,
The first is to say who I am, and the second
To state why I stand when with proper adherence
To rule, only Managers make their appearance.
My name's Chim-pan-see (though in no way related
To the one in the Regent's Park lately located),
I belong to the Emp'ror of China, and am
Attached to the pigtail of Tartory's Cham!
I am conjuror, wizard, magician, black doctor,
Of spells and love potions a potent concocter.
I can make a stone sing, can put life in a slate,
As you'll see that I'll presently do to that plate,
In short, there's no thing but obeys me in life -
Oh, yes! There's *one* thing, I forgot – there's my wife.

So of course when I heard of your Great Exhibition,
I was speedily found in a state of transition,
On my dragon I came, but conceive my surprise !
Round a public-house kitchen on casting my eyes,
I perceived, upon table, stand, dresser, and shelf,
In earthenware, china, stone-hardware, and delf,

Drawn longways and shortways, drawn outside and in,
On plate, cup and saucer, dish, basin, tureen,
A picture, which is but a full illustration
Of an olden love story, well known in my nation.
But still more by surprise, on expressing my pleasure
At finding the English so ready to treasure
The legends of China, to find that unknown
Was the story from which all the picture had grown!
For when I told the story, they said "You be blowed,
That's the old willow pattern of Copeland and Spode.

But still quite determined to enlighten the age,
I looked, as we all do at last, to the stage,
And to-night all my powers of vivification
I'll employ on that plate: but of some explanation
There's need of what's happened before they begin it,
So, if you'll oblige me yet further one minute,
To make all things clear I'll explain, as a chorus,
One or two knotty points of the picture before us.

Song-Air, "The House that Jack Built".

(during the song, the enchanter points to the different portions of the plate referred to, beginning on the right hand side).

This is the house of the Mandarin He-sing,
And this is the garden, and those are the trees

That wibbledee, wobbledee, go in the breeze;
Whose verdure and shade quite a paradise made
Of the house of the Mandarin He-sing.
And those are the rooms where his daughter, Koong-see,
Is shut up, as she's found in the first scene to be,
Whence she looks on the garden and looks on the trees
That wibbledee, &c.

And that is the house where the deputy, Chang,
By transposing the words may be said to out-hang,
Who looks up at the rooms where the lovely Koong-see
Is shut up as, &c.

So having geographised half of the plate,
For the rest I wont ask you at present to wait;
But would merely remark that the deputy Chang,
Who in the house yonder is said to out-hang,
Is supposed to be "nuts" on the lovely Koong-see,
Who's shut up, as she's found in the first scene to be;
And look's down on the garden, and down on the trees,
That wibbledee, wobbledee, go in the breeze,
Whose verdure and shade such a paradise made
Of the house of the Mandarin He-sing,

(the ENCHANTER waves his wand and retires,
as the curtain rises, discovering Scene I).

(on the scene of confusion the Drop descends, and the MAGICIAN comes
before it).

(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 1, Introduction, 1-63)

Chim-pan-see's Speech and Song Part II

CHIM

That's a sell for the Mandarin, rather, I'm thinking,
And a lesson, I hope, to prevent further drinking.
You see we've as yet been on this side the plate, (*points*)
But we now make a move, and you'll find that the state
Of affairs is quite changed with the *locus in quo*,
And all up the other side quickly we go;
So, being well versed in all Eastern topography,
I'll once more clear the way of our story's geography;
You shall follow the pairs who've the wide world before 'em,
And I'll act as the bridge, not the "Pons Asinorum."

Song-Air, '*Alteration*'.

For some time you might look in a geographical book,
Without obtaining a word of explanation,
As to what the name might be for the river that you see,
Or as to where its source, or whither its destination,
But it's all the same, for what's in a name?"

Is Mister William Shakspeare's very just observation.
So, if you please, for the present, just to keep all things
pleasant,
We'll say its somewhere in the Celestial Nation.

Now that house on the bank, which, from its size and rank,
Appears to be to the opposite one very like a poor relation,
In the next scene will cover each lass and her lover,
And afford them a home and a safe situation.

Then there'll troubles arise, which I leave you to surmise
Until you see them, which will cause an emigration;
And off in that boat they together will float
Down this self-same river of the Celestial Nation.

But the progress of their flight will be hidden from your sight,
As the stage is too small for much theatrical machination;
And the scenery on the bank, which in the plate is left a blank,
Will be left entirely to the painting of your vivid imagination
But when arrived at last, they are moored and made fast
At the island at the top, in a most salubrious station;
At the knowledge you'll arrive, how we keep the game alive
At a merry meeting of the great Celestial Nation.

He waves his wand and exits, as the Curtain, again rising, discovers Scene IV.

(Talfourd and Hale, 1851, 2, 3, 130-166)

***Aladdin* by Charles Millward 1866**

In Scene 8, A Chinese Village a song to the tune of "Air-'There was a little man'," that is first sung by the genius

GENIUS

A story I'll relate,
From this willow pattern plate,
Of events and scenes which have just taken place, place, place.
Familiar though the view,
There displayed may be to you,
We may find something new in it to trace, trace, trace.
The Atlantic ocean's there,
The Great Eastern I declare!
There's the captain paying out the cable's line, line, line;
And the dicky birds above,
Are the eagle and the dove,
A-giving their *assent* to the design-ign-ign!

EMPEROR.

No Great Eastern there you see,
But a yacht that's owned by me;
For I'm not afraid of Neptune, not a bit-bit-bit,
I'm the sovereign of the seas,
One who never feared a breeze,
And my subjects by my visits benefit-fit-fit.

When my royal face I show,
My subjects are not slow
In demonstrating their regard for me, me, me;
On that bridge – the picture's clear,
The people shout and cheer,
It's rarely they a royal face can see, see, see.

VIZIER.

A prime minister I am,
And my royal liege I cram
With speeches fair and pleasing for the mob, mob, mob.

TCHING.

And I'm the premier's son;
All my influence is gone.
To each I'd give a one'er for his nob, nob, nob;

WIDOW.

In the cottage you behold,
Lived a youth not good, but bold;
To Aladdin I allude, as you'd suppose-pose-pose;
But he didn't like the spot-
Said we all might go to pot,
And at everything around turned up his nose, nose, nose.
A vagabond one day,
Came and stole my boy away,
And buried him alive behind those trees, trees, trees.

To the Cattle Show they'd been,
All the sights in town they'd seen,
And they'd gorged themselves complete with bread and cheese,
cheese, cheese.

ALADDIN

I'm the boy that's bold, not good,
I've been buried in that wood,
But I hav'nt hopped the twig yet, be it known, known, known.
My Princess from peril's snatched,
I've been 'gainst "my uncle" matched,
That I'm the better of the two he'll own, own, own.

PRINCESS.

All danger now is past,
And I'm safe at home at last,
But where's the wretch who caused us all our pain, pain, pain.

WIDOW.

He's coming here on crutches,
I'll have him in my clutches,
Ah!-Slap-Bang and the tyrant! Here again-gain-gain!

KA-FOO.

I'm the vagabond, just painted,
By my "sister" there-who's fainted,
And I'm here to tell your all to do our worst, worst, worst.
The little game of fate,

For that willow pattern plate,

Has gone against me and the bank had burst, burst, burst!

(Millward, 1866, 1, 8, 1-60)

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Please note: This bibliography only contains items referred to in the text, or read in the process of this thesis but it does not constitute a complete list of all the pantomime materials available in local archives. The list is split between primary and secondary research. Theatre listings in Appendix A list pantomime productions for Birmingham and Black Country Theatres with sources, that are too numerous to duplicate here.

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