

"CYMBELINE" IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

Russell Bennett Jackson

Submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
Master of Arts in the University of Birmingham.

October 1971.

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

SYNOPSIS

This thesis consists of an Introduction, followed by Part I (chapters 1-2) in which nineteenth-century criticism of the play is discussed, particular attention being paid to Helen Faucit's essay on Imogen, and its relationship to her playing of the role. In Part II the stage-history of Cymbeline in London is traced from 1785 to Irving's Lyceum production of 1896. Directions from promptbooks used by G.F. Cooke, W.C. Macready, Helen Faucit, and Samuel Phelps are transcribed and discussed, and in the last chapter the influence of Bernard Shaw on Ellen Terry's Imogen is considered in the light of their correspondence and the actress's rehearsal copies of the play.

There are three appendices: a list of performances; transcriptions of two newspaper reviews (from 1843 and 1864) and one private diary (Gordon Crosse's notes on the Lyceum Cymbeline); and discussion of one of the promptbooks prepared for Charles Kean's projected production. The Bibliography lists unpublished MS material, newspaper and periodical reviews cited in Part II, and books cited in the thesis.

By request of the Librarian of the Ellen Terry Memorial Museum, Smallhythe, no part of the manuscript material quoted in chapter twelve may be reproduced or published without prior consent of The National Trust and the author of this thesis.

"Crowded theatres have applauded Imogen. There is a pleasing softness and delicacy in this agreeable character, that render it peculiarly interesting. Love is the ruling passion: but it is love ratified by wedlock, gentle, constant and refined."

William Richardson, 1784.

"The very crown and flower of all her father's daughters -- I do not speak here of her human father, but her divine -- the woman above all Shakespeare's women is Imogen. As in Cleopatra we found the incarnate sex, the woman everlasting, so in Imogen we find half glorified already the immortal godhead of womanhood."

Algernon Charles Swinburne, 1880.

"So swift are Imogen's changes of mood that the actress... has to work hard to make her a consistent character. Her heart has reasons that reason cannot understand."

Ellen Terry, c.1911-1925

(Four Lectures on Shakespeare, 1932).

C O N T E N T S

Page No.

INTRODUCTION

i-vii

PART ONE: "Cymbeline" and the Critics.

CHAPTER ONE

"Cymbeline" from Hazlitt to Strachey. 1

CHAPTER TWO

Helen Faucit on the Character of Imogen. 25

PART TWO: "Cymbeline" on the London Stage, 1785-1896.

CHAPTER THREE

John Philip Kemble and Lucius Junius Booth, 38
1785-1817.

CHAPTER FOUR

Various Performers, 1823-1829. 55

CHAPTER FIVE

W.C. Macready as Iachimo and Posthumus, 69
1820-1823.

CHAPTER SIX

Helen Faucit and Macready, 1837-1843. 84

CHAPTER SEVEN

"Cymbeline" at Sadler's Wells, 101
1847-1860.

CHAPTER EIGHT

"Cymbeline" at the Royal Marylebone 130
Theatre, 1849.

CHAPTER NINE

Helen Faucit as Imogen - Drury Lane, 136
1864-1865.

CHAPTER TEN

"Cymbeline" at the Queen's Theatre, 1872. 157

	<u>Page No.</u>
<u>CHAPTER ELEVEN</u>	
Minor Performances, 1878-1885.	166
<u>CHAPTER TWELVE</u>	
Irving's "Cymbeline", 1896.	172
<u>APPENDIX 'A'</u>	207
<u>APPENDIX 'B'</u>	215
<u>APPENDIX 'C'</u>	228
<u>NOTES TO CHAPTERS</u>	231
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	271

Introduction.

Theatrical criticism of Cymbeline during the nineteenth century rarely brought forth any insights which diverged substantially from those offered by literary critics. It seldom failed to arouse discussion of the idea that certain of Shakespeare's works were unfitted for representation, not because of profanity or bad taste, but because they had an "un-dramatic" form. Antony and Cleopatra and The Tempest were the most notoriously "un-dramatic", and the latter received so few performances in its unadulterated form before Macready, Kean and Phelps, that Macready was able to write with satisfaction concerning his production:

It has given the public a play of Shakespeare which had never been seen before.¹

Cymbeline had been more frequently performed, but with the exception of relatively short periods in the fifties, sixties and nineties (after the production of Phelps, Helen Faucit's Drury Lane appearances, and Irving's Lyceum staging) it was likely that most members of an audience at one of the revivals would not have had the opportunity to see the play. A manager might console himself with this reflection on a duty fulfilled to art, as he counted the receipts, for towards the end of the century the unprofitable nature of Shakespearean production was widely and frequently discussed. In 1864, when Helen Faucit appeared in the last "fashionable" production of the play before 1896, the Drury Lane management was being praised for its stoic devotion to the performance of classics (a policy soon abandoned) and pessimists (with in some cases a vested interest akin to that of Alfred Bunn) were finding comfort in the fulfilment of a prophecy made by Cibber:

This voluptuous expedient ... of indulging the taste with several theatres, will amount to much the same variety as that of a certain oeconomist, who, to enlarge his hospitality,

would have two puddings and two legs of mutton for the same dinner.²

To give this contention the lie, and to shame those critics who contended that the proliferation of fully-licensed minor theatres would lead to the debasement of public taste, was the example of Sadler's Wells, raised from the depths by Samuel Phelps. Among theatres to follow Phelps's example were the Marylebone and, later, the Queen's, Long Acre.

Reviews of productions at such enterprising theatres invariably include reflections on the nature of the audiences which they attracted, and on the nature of their repertoire: each of the three theatres named above attempted the rare, "literary" Cymbeline as part of a programme whose aim was to bring back into currency what was patronizingly known as "sterling english drama" and "old plays". Audiences, no less than managers, were praised for their devotion and honest diligence - over against the rowdy decadence of the West-End theatregoers - but after Phelps the impetus of this revival in the East and the North seems to have been lost. Charles Booth reflected in his Life and Labour of the People in London (1889):

Everywhere in England theatregoers are a special class. Those who care, go often; the rest seldom or not at all. The regular East End theatregoer even finds his way westwards, and in the sixpenny seats of the little house in Pitfield Street I have heard a discussion of Irving's representation of Faust at the Lyceum.³

The reviewer of Helen Faucit's Imogen who was intrigued to find pure art levelling ranks in joint appreciation (see p.140) was similarly emancipated from the attitude which had enabled earlier reviewers of Sadler's Wells productions to draw lessons in the spiritual finesse of the lower orders from the nature of the audiences there.⁴

Irving's Lyceum clientele were of a special nature:

they too were bound by devotion to art:

This theatre has become a Mecca, the temple of a special cult, the promised land of countless tribes of devotees, who have filled it from floor to roof and who have felt again and again that by their presence there they have been assisting at a high festival.⁵

In the proponents of an independent and a national theatre, Irving was to find critics who considered this an unhealthy devotion not to drama (still less to Shakespeare) but to his own charisma and to his style of production. Irving's Lyceum failed to fit into the terms of the dispute between a Theatre of Benevolent (and possibly subsidized) Theatrical Endeavour and the Bad Theatre of Profits. Some managers, notably Hollingshead at the Gaiety, tried to solve the dilemma by offering fragments of the first at the expense of the second. Neither solution satisfied the Fabian Shaw or the rationalist Archer.

In addition to these financial and ethical problems, the problem of finding a cast to perform Shakespeare beset those who wished to do so. In 1866, Webster had testified before the House of Commons Select Committee on Theatrical Licenses and Regulations:

Question 3178: Take the School for Scandal, or the Rivals, or say any of Shakespeare's comedies, in consequence of the number of theatres open you cannot get a good company to act all the minor parts, I suppose? - No.

3179: You get two or three good ones, and the rest you are forced to fill up as well as you can? - Yes, because the freedom of the theatres has dispersed the talent. A Man that should be playing a walking Gentleman at the Haymarket or Drury Lane, can play Hamlet at the East End, and he prefers that, and he gets a larger salary for it.⁶

This, Webster agreed, was "in consequence of our having free trade in drama".

Actors, authors and other interested parties (including audiences) had been decrying the low taste of the fashionable theatre for a long time - George Frederick Cooke hoped that posterity would not believe that The Castle Spectre had played to better audiences than Shakespeare's works⁷ - but the Victorian theatre partook of its age's self-consciousness, and sought institutional respectability by earnestness and its scenic expression, historicism. The narrowing of the gap between study and stage was part of this endeavour, and its expression was the printing, provision and use of books of the plays performed. Reviewers at Sadler's Wells and at other theatres saw not only honest pleb audiences, but honest plebeians clutching copies of the play. F.R. Benson's success at the Lyceum in the late '90s and early 1900s seemed to show that theatrical self-improvement was still a viable financial proposition, and Max Beerbohm described the "thousands of simple, earnest folk" who would flock to the Lyceum,

week after week, every one of them carrying the Clarendon Press edition of the play to be performed, and would sit religiously through the performance, rarely raising their eyes from the text, and utilising the entr'actes by reading up the pithy "notes" of Dr. A. or Professor B.⁸

The academic nature of these enterprising self-improvers is in marked contrast to the more simply theatrical interests of their mid-century forbears, armed with acting editions or, if they were of a more literary turn of mind, Knight's Cabinet Shakespeare or Vicker's Penny edition.

If there was such a difference between the approaches of the earnest in 1847 and the earnest in 1896 (brought up, suggested a reviewer of Irving's Cymbeline, on Gervinus and Dowden) it probably supplemented the proclaimed change in taste. Audiences were supposedly more refined by mid-

century than they had been in the first decades, and Toole was able to recall Paul Pry performed by Liston (1776-1846) in a manner "very droll, sometimes a trifle coarse":

but he had been encouraged in this by his audience, who like broad fun, and had inherited, perhaps, some of the rough tastes of still older playgoers... it was the sort of coarseness that was not considered offensive by our grandfathers.⁹

Mayhew's Punch and Judy man - whose livelihood depended precariously upon changing tastes in marital relationships - observed:

Punch, you know, sir, is a dramatic performance in two hacts. It's a play, you may say. I don't think it can be called a tragedy hexactly; a drama is what we names it. There is tragic parts, and comic and sentimental parts, too. Some families where I performs will have it most sentimental -- in the original style; then families is generally sentimental themselves. Others is all for the comic, and then I has to kick up all the games I can. To the sentimental folk I am obliged to perform werry steady and werry slow, and leave out all comic words and business. They won't have no ghost, no coffin, and no devil; and that's what I call spiling the performance entirely. It's the march of hintellect wot's a doing all this -- it is, sir.¹⁰

The march of intellect was not much reflected in the performance history of Cymbeline, although Irving's text of the play is more effectively bowdlerized than its predecessors, and it would be possible to see his version produced without knowing what Iachimo had wagered he could do with Imogen. Cymbeline was much more acceptable than other plays with a similar fulcrum to their plot - Troilus and Cressida or All's Well that Ends Well - and it was eminently suited to the "sentimental" among the Punch and Judy man's patrons. It offered opportunities for "historical" staging, and it offered the portrait of an ideal woman with whom most literary critics of the play

had been primarily concerned.

The major problem offered by Cymbeline was that of casting - not simply the difficulty of finding subordinate actors from among those who abstained from playing Hamlet in the East End theatres, but of giving to "star" actors the relatively small parts of Iachimo and Posthumus. If the actors of these parts dwarfed their rôles, there was equal likelihood that the part of Imogen would defeat the actress who elected to play it: the century only supplied two Imogens of sufficient stature, Helen Faucit and Ellen Terry, and Mrs. Siddons did not excel in a rôle whose less majestic characteristics she failed to encompass.

.....

The aim of this thesis is to supplement the available accounts of the play's stage-history between the first appearance of Kemble as Posthumus and Irving's Lyceum Cymbeline of 1896. Arthur Colby Sprague, in Shakespeare and the Actors (1944) has listed some of the "points" which accumulated during the period treated by his study (1660-1905) and C.B. Young's "Stage History of Cymbeline" in the New Cambridge edition of the play (edited by J.C. Maxwell, 1957) gives a useful and accurate summary of the more important productions. In addition to these accounts, mention should be made of H.A. Evans's stage-history, included in his "Introduction" to the play in the Henry Irving Edition (8 vols, vol.7, 1895) and the various references to performances made in the second volume of Odell's Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving (2 vols, 1920).

I have made use of promptbooks and account-books where these were available (cf. Bibliography, Part A) and of newspaper and magazine notices from various sources - predominantly from the British Museum Newspaper Library at Colindale. In assessing the significance of accounts

it is not always easy to ascertain their relationship to the finances of the individual theatre or manager: I have attempted to provide comparable data from other productions in seasons for which receipts were available. John Coleman, writing in 1886, reckoned that in the mid-century decades.

the curtain never rose at Covent Garden or Drury Lane (even when there was nothing to pay for advertisements and the rent was reduced to a minimum of £3,000!) to less than an outlay of £300 a night.¹¹

The available figures for performances must be considered in the light of such rough estimates and of the receipts of other productions, but until a more comprehensive survey of nineteenth-century theatre finance is available, these figures can be no more than suggestive of the play's box-office status.

References to Shakespeare's Cymbeline are to the Act, scene and line numbers of the New Arden edition, edited by J.M. Nosworthy (1955; reprinted 1969). I have adopted Charles Beecher Hogan's practice, whereby "12a" denotes the first part of line 12, and "12b" its second. Charles H. Shattuck's The Shakespeare Promptbooks, a Descriptive Catalogue (Urbana, 1965) is referred to as Shattuck, and the promptbooks listed in his section on Cymbeline are referred to by their numbers within that section (cf. Bibliography, part A). Charles Beecher Hogan's Shakespeare in the Theatre, 1701-1800 (2 vols, Oxford, 1957) is referred to as Hogan, followed by volume and page number. Attribution and date of plays written during the nineteenth century have been checked against volumes 4, 5 and 6 of Allardyce Nicoll's A History of the English Drama: 1600-1900 (2nd edition, 6 vols, 1952-9).

PART ONE

'CYMBELINE' AND THE CRITICS

CHAPTER ONE: 'CYMBELINE' FROM HAZLITT TO STRACHEY.

The limits of this thesis are fixed by the appearance of John Philip Kemble as Posthumus in 1785, and of Henry Irving as Iachimo in 1896. Its partial concern with literary criticism suggests 1818, the year in which Hazlitt's Characters of Shakespeare's Plays was published, and 1903, the year during which Lytton Strachey's paper on Shakespeare's final plays was read to the Sunday Essay Society of Trinity College, Cambridge.¹ Hazlitt defines the play's plot in terms of variations on the theme of fidelity to a fixed purpose in life - he considers the characters as illustrations of psychological and moral states, and draws attention to Shakespeare's use of "the principle of analogy", which he compares in its effects to the gradation of colour in a painting and to the principle of harmony in music. Hazlitt claims that -

The effect of this coincidence is rather felt than observed; and as the impression exists unconsciously in the mind of the reader, so it probably arose in the same manner in the mind of the author, not from design, but from the force of natural association, a particular train of feeling suggesting different inflections of the same predominant principle, melting into, and strengthening one another, like chords in music.²

Hazlitt's idea was not taken up by any of the Victorian critics (though it is echoed by Gervinus). They preferred to dwell on the "divine Imogen" and on the ideal of womanhood. Their sharpest comments on her occasionally excessive ingenuousness go no further than Hazlitt's observation that "Of all Shakespeare's women she is perhaps the most tender and most artless", and they favoured theatrical expressions of his judgement that "A certain tender gloom o'erspreads the whole".

The debate concerning the suitability of Shakespeare's plays to contemporary stage conditions predominates in Victorian theatrical criticism of Cymbeline - at the level of

this discussion the question arose of precedence between the study and the stage. Shakespeare emerges as too good for the stage, or as incompetent according to various standards of competence, and the stage usually emerges as too good for Shakespeare as he lived. There was no shortage of critics to suggest that Shakespeare would have welcomed the Victorian stage's sophistications and resources and would have written accordingly - similarly there was no shortage of actors and managers ready to oblige by doing Shakespeare's posthumous work in adapting his plays. At times the arguments have a precarious logic, as in Goethe's claim, made in conversation with Eckermann in 1826, that, because Shakespeare's public and his stage conditions "made no demands upon him", he failed to write the sort of theatrically effective plays that Goethe would have demanded.³

There is a dichotomy in Victorian criticism between the view of Shakespeare as moral sage, who does not have to abide our question, and Shakespeare as theatrical babe-in-arms, who most certainly does.

Meanwhile, Cymbeline continued to be performed. Its appeal to actors and actresses seems to have lain in its preoccupation with the strong "problems" of each of the three main characters - Iachimo, Posthumus, and Imogen - each a "heavy" role. The three characters invited treatment in terms of contemporary opinions concerning sexual misbehaviour, ideal womanhood and one's reactions to its manifestation, or (in Iachimo's case) the paramount importance of honesty. It was a play especially tempting to actresses, as the number of benefit performances and "first appearances" as Imogen testifies.⁴

As a play about an ideal nineteenth-century woman, it was specially attractive: Laura reads Cymbeline at the bedside of the sick Pendennis in Thackeray's novel, and even the most cursory survey of Victorian womanhood supplies romantic and practical analogies for the most tender and

artless of Shakespeare's heroines.⁵ From Swinburne's devotion may be judged the depth of the cult's appeal, and from a letter written by Lytton Strachey in 1905 can be guessed the status of the play in earnest literary conversation -

I was horribly depressed by the magnificence
[of the house] and by the conversation, which
was always on the highest levels. We discussed
Henry James and Cymbeline and the essence of
Architecture from morning till night.⁶

Strachey's rejection of the late Shakespeare of the customary biographical interpretation, is a presentation of the poet "Half enchanted by visions of beauty and loveliness, and half bored to death", and his approach to the stagecraft of the late plays is a sardonic version of the accepted theatrical doctrine of divine incompetence - in Strachey's account, Shakespeare is still careless in a God-like way, but he is careless for new reasons:

It is clear that such happy endings, such conventional closes to fantastic tales, cannot be taken as evidences of serene tranquillity on the part of their maker; they merely show that he knew, as well as anyone else, how such stories ought to end.⁷

The newest thing in Strachey's account is his emphasis on the savagery of the late playes - his predecessors wondered how Imogen survived in a court like that of Cymbeline, and reflected on her evident constancy of spirit in remaining unblemished, but the matter was not pressed further. In his Shakespeare - His Mind and Art (1875) Dowden assigned the play to a period of serenity in which Shakespeare was growing a little careless with the construction of the plays, and in which he was preoccupied with atonement and forgiveness. Dowden is able to claim Hermione, Imogen and Prospero as "names for gracious powers which extend forgiveness to men",⁸ but he was unlikely to disturb by this claim those who had

found in Imogen another Little Nell or Florence Dombey, and to whom atonement for sin and redemption by means of feminine purity were closely associated.

Below the level of Dowden and Strachey, and largely ignoring the more suggestive elements of Hazlitt's critique, are the lesser Victorian critics. Few of them had anything to say that one could honestly recommend to a student of the play, and most of what they did say had already been said by William Richardson or by Francis Gentleman. Gentleman had introduced the character of Imogen in Bell's Shakespeare with the observation:

From Imogen, an audience may expect a compleat idea of delicacy, both in face and person, a symmetry of limbs, and a freedom of deportment, to grace the male habit; with musical, amorous, and pathetic tones of voice.⁹

This comprehensive statement remained - in one incarnation or another - the measure of performers of the part from 1774 up to the end of the nineteenth century, surviving changes in styles of production and acting, and displacements of critical emphasis.

If audiences were baulked of the complete idea of delicacy - if the actress cast for the part lacked "pathetic" power, or was excessively matronly - the disillusioned could return to their studies, and to their reveries. Those reveries might lead them to extremes of adulation - Tennyson died with a copy of the play in his hands, Swinburne had a copy buried with him. Swinburne paid Imogen a more permanent tribute by ending his A Study of Shakespeare (1880, 2nd edition, 1882) with a rhapsodical praise of the play. The final word in the book is "Imogen" (although the second edition has a long appendix comprising a defence of Swinburne's views on the anonymous Edward III, and a virulent attack on The New Shakespear Society). A more extreme version of the same attitude is found in The Gentleman's Magazine, where in 1890 F. Schütz Wilson published "A Union with

Imogen: A Literary Fantasy". Wilson, who also wrote remarkably uninteresting articles for The Theatre on the characters of Cleopatra and Antony, claims in his "fantasy" to have a demented friend, Z. This unfortunate is convinced that Shakespeare, now in heaven assisting God, has chosen Z. to marry Imogen. The narrator is able to contact "William" and discuss the marriage, which is agreed to be impracticable, and Imogen is returned permanently to her maker: "she disappeared, rapt up to Heaven as it seemed in a hansom of fire." This does not occur until we have had some account of Z's hallucinations:

I recall the golden winged hours of the early rapturous days of our blissful union - she so infinitely above me, and yet bending down to me with the goddess-like grace of tenderest, divinest womanhood. I think of her face, her form, her voice - a voice ever tender, and soft, and low; and of the beautiful spirit that shone through all external grace, and harmony, and love; and I, as I remember her, can only weep, and sob, and suffer.¹⁰

This is possibly the worst, and certainly the quaintest, that the nineteenth century had to say about Imogen - she has become a fetish, and the concept of male dominance is reversed as Z. lies supine beneath the descending form of Imogen, and the element of masochism in the very act of remembrance points to some degree of inverted sexuality.

If Z. is remote from the more sober critics of Cymbeline, it is as much because of his appalling prose, as his literary perversion. Like other perversions, it is very near the accepted standard of behaviour - near enough for one to ask whether Wilson might be consciously parodying the traditional posture of adulation before Shakespeare's women. Similar amateurs - to leave for a moment the 'respectable' critics - are almost as extreme. James M.S. Gregory read papers on Shakespeare's women before the Edinburgh Shakespeare Society, and when he subsequently read Helen Faucit's essay on the character of Imogen, he had the essays bound and sent to her.

The essay on Imogen is confident in raising up the heroine at the hero's expense: the author even contradicts Imogen's opinions -

She considers that Posthumus is by far her superior; an opinion that will probably be shared by few readers of the play.¹¹

Gregory begins his essay with a list of noble ladies in literature, beginning with Homer's and ending with Tennyson's (Enid and Elaine) and Longfellow's (Evangeline). After taking this wide view of fictional womankind, he is able to assert that Imogen is the equal of any of them. She is "at once ladylike without being stiff, and familiar without being vulgar". Even her cooking is adduced to prove her an example to the modern female:

We see from what is said ... that Imogen, princess though she was, was not so foolishly proud as to think useful work unbecoming to a lady. How many vain and useless dolls might take a lesson from her,

Mrs. Jameson, in her Characteristics of Women, Moral, Poetical and Historical had noted the cookery, but in a historical light:

... we must not forget that her "neat cookery", which is so prettily eulogized by Guiderius formed part of the education of a princess in those remote times.¹²

This historical approach, though very vague (which remote times, indeed, are we talking about?), leads Mrs. Jameson to an understanding of Iachimo's part, and the force of the wager, which anticipates W.W. Lawrence. But Gregory has made rather more of Imogen as cook than even the feminist Mrs. Jameson would hazard. His interest is still that of a pilgrim, rather than an educationalist -

When we survey the character of Imogen as a whole, we see so much to admire that we find it difficult to turn away from gazing. We gaze and gaze and gaze again, we turn away,

and still return to gaze even more.

Unfortunately, Gregory's rapture is interrupted by a severely perplexing suggestion. As he concludes his praise of Imogen, he stops short:

But let us pause. Did we actually say Shakespeare's heroines? We beg pardon for doing so, for a voice from across the Atlantic exclaims, "Not at all, Britisher, you bet."

This voice is the voice of Mr. Donnelly, whose The Great Cryptogram (1888) proves Bacon the author of Shakespeare, The Anatomy of Melancholy, Marlowe, Montaigne's Essays, and most of the Shakespearean Apocrypha. Ignatius Donnelly holds up a portrait of Bacon, and is heard by Gregory to exclaim, "Guess, Britisher, this is what your immortal bard was like." Gregory is scornful and dismissive, and takes comfort in the observation that, at any rate, Francis Bacon was an Englishman.

Gregory arranges the heroines he discusses in ascending order of excellence: Desdemona, Isabella, and Imogen. But for differing circumstances, they might as well be one woman - Shakespearean Woman. This being is favoured by John Ruskin, in his lecture Of Queen's Gardens.¹³ Ruskin observes that, with the exception of the exaggerated Henry V, and the botched Valentine, there are no heroes in Shakespeare:

Note broadly in the outset, Shakespeare has no heroes; he has only heroines. There is not one entirely heroic figure in all his plays.... In his laboured and perfect plays you have no hero.... Whereas there is hardly a play that has not a perfect woman in it, steadfast in grave hope, and errorless in purpose: Cordelia, Desdemona, Isabella, Hermione, Imogen, Queen Catharine, Perdita, Sylvia, Viola, Rosalind, Helena, and last, and perhaps loveliest, Virgilia, are all faultless; conceived in the highest heroic type of humanity.

(Section 56)

Ruskin proceeds with a survey of the inadequacies of various heroes and the comparative excellence of the corresponding heroines, including the importance of wives in The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline:

In Winter's Tale, and in Cymbeline the happiness and existence of two princely households, lost through long years, and imperilled to the death by the folly and obstinacy of the husbands are redeemed at last by the queenly patience and wisdom of the wives.

(Section 57)

He is able to conclude,

Such, in broad light in Shakespeare's testimony to the position and character of women in human life. He represents them as infallibly faithful and wise counsellors, - incorruptibly just and pure examples - strong always to sanctify, even when they cannot save.

(Section 58)

If at times the education Ruskin envisages for his "Queens" seems to make superhuman demands, there is some comfort in the author's own awareness of this:

... But do you not see that, to fulfil this she must - as far as one can use such terms of a human creature - be incapable of error?

(Section 69)

The demand that women be, in Ruskin's phrase, "enduringly, incorruptibly good", seems to us highly unrealistic. It is certainly highly optimistic, and the advanced state of prostitution - especially its flagrancy in the West End and in the theatres¹⁴ - would suggest that this orthodox optimism of the Victorian feminists was surrounded in everyday life with evidence of its impracticability. Cymbeline does hold out the interest of a naturally virtuous princess, an unspoilt, perhaps slightly windswept young lady, who seems to have done without the kind of rigorous moral education enjoined on royalty by such prescribers as Hannah More (in her Hints towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess,

2 volumes, 1805). From Miss More, the hapless young monarch (Princess Charlotte) will be first instructed in the habit "of patience, and even cheerfulness, under postponed and restricted gratification" (I.4) - and the catalogue of formidable virtues to be inculcated and lessons to be swallowed goes on, with frequent reminders that if a mere commoner needs instruction in virtue, the need of the royal infant is all the greater. The miraculous education of Imogen has its appeal to the frustrated girl, as well as to the commiserating gentleman, who, like Gregory, thinks modern ladies spoilt. The author of Shakespeare's Garden of Girls endorses that phrase of Mrs. Jameson's - "the education of a princess in those remote times" - with enthusiasm:

Indeed she seems to have enjoyed a thoroughly natural training; her tender but noble disposition being uninterfered with by that hot-house atmosphere in which so many frank and honest dispositions are smothered and destroyed. (p.28)

Shakespeare's Garden of Girls, published in 1885, is the work of a Mrs. M.L. Elliot. It is characterised by a style in which rhapsodic, gushing paragraphs are suddenly brought to a halt by tersely gushing reflections: typical of the whole work is this comparison between the remote times and the present day -

Like the "society" men of today, their forerunners seem to have held the character of women in very light esteem. Iachimo was the exponent of that unfortunate class of men who form vicious associations, and then imagine that their own surroundings are typical of the whole world. How often do we find such men and women thinking their own little set mankind? (p.27)

Although Mrs. Elliot does not mention Imogen's cooking, it is there, haunting the reader, in her praise for Imogen's conjugality.

With such a wife as Imogen the romance of life would be ever fresh, although in her nature it

would be allied to the qualities of the "good useful" order. (p.29)

Iachimo, as we have seen, gets short shrift (he is described on page 32 in even less flattering terms: "the filthy mind of this yellow-faced Italian"). And on page 30 Mrs. Elliot suggests that Imogen is "worth two or three of Posthumus". Indeed, Posthumus is dismissed as beneath Imogen, together with the rest of the court, in a reiteration of the myth and miracle of Imogen's education:

There is nothing heroic in the atmosphere of the court where she has been brought up. Posthumus, her playfellow, and the one she prized so dearly as to give him all herself, is certainly no hero, albeit he is the best of them all. (p.26)

It is then suggested that Imogen "derived the fostering influences that developed so pure and true a nature" from her dead mother (pp.26f) (the resurrection of Imogen's mother is reminiscent of Mary Cowden-Clarke's pleasant fiction, Imogen the Peerless). Mrs. Elliot begins her essay with a quotation from Swinburne's A Study of Shakespeare and three lines of Tennyson:

In love, if love be love, if love be ours,
Faith and unfaith can ne'er be equal powers;
Unfaith in aught is want of faith in all.

The authoress has at her fingers' end the biographical reason for the creation of Imogen - Shakespeare

... had passed through all the stages of poetic growth, and had attained the fullness of philosophic age ... when in his retirement from the busy scenes of metropolitan life and action he conceived the play of which Imogen is the central figure. (p.25)

This biographical interpretation had become gospel - its definitive expression was Dowden's and it became part of the minimum information which one could give on the plays. In a book which sets out to provide such information for the

Lady-Members of the Clifton Shakespere Society (to whom it is dedicated), L.M. Griffiths set out the three important things one should consider when discussing Cymbeline:

1. The tone of Cymbeline shows that the play was written when Shakespere, having passed through his life-gloom into a period of serenity and repose, had finally returned to Stratford.
2. The moral beauty of womanhood is the all-pervading idea of Cymbeline.
3. The non-essential parts of Cymbeline show great carelessness in their treatment.¹⁵

Article two of this creed was that most often taken to depths of sentimental folly. Mrs. Leo Grindon, L.L.A., F.R.M.S. (and President of the Leo Grindon Life Study Association) lectured at Stratford in 1909 on The Story and Poetry of Shakespeare's Play of Cymbeline - a lecture arranged to coincide with the production of the play in the festival.

Mrs. Grindon's lecture - printed the same year in Manchester - reaches considerable depths of banality. "As for the poetry, it is everywhere", she observes on page 21, and on the preceding page she has already observed of the play's conclusion:

... in that final scene there is more real nobility gathered together, more contrition for sin, more self sacrifice for justice to another, than in any other scene that Shakespeare has given us.

Mrs. Grindon's least inspired comments she reserves for the section at the end of the lecture entitled "A Few Notes on Stage Production" - she makes it abundantly clear what she wants from the play -

Then, as to the "cuttings". The bedroom scene is a stumbling block to many; and when the whole is given the audience find it a relief when it is over. The play would be much more acceptable if the scene were cut to the shortest dimension possible - only just giving sufficient time to it to allow account for Iachimo's possession of the bracelet. Indeed, throughout the play, if scenes of evil were

strongly cut and the saved time given to the more idyllic portions, and to the repentance of Posthumus and Iachimo, the graciousness of the play would, I think, be more manifest. (unnumbered page, following 26)

Mrs. Grindon applied her critical powers to a number of other plays, including Henry VIII and The Merry Wives of Windsor. She undertook to expound What the Play of "Hamlet" Says to Us, and published a "woman's view" of Antony and Cleopatra. It seems unlikely that she had ever seen Cymbeline performed.

Of the peripheral lady-critics, the most oblique in her approach and in her own way the most rewarding is Mary Cowden Clarke. Imogen The Peerless is one of the short stories collected as The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines (3 vols., 1850-2). Imogen's mother, Gwendolen, is rejected by her husband, Cymbeline, who is the victim of a deception concerning her honour. It is interesting that the king's remorse when he discovers the "dishonour" is anger at a slight to his authority rather than wounded love. Gwendolen attends Cymbeline's feast in disguise, having taken lodgings with a widow on the outskirts of the city, and manages to get within a few yards of her husband. Imogen, the child, calls out to her father, who ignores her, but suddenly a lion attacks him, affording Gwendolen the chance to save his life by interposing her body. The grateful King promises to take care of the infant, and "Mangled and bleeding" Gwendolen sinks down, "while a look of heavenly content irradiate[s] her face", then "with a smile of more than mortal happiness, Gwendoline expire[s]".

Mrs. Cowden Clarke then develops the domestic background of Cymbeline's court, leading directly up to the beginning of the play. He is identified as king of the Iceni and Trinobantes, and his new queen is widow of the king of the Brigantes, who is reported to have died of a surfeit. Cymbeline is provided with a fool, a wistful youth called Bergion, who carries a hazel-wand - later, his wand is burnt

and the fool dies, having been firmly established as similar to the fool in Lear by his opposition to Cymbeline's marriage:

"Cousin King is mad! He must have lost his wits more absolutely than I ever lacked mine!" exclaimed Bergion vehemently. "It cannot be that cousin King is so fatally given o'er to folly!"

(Everyman edition, III, 436)

One of Mary Cowden Clarke's happiest inventions is her account of Cloten, which in some measure reconciles the disparate elements shown in the early scenes with the gentlemen and the wooing, and the refusal of tribute.¹⁶ After describing Cloten's "vulgar cunning, self-conceit, and obtuseness", the authoress describes Cymbeline's acceptance of his stepson:

The King, not too clear-seeing, thought him good-natured, for all his coarseness; and frank, because of his bluff bluntness. He had a certain kind of unreserved license of speech and manner about him, which passed with Cymbeline for openness and goodness of disposition; but which was in fact nothing more than a callous indifference to the feelings of those he addressed, a total blindness to his own deficiencies, and the free-and-easy expression of his likings and dislikings, his inclinations, his aversions, and in short, his opinions, of whatever they might chance to be.

(Everyman edition, III, 402)

Bergion is opposed to Cloten, and is established as a friend of Posthumus: Cloten's behaviour in the story is a faithful reproduction of his behaviour in the play.

Imogen's character is established by an episode of childhood as being more reflective than that of her future husband: the King has given Imogen and Posthumus each a gold coin bearing his portrait. One day he is playing with Imogen, when the girl tells him of a pocket "that her lady-attendants had put into her last new garment". Cymbeline

asks to see the coin lying in the pocket, but Imogen draws back, refusing to let him look. The king supposes she is afraid to admit that she does not have the coin with her, but he makes no more of the matter. When a lady-attendant reminds Imogen that she does have the coin on her person, Imogen replies that she knows Leonatus does not carry his, and that she did not wish to expose him to embarrassment should the king have asked to see it:

"... It was better to be fancied neglectful, when I was really careful; than for him to be discovered in want of thought, that might have been taken seriously amiss"

(Everyman edition, III, 410)

The description of Imogen's character is at all points in keeping with received opinion on the subject: the suggested explanation of her attachment to Leonatus is Mrs. Cowden-Clarke's most interesting contribution to the supposed psychological background of the character -

Meanwhile, the young princess grew in intelligence and beauty. She was of an affectionate disposition, capable of strong preferences, and steadfast attachments. Her nature was both loving, and constant; and even during her childish years, it manifested itself in singular warmth and energy of denotement. Although she had lost her mother when still so mere an infant, she had felt her bereavement more sensibly than is usual at such an early age. But she had transferred the chief strength of the affection she had borne her mother, to her young companion, Leonatus, who had been early associated in her mind with that mother; and who had since, by his boyish assiduity, and tenderness of care towards herself, won her dearest liking.

...

As she grew into womanhood, Imogen's peculiar characteristics strengthened. In her nature were combined the inherited elements of both her parents' dispositions; but modified, and elevated, into finer qualities. In her, her mother's passive timidity became gentleness, -

resignation, with spiritual fortitude, - brave, uncomplaining endurance; while her father's wilfulness, and obstinacy, took the shape of steadfastness, constancy, and moral courage. The concomitants of each, formed a certain quiet energy, the perfection of a womanly, an English womanly character.

(Everyman edition, III., 408, 410)

Mary Cowden-Clarke's is one of the most articulate expressions of the "official" account of Imogen's character. The lengthiest is Helen Faucit's, published in 1885. The most influential is undoubtedly that of Mrs. Jameson, which first appeared in 1832.

.....

In July, 1832, was published Characteristics of Women, Moral, Poetical and Historical by Mrs. Anna Jameson. The plan of the book is simple: after an introductory dialogue between a man, Medon, and Alda, the authoress, in which the purpose of the exercise is explained and justified, there follow discussions of Shakespearean women. The women are divided into three classes -

Characters of Intellect -

Portia, Isabella, Beatrice, Rosalind.

Of Passion and Imagination -

Juliet, Helena, Perdita, Viola, Ophelia, Miranda.

Of the Affections -

Hermione, Desdemona, Imogen, Cordelia.

Historical Characters -

Cleopatra, Octavia, Volturna, Constance of Bretagne, Blinor of Guienne, Blanche of Castille, Margaret of Anjou, Katharine of Aragon, Lady Macbeth.

In the prefatory dialogue the authoress, Alda, explains how she came to use Shakespeare as an answer to the methodological problems of female psychology - "the riddle which history presented I found solved in the pages of Shakespeare"

(Revised Edition, 1879, p.13). Shakespeare saves the investigator from the risky and uncertain business of field work:

I wanted character in its essential truth, not modified by particular customs, by fashion, by situation. I wished to illustrate the manner in which the affections would naturally display themselves in women - whether combined with high intellect, regulated by reflection, and elevated by imagination, or existing with perverted dispositions, or purified by moral sentiments. I found all these in Shakespeare; his delineations of women - in whom the virtuous and calm affections predominate and triumph over shame, fear, pride, resentment, vanity, jealousy - are particularly worthy of consideration, and perfect in their kind because so quiet in their effect. (p.33)

Alda rejects the temptation to idealise the women of the plays - at least, she claims to reject it:

... his amiable women are touched with such exquisite simplicity - they have so little external pretension, and are so unlike the usual heroines of tragedy and romance, that they delight us more "than all the nonsense of the beau idéal!" We are flattered by the perception of our own nature in the midst of so many charms and virtues ... they are not stuck up, like the cardinal virtues all in a row, for us to admire and wonder at; they are not mere poetical abstractions; nor (as they have been termed) mere abstractions of the affections. (p.19)

Medon dismisses William Richardson as "a dry old stick", but Alda uses Richardson's refutation of the charge that Shakespeare's women are insipid. The argument is that the women in the plays seem less impressive than the men because they are throughout kept in their appointed subordinate social place. In Richardson's words:

If Shakespeare with those embellishments which we expect in poetry, has allotted to the females on his theatre such stations as are suitable to

their condition in society, and delineated them with sufficient discrimination, he has done all that we have any right to require.¹⁷

To this Mrs. Jameson adds the suggestion that evil in Shakespeare's female characters is the more compelling, because their femininity is maintained throughout: this she applies most notably to the character of Lady Macbeth.¹⁸

An avowed and active feminist, Anna Jameson takes the opportunity offered by her subject to attack the concepts current in female education (or lack of it):

A time is coming, perhaps, when the education of women will be considered, with a view to their future destination as the mothers and nurses of legislators and statesmen, and the cultivation of their powers of reflection and moral feelings supersede the exciting drudgery by which they are now crammed with knowledge and accomplishments. (p.31)

Mrs. Jameson is not very precise in her categorisation: when she claims that "the development of affection and sentiment is more quiet and unobtrusive than that of passion and intellect" (p.31) she does not really say any more than that affectionate and sensitive people make less noise than passionate and intellectual people - a statement which is in any case neither interesting nor accurate. Mrs. Jameson is really playing with the idea that Shakespeare's women are natural, unspoilt girls, whose education is some kind of juvenile miracle.

On the subject of Imogen herself, Mrs. Jameson is more rewarding. She gives a good description of Imogen's interview with Iachimo which tallies exactly with the way the scene was played before 1896:

In the interview between Imogen and Iachimo, he does not begin his attack on her virtue by a direct accusation against Posthumus; but by dark hints and half-uttered insinuations, such as Iago uses to madden Othello, he intimates that her husband, in his absence

from her, has betrayed her love and truth, and forgotten her in the arms of another. All that Imogen says in this scene is comprised in a few lines - a brief question, or a more brief remark. The proud and delicate reserve with which she veils the anguish she suffers is inimitably beautiful. The strongest expression of reproach he can draw from her is only "My lord, I fear, hath forgot Britain". When he continues in the same strain, she exclaims in agony, "Let me hear no more!" When he urges her to revenge, she asks with all the simplicity of virtue, "How should I be revenged?" And when he explains to her how she is to be revenged, her sudden burst of indignation, and her immediate perception of his treachery, and the motive for it, are powerfully fine; it is not only the anger of a woman whose delicacy has been shocked, but the spirit of a princess insulted in her court ... (p.226)

This, to the last, royal, detail is what the mid-Victorian audience expected of an actress in the interview with Iachimo.

Mrs. Jameson's other important points are her suggestion that for some reason (a differing code of honour) Posthumus' being party to the wager did not damn him as much in the eyes of the Elizabethan playgoer, as it did in those of the Victorian; she also notes the playful language of Imogen in such examples as

I kiss'd it.
I hope it be not gone, to tell my lord
That I kiss ought but he.

This is cited as exemplifying the "extreme intensity of feeling and ... unadorned elegance of the expression" which shows a superiority in Imogen over the florid Juliet. Contemporary critics have found otherwise.¹⁹

On Cloten, Mrs. Jameson quotes Hazlitt's remark that the character is "obsolete" and the refutation from Miss Seward's Letters in which the Swan of Litchfield remembers just such a person as Cloten. Mrs. Jameson distinguishes neatly between Cloten and such a fool as Aguecheek -

... the folly of Cloten is not only ridiculous, but hateful; it arises not so much from a want of understanding as a total want of heart; it is the perversion of sentiment rather than the deficiency of intellect; he has occasional gleams of sense, but never a touch of feeling.²⁰

One of Mrs. Jameson's major defects is her readiness to apply a faith in the adage that "still waters run deep". In the description of Cordelia, which follows the chapter on Imogen, this is particularly noticeable - "Everything in her seems to lie beyond our view, and affects us in a manner which we feel rather than Perceive" (p.233). At her worst, Mrs. Jameson falls back on eulogy and on the arrangement of Shakespeare's heroines in a hierarchy of qualities. Shakespeare's women are at least differentiated from each other, but the differences are used to enable the critic to describe each in terms of the others' characters. This method Mrs. Jameson applies with a vengeance to Imogen:

Imogen, like Juliet, conveys to our mind the impression of extreme simplicity in the midst of the most wonderful complexity.
... We must imagine something of the romantic enthusiasm of Juliet, of the truth and constancy of Helen, of the dignified purity of Isabel, of the tender sweetness of Viola, of the self-possession and intellect of Portia, combined together so equally and so harmoniously that we can scarcely say that one quality predominates over the other. But Imogen is less imaginative than Juliet, less spirited and intellectual than Portia, less serious than Helen and Isabel; her dignity is not so imposing as that of Hermione, it stands more on the defensive; her submission, though unbounded, is not so passive as that of Desdemona and thus, while she resembles each of these characters individually, she stands wholly distinct from them all.
(p.215)

Shakespeare's heroine has been mixed up in a pipkin or crucible, after the manner of Gilbert's recipe for a Heavy Pragoon in Patience: the description of an author's characters in terms of one another is a party-game excrescence on

the text as much as The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines. When she tries to move beyond such juggling feats, Mrs. Jameson too often has to fall back on the deepness of the still waters, or on the eulogistic and tawdry sentiment with which she ends her section on Imogen -

On the whole, Imogen is a lovely compound of goodness, truth, and affection, with just so much of passion, and intellect, and poetry, as serve to lend to the picture that power and glowing richness of effect which it would otherwise have wanted... (pp.232-3)

.....

Before turning to Helen Faucit's work, and the problems it raises concerning the study/stage dichotomy, mention must be made of the prefaces to two editions of the play, and the criticism of Gervinus.

Charles Cowden-Clarke's essay on Cymbeline was first published in the Friendly Edition of Shakespeare's plays (New York, 1834). The author provides a conventionally laudatory view of Imogen, laying much emphasis on "heart-ennobling affection and endurance", and "the triumph of self-reliance". Iosthusus gets short shrift ("That he was unworthy of the love of such a being as Imogen needs only be stated"), but the master-man relationship ("the affection of menial attachment, in its most disinterested form") is discerned as the chief interest of Pisanio's character. He similarly praises the play's treatment of the idea of nature and nurture - of natural aristocracy which cannot be hidden. Even if to us these sentiments seem misplaced, they are at least an application of social and ethical considerations to the play. Cowden-Clarke even suggests a pattern in the play, though he does not pursue it beyond the statement that Cloten is a counterpart in his blockish affection to the finer spirit of Pisanio, and that the play "exhibits an enchanting portraiture of the 'Affections'

in their several varieties". Gordon-Clarke's essay is also notable for its defence of the gaol scenes:

This play of Cymbeline, interwoven as it is with the loftiest sentiment, with superb imagery, and with the most condensed truths and worldly axioms, contains yet no scene more fruitful in matter for sedate meditation than the one between Posthumus and his gaoler.... The scene alluded to is short, and not introduced on the stage - which it should be.²¹

In the Henry Irving Shakespeare (1895) H.A. Evans' introduction to the play distinguishes itself mainly by the suggestion that the Queen is some sort of foreigner -

We know not to what nation she belonged, but her wickedness is of a darker and more insidious type than that of the Scottish Queen [Lady Macbeth]: she deals in poisonous drugs like the crafty intriguers of the South, and gloats with a fiendish vindictiveness over their effects upon her victims.²²

For Evans, to speak of Imogen "is to sing one long paean of praise", but his lack of anything useful to say about the play is in some measure redeemed by a substantial and accurate stage-history which occupies pages 79 to 85 of his introduction. Although the edition antedates Irving's production of Cymbeline by one year the illustrations to the text show a decorative style very much the same as that adopted in the performances.

Professor Gervinus' essay on Cymbeline is a more formidable contribution. He takes a lenient view of Posthumus, asserting that by agreeing to the wager, he was defending Imogen's honour in the same way that she defended his good name from Cloten's slanders, and he considers Iachimo to have been in bad company: "Want of faith in human goodness is not innate in him, but acquired from his never having met with virtuous men."²³ Slander "is not so much his nature, but it has become his habit".²⁴

Gervinus was a much less naive critic than most of his English contemporaries: he accepts that Imogen is "ideal"

and admires her "mental freshness and healthiness", her cookery, her singing, and her daintiness: but he notes the drawbacks attendant on the possession of such a character -

Naturally cheerful, joyous, ingenuous, born to fortune, trained to endurance, she has nothing of that agitated passionateness which foretells a tragic lot, and which brings trouble upon itself of its own creating.

Then she accepts Iachimo's excuse for his attempted seduction of her,

A deep insight into human nature is not common to women of this character.²⁵

In other respects, Gervinus finds her resourceful: she calls for help before she starts to tell Iachimo precisely what she thinks of his behaviour, and when she is confronted with the letter by Pisanio,

She does not stand dumb and confounded, as Desdemona before Othello; she soon finds touching complaints and asseverations, which convince Pisanio of her innocence.²⁶

Other critics had treated her behaviour in this scene as a sign of the total submissiveness of her nature.

Gervinus talks about Cymbeline in terms of the theme of hypocrisy and falsehood, and compares its world with that of the barbaric King Lear (whose world he interprets as one centred on "bloody ambition"). In this scheme of things, Iosthumus' modesty concerning the battle does him credit, and the play is credited with a thematic unity which other critics, working within the limitations of the study of character and that alone, had failed to discern. Gervinus is able to justify in these terms the vision and the gaoler scenes - a better justification than the tritely moral apology offered by Charles Cowden-Clarke. Gervinus' account of the play is dated most by his readiness to make generalisations concerning racial and national identity and their cultural expressions (especially in his comparison of friend-

ship ethics in Homeric and Germanic literature) and the application he makes of this to the play itself -

Shakespeare's song of fidelity belongs ... to the period in which the virtue it extols [constant and undissembled affection] reaches its highest rank, in which it attains its greatest worth, owing to the continued trials, temptations, and dangers to which it is exposed, and in which it is often in the peculiar position of being obliged, as it were, to maintain itself by its very opposite.²⁷

The major objection to Gervinus is that he credits Shakespeare with a sense of history in writing Lear and Cymbeline which is held to have made the plays accurate recreations of the spirit of the barbaric North and the Homeric South - yielding as emblems of constancy in Imogen and Cordelia, rivals of Gudrun and Penelope. But his suggestion that the play is to be seen in terms of variations on ethical and spiritual themes, and that the play's action is a process of trial, is a sign of affinity with some modern approaches to the last plays.²⁸

.....

Despite the insight of Gervinus, the Victorian critics of Cymbeline maintained an estimate of the characters of the play which followed closely the lines of Schlegel's summary - Imogen is a character in whom "no one feature of female excellence is omitted",²⁹ Belarius is "wise and vigorous", Pisanio a model of faithfulness, and Cymbeline, Cloten and the Queen are almost ciphers. There is some indecision concerning Cloten, whose character seems self-contradictory, and has been claimed by Halliwell to be "obsolete" - on stage, his part is cut down ruthlessly. The variables in this picture are the characters of Iachimo and Posthumus - they are either damnable and weak-willed respectively, or else badly brought-up and immature. There was some slight suggestion from some quarters that to the Elizabethans

Posthumus' behaviour would seem quite acceptable. Theatrical critics had little to offer in addition to these ideas, except in some cases extreme expressions of their opinions of Imogen (peerless) and Iachimo and Posthumus as persons.

CHAPTER TWO: HELEN FAUCIT'S LETTER ON THE CHARACTER
OF IMOGEN

In the summer of 1830, Miss Geraldine Jewsbury persuaded Helen Faucit, now Lady Martin, to compose the first of her descriptions of Shakespeare's women. Sir Theodore Martin describes how his wife's misgivings were overcome:

This request she had always resisted, having a deep-seated distrust of her power to express in words what she had been accustomed to express by the living commentary of voice and action. But to this disclaimer her friend would not listen. "Of course," she urged, "you are bound by the responsibility of having the gift to do it, to write down all you know or have learned about Ophelia and the others." That she, who could talk so well of "Ophelia and the others", as my wife had talked to her, could not write as well, Miss Jewsbury would not admit. Still, nothing but her appeal to her sense of duty would, I believe, have overcome my wife's scruples. It was hard, too, for her to say no to the deathbed entreaty of so dear a friend.¹

Upon being sent a copy of the letter on Ophelia, Miss Jewsbury asked for one dealing with Portia: Miss Jewsbury died before the letter had been printed. Sir Theodore had the letters printed and bound, and sent copies of each to his wife's "numerous personal friends", including Queen Victoria, who on receiving a copy of the letter on Portia, telegraphed:

Most thankful for the very interesting brochure you have sent me.²

By 1885, there were enough letters to justify the publication of a handsome collected edition, including commentaries on Ophelia, Portia, Desdemona, Beatrice, Juliet, Imogen and Rosalind. (A "new and enlarged" edition in 1891 included Hermione.) The letters had in the meantime been published in Blackwood's Magazine - Sir Theodore had for many years contributed to its columns - and the collected

volumes were published by Blackwood. The edition quoted below is that of 1891.³

When the 1885 edition appeared, it was reviewed in The Theatre by William Archer. In a review article entitled "Ophelia and Portia: A Fable for Critics", Archer took his stand on the fundamental distinction between critic and actor. The critic is like a man who, by using photographs, enables the reader to see at once several facets of a sculpture which would not normally be seen together. The actor has to select one aspect of the dramatic character, and work on the basis of that alone - he cannot give the whole of the truth:

In doing all this he makes the figure, in a sense, his own, for he has put a vast quantity of his own imagination into it - whence the claims of the actors, ridiculed by Lamb, to rank as creative artists. But the process has involved the suppression and rejection, the slurring and scamping of much of the poet's material - whence the opinion of those who hold that Shakespeare is most profitably studied by the fireside, and not by the footlights. Neither view is without its justification. The actor (the intelligent Shakespearean actor, at any rate) is no mere automatic mouthpiece for the poet; but, on the other hand, he can at best contribute very little towards the rational solution of critical problems.⁴

Archer claims that "while actors cannot fail to find instruction in Lady Martin's essays, critics, I think, should read them rather by way of warning." He adds a footnote referring this statement specifically to critics of Shakespeare, "not critics of acting". Archer follows this with a deft attack on the erroneous nature of literary criticism which follows the methods of "Lady Martin's artist-like and woman-like fantasies".⁵ Archer very courteously dismisses the pretensions of Helen Faucit to literary criticism, and, by analysing the sentimentality, idealisation, and the frequent non-sequiturs and unwarranted assumption of Helen Faucit's letters on Ophelia and Portia, ~~unobscure~~ demonstrates just how

much the actor can be allowed.

The actor who should approach Shakespeare in a spirit of pure rationalism would find his powers paralysed by a hundred doubts and questionings; therefore Lady Martin's ingenious and womanly reflections need no excuse. But the critic stands on different grounds. He must be a rationalist on pain of merely darkening counsel by words without wisdom. That is why such fantasies as come with the best grace in the world from Lady Martin strike us as mere reductions to absurdity of the craft of criticism when we find them in the works of - but why give names when their name is legion?⁶

For present purposes, Helen Faucit's letter on Imogen is interesting by virtue of its relationship with her stage performances of the play, notably with Macready in 1843. It reflects the text used in performance (there are no gaol scenes or apparitions, and no mention is made of the sooth-sayer: Cloten's intention to ravish Imogen is omitted), but there are few descriptions of the circumstances of her performances.⁷ The longest reference to the acting of another performer is devoted to Elton (Pisanio in 1843):

No one whom I have since acted with has so truly thrown into the part the deep devotion, the respectful manly tenderness and delicacy of feeling, which it requires. He drew out all the nicer parts of the character with the same fire and firm hand which we used to admire upon the French stage in M. Regnier, that most finished of actors, in characters of this kind.⁸

The letter is a scene-by-scene discussion of the play, which is treated as though it were called, Imogen, Princess of Britain (an alternative suggested by Miss Faucit).⁹ The exposition is preceded by reminiscences of childhood performances of the "mountain" scenes, the anecdote of the male costume (see p.87 below) and the praise already quoted for Elton's Pisanio. Then Miss Faucit discusses modern production methods. She discards the cumbersome scenery and "upholstery" of the modern stage. Interestingly enough

she discards them (and the theory that Shakespeare would welcome such techniques placed at his disposal) not so much in terms of Shakespearean stagecraft as of idealist character-drawing:

But, oh how refreshing it is to have your thoughts centred upon such human beings as Shakespeare drew, each phase of their characters unfolding before you, with all their joys, their woes, their affections, sufferings, passions, instead of the immovable upholstery and painted simulations of reality in which the modern fashion takes delight!¹⁰

Miss Faucit demands for Shakespeare a theatre whose focus is firmly on the actor impersonating the role: Shakespeare "knew too well", we are told,

that if the eye be distracted by excess of numbers or of movement, or by a multiplicity of beautiful or picturesque objects, the actor must work at a disadvantage...¹¹

After these reflections, the authoress turns to the character of Imogen as it is established at the beginning of the play by the comments of the other characters, and cites the strong evidence of Iachimo's awe:

Iachimo, fastidious and cloyed in sensuality as he is, no sooner sees her than he is struck with admiring awe:-

All of her that is out of door most rich!
If she be furnished with a mind so rare,
She is alone the Arabian bird.¹²

Iachimo's reverence in the bedchamber reveals that he has "all the subtle perception of the refined sensualist."¹³ It is part of the redemption of Iachimo, to which Miss Faucit also adds a "hell of remorse which robs him of his valour and his peace" - an extreme statement of the "manly reparation" made by Macready's Iachimo.¹⁴

Redeeming Posthumus is an equally important task - he accepts the wager because he is nervously angry after

Cymbeline's harshness, he is annoyed by Iachimo's lightly-borne self-assurance, and his confidence in Imogen's purity prevents his conceiving of any way in which Iachimo might win. Indeed, he is easily convinced by Iachimo's knowledge of Imogen's mole: "What need of further token!" exclaims Miss Faucit, amplifying Iachimo's words when he sees the mole (New Arden edition, II.2.39-42.) -

Those of which he is now possessed will be ample to carry conviction to a man of pure heart like Posthumus, who could not conceive of baseness so vile as that by which Iachimo has come to know of that sweet secret mark.¹⁵

Miss Faucit's Posthumus is ingenuous in the extreme - so noble that he cannot conceive that villainy exists - and her Iachimo is a sensualist who comes to self-realisation in the remorse which haunts him when he has accomplished the deception - and his better instincts are revealed in his awe at the sight of Imogen.

Miss Faucit describes at some length her reading of Act I, scene 7, the interview with Iachimo: the account yields some suggestions as to what the actress did on stage. When Iachimo gives her Posthumus' letter,

Iachimo is watching her with all his eyes. The happiness in hers, lately so full of tears, adds to her fascination, and her whole demeanour expresses, silently but eloquently, the purity and beauty of her soul.¹⁶

When Iachimo tells her how Posthumus is having a good time in Rome, the report,

so little in consonance with all she has known of Posthumus, at once arrests Imogen's attention.

Imogen's "Will my lord say so?", when Iachimo amplifies this report, is amazed, and "My lord, I fear / Has forgot Britain," is spoken with a sad dignity. Her "Let me hear no more!" arises not only from her reluctance to hear ill of Posthumus,

but from her recognition of

a something in the speaker from which, as
a pure woman, she instinctively recoils...

This mistrust grows, until Iachimo's offer of love reveals him fully, and with "Away! I do condemn mine ears that have / So long attended thee", Imogen rejects Iachimo completely -

The cloud vanishes which for a moment has rested upon her mind; and instead of the doubting perplexed woman, wounded in her most sacred belief, we see the indignant princess sweeping from her presence in measureless scorn the man whose every word she feels to be an insult.

From reports of her stage performances, especially those at Drury Lane in 1864, we gather that at this point Helen Faucit threw Iachimo from her - her rendering of the scene in the 1843 production seems to have been much milder, and in the later performances the scene was conceived as working to a crescendo with the burst of indignation, and then returning to the mildness of Imogen with "You make amends", which, according to Miss Faucit's account in her letter, is murmured half aloud.

The omission of the physical force of Imogen's reaction to Iachimo shows how the authoress is modifying her stage performances to produce the closest performance which her letter represents. Later, in her description of the entrance into the mountaineers' cave, Imogen is not represented in the letter as starting at the sound she has made herself - Morley's review of her 1864 performance claimed that she raised a laugh by this "point".¹⁷ The account of the acting of this scene is fairly full:

In my first rehearsals of this scene, I instinctively adopted a way of my own of entering the cave which I was told was unusual. My dear friend and master approved of my conception, Mr. Elton, my Pisanio, liked it much; and Mr. Macready,

after expressing many apprehensions, thought I might try it... The "Ho! who's here?" was given, as you may remember, with a voice as faint and full of terror as could be, - followed by an instant shrinking behind the nearest bush, tree, or rock. Then another and a little bolder venture: "If anything that's civil, speak!" Another recoil. Another pause: "If savage, Take or lend! Ho!" Gaining a little courage, because of the entire silence: "No answer? then I'll enter!" - peering right and left, still expecting something to pounce out upon her, and keeping ready, in the last resort, to fly. Then the sword, which had been an encumbrance before, and something to be afraid of, comes into her mind. If the dreaded enemy be as cowardly as herself, it will keep him at bay:-

Best draw my sword; and if mine enemy
But fear the sword like me, he scarcely look on't.

And so, with great dread, but still greater hunger, and holding the good sword straight before her, she creeps slowly into the cave.¹⁸

If, as Morley reported, the audience laughed at the idea of Imogen frightened by her own voice, it is reasonable to suppose that the touch was omitted from the subsequent performances, and that the account given in this passage is an account of the "revised" 1864 version: perhaps the touch was an innovation in 1864, dropped when it raised an unlooked-for reaction. Imogen in the cave, when the brothers discover her, is an object of pathos in Miss Faucit's imagination (a "sweet pleading figure") and the excessive timidity of Imogen is justified by invoking her tender nurture, her ignorance and her tiredness.

There are a number of minor reflections of stage practice in the rest of the account: Imogen's speech when she awakens to find the headless body is quoted in a mixture of the Folio text and the stage version used by Macready,¹⁹ and Cloten, when given Posthumus' letter by Pisanio, reads and

re-reads it during Pisanio's four lines of aside (New Arden III.5. 102 etc.). It is impressed upon us in the descriptions that Imogen is "mysteriously sad", "wistful" and pathetic in her demeanour, a feature of the character especially dear to Miss Faucit. In her account of the dénouement, Miss Faucit dwells on Imogen's perplexed state of kind as Iachimo reveals his treachery: then she adds,

Ah, dear friend, as I write, the agony of all these thoughts seems again to fill my mind, as it ever used to do when acting this scene upon the stage. I wonder if I ever looked what I felt!²⁰

Perhaps this is not entirely ingenuous: George Fletcher praised Miss Faucit for silent acting, and in terms very much like those in which she expresses her diffidence in the letter. Miss Faucit had continued -

It is in such passages as these that Shakespeare surpasses all dramatic writers. He has faith in his interpreters, and does not encumber them with words. None could express what was passing in Imogen's soul. At such moments Emerson has truly said, we only "live from a great depth of being".

Fletcher had written of her performance in 1843:

From the beginning, however, of Iachimo's confession, the countenance and gesture of the present performer express to us, in their delicate variation, what Shakespeare's text can but dimly suggest, even to the most thoughtful and imaginative reader.²¹

Miss Faucit's letters often present the reader with reminiscence filtered through an idealising spirit: she often chooses to recall the particularly inspirational moments of her performances in a manner which can appear almost megalomaniac - as Hermione, for example, she experienced an ecstasy of beauty and impressive power.

The sympathies of my audience for the suffering Hermione were reflected back upon me so warmly

as to make me feel that they entered into my conception of her beautiful nature, as I have here the letter on Hermione endeavoured to present it...22

Her explanation for the emotive power of her performance of the statue scene constitutes a more explicit declaration of her relationship with the "ideal women" whom she portrayed:

In Edinburgh, upon one occasion, I have been told by a friend who was present that, as I descended from the pedestal and advanced towards Leontes, the audience simultaneously rose from their seats, as if drawn out of them by surprise and reverential awe at the presence of one who bore more of heaven than of earth about her. I can only account for this by supposing that the soul of Hermione had for the time entered into mine, and "so divinely wrought that one might almost say," with the old poet, my "body thought". Of course I did not observe this movement of the audience, for my imagination was too full of what I thought was then in Hermione's heart, to leave me eyes for any but Leontes.

This letter was addressed to Tennyson, and it ends with this and further intimations that Miss Faucit knew as much about inspiration as any poet: but the same mixture of transcendental flummery and simple vanity informs the whole of the book. If Miss Faucit praises the gentle, womanly, ideal virtue of a character she has performed, the reader is never allowed to forget that Helen Faucit was able to perform it. Her Desdemona dies in agonised reflections on what her husband will go through when he discovers his hideous mistake, and Miss Faucit adds in a footnote to the description of Desdemona's death Carlyle's praise of her acting -

It was a great pleasure to me, when, talking with Mr. Carlyle in 1873 about Mr. Macready's revivals, which he spoke of very warmly, he referred in glowing terms to my Desdemona. Amid much else, he said he had never felt the play so deeply before. One phrase especially struck me - "It quite hurt me to see the fair, delicate creature so brutally used." Would

that I could give an idea of his tone and accent, gentle and tremulous, as if a suffering living creature were there before him! I quote from my Diary, November 24, 1873.²³

In the letter on Imogen, Miss Faucit reflects on the difficulties which are encountered in the playing of "ideal" female roles: she prefaces her letter with reminders that without the skills of the stage the re-creation of a character is, for her, very difficult. This amounts to a reminder that Miss Faucit was a superb actress - a fact she does not allow us to forget - and that Shakespeare had only done half the work required to present Imogen, leaving a great deal to be compassed by the interpreter.

The accounts Miss Faucit is able to give of her state of mind whilst acting suggest that she acted very much by inspiration - but it seems reasonable to believe that what she took for divine (or Shakespearean) inspiration was really a very good instinct for what would prove effective. After reading the letter in which her husband instructs Pisanio to kill her, Imogen, as acted by Miss Faucit, faints:

These few words have sufficed to blight, to blacken, and to wither her whole life. The wonder is, that she ever rises. I used to feel tied to the earth.²⁴

We have Miss Faucit's word for this prolonged prostration's being subject to her emotional inspiration, but the reader feels some reluctance in rejecting the supposition that when she performed the part some twenty years before she wrote an account of it, the actress was consciously exercising her technical skill - gauging just how much she could make of Imogen's horror.

It is in this kind of hindsight, rather than in the speculations and assumptions which Archer attacked, that the danger of Miss Faucit's method lies. Her sentimentality is annoying when it is applied to the supposed afterlife of

the characters (Posthumus is unable to forgive himself for his cruelty, Imogen at length dies from the wounds inflicted on her delicate feelings, and Iachimo's remorse is deepened by the news of her death) and when it prompts her to suggest that a monument be erected at Milford Haven to the memory of Imogen. But the faults that make the letters bad criticism are not as rank as those which make them unreliable as evidence for the stage-historian.

Helen Faucit was by 1885 Helena Faucit, Lady Martin, married to a clever man who worshipped her and in whose eyes she evidently was the "ideal woman". She was adored - much as she claims Imogen was adored - by a great many people, and reviews of her performances had, since the 1840s at least, elevated her at the expense of her contemporaries.²⁵ She received adulatory fan-mail, and Christmas-cards from Queen Victoria.²⁶ George Fletcher, in an otherwise unremarkable series of articles, had claimed in the forties to be writing Shakespeare-criticism "from the highest view" and to be inspired in his criticisms largely by the acting of Helen Faucit. Miss Faucit had an idea of Shakespearean drama in which the acted play transcended the theatrical surroundings, and the acted characters transcended the play. Fletcher went so far as to describe Helen Faucit on tour in terms of her superiority to the contemporary theatre -

But in the same proportion as [the size] of our national theatres has been favourable and encouraging to vulgar exaggeration in the performer, has it been depressing to any true and refined inspiration. Once removed from the absorbing and effacing vastness of the great London theatres, - and at the same time from the oppressive of an uncongenial style in an ascendent actor, - that noble, delicate and various imagination, - those rich, exquisite, and versatile powers of expression, - with which Nature and culture have so remarkably endowed her, - have made themselves more known and estimated by the world.²⁷

Helen Faucit's acting was increasingly interpreted as being above the dramatic environment - in 1864 her style was appreciated by admirers of the statuesque - and her attempts to write critical accounts of the characters she played share the faith in ideality which was proclaimed by her admirers. She closes her letter to Miss Jewsbury with the words - "This was my vision of Imogen when I acted her; this is my vision of her still". It seems reasonable to doubt the usefulness of that vision to the modern reader of her letters on Shakespeare's women; the pieces bear more relation to stage performances than would appear at a glance, but as accounts of the author's performances they contain some substantial distortions. In writing the letters, whether she would admit or not, Miss Faucit was trying to present the refined, definitive ideal woman as played in her varying Shakespearean guises by the refined, ideal actress - an actress no longer tramelled by the stage's limitations and vulgarities.²⁸

PART TWO

'CYMBELINE' ON THE LONDON STAGE, 1785-1896

CHAPTER THREE: JOHN PHILIP KEMBLE AND E.J. BOOTH

i. John Philip Kemble as Posthumus, 1785-1817.

Between his first appearance in the role, in November 1785, and his last act, on May 30, 1817, Kemble appeared as Posthumus twenty-six times. Mrs. Siddons appeared with him eleven times, and he played opposite eight other Imogens and seven Iachimos. During that period there were in all thirty-eight performances of the play. In the account which follows, Kemble's appearances are treated in chronological order and other performances during the period are mentioned as they arise in order of time. Booth's Posthumus (March-April 1817) is considered in a separate section. The account begins with Kemble's eighteenth-century appearances.

.....

Kemble first appeared as Posthumus with Mrs. Jordan as Imogen, on November 21, 1785: this was the first attempt made by the actress upon this character, and she did not repeat it. According to Boaden "she could act only the disguise of the character", and she lacked the capacity to render all the changing passions demanded of an actress by the interview with Iachimo - "mingled astonishment, grief, indignation, reconcollement and virtuous dignity."¹

His next appearances were in 1787: on January 29, February 1, 5 and 8, and March 20, Kemble played with Mrs. Siddons as Imogen and Smith as Iachimo. The performance was repeated next season, on November 5. On May 24, Bensley played Posthumus. The first of these performances was for Mrs. Siddons's benefit. Boaden, condemning depraved modern taste for the display of female legs, recalled that Mrs. Siddons decorously "assumed as little of the man as possible, so that her most powerful scenes were those in the dress of

her own sex."² Mrs. Siddons achieved all that had eluded Mrs. Jordan - Boaden enthused over her "variety of ... manner and expression" in her scene with Iachimo. He admitted that her scenes with the mountaineers were a little hampered by her lack of boyishness, but on weighing "pour et contre" he preserved "a very lively sense of so exquisite a performance".³ Boaden then proceeded to the praise of Posthumus:

Mr. Kemble was, by a thousand degrees, the best Posthumus of my time. It was a learned, judicious, and in the fine burst upon Iachimo at the close, a most powerful effort; and such it continued through his theatric life. Among the many excellencies of my departed friend, one, which strongly impresses me at the present moment, was that admirable skill which kept the utmost vehemence from the remotest appearance of rant...⁴

In 1797, at Drury Lane on March 6, "A Young Lady" made her first appearance on stage in the character of Imogen, supported by the "well sustained" Posthumus and Iachimo and Iachimo of J. Palmer and John Philip Kemble. The Young Lady was Miss Worthington, who "wanted voice for the more impassioned part of the character" but spoke with "judgement and animation" and cut an elegant figure when dressed as Fidele.⁵ This was Kemble's last appearance as Posthumus until 1801. In 1800 at Covent Garden, Holman and Pope played Posthumus and Iachimo for Mrs. Pope's benefit on May 13: Mrs. Pope played "with much feeling and propriety".⁶

.....

On February 12, 1801 Cymbeline was revived at Drury Lane "With New Scenes, Dresses, and Decorations". According to Boaden, the play had been ready since December, "as far as it rested with Mr. Kemble", but it was not presented until February, when, in Boaden's words,

Mr. Kemble at last delivered to the general admiration the result of what his taste and judgement had enabled him to do for Cymbeline.⁷

After noting that Shakespeare seems to have anticipated the scenic resources of the modern stage, Boaden launched into praise of the scenery of Kemble's production - "with some bearing upon the confusion of manners,... a beautiful mélange."

The mise en scène pleased the reviewer of The Monthly Mirror: beginning his review with a defence of the play (in which it is alleged that "an interesting air of romance,... that mingles itself with the historical circumstances" compensates for the faults in the conduct of the narrative) the critic went on to condemn Hawkins's reworking of the play. He then remarked on the mounting of the play:

In point of dress, scenery, and liberal embellishment of every description, few plays have been so handsomely attended to as this. Not only the principal characters, but, from Cymbeline down to the meanest attendant, there is a consistency and propriety in the several habits, and an attention to costume which reflect the highest credit on the taste and ability of the manager. The scene of Imogen's bedchamber is one of the most magnificent that has ever been painted for the stage. The artist has minutely followed the author's description.... The arrangement of the last scene is admirable. If it were transferred to the canvas by a skilful painter, we venture to assert, that, for grouping, grandeur, variety of interesting expression, and unity of subject, it would form as striking a composition, and as eloquent a specimen of pictorial art, as has ever been produced in this country.⁸

The Dramatic Censor was not as impressed, and considered that the play had been mounted "with more magnificence, in many instances, than propriety".

The Monthly Mirror gave a description of Kemble's acting as "dignified, discriminative, and highly empasioned" and

devoted most of its space to the scene of Iachimo's return with news of the "won" wager:

In the scene with Iachimo, on the return of the latter from Britain, he was uncommonly interesting; and strongly expressed the mixt feelings by which the character in this situation is agitated. A sense of injury, arising from the unjust suspicions of Iachimo; confidence in his wife's virtue; the misgivings of his mind at the sight of the jewel; the eagerness with which he adopts the suggestion of Philario, that the bracelet might have been stolen, so admirably expressed by the manner of his concurrence "very true", hope, thus revived, resolving again into doubt, and ending at last in confirmed conviction and despair; all this was very greatly acted: and the vehemence of his exclamation in the last scene, "Ay, so thou dost", and the self-condemnation and grief into which he breaks forth immediately afterwards, were no less to be admired.

But this was only in parts as good as his greatest characters: "As a whole, we might mention several characters which deserve the preference".

The same critic's opinion of Mrs. Siddon's Imogen indicates that she succeeded where other actresses - Miss Worthington in 1797 and Mrs. Jordan in 1785 - failed: in the "more impassioned parts" of the character. But she failed to suggest the lighter side of Imogen -

Mrs. Siddons is never wanting in majesty, solemn grandeur of deportment, lofty expression of countenance, and all the higher excellencies of the art; but she cannot assume, with success, the softness, delicacy, affectionate tenderness, and interesting distress of Imogen.

She had no boyishness for the scenes of her disguise, and was badly dressed in them:

... as for the boy's dress, as it is called, a more ill-fancied, not to say disgusting suit of man-womanish attire was surely never seen.

In "You make amends" (the end of her interview with Iachimo) and a number of other moments, she did succeed. Boaden merely noted that Imogen "had the full charm of Siddons".⁹

Iachimo was played by Barrymore, and although he acted the part well, he was "not, altogether, that 'slight thing of Italy' which the poet intended" (The Monthly Mirror). Charles Kemble and Decamp played Guiderius and Arviragus, to the satisfaction of Kemble, who (said Boaden) "used to call the prettiest thing he ever saw upon the stage ... the elegant rusticity of the two boys ... who really looked to be of the same family". Boaden adds that in the final scene, when by means of Guiderius' "mole, a sanguine star" the two princes are identified -

The innocent enjoyment with which Charles Kemble presented himself, for the verification of this natural test, did not escape the tasteful eye of his brother - "That now, Charles", said he, "was the FOLLY of acting".¹⁰

.....

Cymbeline was given four times in 1801: on February 12, 14, 17 and 19. From Kemble's Professional Memoranda (British Museum Additional MSS 31, 974-5) we can ascertain the receipts of the performance, and adduce some comparisons from the receipts of other plays. The Memoranda give a list of salaries which show the difference in status between Kemble, the manager at £31.10.0 a week (and ten guineas for every night he acted above three nights in one week), his sister, the leading female actress with a salary of £20 a week, and Barrymore, who had only recently "by due attention and unremitting industry insured himself a permanent situation at Drury Lane".¹¹ Barrymore received £10.¹²

The receipts for the performances of Cymbeline in 1801 can be summarized thus:

Feb. 12	£235.11.6
14	£174.11.6
17	£226. 9.0
19	£228.19.6

These are respectable but by no means full houses: we can compare them with those attracted by King John and Pizarro. In King John on January 22 Kemble appeared in the title rôle, Charles Kemble played Faulconbridge and Mrs. Siddons played Constance. The performance realized £305.14.0 - in Pizarro John Kemble played Rolla and Mrs. Siddons Elvira: on January 26 and February 9 the receipts were £411.12.0 and £362.17.6, respectively. Macbeth, with Kemble and Siddons in the leading rôles took £248.18.6 on February 21.

.....

On January 29, 1802 Cymbeline was repeated at Drury Lane with the same cast: its receipts amounted to £263.8.6. In 1803, on January 21, Barrymore's illness caused the substitution of Powell as Iachimo. Powell "sustained" the character "with no inconsiderable ability" according to The Times (January 30, 1803) -

... the cunning of the character was well marked... He would, however, have been more successful, had he given the part a greater degree of ease and gaiety.

The Times praised Kemble's delineation of "transitions of the different passions" in the scene where Iachimo alleges success over Imogen. The interpolated lines,

They have a King, whose love and justice to them,
May ask, and have, their treasures and their blood.

was received by the audience patriotically ("applied with rapture to our beloved Sovereign ~~they~~ excited an enthusiastic burst of applause" said The Times). Mrs. Pope, as Imogen, was successful:

In the fervent and constant love, the mild resignation, the unaffected innocence of this amiable part she seemed to be actuated by nature only.

The Times also noticed that "the secondary and inferior characters ... are now in the possession of more able performers than has generally been the case." In a short notice of Powell's debut as Iachimo, The Monthly Mirror remarked that he was "too tame and even" and that "his colouring was chaste, but it wanted warmth."¹³ No account is given in the Kemble Memoranda of the receipts of this performance.

Mrs. Pope had appeared the previous year (on September 28 and October 4) with her husband as Posthumus. Pope made a good impression in the scene where he is persuaded that Imogen is unfaithful and "the workings of his passion were in strict conformity with those nature itself would have taught". (The Times, September 29, 1802). Mrs. Pope - "admirably suited" to the part, - was a successful Imogen, commended especially by The Times for her reading of Posthumus' letter to Pisanio. The reviewer concluded his notice with the hint that it would be "a wise speculation" to repeat the play frequently: in the event it had one other performance with the Papes. No record of the receipts has been located.

.....

In 1806, Kemble appeared as Posthumus again, with Cooke and Miss Smith as Iachimo and Imogen. The Monthly Mirror noted that this Covent Garden revival lacked "the splendour which attended [its] revival at Drury Lane, in 1801". There were four performances, on January 18 and 23, and February 1 and 17. On February 1 Henry Siddons took Kemble's place, the superior actor "having a very bad cough" (Professional Memoranda, February 1, 1806). The receipts were respectable,

although the figures for appearances of Master Betty during the month of January outshine them: the Cymbeline receipts are as follows -

Jan. 18	£241. 12. 6
23	£302. 11. 6
Feb. 1	£271. 6. 6
17	£252. 19. 6

The receipts for Master Betty's performances can be represented by the following examples.

Jan. 8	(<u>Pancred and Sigismunda</u>)	£511. 0. 6
10	" " "	£466. 3. 6

Comparable receipts for performances by Kemble:

Jan. 13	(<u>Richard III</u>)	£327. 6. 6
15	(<u>Pizarro</u>)	£351. 0. 0
20	(<u>Douglas</u>)	£469. 1. 0

Cymbeline was a moderate success: but it could not compare with the success, not only of Master Betty, but of Kemble's more established plays - by March he was still making very good money out of his best parts (£389.8.6 for Hamlet on March 20, for example) and Cymbeline represented a drop into the two-hundreds.

Cooke's performance as Iachimo is documented by two promptbooks, and by the "Remarks" printed in Cumberland's edition of the play. In these "Remarks" D.-G. (George Daniel) writes:

The Iachimo of Cooke, like many of that great actor's performances, was very unequal. He had all the art of the crafty Italian, but none of the careless gaiety. There were, however, scenes of transcendent skill. His look and manner, where he emerges from the chest, in Imogen's chamber, were terribly impressive. An aspect of more superhuman villainy, dashed with fearful apprehension, was never exhibited on the stage....¹³

Of Cooke's two promptbooks,¹⁴ that in the Harvard Theatre Collection is almost unmarked, whereas the Folger book has

detailed instructions for the playing of Iachimo's scenes. Cooke's version of these differs little from that used by Marston in the Sadler's Wells production of 1847-1860, and that of William Creswick, used in 1864 at Drury Lane: Creswick's book is a palimpsest whose first layer is a copy marked by Kemble. The two scenes in which the "continuity of Iachimo" asserts itself are his interview with Imogen (Arden 1.7 - Kemble's 11.1) and the bedchamber scene.

Creswick's annotations for the interview scene are much more detailed than Cooke's, which are rudimentary. In the bedchamber scene, Cooke lists the "points" of his soliloquy more fully: in the following account, his directions are underlined in red ink.

The scene is, according to the printed stage-direction, "a magnificent bedchamber, in one part of it a large Trunk": Cooke adds that this is On the left a little more forward than the bed. When Imogen has uttered her short prayer, Iachimo after a pause, raises the lid of the trunk, slowly, & goes down, a little on L(ef)t. At "... repairs itself by rest", he Looks toward the Bed, and cautiously advances to it; speaking, as he advances. By the words "ere he waken'd/ The chastity he wounded", Iachimo is Close to the bed, and at "But kiss; one kiss!" he Inclines toward her.

When Iachimo decides to "write all down" he Advances near the middle of the stage, and takes out his tablets: this establishes a degree of complicity with the audience which not all Iachimos sought. Iachimo Looks round the chamber, & then writes before he says "Such, and such pictures", and he writes three times in the following passage, until, with "...t'enrich mine inventory" he Advances with the greatest caution, to the bed, speaking from "O sleep" to "in a chapel lying": this phrase he speaks after a short pause of trepidation. He removes her bracelet, according to the printed stage-direction, and with "Come off, come off" he Comes a little down, overjoyed - again establishing complicity with

the audience. Then at "... the madding of her lord", Iachimo Returns gently to the bed, &, after a short, anxious look, softly draws aside the upper part of her dress - gazes, much agitated. No Victorian Iachimo before Irving seems to have gone so far as Cooke.

At "a mole, cinque-spotted", Iachimo Again looks, having turned aside, and realizing that "Here's a voucher...", he comes a little down... preparing to write. Then, his elation subsiding, he Puts up the tablets, advances to the table, & takes up the book. Having noticed Imogen's place in the book he Lays the book down. Now he returns to the trunk -

To the trunk again, and shut the spring of it!

The line is spoken rather hurried and he Gets into the trunk before saying "I lodge in fear". With the last "time!" he Lies down and closes the lid. The printed direction ("he goes into the trunk: the scene closes") is deleted.

.....

On September 21 and 22, and October 7, 1807, Kemble appeared again at Covent Garden, with Pope as Iachimo and Miss Norton as Imogen. Miss Norton, said The Times, "personated Imogen in a sensible manner, but she took great liberties with her author's readings; and, upon the whole, we do not see her utility at this theatre, in this class of characters, while we are possessed of Miss Smith." (The Times, September 22, 1807).

The Monthly Mirror (October, 1807), although conceding that experience at the Haymarket and in the provinces had improved Miss Norton's acting, did not find her acceptable as Imogen:

Were we to describe the person in our opinion qualified to represent Imogen, we should undoubtedly number many qualifications, of which

Miss Norton is but slightly possessed. Her figure in female attire is genteel, and she is fair, but she wants a brow, to give expression to her countenance; and her voice, though musical, is, in serious declamation, monotonous and unimpressive. Her action is easy without variety, and, on the whole, she has cleverness, which may be useful in parts one step lower. Miss Smith sat in the house to see Miss Norton - they should have changed places.

The same critic praised Kemble's Posthumus ("of the little he made more than it would be just to expect from any other man now on the stage") and noted that his finest moments were the display of passions in the scene where Iachimo claims to have succeeded in the wager, and appearance in the last scene at Iachimo's "Methinks I see him now", which was "electrical". Kemble's appearance is commended for its pictorial effect:

Here his figure and his robes, which none other knows so well the art of managing, were admirably effective. Without the chains, in the former scene, his Roman costume was seen to still greater advantage. Aeschylus has been called the "Painter's Poet" - Mr. Kemble is the Painter's Player.

The Times remarked that Kemble "dressed and redressed the character" attractively, and "gave every sentence of the part as if the fate of England depended on it":

Indeed this gentleman always deals out his words as whist-players do their cards, as if every advantage of the game depended upon a mis-deal.

These comments upon Kemble's ponderous, picturesque style of acting are echoes of common criticisms of his performing. To the disenchanted, Kemble was a bore: Leigh Hunt, reviewing his Lear in 1808 likened Kemble to -

... the man who was so fond of a stick that he would carry a stick everywhere, to balls, to prayers, and to dinner. In short you never see Mr. Kemble on the stage without his stick; he is always stiff, always precise, and he will never, as long as he lives, be able to act

anything mad unless it be a melancholy mad statue.¹⁵

To the Old Playgoer (William Robson) Kemble's picturesque stances were pleasing in the highest degree: in Coriolanus's ovation -

The exquisite beauty of the statue struck even the most uncultivated mind, and although no word was spoken, the spectators were in an absolute ecstasy of delight, and could have willed him ever to remain so, as the chef-d'oeuvre of nature and of art.¹⁶

There was a certain personal pride in Kemble's demeanour which some contemporaries found offensive: to Planché, Kemble and Siddons were "the Ultimus Romanorum of the english stage and his magnificent sister"¹⁷ but the acidity of William Beckford hints at another reaction to Kemble's classicism. In Beckford's parody of a sentimental novel - The Elegant Enthusiast - the characters decide to visit the theatre:

The Curtain at Drury Lane Theatre had been up for some time, and the great Kemble was in the very act of being superior to Garrick ...¹⁸

On the occasion of the 1807 revival of Cymbeline, Kemble's picturesque finesse was ill supported by the lesser members of the cast. According to an account in The Monthly Mirror Cornelius and Pisanio were grossly overacted ("fine playing and pomposity") and the capture of Posthumus was effected by two very young soldiers - which the critic likened to

Napoleon taken prisoner by two of our officers of the guards, just escaped from Eaton, and breeched in regimental small cloaths, to parade St. James's Street.¹⁹

The reviewer continues with a plea for the better playing of the smaller parts in the drama, discounting the argument that by such incompetence as was displayed in the minor actors of Cymbeline, the prominence of the protagonists is increased:

Ut pictura possis. - Let the due measure of prominence be obtained in the dramatic poem

as in the picture. The painter has his principal figure, but those subservient to it are also well drawn, giving and taking advantage from their respective positions; the dramatist too has his chief, but the other characters in the drama are also well drawn, and should so be acted, to fulfil the intention of the author, and to make perfect the illusion of the scene.²⁰

The Monthly Mirror's review comments upon the acting of Pope, as Iachimo ("there was too much sobriety in his face and manner, to suit the character of such a gallant as Iachimo") and of Charles Kemble:

When Mr. C. Kemble, in Guiderius, assists Arviragus (Mr. Brunton) to take up the plank on which Imogen is stretched, we advise him to turn his front to the lady's head, and not, in picking her up, sit down on her face - this is a breach of decorum.

The Times devoted most of its review to meditations on the unlikelihood that "an Englishman, of Posthumus's refinement, should expose an adored wife to the insults of a foreigner".

.....

Kemble's Memoranda give figures for the three nights upon which Cymbeline was performed in 1807 -

Sept. 21	£339.12.6
28	£391. 7.6
Oct. 7	£270.15.0

In 1812, with Kemble's Posthumus, Young's Iachimo and Miss H. Johnston's Imogen, the play was even more profitable -

June 3	£490.14.6
9	£360.15.0

Of these two performances, the first was Young's benefit, the second Mr. Jones's (he appeared as Young Wilding in The Liar). A comparable sum was attracted by Charles Kemble's benefit on June 4 - Richard III and Comus - which realized

£412.18.6.

Kemble appeared four more times in Cymbeline. In 1816 he appeared on May 29 with Young as Iachimo and Miss Stephens as Imogen, for the benefit of Young: Charles Kemble played Polydore (i.e. Guiderius) "for that night only" and Cloten and Morgan (Belarius) were taken by Liston and Terry "for the first time and for that night only". Miss Stephens was appearing for the first time in her rôle. The play was repeated on June 12 for Miss Stephens's benefit, with the same cast, and again on July 9 for Miss Foote's benefit. On the occasion of her benefit Miss Foote played Imogen for the first time: the play was advertised as "By particular request, and for the last time this season". Conway played Posthumus and Young played Iachimo. Neither reviews nor receipts for these performances have been located.

In 1817, Kemble appeared as Posthumus at Covent Garden, "being the last time he ever will perform that character". Miss Foote was Imogen and Young was Iachimo. The performance was attended by Talma, accompanied by "three French ladies". According to The Times,

He paid the utmost attention to the whole performance. He had a book of the play in his hand, which he generally read when performers spoke; but when Mr. Kemble came on stage, he viewed him attentively with an opera glass and seemed to take great interest in his acting.

(The Times, June 2, 1817)

The French actor visited Kemble in the Green-Room, and exchanged cordialities with him.²¹

.....

The text used by Kemble was printed in 1801 and re-printed, with a few alterations, in 1815. It formed the basis of other acting editions of the play - Inchbald's in 1808, Oxberry's in 1821 and Polby's in 1823, (and hence

Cumberland's in 1829). In 1865, or thereabouts, Lacy's text reverted to using the original, Shakespearean, text as its basis: a move already made in 1843 by Macready and established in the years between 1847 and 1860 by Phelps.²²

An account of the text as printed in the acting editions is given by Michael Kimberley in his thesis The 19th Century 'Proprietary' Acting Editions of Shakespeare (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Birmingham 1971.) Kimberley suggests that the Inchbald text of 1808 probably reflects Kemble's revision of 1806: it differs from the 1801 text in six instances.

Kemble's Cymbeline is described by Kimberley as a "revision of a version that is substantially Garrick's".²³ The gaol scenes and the apparitions are removed, as is Posthumus's tirade on the faithlessness of women (II,5 in the New Arden edition); the last act is ruthlessly simplified, with the omission of the soothsayer, of the reported death of the Queen and her plotting against Cymbeline, of Cornelius's confession concerning the poison, and of the greater part of Iachimo's confession. In the fourth act the arrangements for Imogen's funeral are removed, and the dirge is given as in Garrick's version -

Arviragus: Sweet Fidele!

Fear no more the heat o' the sun,
Nor the furious winter's blast;
Thou thy worldly task hast done,
And the dream of life is past.

Guiderius: Monarchs, sages, peasants must,
Follow thee, and come to dust.²⁴

Cloten's part is cut down considerably²⁵ but Pisanio's is extended by giving him the lines of one of the Gentlemen at the English Court, and the two other gentlemen are dignified with the names Madan and Locrine.

ii. Lucius Junius Booth as Posthumus, March-April 1817.

Booth appeared as Posthumus at Covent Garden Theatre in 1817, on March 15, 20, 22 and 29 and April 7 and 30. Iachimo was played by Young and for the last five performances Miss Foote played Imogen. On March 15 the part was taken by a Miss Costello "from the Theatre Royal, Cheltenham", billed as making her first appearance in that character. The Times suggested that her friends "had not acted judiciously in advising her to abandon the provincial theatre". Miss Costello was replaced by Miss Foote on March 20, at a performances which was advertised in terms of Booth's success in his part -

Mr. Booth in the part of Posthumus made an impression exceeded by any actor's first appearance in one of Shakespeare's plays and will repeat that character this evening and Saturday.

(Bill for March 20, 1817)

The well-received performance did not please the critic of The Times:

The chief defects, or rather positive faults of his performance, are those of manner, of action sometimes studied and artificial, and of gesture addressed to the eyes rather than the understandings or feelings of his audience. It is necessary to descend occasionally to particulars; and we cannot but particularize the strange habit of shuffling his feet, and, as it were, sliding along the stage, in which this gentleman indulges himself.

(March 17, 1817)

This review seems to be part of a conspiratorially bad press received by Booth in London. Young's performance as Iachimo is treated to some slightly sour praise:

It would be unjust to omit, that the character of Iachimo afforded scope to Mr. Young for a display of versatility which is not discoverable in his ordinary efforts.²⁶

.....

Booth did not make any further attempt to establish himself as Posthumus's representative in London, and after Kemble's final appearance in the rôle on May 30, 1817, it became the property of a number of actors - Macready, Charles Kemble, Edmund Kean, Cooper and Young. In Macready's short-lived production of 1843, Iachimo was treated as the major male rôle, a procedure rejected by Samuel Phelps in the late forties.

Kemble had established a text for the performance of the play, and a role in which he could exercise his powers of seeming and sounding "classical": a Posthumus of deceived nobility, rather than punished meanness of spirit. Apart from the "productions" of 1801 and 1806, he played the role in a trickle of benefits and a number of presentations for the sake of aspiring Imogens. Moreover, he did not find, even in Mrs. Siddons, actresses who played that role with consistent success and enthusiasm, in the way it was played later in the century by Helen Faucit and Ellen Terry.

CHAPTER FOUR: VARIOUS PERFORMERS, 1823-1829.

i. Kean and Young as Posthumus and Iachimo: Drury Lane January-June, 1823.

The joint engagement of Edmund Kean and Charles Mayne Young at Drury Lane in 1822-1823 was a case of one manager profiting by the mistake of another. Charles Kemble at Covent Garden had offered to renew Young's engagement on unacceptable terms: Young was offered a cut from £25 to £20 a week, and a reduction from three months' vacation to two; (as vacations allowed actors to make money touring in the provinces, such a reduction was a serious depletion of Young's income). Elliston at Drury Lane offered Young £50 a night to act in a succession of parts opposite Kean - effectively an offer of £150 a week. The offer included nine months at this rate, three months' leave for country engagements, and a "clear benefit" (i.e. a benefit at which no "house charges" - the cost of running the theatre for one night - were paid by the actor).¹

The allocation of parts varied: in some plays, notably Othello, the actors alternated the main male parts; in others they took the parts which they had previously played. In Cymbeline, Young had been established in the rôle of Iachimo since 1812, when he played it to Kemble's Posthumus. Kean had not appeared in London in either part. From such casting alone it is evident that Kean's Posthumus would stress the passionate aspects of the character, and that Young's Iachimo would be a stately villain: Julian Charles Young, who saw his father in every role of the season, summarized thus the physical differences between his style of acting and that of Kean:

Each had certain physical requisites which especially qualified him for his vocation. Young had a small, keen, brown, penetrating eye, overshadowed by a strongly-defined and

bushy eyebrow. Kean's eye was infinitely finer; it was fuller, blacker, and more intense. When kindled by a real passion off the stage, or by simulated passion on, it gleamed with such scorching lustre as literally to make those who stood beneath its rays quail. In this feature, beyond all question, he had an immense superiority over Young. In figure, stature, and deportment, Young had the advantage over Kean; for he had height, which Kean had not; and, although Young's limbs were not particularly well moulded, he moved them gracefully; and his head, and throat, and bust were classically moulded. Kean in his gait shuffled. Young trod the boards with freedom. Young's countenance was equally well adapted for the expression of pathos or of pride; thus in such parts as Hamlet Beverley, The Stranger, Daran, Pierre, Zanga and Cassius, he looked the men he represented. Kean's variable and expressive countenance, and even the insignificance of his person, rendered him the very type of a Shylock, a Richard, or a Sir Giles Overreach... The great effects which Kean produced upon his audience were the spontaneous effusions of real genius. Young's happiest hits were the result of natural sensibility, quickness of apprehension, and study...²

Study, indeed, was Young's strong point: "nature and study made Mr. Young rather a fine declaimer than a fine actor."³ Young's fitness for the rôle of Iachimo can be seen in the description given by the "Count de Soligny" (P.G. Patmore):

The merely self-witted and selfish - the purely external passions of pride, anger, disdain, and the like - the most prominent of those passions, or rather those impulses, which usually appertain to the character and habits of Indian caliphs and Persian satraps, are exemplified to the very life by the peculiar qualities of mind, and attributes of person, which belong to this most eloquent of declaimers. But the delicate and subtle workings which take place only in the inward recesses of the heart, and which recesses become either closed or filled up under certain states of society, require other powers to develop them, and indeed, other means of detecting them, than Young seems to me to possess.⁴

Young, in short, was well suited to foreign villains.

The newspaper reviews of the play bear out our expectations. Young's Iachimo was "a fine specimen of his powers... adapted to them both in respect to declamation and artificial construction," remarked "Q" in The Examiner, though his next remark is not immediately comprehensible:

Iachimo is assumptive, and consequently artificial, to Posthumus and Imogen; and eloquent and poetical in the soliloquy of the chamber; all which is particularly suitable to Mr. Young.

(January 27, 1823)

In other words, Young's Iachimo was very obviously a villain in the scenes where he had dealings with the hero and heroine, but took advantage of his soliloquy to show off his powers of poetic declamation. From The Sunday Monitor we learn that the soliloquy "was given with a delightful characteristic softness of expression" (January 26). The Sunday Times praised Young's acting of "the discovery of his lawless passion to Imogen, and his subsequent recantation" and his "recounting the several particulars by which he sought to convince the husband of Imogen that he had realized his depraved purpose". The Times concluded that

The sly, cunning, specious, and sometimes sarcastic Italian, could not have been more efficiently represented.

(January 23)

Kean's Posthumus received much praise: The Times enumerated his "points" -

His first scene with Iachimo, a scene which in ordinary hands would scarcely be noticed, was rendered exceedingly prominent by the cool dignity with which he treated the offensive boastings of the vain Italian. The agony of Posthumus, when he is cheated into belief in Imogen's incontinence, was described with amazing force. The whole of that memorable scene is yet before our

eyes. The honest confidence of Posthumus, when he demands of the Italian the success of his wager - the eagerness with which he seizes on every doubt which affords the slightest hope that he had not effected his purpose - the withering of those hopes one after another, as proof was piled upon proof, until uncertainty terminated in horror and despair, were in turns portrayed in vivid colours by Mr. Kean; and as his feelings changed, the feelings of the audience accompanied this transition. It was, in every part, a masterly performance.

(January 23)

The Examiner observed that Kean was "somewhat hoarse", but that the scene in which he was taunted into the wager allowed the actor "some marking in the suppressed line of passion", and the "torrent of passion" when he thinks Imogen seduced "was overwhelming in a direction more peculiarly his own". To this the other reviewers add praise for what The Sunday Monitor called "his electrical touches".

The production had eight performances between January 22 and June 9; for the first two only (January 22, 24) Imogen was acted by "A Young Lady, her First Appearance on Any Stage". Upon this unfortunate was unleashed the wrath of The Times:

A Young Lady, whose name we understand is Williams, assumed the part of Imogen.... The bills announced it to be "her first appearance on any stage". This was a mere ruse de théâtre, as was perfectly evident when Miss Williams had gone through half a scene. She has, we have been informed, played at Bath and elsewhere; and it is, we think, a paltry trick to endeavour to excite, by a false statement, that extreme tenderness of feeling for one who is not new to the profession which we spontaneously entertain for her who really appears for the first time on the stage. Miss Williams is scarcely of middle stature; her form is slight, but not remarkable for the elegance of its proportions. Her features are good and intelligent. They are distinguished

by a pensive, thoughtful cast, extremely appropriate to the expression of a deep and quiet grief. Her voice is indifferent. Its ordinary tones are low and sweet; but when she makes any effort which requires force and energy, it becomes most unpleasantly acute. There is a "straining of harsh discords and unpleasing sharps". Her general style of speaking has much more to do with art than with nature. It exhibits more of studied formality of declamation, than of the pure and heart-stirring spirit which ever accompanies real feeling. There were, however, some few parts of her performance in which she seemed to have given herself up to the illusion of the scene; and, having forgotten her tutors, to have depended on the innate workings of her own mind...

Such a scene was her learning the contents of Posthumus' letter to Pisanio: but her voice still proved inadequate -

Her performance was very well received by a crowded house but we will not flatter her by asserting that her talents entitle her to move in the first rank of her profession.

The Sunday Times, although less caustic than The Times, found Miss Williams "deficient in graceful ease", and "Q" of The Examiner complained that she was "without a single distinctive trait that could convey any idea of genius". She was completely out of her depth in Imogen, a character "the texture of which is so exquisitely feminine, that all the more delicate shades and markings are necessary to give it the necessary prominence". Moreover, observed "Q", "Miss Williams occasionally mistook loudness for depth of feeling". (Sunday Times, 26 January 18 ; Examiner, 27 January).

In The Sunday Monitor the catalogue of vices was completed by the kind of praise most damning to an actress -

Miss Williams compensated for the absence of a distinct enunciation throughout, by a constant attention to the part, and a perfect acquaintance with her author.... We think she read Shakespeare correctly.... Her conception of the part appeared

to be distinguished more for its correctness of /sic/ the author, than for any originality of new reading.

(26 January)

After the withdrawal of Miss Williams, her part was taken by Mrs. W. West, by whom it was "delightfully acted" (The Theatrical Observer, May 1829). The minor parts seem to have been well cast, with Penley as Cloten, Cooper as Arviragus and Younger as Pisanio - of the latter "Q" observed that it was "a heavy part of declamation rendered duly efficient". "Q" complained that the casting of Terry as Belarius was the misuse of a good comedian, and The Times, less kindly, entreated him "to adhere to Simpson and Co., and leave off Tragedy" (Simpson and Co. was a comedy by John Poole, first produced at Drury Lane on January 4, 1823). The Times also had some tart remarks on the quality of the singing and dancing -

The glee of "Hark! hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings", was very badly executed, and it was followed by a dance, the composition of Mr. Noble, which would have disgraced Bartholmew Fair. When the tragedy is next performed, this nuisance, it is hoped, will be abated.

.....

The play was treated on this occasion as a vehicle for the actors of Posthumus and Iachimo: the choice of a debutante to play Imogen suggests that this was the management's approach. The Examiner proposed an estimate of the play which differs markedly from the usual contention that Imogen is the centre of its interest:

While Posthumus and Iachimo are on the stage, Cymbeline is bearable; and a very excellent Imogen may pass off a scene or two more; but, except to the lovers of fine poetry spoiled, and of that very common commodity, imbecile Royalty, the rest in representation is a tax

upon the auditor.

Although the balance of the play is different, the contention that it is not an "acting drama" remains. With a stronger Imogen, comes a re-arrangement of the balance: the reviewer of The Theatrical Observer (May 29) accepts Posthumus and Iachimo as the main characters, and assigns a more prominent place to Mrs. West, the new, improved Imogen, -

We have objected to this play that we do not see enough of these leading characters, who are, in fact, engaged chiefly in an under-plot, although that is artfully contrived to unite with the other portions of the business of the piece.

Imogen's character is pleasingly introduced, and forms the link that unites the interest of the whole.

Admirers of Helen Faucit or Ellen Terry would have found it hard to accept that Imogen was no more than "introduced" and that a good actress in the part might "pass off a scene or two more." Cymbeline in 1823 was an actor's piece.

ii. Charles Kemble's Production of "Cymbeline",
May-October, 1827; June, 1828.

After the two performances of October, 1820, Charles Kemble did not appear in Cymbeline until June 2, 1825, when he played Posthumus for Farley's benefit at Covent Garden. Miss Foote played Imogen, Young, Iachimo and Farley, Cloten. The benefit "season" had begun, and on June 5 the dramatic critic of Common Sense and Weekly Globe was able to report no novelty at either of the patent theatres,

... except the crowded houses ... produced,
not so much by the excellence of performances,
as by reason of the benefits which are almost
nightly occurring.

Farley's drew a house of £200.5.0, a figure which may be usefully compared with the £253.18.2 attracted on the preceding night by Farren's "Night" (a programme including Ivanhoe, Lofty Projects, and the farce of Animal Magnetism).⁵

When Charles Kemble next appeared in London as Posthumus, it was in his own production, and for his own benefit. This was a pretentious affair, advertised as being "in pursuance of the plan originally laid down at this theatre for the gradual revision of the costumes of Shakespeare's Plays" (Bill for May 10, 1827). The bills for the play give an impressive list of authorities, ranging from The Welsh Triads to Camden, and glancing en passant at Julius Caesar, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Pliny, Suetonius, Dion Cassius, "and other Contemporary Writers". Even numismatic evidence was called in, that the producer might procure scenes and costumes

executed from the best authorities, and displaying as accurately as stage effect will permit, the Habits, Weapons, and Buildings of the Gaulish and Belgic Colonists of the Southern Counties of Britain before their Subjugation by the Romans.

The scenery was painted by the Grieve family, and the costumes executed by "Mr. Head and Miss Abbot". These archeological ambitions did not preclude the performance by Master Watson, and Messrs. Taylor, S. Tett and Tinney of "Dr. Cooke's favourite Glee of Hark! the Lark".

This production set out to continue the policy which had begun in 1823 with the "archeological" King John - a policy for which Planché takes some credit:

In 1823 [in] a casual conversation with Mr. Kemble respecting the play of King John which he was about to revive for Young, who had returned to Covent Garden ... I complained ... that a thousand pounds were frequently lavished on a Christmas pantomime or an Easter spectacle, while the plays of Shakespeare were put upon the stage with make-shift scenery, and, at the best,

a new dress or two for the principle actors...⁶

Cymbeline made little impression - a review of the revival in October - the only contemporary review I have been able to find - tells us that the acting was at least adequate:

Kemble's Posthumus was a fine spirited performance; his excellent acting in the principal scenes elicited loud applause; Young made the most of the part of Iachimo, and Miss Jarman, who improves much in her acting, threw no small interest into the part of Imogen. Farley hustled through Cloten much to the amusement of the audience; and all the other parts were for the most part well filled.

(The Evening Star, October 4, 1827)

William Bodham Donne's Obituary notice, published in Frazer's Magazine in December, 1854, remembered Charles Kemble as an actor of great versatility, able to play more characters well, than any other actor of comparable pretensions since Garrick.

If he had no equal in Benedick, neither had he in Jaffeir, if his Leon and Don Felix were unsurpassed, so also were his Edgar in Lear and Leonatus in Cymbeline.⁷

.....

The Covent Garden Theatre Diary, in the British Museum, informs us that the four performances of Cymbeline which followed the first, benefit, night, made the following sums:

May 16	£204.17.6
May 21	£189.11.0
Oct. 3	£182. 7.6
Oct. 19	£172.6.0

The accounts give £3.9.0 as receipts for May 10, Kemble's benefit, a sum obviously entered after the beneficiary's deduction. The takings for Cymbeline are indeed paltry, but Charles Kemble seems to have little luck with any of his productions, until he engaged Edmund Kean in the Autumn

of 1827. A performance of The Rivals on October 20 realized only £205.17.6, although its cast included Farren (Anthony Absolute), Power (Lucius), Mrs. Davenport (Mrs. Malaprop), Charles Kemble (Captain Absolute) and Mme. Vestris (Lydia). The takings for Kean's performances give some indication of the theatre's capacity, and show that Kemble had been playing for most of the year to houses two-thirds full.

Oct. 22.	(<u>Richard III</u>)	£565.12.6
Dec. 21.	(<u>Othello</u>)	£632. 4.0
Dec. 26.	(<u>Isabella</u> and Pantomime)	£365. 7.0

The attractions of Richard III, with Kean as Richard, Kemble as Richmond, Serle as Buckingham and Miss Jarman as Anne, and of Othello, with Kean in the title rôle to Young's Iago, Kemble's Cassio and Miss Jarman's Desdemona, put even the first performance of the new pantomime in the shade.

(Harlequin and Number Nip preceded by Miss Jarman as Isabella). When Kean appeared as Richard the theatre was "crowded to an overflow immediately after the opening of the doors".⁸ On October 1st, Drury Lane had been filled to overflowing by spectators curious to see Charles Kean, who was making his début as Young Norval in Home's Douglas: the crowds that had filled Drury Lane in the previous season, when Edmund Kean played there under Price's management, now turned to Covent Garden, whither the father had removed after a quarrel with his manager.

.....

On June 12, 1828, Cymbeline was again performed at Covent Garden, with the same principal actors. Again it was ignored by the major newspapers - nothing of any significance appearing in The Morning Chronicle, The Morning Post or The Times - and by the weeklies and the dramatic press. This was a "Ticket Night": a benefit for front-of-house staff,

who were allowed to sell a specified number of tickets on their own account.⁹

The Theatre Diary gives a sum of £54.17.9 for this performance, though precisely what this signifies is not clear. Another ticket night, Othello and The Invincibles on March 18, 1828, is credited with £711.14.0 in receipts: the low figure for June 12 cannot be explained as the result of a method of accounting for benefits. The season was in any case dependent on Mme. Vestris' appearances in The Invincibles, a musical farce by Thomas Morton (senior) with music by A. Lee, which opened on February 28, and was played throughout the season, with exception of a period during which Mme. Vestris was indisposed. The Night of June 11 had realized £220.9.3 - hardly a full house - but the bills for Cymbeline boast that "in consequence of the overflow last night from every part of the theatre", Mme. Vestris has agreed to appear "one night more" in The Invincibles. This seems very like puffery.

By July, 1829, Kemble was in serious financial danger, and by 1832, despite attempts to keep the theatre going and the success of Fanny Kemble, the management ended. Jane Williamson, in her biography of Charles Kemble, suggests a number of factors - debts on the reconstructed building, overstaffing consequent on maintaining Opera, Ballet and Drama in one house, and (Bunn's suggestion) the excessive distribution of complimentary seats, or "orders". It is inescapable that the performances were not sufficiently attractive, and that with the exception of such events as the appearance of Kean, the public were no longer interested in what Charles Kemble had to offer as manager of a "legitimate" theatre.¹⁰

iii. Miss Ellen Tree and Miss Phillips as Imogen,
November, 1826 and February, 1829.

Ellen Tree played Imogen for the first and the second

times on November 16 and 20, 1826, without attracting any notice. She had made her *début* at Drury Lane at the beginning of the season, as Violante in The Wonder. Talfourd's criticism of her Jane Shore - that she "gave no reason to believe that tragedy will ever be her forte, but afforded assurance that she will beautifully express the milder sorrows of the sentimental drama" - a criticism of her in her first season, can be compared with the opinion of The Atlas on her Olivia in Knowles's The Rose of Aragon:

... pervaded by an earnest and thrilling expression of womanly feeling. Her parting with her husband, her terrible scene with Almagro, and that blushing passage in her scene with her brother, where she reveals the outrage that had been committed upon her by Almagro, were alike distinguished by the purity and pathos of her delivery.

By this time - June, 1842 - she had established herself in this "line of business"; in the words of The Athenaeum, reporting on her performance of Mrs. Beverley in The Gamester, she "set the ladies sobbing for sympathy with her sorrows"¹¹ Miss Tree did not repeat her performance of Imogen until 1833, when she appeared with Macready and Cooper.

The Posthumus at Drury Lane in 1826 was Cooper, the Iachimo, Bennett. Cooper appeared as Iachimo in 1828 at Drury Lane (with Macready and Miss Foote) and in 1829 at the same theatre; on the latter occasion Young played Posthumus "with his accustomed energy" although he did not "look the character" (The Morning Chronicle, February 10, 1829).

In 1829, Imogen was played, for the first time, by Miss Phillips, of whom reports differ markedly. The Examiner condemned the performance:

It is preferable, under any circumstances, to say a kind word than an unkind one, above all to a lady, as we believe in the correct acceptation of the title. Upon the present occasion, we could not acquit ourselves of

severity if we stated our real opinion of the performance we endured on Monday evening last. The dirge of the sorrowing brothers be therefore "vale" also.

"Quiet consummation have,
"And 'respected' be thy grave."

(The Examiner, February 22, 1829)

But in The Morning Chronicle there appeared a very favourable notice: Miss Phillip's points in her interview with Iachimo were "so forcibly and truly given, as to draw a loud burst of applause from the house", and she forgave Iachimo with a "restrained dignity" which was

such as to show that though she could forgive, she had not forgotten the insult; and that she only welcomed him, because he was the messenger and friend of her lord.

(February 10, 1829)

The Morning Chronicle thought "the whole effort" might be considered "as adding in no trifling degree to her fame". The text did not exclude her confrontation with Cloten, but here Miss Phillips

wanted a little of that quiet manner which always gives such a force to the delivery of anything expressive of contempt

On the whole it was a fine performance, acted with simplicity and dignity, and the Chronicle's good-will extended to the rest of the cast ("with the exception of the King, who might have been more royally represented"). The house was full, the reviewer claimed,

Whether it was with a view to witness the first display of that lady's form in male attire, or that the attraction of one of Shakespeare's plays is really greater than some people give the play-going world credit for, it is impossible to say; but the fact was that the house, from the commencement of the piece, was full, and before its termination was actually crowded.

Of the other newspapers, The Morning Post (also February 10) carried a short notice which concurred with the opinions of The Morning Chronicle:

Miss Phillips played her part with great success, and she was much and very deservedly applauded throughout the representation. Her scene with Iachimo, when he sees her for the first time, was very ably performed, and in it Miss Phillips displayed a great deal of dignity and much pathos. On the whole her performance of this very interesting character was extremely good, and it was greatly admired by a very numerous audience.

Miss Phillips did not play the rôle again in London, after the two performances on February 9 and 16, 1829; nor did Young appear again in the play.

CHAPTER FIVE: W.C. MACREADY AS IACHIMO AND POSTHUMUS:
1820-1833.

i. For the benefit performance of Miss S. Booth, who took the part of Imogen, Macready made his first appearance as Posthumus, at Covent Garden, June 30, 1818. "Which," he wrote in his Reminiscences, "as a Shakespearian character added to my list, was firm ground to me."¹ Iachimo was played by Young, established in the part since 1812, and Cloten by Farley. The evening's entertainments comprised Cymbeline, a recitation by Miss Booth of Collins's Ode on the Passions, and "The Melo-Dramatick Romance of Aladdin" in which Miss Booth took the title rôle,² "for the first and only time".

When Cymbeline was next performed at the theatre, Macready played Iachimo for the first time, and Posthumus was taken by Charles Kemble, also for the first time. Cloten was again played by Farley, and Miss Foote played Imogen. The occasion is mentioned in Macready's Reminiscences:

The beginning of this season gave repetitions of the characters of the last - Virginius, Henri Quatre, Rob Roy, &c. The first new ones ordered by the management were Iachimo in Cymbeline (October 18th, 1820) and Zanga in Dr. Young's Revenge. Divided between the two I made little impression in either.... To Iachimo I gave no prominence; but in subsequent years I entered with glowing ardour into the wanton mischief of the dissolute crafty Italian.³

Charles Kemble's Posthumus was not a particularly distinguished performance: all that The Globe could find to say of it was that "It was a spirited picture of a noble nature abused", and The Examiner found it "too monotonous and loud". This review also found Macready's Iachimo "a good deal too tragic and grand", but linked both characters in a novel criticism of the play:

Both however succeed in making the two characters disagreeable; and if Shakespeare had any object in his play besides giving his usual picture of mankind, this, we conceive, together with a love of the gentler confidence of an innocent girl, which he has portrayed in Imogen, was his object. He seems to have had no love for marriage or its consequences, moral or physical. His Posthumus has all the cruel intolerance of false virtue as his Iachimo has all the disbelief in principle that belongs to real vice.

(The Examiner, October 23, 1820)

The Times thought it had "seldom seen Charles Kemble to more, or Macready to less, advantage" and said no more.

Miss Foote's performance pleased The Examiner, whose critic thought that her acting of the pathetic scenes was particularly touching:

The unwilling yet heart-felt tone, in which with
a subsiding voice she laments that her father
came in between her and her lover,

And like the tyrannous breathing of
the North,
Shakes all our buds from blowing,
might have been a kiss from Shakespeare himself.

The Globe was similarly appreciative:

Miss Foote, it will easily be believed, was happily selected to represent the brightest form of Female loveliness. The character is peculiarly feminine - it is almost made of sighs and tears - and it seems scarcely to cost this young lady an effort to call into exercise all the softer, more attractive characteristics of her sex. The character occasionally, though rarely, throws off its meekness for an exertion of strength.

Miss Foote was able to summon up "A corresponding rise in force and power", and was "highly dignified" in her rebuttal of Iachimo, which "received flattering marks of approbation". The Globe was pleased to see Cymbeline, praising its sentiments, variety of action, and "the romantic interest of the story". In its account of Macready's Iachimo, it was

exceedingly generous:

Iachimo, a character who at the present season might be denominated the most prominent of the piece, was sustained by Mr. Macready with his accustomed vigour and discrimination, and the most complete success. Probably there is no actor of the present day who has received so variously and so liberally from nature the qualifications requisite to eminence in his profession. Among these the flexibility of his features, and the faculty of adjusting their expression to different emotions and passions, is not the least remarkable. This faculty is singularly desirable to him who would represent the wily Italian, and the judicious use of it constituted a great point of excellence in Mr. Macready's attempt of last night. When he first appeared, he stood confessed at a glance the daring, undisguised profligate; hardy villainy was stamped on his brow.

Macready modulated from false humility in his attempt on Imogen to "the clear characters of crushing guilt and gnawing remorse". The reception of Macready's performance was enhanced by the topicality at which the review hints, although Macready's Reminiscences make no mention of the fact.

The Queen's Trial was nearing its close: Queen Caroline was the subject of a Bill of Pains and Penalties, in which it was alleged that she had committed adultery with a courier, one Pergami (or Bergami). The ramifications of the evidence included witnesses who asseverated that they had seen her bed stained after nights spent (it was claimed) with Bergami, witnesses of her walks with the culprit, witnesses who claimed that she and her courier had spent the night together under a tent on board ship. The evidence was sordid and complicated, involving the jealousies of maids and footmen, and a good many mutually contradictory versions of the same events. Above all the evidence was Italian.

Thomas Denman, Lord Chief Justice, in his 'summing-up' for

the defence, turned to the example of Shakespeare's "Italian" plays:

Without charging any conspiracy now, he would venture to say, that if any place was to be selected or preferred as the scene of a conspiracy, and that the selection and preference were judiciously made, the scene would certainly be in Italy. It was there that cunning and artifice thrived - there that a price was openly set upon an oath - there that every infamous purpose might by bribery be carried into effect. They were now inquiring into the transactions of six years, and guided only by the light of Italian evidence.... It was remarkable that in all the numerous scenes described by our great dramatic poet, whenever he had occasion to paint the character of a man anxious to blacken the character of an innocent wife, he chose his scene in Italy.⁴

Lord Ellenborough, in supporting the Bill, had even pushed chastity into the realm of patriotism:

He did think there was an absolute necessity, if they wished to pay due respect to female virtue, for visiting her [Caroline] with some censure. Female virtue was one of the great points of superiority which we enjoyed over other countries. It was of the highest importance in maintaining our superiority in other respects.⁵

This nationalism was a card played by both sides in the case: either a princess has been destroyed by Italian lasciviousness, or, as the defence claimed, a princess had been wrongly accused on the information of a number of witnesses whose national characteristic was lying conspiracy. In either case, what was at stake was that which Gifford, the Attorney General, called "the fine moral sentiment of the females of this empire."⁶

The audience at Covent Garden was not slow to take up the analogies between the plot of Cymbeline and the events of Queen Caroline's exile, as revealed in the course of her trial. The Globe observed -

It is almost superfluous to observe, that the play abounds with passages most obviously applicable to the circumstance of the great investigation now in progress. Several of these, which have a coincidence with what is at present considered to be the popular sentiment, were instantaneously caught at as a medium of giving expression thereon, and loudly applauded by a considerable proportion of the audience.

- and it instanced Posthumus' suggestion that Iachimo may have obtained the bracelet by corrupting a servant, Iachimo's penitential "I have belied a lady / The princess of this country", and Posthumus' "Italian fiend! ah me, most credulous fool!". The Times observed that in the case of

Who knows if one of her women, being corrupted,
Hath not stolen it from her?

there was a particularly strong show of feeling:

The most vehement applause followed this suggestion, and lasted for two or three minutes.

- and we are told that a similar display greeted

Disloyal? No!
She's punished for her truth.

Queen Caroline's case was an awkward one for The Times, which chose to support her despite the opposition to the King which such support implied. In its report of the performance at Covent Garden, it went so far as to dub those who opposed the "injur'd princess" Jacobins.

The company was highly respectable; and we did not observe above half a dozen Jacobins, who disloyally hissed, when the general audience seized occasion to express their conviction of their Queen's innocence.

The Examiner sounded very happy with the events of the evening, (the picture of an unpleasant Posthumus that it saw in Kemble's Posthumus may have been coloured by its dislike for the King):

... the audience do not fail to apply the prominent passages about calumniated princesses and "false Italians". The part in which Posthumus treats with contempt the bed-chamber evidence received three distinct rounds of applause.

An opposite attitude was that of The Morning Post, which on October 19 printed a condemnation of the Covent Garden management for producing such a piece at such a time:

We cannot congratulate the managers of this theatre on the propriety of choice, or even the originality of design which led them to reproduce at this particular juncture the play of Cymbeline on the stage. Much as we reverence Shakespeare's genius, we do not think, that because some passages from his pen have been used by a certain advocate to make a safe and cowardly attack upon Royalty, it becomes the dignity, and we will even say the loyalty, of one of our National Theatres to grasp at the unholy popularity which the lip of the scorner may have conferred on the play from which they were drawn. We do not think that in times of public agitation, the source of our amusements should be poisoned, and that profit should be sought at the risk of public discord. For what is more likely to increase that agitation, and to endanger the public peace, than the representation of plays, which, by nature and number of the allusions which they afford, enable one party to insult and defy the other, and thus bring into contact, if not into action, all those political feelings and animosities which it must be the wish of all sincere patriots to soothe and disarm? The manner in which certain passages in Cymbeline were taken up last night by the radical part of the audience, will serve to illustrate and establish the validity of our objection, and to show that it springs from a true sense of decency and danger, and not from over-trained squeamishness. A hint, we trust, will suffice to prevent the nuisance from being repeated.

On October 20, the same paper printed a reply headed "The Play of Cymbeline", and signed "Dramaticus":

Mr. Editor, - Your yesterday's remarks upon the performance of this play at Covent Garden Theatre, seemed to bear rather too hard upon the management. I have reason to know that Cymbeline was put in rehearsal, as one of Shakespeare's plays, which would be most readily produced at the beginning of the season, without the slightest idea that any analogy could be found between the characters [sic] of Imogen, and the pending trial.

To this, the editor added his comment:

We cheerfully give this explanation of the Manager's conduct, and shall only add the expression of our hope that as he sees the factitious use to which certain turbulent persons wish to turn many of the sentiments contained in the play, he will not aid their purpose by enabling them of [sic] the occasion to create confusion, in exciting the basest of the vulgar passions. Either the play should not for the present be repeated, or the passages of which the Radicals avail themselves ought to be omitted.

The play was nevertheless repeated, on October 24. The Morning Post reported the occasion:

The tragedy of Cymbeline was repeated last night; but the expectations of its great attractions, as well as of its again proving a rallying point for disaffection, were alike disappointed. The house was not filled, and the feeble attempts of the Radicals in the galleries, were too contemptible to be noticed by the respectable part of the audience.

(October 25, 1820)

The writer thus decries the importance of the occasion, and asserts a division in the audience of impecunious radicals (in the galleries) and presumably "loyal" middle and upper classes in the lower parts of the house (including, presumably, the pit). But the distinctions between the holders of rival opinions on the matter of the Queen were not such simple class-distinctions, and there were as many of the upper and middle classes who were revolted by the

profligacy and hypocrisy of the King, as those who turned from the "vulgar" acclamation that greeted the Queen's every appearance.

The assertion that the house was empty is difficult to confirm. The bills for the season now in the Enthoven Collection have in some cases been marked with what we must suppose were the receipts of the performances: if not the whole sum, they at least represent receipts assessed from one person's point of view, and give us an idea of the proportion of the houses one to another. Unfortunately, the bill for the first performance of Cymbeline, on October 18, is not annotated; the series for the nights 17-28 October is as follows:

Oct. 17.	(<u>Rob Roy Macgregor</u>)	£234. 1.6
18.	(<u>Cymbeline</u>)	-----
19.	(<u>She Stoops to Conquer</u>)	£253. 5.6
20.	(<u>The Stranger</u>)	£225. 10.0
21.	(<u>Henri Quatre</u>)	£266. 18.6
23.	(<u>Virginus</u>)	£252. 10.6
24.	(<u>Cymbeline</u>)	£215. 8.0
25.	(<u>Rob Roy</u>)	£239. 18.0
26.	(<u>She Stoops</u>)	£183. 2.0
27.	(<u>The Antiquary</u>)	£168. 19.0
28.	(<u>Henri Quatre</u>)	£234. 13.6

Cymbeline by this appears to have been more successful than The Morning Post chose to consider it: an unidentified clipping in the Enthoven file describes with some enthusiasm the second performance of the play:

We so recently noticed the play of Cymbeline, the way in which it was cast, the sympathy with which it was received, and the application made of some of its passages to the conduct of the Queen's persecutors, that we can now state nothing more than that last night it was acted with greater spirit, and received with more rapturous approbation. The audience, as formerly made a running comment of applause on all those parts that referred to the villainy of Iachimo. When this villain comes from the trunk in Imogen's bedroom, there was a cry of "Ompeda! Ompeda!" from some persons in the pit; and his declaration that

" - he had belied a lady,
The princess of this country."
was received with the waving of hats and handkerchiefs.

Popular protest in the playhouses seems to have increased around the date of George's Coronation, and the affair of Queen Caroline. On April 24, 1820 King Lear was performed at Drury Lane for the first time since the death of George III, and the lifting of the ban on performances of the play: by August 30 it had played for thirty performances. "The theatres", observed Bell's Weekly Messenger, continued to fill, "notwithstanding the predominant interest of the State Trials, and the meeting of the new Parliament." (April 30, 1820). It would be tempting to see in the titles of some of the pieces opportunities for comment on the conduct of highly-placed persons. - David Rizzio (Drury Lane, June 17, 1820) is one such case.

The Queen was to have visited Drury Lane on June 28, to see Wild Oats (!) and The Prize, or 2538: on the back of the bill in the Enthoven Collection is written "Her Majesty did not go to the theatre this evening". The ill-will against George IV was carried over to the performances early the following year of Elliston's Coronation Spectacle, appended at first to the second part of Henry IV, when the rejection of Falstaff afforded opportunities for the audience to show their disapproval of the way Queen Caroline had been turned away from the door of the Abbey.⁷ Greville's diary for February 7, 1821, describes a theatre visit on the part of the King.

The King went to the play last night (Drury Lane) for the first time, the Dukes of York and Clarence and a great suite with him. He was received with immense acclamations, the whole pit standing up, hurrahing and waving their hats. The boxes were very empty at first, for the mob occupied the avenues to the theatre, and those who had engaged boxes could not get to them. The crowd on the

outside was very great. Lord Hertford dropped one of the candles as he was lighting him in, and made a great confusion in the box. He sat in Lady Bessborough's box, which was fitted up for him. He goes to Covent Garden tonight. A few people called out "The Queen" but very few. A man in the gallery called out, "Where's your wife, George?"

At Cov. Garden when it was announced that he was going to the play they hissed and made a great noise, and when God save the King was called for they made them sing God save the Queen. (I have scratched out the above because it is not true).⁸

Whether or not the Covent Garden incident crossed out by Greville was true, a similar occurrence marred a performance of Henry IV, Part 2 at Covent Garden on June 25, 1821:

At the fall of the curtain, 'God Save the King' was called for, and sung on the stage by all the performers, though not without interruption, a portion of the audience substituting the name of the Queen.

(Bentham file, 25 June, 1821: unidentified clipping)

.....

ii. Macready's next appearances in Cymbeline were at Covent Garden on June 19 and June 24, 1822, when he was cast as Posthumus once more. He played the part at Drury Lane on May 10, 1826, on May 23, 1828, and on October 17, 1833.

The first of these performances, June 19, 1822, was for the benefit of Miss M. Tree, whose line in characters may be illustrated by reference to a review of her performance in Maid Marian: or, the Huntress of Arlingford (Covent Garden, Dec 3, 1822) -

The character of Maid Marian, frank, blithe and merry, yet gentle, affectionate, and gracefully feminine, was finely conceived and effectively embodied by Miss Tree...⁹

On the occasion of her benefit Miss Tree was appearing for the first time as Imogen. When the performance was repeated on June 24, The Times commented:

She has had the rare merit in these gentle characters, where little can be done on the stage, to attempt but little, and do that little well - which is, we apprehend, the reason why she has lately obtained so high a reputation as a romantic actress. Miss Tree's Imogen is very unassuming and graceful; spoken without mannerism, and, if not always with correct emphasis, still with a crisp sweetness which is new and refreshing to the ear. Macready's Posthumus is a very natural and striking piece of acting. Much of Young's Iachimo is well declaimed, but he is too cold in his villainy. The play went off with considerable applause; but the house was thin.

(25 June, 1822)

In The Examiner, "Q" contributed a fuller account of Miss Tree's charms in "the tender and romantic character of Imogen":

This Part is so altogether of that caste from which Miss Tree receives distinction, and to which it may with equal truth be said, that she gives it, we scarcely need say that she was entirely at home in it. The peculiar charm of this actress, is what is emphatically termed feeling, and she displays it at once in air, deportment and voice. We know not whether that which in respect to recitation is usually a defect, meaning a want of force and distinctness, may not rather aid the peculiar charm of Miss Tree. That calm and gentle marking, which is so peculiarly her own, and which, if called into momentary vehemence, rises and falls with such feminine grace, would be altogether marred by the shrill and piercing utterance which can more completely fill the house. Cut down as Cymbeline now is, there is but one scene in which Imogen has to express much transition of emotion, and that is in the first interview with Iachimo, which Miss Tree performed as delightfully as the similar single passage in the Two Gentlemen of Verona, where a doubt is thrown upon the truth of her lover, starting into reproof of the wily

Italian with the like beautiful energy. The pastoral scenes, in which she assumes boyhood, precisely as a modest but love-deserted damsel must do, are also exceedingly curtailed; but her simple entrance into the cave, and timid and irresistible appeal to the kindness of those who find her there, were indescribably excellent - indescribable, because so little is to be either said or done; and yet that little is made so effective. Miss Tree is so peculiarly adapted for the romantic drama of the olden times, which abounds in characters of that description which she represents so admirably, we think she would support the revival of several more of them. What an Asaptia she would make in the Maid's Tragedy, could that fine play be judiciously adapted; what an excellent Arethusa in Philaster; and many similar characters might be mentioned on a little recollection. We wish the Proprietors of Covent Garden would think of it.

(The Examiner, June 24, 1822)

"Q" observed that the play was "strongly supported" by Young's Iachimo and Macready's Posthumus:

The burst of grief of Leonatus, when he discovers the innocence of Imogen, was delivered with an energy and feeling the most powerful and genuine.

The same critic complained of anachronisms in the dressing of the piece:

... we cannot understand such a variety of costume. Here was Young in the Roman Toga, and Leonatus and Clotus [sic] in the garb of the gay cavaliers of the sixteenth century. We are aware that the play is all anachronism and anomaly; but such being the case, there is little occasion to make it more so.

Such costuming was doubtless necessary in the absence of the furs and leggings of "Ancient British" clothing, with which most subsequent productions of the play were provided. The "Clotus" was Farley.

The Times's comment on the thin house for the second performance of Cymbeline is borne out by the Diary of Covent

Garden Theatre in the British Museum.¹⁰ According to this account-book, Miss Tree's benefit realized £295.14.0, of which she received £230.0.0. The performance on June 24 realized £177.5.0. A sample of takings from the same season gives us some idea of the status of Cymbeline in the box office:

Oct. 1.	(1st night of season: <u>Twelfth Night</u> and <u>The Miller and His Men</u>)	£314. 6.0
Oct. 2.	(<u>Speed the Plough</u>)	£190.19.6
Oct. 4.	(<u>The Two Gentlemen of Verona</u>)	£194. 8.0
Oct. 5.	(<u>Henry VIII</u> and <u>The Forty Thieves</u>)	£239.16.6
Oct. 7.	(<u>Hamlet</u>)	£353. 9.0
Oct. 17.	(<u>Venice Preserved</u> : as Belvidera a Miss Lacy from Dublin, her second appearance in London)	£ 88.17.0
Nov. 18.	(<u>Romeo and Juliet</u>)	£319.15.6
Dec. 26.	(<u>Harlequin and the Ogress</u> and <u>Douglas</u>)	£326.18.5
Jan. 8.	(<u>Harlequin and the Ogress</u> and <u>The School for Scandal</u>)	£485. 9.0

Of these performances, the last had a remarkably good cast: Farren as Peter Teazle, Charles Kemble as Charles Surface, Miss Foote as Maria, and Macready as Joseph Surface.

.....

iii. In 1823, there was a possibility of Macready's appearing with Edmund Kean. Macready exchanged letters with Elliston, whom he assured "If my feelings are said to be warm, they are equally so in friendly as in hostile bearings" (16 September, 1823)¹¹ - and he discussed the characters which could be played. He would not undertake Iago and Iachimo unless Kean gave "a perfectly satisfactory equivalent" in another play, and he suggested, though not very seriously, that Kean might alternate Macbeth and Macduff with him. Nothing came of these negotiations, and Macready's next appearance in the rôle of Posthumus was in an unremarkable performance at Drury Lane on May 10, 1826. The

year was "devoted to country engagements" up to April 10, when he was asked, he relates in his Reminiscences, to appear at Drury Lane whilst Kean was absent in America.

... but six weeks were all I could spare to London from my more profitable country engagements, by which I was now enabled to pay off above £1200 of the mortgage remaining on the Granby purchase.¹²

Although Wallack had been advertised to appear in the role of Iachimo, his place was taken by Bennett, who was originally cast for Belarius.¹³ The fullest account of the performance is that in The Theatrical Examiner (May 11, 1826) - a notice which yields little information:

Drury Lane.

The performances at this theatre last night were for the benefit of that delightful actress Miss Foote, being the last night of her appearance this season in London. Notwithstanding the depression of the times, the doors of the pit, and galleries were besieged at an early hour, all anxious to obtain admission to have a last peep at their interesting favourite; the boxes were graced with beauty and fashion, in fact the house was a complete bumper.

The play was Shakespeare's tragedy of Cymbeline in which the fair applicant for public patronage enacted Imogen. At her appearance she was most loudly applauded from all parts of the house, which she acknowledged in a most graceful and elegant manner, and whether it was from the very warm reception of her numerous friends or any other cause, certain it is we never beheld her to more advantage. Mr. Macready appeared as Posthumus Leonates [sic] which he gave in a very superior style, his last scene was a masterpiece, the applause he received was immense. Mr. Bennett, why we know not, was the representative of the subtle crafty Iachimo; this actor seems to possess a thorough knowledge of stage business, a tolerable conception of his author, but fails to execute. The other characters were all very respectably sustained...

The complaint about Bennett is of a kind common in criticism of the time - that the actor obviously knew his part, but failed to "execute" - and ~~and~~ best rendered by the phrase

"failed to come across"; the performance seems to have had little attraction save for the admirers of Miss Foote.

On May 23, 1828, Macready appeared once again as Posthumus, with Cooper as Iachimo, and Miss Foote as Imogen. This was "Mr. Macready's Night and his Last Appearance this Season" but, as before, the performance was overshadowed by the proximity of another, more important production of the play. In 1823 Kean and Young had played Posthumus and Iachimo, and in 1827 (with one performance in 1828, on June 12) Charles Kemble had appeared as Posthumus with Young's Iachimo. These two productions appear to have established themselves as the account of the play for the twenties.¹⁴

In 1833, Macready again essayed Posthumus, with Cooper as Iachimo, and Ellen Tree as Imogen. (Miss Tree had played the part in 1826 with Cooper and Bennett as Posthumus and Iachimo) Macready wrote in his diary:

Lay late in bed, thinking over characters; and busied myself in chambers during the short interval before rehearsal. Attended a very tedious rehearsal of Cymbeline in the course of which I went over to the Garrick Club to dine and read the papers. Mrs. Sloman seems a complete failure, and certainly she communicates no pleasure to me in her acting - not one tone or look of truth have I yet witnessed from her. Our rehearsals are more like country ones than those of a patent theatre. Acted part of Posthumus with freedom, energy and truth, but there must have been observable an absence of all finish.¹⁵

This performance was advertised as Miss Tree's "Second Appearance at this Theatre these Five Years".

CHAPTER SIX: HELEN FAUCIT AND MACREADY, 1837-1843.

1. Miss Faucit as Imogen, May 1837; September, 1838.

At Covent Garden on May 18, 23, and 31, 1837, Helen Faucit appeared as Imogen - "her first appearance in this character" and (on May 18) for her benefit. Macready and Elton played Posthums and Iachimo, and W. Farren (advertised on May 18 as "for this night only") played Cloten. Cymbeline was appearing at Covent Garden "for the first time these nine years", since the performance of Charles Kemble, Young and Miss Jarman on June 12, 1828. The Sunday Times berated the manager for the meanness of the presentation:

We presume the public have to thank Miss Faucit for the production of this play, as Mr. Osbaldiston is not wedded to Shakespeare; and he certainly revenged the bard's intrusion by "mounting" him in all the dingy sweepings of wardrobe and property-room. The indestructibility of genius bore not only this, but the desperate assaults upon the text made by some half-dozen of the company.

(May 21, 1837)

The reviewer praised Macready's Posthumus, which, although not "his best effort" was "terribly real" in the moment of the last scene where Iachimo's "Methinks I see him now" is met with

Ay! so thou dost
Italian Fiend!

(New Arden edition V.5. 209-210)

Elton's Iachimo was less successful:

Iachimo is a reckless libertine... Mr. Elton makes his Italian a bloodless wary villain, and looked more like a Jesuit in disguise than a reveller.

In his interview with Imogen he lacked "bearing" and in the bedchamber scene, "that Tarquin-like glare that should mark Iachimo". The Sunday Times' opinion of Miss Faucit's

Imogen is the most remarkable part of the review, in the light of the adulation which her interpretation of the rôle was to attract in later years: the remarks begin with the observation that performances given by actors for their benefits should be by no means exempt from critical judgement, as they most frequently choose for that purpose what they believe themselves to excel in.

The gentleness, the purity of Imogen, are unfitted for the general style of Miss Faucit, whose best character is Katharine, in Taming of the Shrew. That point which Miss Tree gave with such gentleness -

"My Lord, I fear, has forgot Britain," fell from Miss Faucit's lips a flat commonplace; she scolded Iachimo soundly, and in act the second, fairly bullied Cloten. What Imogen utters is wrung from her love of Posthumus, more than the scorn of the Prince. When Miss Faucit appeared en homme, she was more like the roystering Hypollita in She Would, and She Would Not, than the gentle Fidele; and the one or two points that she attempted were bad imitations of Fanny Kemble's worst points.

Tastes differ: Sir Theodore Martin remembered how

she struck a chord in the hearts of her audience, which was even then felt deeply, in a character in which she was later on to make one of her greatest triumphs.

Sir Theodore Martin was not a little annoyed by the lack of any reference in Macready's diary to Helen Facit's performance, and his view of his late wife's successes was a little biased and sentimental. Macready was flatly discontented and preoccupied with his own feelings on the occasion:

Acted Posthumus in a most discreditable manner, undigested, unstudied. Oh, it was most culpable to hazard so my reputation! I was ashamed of myself; I trust I shall never so commit myself again. The audience applauded, but they knew not what they did; they called for me with Miss Faucit. I refused to go on, until I found

it necessary to go in order to hand on the lady. They then called for Mr. Elton, who had been very bad in the play - and he went on. They called for Mr. Thompson /Caius Lucius/, who did not.²

The reviewer in The Sunday Times concluded his piece with some short remarks on the rest of the cast:

Mr. Farren enacted Cloten for the first, and we hope, for the last time. Bennett spoke well as Belarius, but looked and moved like an ancient bandit; Dale and Mrs. W. West played the King and Queen, the former carefully, the latter languidly. Altogether, the play was very indifferently acted. The house was tolerably full after the half-price.

A good deal of this reviewer's dissatisfaction resulted from a conviction that the play was difficult to present on stage:

This play suffers more in representation than any of Shakespeare's, the Midsummer Night's Dream excepted. Where are we to look for actors to body forth the native nobility of Guiderius and Arviragus, and the stern simplicity of Belarius, not to speak of the more prominent persons of the drama?

- but a picture emerges from his review of a performance hastily put together for a benefit, and then repeated when it proved attractive to those who had a higher opinion than The Sunday Times of Miss Faucit's talents. Such a playgoer was Charles Rice, who described the playing of the male leads as a "struggle for ascendancy" between Macready and Elton, and went on to praise Miss Faucit's "chaste and elegant manner"; she

carefully preserved her dignity in the more impassioned scenes of the play; it was one of her most successful performances.

He also described the shortcomings of Farren:

Farren's Cloten was a disgrace to that highly talented actor; he made the insignificant prince more like the father than the son of

the Queen. The character would have received much better support at the hands of Mr. Webster.

Rice concluded that "the whole play is one of the greatest hits of the season" and added,

... but the play was not announced for repetition: to become popular it must terminate in future before eleven.³

.....

In 1838 Cymbeline was given one performance - at Covent Garden on September 26. Samuel Phelps played Posthumus, Vandenhoff, Iachimo. In Coleman's Memoirs of Samuel Phelps Phelps is reported as saying of his engagement with Macready:

The rest, the comfort, the home surroundings, and the permanent income made me swallow some bitter pills during my first season, but when at the opening of the second season I found Vandenhoff engaged to open in Coriolanus and myself cast as Tullus Aufidius, I felt myself wronged. I remonstrated. As a sweetener I got Leonatus Posthumus.⁴

Helen Faucit had qualms concerning the costume in which she was to appear as "Fidele", and ordered a design for her tunic which would descend to her ankles. Macready, seeing this design, ordered its shortening and "with many tears" Miss Faucit was obliged to wear it in its abbreviated form:

... he was sure I would forgive him when he explained to me that such a dress would not tell the story, and that one-half the audience - all in fact, who did not know the play - would suppose Imogen to be still in woman's attire... I had to yield, and to add my own terror to that of Imogen, when first entering the cave, I managed, however, to devise a kind of compromise, by swathing myself in the "franklin's Housewife's riding-cloak", which I kept about me as I went into the cave; and this I caused to be wrapped afterwards, when the brothers carry in Imogen -

the poor "dead bird, which they have made so much on".⁵

Macready's diary shows him approaching an even more delicate problem concerning Miss Faucit's legs:

Spoke to Miss Faucit about her boy's dress for Imogen, and suggested to her, on the supposition that her legs were rather thin, the use of a pair of fleeced stockings "such as Malibran used to wear". I managed this "delicate negotiation" as dexterously as I could, and reconciled her easily to the experiment; went out and purchased a pair for her, which were sent home at three-o'clock, with a pair of my own, and I gave them to her.

Macready adds that he was "Surprised at the return of the house which far exceeded ... expectations."⁶

The Sunday Times, whose critic had damned Miss Faucit's attempt at Imogen in 1837, returned to the attack in its issue of September 30, 1838, and asserted that she was "exactly in person and manner the young lady of all others that should not be trusted with one of Shakespeare's most beautiful creations". Another notice, in The Times of September 27, describes Miss Faucit as "clever" and allows that she "displayed some feeling": but adds that "the too frequent indistinction of her pronunciation is to be regretted".

Vandenhoff gave an account of Iachimo which had an effect similar to that of Elton's the previous year:

Mr. Vandenhoff played Iachimo with a cold propriety that made the piece tedious in the extreme. The gay Italian who taunted Posthumus into his brutal wager was tamed down to a very sententious gentleman delivering his text, ten syllables in a line, as if he were counting them.

(Sunday Times, September 30)

No doubt to the great chagrin of Phelps, The Times linked its criticism of his performance to its qualified praise of the actor whose casting as Coriolanus had so much

annoyed him:

Though there was no startling display of genius in the performance, the acting was on the whole equal, and exhibited talent, unless we except the Leonatus of Phelps, who certainly gave no interest to the part, but acted with an inelegance the very reverse of the character. Vandenhoff... appeared to much greater advantage than in Coriolanus; he had not too much to sustain, and took great pains with the part, while the occasional monotony of his voice did not accord badly with his position in the fifth act, where he is weighed down with remorse. The difficult chamber scene he gave with judgement.

The Sunday Times gives a more specific account of Phelps's failings:

... he played with spirit and power, but he was utterly deficient in those nicer touches that make the great actor. The utter self-abandonment to grief, the heart-brokenness of one who rested in mind, heart, soul, all upon one loved object, and then found (or believed) that object false - the recklessness attendant on misplaced and blighted affection - where, where were they? Mr. Phelps succeeds in Sir Edmund Mortimer in The Iron Chest by George Colman the younger and other semi-melodramatic tragic assumptions, but he cannot sound the depths of Shakespeare - he cannot make silent agony speak to the beholder through the agency of his features.

This opinion of Phelps's Posthumus was repeated nine years later by The Morning Post's review of his performance in his own production at Sadler's Wells:

The great scene with the wily Italian ... lacked intention; and in the last act the lofty bearing and the high philosophy, the bruised heart, and the ruined soldier wooing death as his bride, found no adequate representative in Mr. Phelps.

(The Morning Post, August 26, 1847).

Both critics seem to be reading into the rôle elements of other contemporary pathetic heroes - so that what emerges

is a combination of Rolla (in Pizarro) and, for the purposes of the last act (and despite the non-representation of the gaol scene), Addison's Cato.

Of the other actors, The Sunday Times singled out George Bennett's Pisanio, reflecting that he "spoke ... magnificently" and adding "What an actor Mr. George Bennett might be if he chose!" The Times said of Vining's Cloten that it was "perhaps too much of an affected fop", but confessed that the character was not easy to understand, and that once an actor had decided what he would bring out in Cloten, he could not be criticised adversely unless he failed to give the character continuity. The Sunday Times grumbled about the textual impurity of the production, and declared its own principles on the question of textual matters:

We have always contended that the only alteration any man should dare to make in the works of the two Divine bard, are omissions of such matter as the march of decorum may demand, or the length of his productions call for - but the players do as they please; they transpose, omit and substitute exactly as if they were dealing with the text of Elkanah [sic] Settle, or any other mere scribbler living or dead. We were sorry to hear such an edition of Cymbeline at Covent Garden Theatre.

The Times concluded its review with reflections on the play's untheatrical nature, and an indication of the house it attracted:

Cymbeline is, on the whole, a flagging play. The very frequent changing of scenes in which little is done, is disappointing to an audience, though not much felt by a reader. It is a fortunate circumstance, that the last scene is the most interesting and hence at the descent of the curtain a favourable impression is necessarily left. Before the commencement of the play the pit was nearly full, though the boxes were but

moderately attended. In the course of the evening the audience became more numerous, and after the commencement of half-price, the pit was crowded, and the two lower tiers of boxes well-filled.

When Miss Faucit next appeared as Imogen, it was in a production with much greater pretension to textual accuracy, and much more lavish in its mounting.

ii. Macready's Production of "Cymbeline",
January, February, 1843.

Opening on January 21, 1843, Macready's production of Cymbeline had only four performances (January 21, 28 and February 16, 14). That it was a financial failure in a season of financial failures can be seen from a sample taken from the Drury Lane account book now in the Enthoven Collection:

Jan. 21.	(<u>Cymbeline</u>)	£165. 8.6
23.	(<u>Macbeth</u>)	£218. 6.6
24.	(<u>Lady of Lyons</u>)	£206.17.6
25.	(<u>King John</u>)	£160. 7.0
28.	(<u>Cymbeline</u>)	£156.11.6
Feb. 3.	(<u>Werner</u>)	£ 87. 0.0
4.	(<u>Cymbeline</u>)	£ 87. 9.6
5.	(<u>Macbeth and Der Freischütz</u>)	£217.14.0
9.	(<u>Cymbeline & Der Freischütz</u>)	£160.10.0
11.	(<u>A Blot on the Scutcheon</u> <u>A Thumping Legacy & Der F.</u>)	£176. 4.6
16.	(<u>Cymbeline & La Sonambula</u>)	£ 99.16.6
17.	(as 11th)	£ 88. 7.6

Introduced on October 24th, 1842, Macready's King John had twenty-six performances during the season; his As You Like It (October 1) was given twenty-two times. The size of the house may be judged from the £606 taken at the command performance of As You Like It on June 12.⁷

"No manager," wrote Sir Theodore Martin, gratefully, in his biography of Helen Faucit, "at any time in the history of our stage deserved better of the public than Mr. Macready."⁸ For all his good deserving, Macready was not able to improve the financial position of Drury Lane, and by the end of the season he resigned the managership:

he was the victim of a combination of different economic pressures, but fought hard for his artistic integrity, for "it was not his responsibility that those who followed him in London were pedants or megalomaniac showmen".⁹ Many of the best things of Phelps's management at Sadler's Wells and Kean's at the Princesses's were owing to Macready, through the experience of those who acted under him, and through the transmission of his promptbooks by George Ellis.¹⁰ If Charles Kean had produced Cymbeline, it would have owed much to Macready - via the promptbook which Ellis made up from Macready's and delivered to Kean. The influence of this short-lived production of 1843 may therefore be supposed considerable; and in details of stage-management and of text it directly affected Phelps (who played in it) in his production, and Helen Faucit in her touring performances in the forties and early fifties, and her return to Drury Lane in 1864.

.....

The 1843 production was the occasion of Macready's first appearance as Iachimo since 1820, and of Anderson's first appearance as Posthumus. The Spectator discussed the effect of the staging of the wager scene on these two characters:

The introduction of this scene of classic festivity ... serves to throw a veil of voluptuous wantonness over the repulsive incident of a man wagering on the virtue of his wife; and tends to make Posthumus appear merely a rash boaster, and Iachimo a licentious profligate inflamed with wine, both acting on a wild impulse and piqued into making the vile compact. Macready is not the "yellow Iachimo" but a rosy, luxurious gallant, with an air of gaiety and bonhomie, and a frank look and bearing, beneath which deceit and villainy do not seem to lurk: no one would suspect him of treachery or base intent when he tempts Imogen with the false

tale of her husband's infidelity. This is departing from the spirit of the character, not merely softening down its coarse aspect.

(January 28, 1843)

The idea of Iachimo of which The Spectator was disappointed, is, to say the least, crude (why would Philario and the other revellers associate with someone obviously inclined to treachery, villainy and deceit? - the critic is applying a dual standard by which the people on stage are oblivious to character-traits glaringly obvious to the audience) but it shows that the use of the banquet by Macready had carried its point. Macready's set consisted of a large table, extending from mid-stage to the proscenium in a wedge-shape, with couches arranged round the three sides facing the audience. In the promptbook it is described thus:

The scene is an open ^{onade} ~~collade~~ and broad terrace, thro' the pillars of which, the City of Rome is seen in close proximity. All the characters as above /diagram/ are reclining each on a long ottoman or couch, of about 2.½ feet high - at full length - surrounding a very large and long table, on which a splendid banquet is spread - 6 pages are in attendance, on each side, with some jugs - Tripods are placed about the Sc/ene/, in which Incense is seen flaming - the whole conveying an idea of noble splendour, and luxurious ease.¹¹

The Examiner remarked on the banquet as an instance of the spirit in which Macready's stage-management was conceived:

... whenever an arrangement in the scene can assist some less obvious intention in the poet, the opportunity is seized and made the most of. The Roman banquet in the first act is one instance; and an admirable one. It went far to make the wager tolerable. It removed from Posthumus at least some part of that load of unmanly jealousy with which we cannot but charge

his mere cold consent to such a wager.

(January 28, 1843)

Such indeed was this load of "unmanly jealousy" (and its effect on actors' interpretations of the character of Posthumus) that The Morning Chronicle pronounced:

the very proposition was one so revolting to every principle of delicacy - of manly and generous feeling - that we unhesitatingly affirm that no man brought up and circumstanced as Posthumus was, could have head it without striking the utterer to the ground.

(January 23, 1843)

Macready was able in some measure to reprieve Iachimo in the final scene of repentance ("a most masterly conception" said The Morning Sun, reprinting the notice in The Observer - Iachimo found himself" prostrate beneath the weight of his crime". [Jan. 23]). The Athenaeum, in a review published on January 28, took issue with Macready for representing Iachimo as a reckless voluptuary who, having made a rash wager, is obliged to carry it out in order not to lose face: the reviewer had a much dimmer view of Iachimo, intended by Shakespeare as "a representative of the subtle, malignant, and profligate Italian, who panders to his sensual appetites and plumes himself on his craft and treachery". It is a question of nationality, in which the "yellow" Italian is contrasted with the honest, confiding Briton. For this reviewer, Macready's behaviour in the interview with Imogen was too sincere (or acceptable as sincere) "and his actions ... consequently at variance with his assumed nature".

In April The Athenaeum published an account by George Fletcher of the acting of Cymbeline "As Lately Revived at Drury Lane": this formed part of a series of articles on the play and was later reprinted with them to form part of Fletcher's Studies of Shakespeare (1847). Fletcher

praises Macready's Iachimo, but gives little information on the manner in which the part was played, beyond the observation that Macready, far from looking "yellow", was "thoroughly and peculiarly British."¹² The Morning Chronicle, forgetting for a moment its disgust at the indecency of Iachimo's character, admitted that Macready had invested Iachimo "with interest and grace", particularly in the last scene, with its "manful reparation for unmanly wrong".

Anderson's Posthumus was described by The Morning Chronicle as "animated and powerful ... though occasionally a trifle too violent": according to The Athenaeum's review (of January 28) he was "hard, loud, and somewhat mechanical". The Globe's review (January 23) found him "somewhat uneven", and a more specific version of the same notice, printed in The Morning Herald remarked that he was good in the quiet scenes, but failed in the passionate:

... in the last act ... his roar of lamentation, as he rushed forward, was as homely an outpouring of emotion as we have for some time heard.

The same reviewer found Macready's Iachimo good but "rather too studied", especially in his interview with Imogen where

the assumed forgetfulness of gaze with which he contemplates her, lost as it were in marvel at the insinuated infidelity of his friend to one so peerless, was overdone into a stark, close, and much too prolonged stare.

(January 23, 1843)

Together, Anderson and Macready tried to redeem the two major male characters of the play, the one by making Posthumus very passionate (in the event, noisy), the other by emphasising the thoughtless gaiety of Iachimo, his awe at the sight of Imogen, and his "manly reparation". In addition to this, Macready arranged a banquet which would set the wager in a light of merriment and the

"voluptuous ease" called for in the promptbook's set-description.

The weaker part of this plan was Anderson's Posthumus: The Morning Post, in a long and detailed review of the production, (See Appendix B) compared Macready's ease in the banquet scene with the awkwardness of Anderson, and complained of Anderson's ranting. There was evidently some effort to establish a distinction between the elegance of Rome and the rudeness of Britain, but that it should correspond with a deficiency in the acting of Posthumus was unfortunate.

.....

The Examiner said of Miss Faucit's Imogen that it was "in best, that is, in her most quiet manner", and The Morning Chronicle found Imogen "touchingly affecting, but withal unconstrained and unaffected": she "from first to last drew down continued and warm applause". The Spectator was not satisfied:

Miss Helen Faucit does not realize our ideas of Imogen: she expresses the various emotions of the character with too much vehemence: her indignation at Iachimo's insulting overtures is too much like scolding, for the gentle Imogen; her despairing entreaty of Pisanio to slay her is the best point of her performance.

The Morning Sun gave an account of her "points" from the point of view of an admirer:

Nothing could be finer in point of effect, and nearer the truth in relation to nature, than her vehement burst of indignation when Iachimo seeks to seduce her from her allegiance to Posthumus... It would be difficult, too, to match the combined expression of anger and affright in the subsequent act ... when she discovers that she has lost her husband's bracelet; her exulting joy when Pisanio informs her that her husband awaits

her coming at Milford Haven ... was exquisitely natural, and faithful to her sex, and the all-pervading sentiment which the poet has so abundantly inter-fused into the character of the fond and trusting woman. But her chiefest triumph - for her performance was, in truth, a succession of triumphs - was in that tender and impassioned dialogue in the same act...

This "tender and impassioned dialogue" was the moment when Imogen learns that she is to be killed by Pisanio at Posthumus' orders. There remained the accusation that her indignation was "too furious and vehement for the gentler Imogen" (The Athenaeum, January 28) - a judgement in which most critics concurred.

Fletcher lays great emphasis upon the "mute expressiveness of figure as well as feature" demanded by the changing emotions of Imogen during her interview with Iachimo, and in the last scene of the play. Miss Faucit burst into tears at "Revenged! how should I be revenged?", then -

The sudden passing away of the whole cloud that has gathered over Imogen's mind and heart - the silent conviction so instantly wrought within her, that the addressing her is a villain, - are vividly and beautifully set before us, in that withdrawing of the hands from the weeping face, that gradual elevating of the depressed brow, and recovery of the drooping form, till they reach that thorough clearness of the countenance and firmness of the figure with which she delivers her first call to Pisanio ¹³

Miss Faucit read the letter with "staggering and faltering of her eye and voice" when she came upon Posthumus' explanation to Pisanio of her unfaithfulness, and when confronted with the order to kill her, sank to the ground in a faint, only to become "hysterical" on reviving. Fletcher discusses the influence on Miss Faucit of some of the passages deleted from Macready's version, - lines which she had evidently studied and which gave her the conception of Imogen as one prepared to die from pride and dignity, rather

than out of submission, even in this situation, to the will of her husband.¹⁴

Fletcher is able to conclude that Shakespeare is very much in Miss Faucit's debt: in the last scene of all -

From the beginning, however, of Iachimo's confession, the countenance and gesture of the present performer express to us, in their delicate variation, what Shakespeare's text can but dimly suggest, even to the most thoughtful and imaginative reader.¹⁵

The stage here has the advantage over the study.

.....

The other actors seem to have been competent, Phelps being praised for his Belarius ("rugged and robust, with a touch of kindliness in his nature" said The Athenaeum) and Elton as Pisanio pleasing the judicious George Fletcher with a rendering of the character's earnestness of devotion" and "delicacy of feeling".¹⁶ Compton's Cloten was agreed to be a little overplayed.

The fullest account of the staging is that of The Morning Post, reproduced in an appendix, but the summary of The Athenaeum does not differ from the opinions of the other reporters:

Cymbeline ... has been revived with a less degree of finish in the article of scenery and costume than distinguished others of Mr. Macready's Shakespearean revivals, and some needless omission of dialogue; but withal, in a manner to deserve encouragement and afford gratification.

.....

Macready based his text on Steevens's edition of the full text of the play, rather than on a contemporary "acting edition" - even so, the cutting of the text was

considerable, so great that several critics remarked on its incompleteness.¹⁷ Its influence on the later Sadler's Wells text was considerable: in Act IV, scenes 1-2, for example, up to the arrival of the Roman army, the cuts in Phelps's book follow those of Macready closely. Macready gives the second and third verses only of the dirge, and gives a different version of Imogen's speech on waking.

Macready omits the reference to Imogen's "neat cookery" and most of Cloten's speech in scene 1 (from "why should his mistress... " to "What Mortality is!"). He removes obscurities (e.g. "not so citizen a wanton") and the less important moral reflections ("Experience, O, thou disprov'st report!" for example). Profanities are also removed, notably Imogen's "Damn'd Pisanio". In all these Phelps was to follow suit with little variation. In neither version does Arviragus recall his taking off his clouted brogues, and the reflections of Belarius on mortality and Guiderius' remark on the equality of Ajax and Thersites (New Arden IV.2.246-9; 252-3) are excised.

The main strength of the version is its refusal to transpose scenes: scenes are cut completely¹⁸ but there is nothing comparable to Kemble's treatment of the first act: the last act is very much simplified, and, as might be expected, the soothsayer and the vision (together with the whole of the gaol scene) are removed.

The promptbook of the production gives instructions for the deployment of characters in the massed scenes, and notation of the blocking for every scene (R, L, Crosses etc.). There are drawings of the properties for the banquet and for the bedchamber scene, but the blocking and the directions for emphasis give a performance which differs little from that given by the fuller book used by William Creswick as Iachimo in 1864, which is discussed in a later chapter.

The 1843 performances were a restoration in the limited sense of using the original text as a base, and in that Macready's text had undergone much less ruthless alterations than those of previous theatrical renderings. But it was far from being complete: it showed up the textual innocence of critics such as The Morning Chronicle's who commended the revival of such a play "in the purity of its original text". According to this critic there were books in the audience - later a common phenomenon at Sadler's Wells, but now in 1843 taken as a tribute to the high ideals of the management:

... it was a pleasing evidence of the spirit in which the public appreciated his views, to see how many books of SHAKESPEARE'S works, in all sizes and editions, were opened in boxes and pit, and intently followed line by line by devouring critics, who seemed gladly to acknowledge, that their favourite bard was, in this work, after so long an exclusion restored to our stage.

(January 23, 1843)

It was in this spirit that when he retired Macready was presented with a testimonial, upon which he was represented in silver "restoring the text" of the bard.

.....

CHAPTER SEVEN: "CYMBELINE" AT SADLER'S WELLS
1847-1860.

1.

When Cymbeline was first produced under Phelps's management, at Sadler's Wells in August, 1847, the reviewers showed as much interest in the nature of the audience as in the quality of the performance. The audience appear to have armed themselves with copies of the play - not as acted, but in the original, full text:

Excepting at the St. James's during a performance of Rachel's there is no house where so many persons may be seen with books of the play in their hands. They steadily follow the progress of the piece from the beginning to the end, jealously watching the transpositions that may occur.

(The Times, August 25, 1847).

Similarly, the critic of The Morning Post observed "an intelligent audience, with books and pencils in hand, following the text of the finest plays of Shakespeare", and felt it to be an asset of the theatre second only to its "intelligent and practised actors sufficient to perform the highest poetical dramas very efficiently". (26 August). The Morning Chronicle remarked on the gratifying sight of a house "crowded from floor to ceiling with a respectable and enthusiastic audience, book in hand, collected from all parts of the metropolis", and The Examiner stressed the democratic lesson of Sadler's Wells -

There were artizans in the pit and gallery, from whose attention and intelligent applause the most highly educated might have improved their taste.

(August 28, 1847).

The critic of The Athenaeum considers the example of Sadler's Wells an encouraging sign of the effects of popular education:

The more poetical of Shakespeare's dramas have here been the most popular. This fact has surprised the unreflecting, who judged the taste of the neighbourhood by the monstrosities committed on this stage during the long and dreary period when the prevalence of the monopoly prohibited the production of the best pieces. With the style of the entertainments, the character of the audience has completely changed. The example thus successfully set is about to be followed elsewhere: - and there is good reason to believe that the liberty now conceded to the stage has given a new start to the drama.

(August 28, 1847).

This might be interpreted as: with a change of management and of policy, the constitution of the audiences has changed, and a more respectable type of playgoer now frequents the "Wells" - but R.H. Horne, in his article Shakespeare and Newgate, thought that a process of education had genuinely taken place -

The management and audience have reacted upon each other. Sensible of the pains bestowed on everything presented to them, the audience have desired to show their appreciation of such care, and have studied the plays from the books, and have really come to the Theatre for their intellectual profit.¹

(Household Words, Oct. 4, 1851).

Not all reviewers were as specific - some contented themselves with bestowing upon Phelps's theatre the simple accolade of respectability: thus the critic of The Era who was

highly gratified to find such an elegant and discriminating audience assembled to witness the performance of one of the cleverest works of the immortal bard.

(August 29, 1847).

On the other hand, few would go so far as Punch, which in 1845 published a "Report of the Managers of Sadler's Wells for the Diffusion of Shakespeareanity" -

The tank has been abolished; but the very best real water, - the small tear of sensibility at the poet's moving story, illustrated by the actor - has been abundant in all parts of the house. Further - the night-charges at the various police-stations of the neighbourhood have sensibly diminished; and men - before considered irredeemable bachanals - are now nightly known to bring their wives and little ones to listen to the solemn and sportive truths of Shakespeare, in the pit and gallery.

(Sept. 27, 1845).

A number of theatres tried to follow the example set by Phelps, with varying success: in a review of Phelps's work, in May 1851, Tallis's Dramatic Magazine and General Theatrical and Musical Review took a pessimistic view of these laudable ventures -

The example of Sadler's Wells has not yet been followed with a truthful and consistent purpose... Imperfect as some, or all, of these endeavours may have been, they have demonstrated one thing - that the willingness of the public to patronize the drama has exceeded the existing talent of the stage to perform it.

A more favourable comparison, in The Spectator of Sept. 4, 1847, reflects on the good press received by Phelps and his audiences - it also mentions the play-books again, firmly stating that they are the full text, and not the acting version:

The diffusion of "Knight's Cabinet Shakespeare" is certainly less extensive at Marylebone than at Sadler's Wells, though the rank of the people in the pit and gallery appears much the same. We should also say that the Marylebonites, though equally ready to encourage are less intelligent than the Pentonvillians. But then it is to be remembered that the Sadler's Wells audience are the initiated; they have served some three or four dramatic campaigns; and the critics, while lauding Mr. Phelps, have never failed to scatter a few sweet words to those before as to those behind the lamps.

The writer observes the formidable self-respect of the audience at the more established house -

the Sadler's Wells auditor is brought up in the faith that his sturdy grasp alone prevented the dire event from coming to pass.

And the "dire event" is the death of the legitimate drama, believed to be dying in the West End because it had gone out of fashion. In 1872, Doré and Blanchard Jerrold's London is able to state the polarity of legitimacy and fashion quite simply:

The Stage has not progressed with the spread of education - that is, not in fashionable parts of London. This is not the place to develop the reasons why; but it may be noted that the drama is spreading through the poorer and less educated portions of society, who always crowd to the theatres where classic or sterling modern drama is played.²

This interpretation in terms of class-distinction, of the audience attracted by such enterprises as Phelps's, is touched on in discussion of the books seen at performances. The audiences at French plays (at St. James's) and at the opera, both "fashionable" in the extreme, were usually equipped with books -

We have observed that the house was crowded; and more than one of our contemporaries have remarked on the number of books in the hands of the audience; so many, indeed, that the representation might have been taken for that of an opera or a French play. There was, however, little excuse for going without one; for on our way to the Theatre, we noticed a small, neatly-printed copy of "Cymbeline" in the window of a periodical shop, labelled, "Performed at Sadler's Wells, this evening. The play complete for a penny."

(Illustrated London News, 28 August, 1847)

It is likely, then, that the books in almost every hand were the product of earnestness, of sound business sense (on the part of the "periodical shop"), and probably of

a lack of acquaintance with an unfamiliar play.³ In the more familiar pieces, it would seem, the Sadler's Wells audience knew just when to expect the "points" - Henry Morley's review of A Midsummer Night's Dream, in 1853, observes that

pit and gallery were crowded to the farthest wall on Saturday night with a most earnest audience, among whom many a subdued hush arose, not during, but just before, the delivery of the most charming passages.⁴

Though this would seem to indicate that there was not complete silence throughout the performance, these matters were managed better in Pentonville than in the West End, where the Drury Lane mob constituted a "gross discredit to the public taste." In the pit and gallery of Sadler's Wells sat a "silent and reverent" audience,⁵ and their behaviour during Cymbeline won the approval of The Illustrated London News:

the play, which lasted nearly four hours, was listened to throughout with attention by an evidently appreciating audience.

How adventurous the audience were is not easy to judge. Although Phelps was able to produce a number of "unpopular" plays, notably Timon of Athens and All's Well that Ends Well, and to present a successful rendering of The Duchess of Malfi, (in Horne's version), he was not able to proceed beyond contemplating a production of Troilus and Cressida, and the acting versions he used were rigorously purged: that of All's Well goes even further in excisions than the Kemble version which is its base,⁶ and the version of The City Madam was fit for performance before schools. The modern, original dramas attempted were none of them notable successes, and all of them were mediocre plays. Phelps had to exercise caution in the way his presentations were staged. Gower was omitted in Pericles - his absence being explained by Henry Morley:

... the frequent introduction of a story-telling gentleman in long coat and curls would have been an extremely hazardous experiment, even before such an earnest audience as that at Sadler's Wells.⁷

Another aspect of the Sadler's Wells "house style" was the carefully cultivated ensemble, the spirit of which was summarized by Morley in his review of Timon of Athens (1856):

Shakespeare is not fairly heard when he is made to speak from behind masses of theatrical upholstery, or when it is assumed that there is but one character in any of his plays, and that the others may be acted as incompetent performers please.

At Sadler's Wells, Morley claims,

Shakespeare appears in his integrity, and his plays are found to affect audiences less as dramas in a common sense than as great poems.

Phelps's company is able to present plays in such a way as to transcend the conditions of the theatre: the article in Tallis's Dramatic Magazine describes the effect of the ensemble in different terms, but still conveying the impression of Shakespeare's plays as having an ideal existence, beyond their theatrical presentation. -

The whole result of the play, in its entire stage combinations, was the produce of one actor's mind. The traces of the stage-manager's direction were everywhere perceptible. The play, as acted, was, in fact, as it were a moving picture - a copy from Shakespeare, painted by a single hand, and inspired by an individual intelligence.

Irving's achievements at the Lyceum were later praised in much the same terms, but against Irving was levelled the charge that all his company provided servile imitations of the great master, and that the ensemble at the Lyceum was that of a number of people with their talents firmly

subordinated to the inspiration of the actor-manager.

At Sadler's Wells, uniformity may well have led to tedium: The Athenaeum concluded its review of Cymbeline (August 28, 1847) with a politely suppressed yawn -

Altogether, this beautiful drama was smoothly presented; and accompanied with accessories which conduced to the illusion of scene - and added to the general satisfaction with which its revival was greeted by a numerous and respectable audience.

This is indeed courteous when compared with the comments of The Man in The Moon, a rival to Punch. Readers of the eleventh issue of The Man in The Moon (November, 1847) were advised in a paragraph headed "How to Kill Fleas",

- You have nothing to do but to catch every one which infects your house, and take a private box for them at Sadler's Wells, when they play Cymbeline. None of them will survive the performance.

Charles Kean was also noted for his cultivation of what might loosely be called ensemble, though with him unity of visual effect - of colour and of movement - seem to have been more notable than the unity of acting style sought after at Sadler's Wells. Kean's claims to anticipate the Meininger troupe have been discussed in some detail by Muriel St. Clare Byrne - his contemporaries discussed the differences between his company and that of Phelps.⁹ John Coleman usefully reduces the controversy to a question of managerial situation, rather than artistic ambition, for Kean had larger resources than Phelps, and appears to have been very liberal in the running of his company.¹⁰

Coleman remembers that

Injurious and impertinent comparisons were continually instituted between Sadler's Wells and the Princess's, usually to the detriment of the former, utterly oblivious of the fact that one could run a piece for six months, while the other could, and frequently did,

take as much money in two nights as
Phelps took in six.

The Princess's was more splendid,

On the other hand, the industry and
fecundity of the Sadler's Wells
management left the Princess's far
and away behind.¹¹

.....

ii.

Cymbeline was performed twenty-three times between August 23 and October 30, 1847; in 1850 it had seven performances (Oct. 28 - Nov. 6); in 1854, nine performances, (Sept. 4-19): in 1857 and 1860, five and six performances respectively, (Sept. 26-Nov. 23: Oct. 6-19). In the light of the number of performances of the play through the years preceding this production since the beginning of the century, this is a remarkable figure. Helen Faucit had appeared as Imogen only eight times on the London stage, there had been only four performances of Macready's Cymbeline in 1843, and the total of performances for the years 1800-1846 was sixty-four.

The Imogen of the first performances, in August and the Autumn months of 1847, was Laura Addison. She had proved inadequate as Lady Macbeth, and had received indulgent good advice from critics. Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper suggested that because Lady Macbeth required so much "natural dignity",

it was not to be expected so young and inexperienced an actress as Miss Addison could perform it. She would do better if she made less effort, and did not by continual emphasis mar the effect of her own energy.¹²

And in Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper Jonas Levy complained:

She has a good conception of the part, draws a just outline of it, but is incapable of filling up the difficult and tremendous character of Lady Macbeth ... we fear she is acquiring a bad habit of declaiming when she should feel, and of studying to produce effect, when, if she yielded to the impulse of the moment, she would achieve her object without effort.¹³

The recurring criticism is, in Levy's phrase, that her "points" were "well conceived, but feebly executed."

She is a clever actress, with a very laudable intelligence of the character, but with natural powers completely inadequate to its just exhibition.

Thus it was decided that, for the moment at least, the formidable qualities of Lady Macbeth were beyond the range of Laura Addison. But the similar qualities which the critics sought to find displayed in the character of Imogen at certain points of the play, were also beyond Miss Addison. The Morning Post, in its review of August 26, 1847, censures her for this inadequacy, but still holds out hope for her histrionic career:

Imogen [is] a character, though full of gentleness and womanly devotion, that has points of passionate emotion, and moments of tragic energy, which require the combination of the loftiest tragic powers and the rarest skill. Miss Laura Addison was gentle, and subdued, and low-toned, and sweetly feminine; but the fervour, the strong will, and the mighty heart - mighty in its love, and its truth, and its devotion, and its courage - were assuredly faintly set before us. There is a monotony of cadence that fatigues by its constant recurrence, and a preparation of the sentences, which destroys the spontaneity which gives the heart and the life to dramatic delineations. These are faults which care will remove.

Miss Addison is further advised that she should "seek in nature, and not in stage models, the secrets of an abiding

success."

The Athenaeum was happy to note that in the case of the ideal woman, Imogen, Miss Addison's "personal appearances and style" were "favourable to the histrionic assumption," but found fault with some of her acting:

Her best scene was her interview with Iachimo (Mr. Marston). Her surprise at his story and her indignation at his proposal were both effectively rendered. Her scene with Pisanio (Mr. Harrington) was less successful. We were not satisfied with her manner of reading her husband's letter - nor with her after-emotion. Miss Addison's enunciation is at times too hurried as well as too hysterical. There is a mannerism which she must correct, ere she can attain to high excellence. In the scene before the cave of Belarius her feminine timidity was highly natural. We could have desired greater picturesque effect; but can more easily dispense with this than with simplicity and truthful earnestness. In the former the lady has much to learn - in the latter she is always deserving of commendation.

(Aug. 28, 1847).

The Morning Chronicle, whilst according Miss Addison "no stinted praise" for her acting, did in fact go on to make reservations about "defects in her acting ... which an accession of physical strength and greater habitude could rectify". It praised her entrance "with drawn sword" into the cave, but thought her reading of the letter from Posthumus "a little too subdued, and therefore weak". It concluded with the reflection that "the general idea of the character was sustained unbrokenly with perfect truth and success, and it is scarcely worth while to pick holes in so goodly a covering" (August 24, 1847).

This is endorsed further by the Theatrical Times, which praised Imogen's womanly qualities as rendered by the actress, ("gentle, warm-hearted, and full of woman's tenderness"), but observed that she had proved "inarticulate" and had failed to embody what was evidently a fine

conception of the part, "beautiful exceedingly". It was not that she failed to rise to tragic heights, but that she failed to do so often enough:

When she soars above her mannerism her articulation becomes distinct and she is one of the most impassioned actresses alive.

(Theatrical Times, August 28, 1847).

The critic of John Bull confined himself to declaring Miss Addison's Imogen "full of grace and womanly delicacy" (August 28, 1847). The general description of Laura Addison's acting which Westland Marston gives in Some Reminiscences of Our Recent Actors, is probably our best guide to her qualities and shortcomings:

Miss Addison, with no great advantage of figure, had a fair complexion, a prepossessing face, with great force of expression, especially in grief and tenderness. She was gifted, moreover with a sweet and pathetic voice, admirably suited to utterance of these sentiments. Unsophisticated and sincere, she carried the listener away by her genuineness rather than by her art. In this, particularly in finish and in smoothness, she was sometimes deficient. Nevertheless, were there a poetic sentiment to inspire her, she could realize a situation with great effect.¹⁴

In 1848, Laura Addison left, to work at the Haymarket where she appeared with William Creswick in Romeo and Juliet and The Patrician's Daughter.

The Iachimo in 1847, and in the successive revivals, was Henry Marston. In 1847 his Iachimo was acted "with extreme care and caution - frequently in an impressive manner", and by 1857 the Athenaeum critic was able to rate it "decidedly good". In 1854 the same journal had passed a longer comment on this part and its acting:

Among the best performances of the evening was Mr. Marston's Iachimo, which had in it a dignity that gave not only a countenance to his villainy, but their proper effect to

the fine speeches which belong to the character. There is a subtle delineation in this order of parts which Shakespeare has mastered beyond all other poets, and which this actor has studied in a manner which we regret that we see no reason to expect among younger actors, who, for the most part, appear to have wanted the requisite models to assist them in acquiring accomplishment.

(The Athenaeum, Sept. 9, 1854).

Quite what this latter observation on young actors signifies is not clear, but it is evident that Marston attempted to give some depth to the villainy of Iachimo, in the same way that actors had sought by stressing the bacchic nature of Philario's feast to make Posthumus' acceptance of the wager credible to their audience. To represent Iachimo as a voluptuary or as a dignified but unprincipled man were the two courses which offered themselves, and Marston appears to have taken the latter.

Praise for Marston's Iachimo was by no means "unstinted": The Sunday Times considered his performance "good in conception, but bad in execution", (August 29, 1847) and The Morning Post reviewer thought Phelps unsuited to the part of Posthumus -

Iachimo is better adapted to his physical and moral qualifications. Mr. Marston has evidently a full sense of his author, and conceives well; but his voice wants resonance, and his manner is too frequently melodramatic and conventional. His Iachimo has been carefully studied: and his manly penitence for past crimes, and the desolation he had spread around him, was truthful and effective.

(August 26, 1847).

The "lack of resonance" was a considerable handicap - Westland Marston comments:

Graceful, cultivated and intelligent, Mr. Marston made an impression which would have been still more favourable but for

a huskiness of voice, which was a great drawback in the characters of gallants and lovers.¹⁵

The London Entr'acte, in an obituary notice, reflected that had Marston "been gifted with a more musical voice, he would have made even a greater mark than he did". (March 31, 1883). A fuller description of Marston's voice was given in 1887 by Godfrey Turner, in one of his series of articles, "First Nights of My Younger Days", in The Theatre,

He had, indeed, adopted the Kemble pronunciation. In the word "thy" for instance, which he made short, by analogy with "my", as we pronounce that that possessive pronoun when we say carelessly to a servant, "Fetch me my umbrella". On this principle "thy" became indistinguishable from "the", as in "the lowing herd" ... If I am not mistaken, Marston's rigid ortheopy, like Kemble's, led to the fancied analogy of "beard" with "heard", so that the former had to be spoken as though it were the same as "bird", which is too fearful a thing to be calmly considered.¹⁶

Phelps's Posthumus was not, it would seem, one of his most striking performances. The Athenaeum had observed in 1847 that the two "passages of passion" in this ungrateful part - Posthumus' deception into jealousy and his being disabused - "were given by the actor with great power", and we have noted the suggestion of The Morning Post that Iachimo was more suited to Phelps. The Morning Post developed its theme of disappointment before making this suggestion: Phelps's "sensibly" acted Posthumus was not aided by "the rough earnestness and honest pathos" which distinguished his acting style in general, and these qualities did not "form the ruling points of the banished husband of Imogen" -

The great scene with the wily Italian, Iachimo, lacked intention; and in the last act the lofty bearing and the high philosophy, the bruised heart, and the ruined soldier wooing death as his bride, found no adequate representative in Mr. Phelps.

(August 26, 1847).

This list of attributes would seem to the modern reader to be a number of variations of the theme of "honest pathos" - but apparently Victorian distinctions in such matters were finer than ours. The Examiner had contented itself with a note that Phelps made "an earnest Leonatus" (28 August) but when the play was re-produced in 1850, The Era was dissatisfied:

The Leonatus Posthumus of Mr. Phelps was a clever conception of the character, but we do not think it one in which he appears to great advantage, or else his mannerisms were more apparent than usual, and did not harmonise with the picture.

(The Era, 3 Nov., 1850).

This is not an entirely reliable review - it praised Marston for a performance of Philario (he played Iachimo) which "elicited much well-merited applause", and it takes at face value the claim that the scenery, dresses and decorations were new, which they were not. The review of the 1854 performance, in The Athenaeum of September 9, observed that Phelps's acting took in its stride such sudden passions as Othello's or Posthumus' jealousy, and that without "trickiness" of any kind ("a quality altogether opposed to Mr. Phelps's usual style"). In a similar comparison with Othello's jealousy, The Athenaeum in 1857 accepted Phelps's Posthumus as "a noticeable study" towards Othello and on the part of actor and poet, though its assumption that Cymbeline preceded Othello as a composition is false. To balance this markedly faint praise, there is the comment of the Musical Transcript, in 1854, Posthumus was "one of Mr. Phelps's least striking impersonations". (Sept. 9, 1854).

Of the production, comments tell us very little other than that it was competent and harmonious; The Times makes an interesting comment on the ensemble and its relationship to the choice of the play:

We should not say that it is a play remarkably well fitted to the actors who sustain it, but at Sadler's Wells this is a matter of minor importance. The audience are assembled more to see a play as a whole, than to watch the details of acting.

(August 25, 1847).

The same review gives us more information than any other on the settings of the play:

The getting-up and dressing of "Cymbeline" is excellent, great pains having been taken to attire the Britons in a way that might be supposed consistent with the mythic period of the story. The scenic effects of which the piece is capable are admirably brought out. The feast at which the fatal wager is made is very strikingly arranged and the mountainous country inhabited by Belarius and the sons of Cymbeline is represented by an exceedingly clever and elaborate "set". The original text is followed more closely than at any other house, though some transpositions are allowed in the order of the scenes.

This can be supplemented by reference to the Morning Chronicle reviewer, who admires the battle ("as good as the best 'deadly charge' we have ever witnessed at Astley's") and noted that the whole mise-en-scène was accurate -

barring some little laches in costume, which for the sake of decency, remembering Caesar's account of our ancestors' habiliments, we could not advise Mr. Coombes and Miss Bailey to rectify -

(August 24, 1847).

The promptbook in the British Theatre Museum¹⁷ gives instructions for the banquet -

Costly Banquet

Statues to decorate the Scene
The pages have Goblets of Wine
beakers - and the characters
affect to drink and return them.
(leaf facing p.16)

There is also an order of battle for the fifth act, written on the leaf facing page six of the printed text -

Act 5th Scene 2nd Order of Battle as arranged 1850. Rocky Landscape 5th [grooves] with Platforms R & L - All the Britons with Madan, Locrine, Pisanio discovered Centre of Stage as waiting an Attack - Shouts off L. - Enter at all the Entrances Lucius - Iarro [? Iachimo] - Roman Officers - Soldiers &c. - they rush upon the Britons and after a short skirmish drive them off R.H. different entrances - The Roman party Re-Enter shouting in triumph and exeunt L.H. different entrance in great exultation - Enter L U E [Left Upper Entrance] Belarius - Cadwal - Polydore - observing the Romans and then rush off R. shouting and encouraging the Britons who Re-Enter R. headed by The Mountaineers, the whole body rush off L. & return in sharp encounter, after a time the Britons being driven to R. wings rally and [sic/r/ight] drive the Romans off L. Enter Jachimo [sic/r/ight].

At this point the leaf has been cropped, before the direction for Posthumus' encounter with Iachimo.

The banquet was an inheritance from Macready, and indeed Phelps's aim seems often to have been to equal in staging the productions he had known at the patent houses. A newspaper cutting in Finsbury Public Library entitled Behind the Curtain but identified only with the date, 1848, describes Mrs. Warner at rehearsal: she is referring frequently in her directions to received stage practice, the example of Macready, and "Let me see - how was this arranged at Drury-Lane?". The review in The Morning Post (August 26, 1847) praises the banquet, and adds another detail -

The scenery was picturesque and appropriate, and the dresses unexceptionable. The banqueting hall of Philario, with the guests reclining on the tricliniums, was excellent, and the last scene, with the Druid temple in the perspective, imparted vraisemblance to the conclusion.

The last scene appears from the promptbook to have been the interior of Cymbeline's tent, with a doorway open at the back,

an arrangement favouring the semi-circular blocking which recurs throughout the play.¹⁸

.....

iii.

Pages 20-26 of the extant promptbook, (based on Cumberland's text), give detailed instructions for the movements of Imogen and Iachimo during their interview, and the bedchamber scene is described on pages 28-29. In the account which follows, I have underlined in red the stage directions, and noted any divergence between that of Cumberland and the annotator.

After her soliloquy, Imogen is going off R. when Pisanio and Iachimo enter L. - and she exclaims "Who may this be? - Fie!". She stops as Pisanio announces that this is a "noble gentleman of Rome"; Iachimo advances at "dearly" and, as in Cumberland's edition, kneels and presents a letter. Imogen thanks him (she is Right Centre) and Iachimo speaks his aside from the Left. Pisanio meanwhile stands in C/entre/ of background.

At "All that I can do", Imogen reads the letter again and Iachimo is now Left Centre to thank her and to speak another aside, in which the annotator inserts the phrase "with spectacles so precious" omitted by Cumberland. The lines "What makes your admiration ... Not so allured to feed", are omitted, as by Cumberland's version, and Imogen and Iachimo step forward toward C. when she asks, "What is the matter, trow?".

The promptbook restores the line "that tub both full and running" (p.22) and at the word "garbage" Pisanio advances towards L. This gives the arrangement from now until Pisanio's exit:

PisanioImogenIachimo

RIGHT

LEFT

//////// Audience. //////////////////////////////////////

It is only at "Not he", his answer to Imogen's "Not he, I hope", that Iachimo Steps to C.

With "Had I this cheek" Iachimo going up to her takes hand drawing her C., and as he says "lips as common as the stairs/that mount the Capitol" he is drawing closer to her. The Promptbook restores after "with hourly falsehood as with labour" the lines:

... then by-peeping in an eye
That's fed with tinkling tallow:...

By "Not I" he is close to her ear and at "Charms report out" he somewhat extravagantly Throws his arm around her neck - only to Part at "Let me hear no more". Before "A Lady, this Iachimo adds to the earlier text,

O dearest soul! Your cause doth strike with pity that
doth make me sick.¹⁹

When Iachimo utters "Be reveng'd!" Imogen recedes to the R. (Cumberland's direction) and Iachimo follows her after "in your despite", to which phrase he adds "upon your purse" - omitted in the printed text. At "Away" Imogen is Right Centre, and Iachimo kneeling, as he has been since

Revenge it!

I dedicate myself to your sweet pleasure...

At "Thee and the devil alike" she crosses to the left hastily to call Pisanio a second time. Cumberland's crosses at the third call is deleted. At Iachimo's

A lady to the worthiest sir that ever
Country called his...

Imogen crosses to R., and at "Pray, your pardon" (in which, unlike the Kemble version, Cumberland follows the Folio) Iachimo kneels. Imogen raises him and goes R. (page 25)

All's well, sir; take my power i' the court
for yours.

And Iachimo, about to exit Left, returns R.C. with "I had almost forgot". He again kneels at "To the tender of our present", and they leave at the end of the scene, he Left, she Right. (page 36)

.....

On page 27 are instructions for the preparation of the chamber scene:

See Iachimo in Trunk
Helen and Imogen ready behind
Book and Table & C -

- and the scene follows on pages 28-29.

.....

The leaf facing page 28 has instructions for Imogen's bedchamber:

Lights 1/4 down
Bed Room set 1/2 Octagon. Door in R.
Fireplace L. - Opening for Bed in Centre
Rush canvas Carpet down.

When Imogen says "Take not away the taper," the inter-leaf has

Helen about to take lamp
from Table R. C.

followed by,

Attend to Clock Striking

(This is an advance warning for the prompter.) Before Iachimo emerges from the chest, we are told of a piece of business comparable to Irving's treatment of the scene:²⁰

N.B. The Spring of Lock to Box is worked by Iachimo from within and falls back on lid with a noise which prepares the audience for the scene.

This is one of the directions which show the book to have been compiled between the first performances and the first revival (the account of the order of battle is dated 1850), for the use of later re-productions.

Cumberland's directions, which are not altered, place the bed in the centre background, and the trunk to the left of it. There is also a direction requiring Table w. lamp on it. (page 28). Iachimo leaves the trunk with the words

The crickets sing, and man's o'er-labour'd sense
Repairs itself by rest.

He comes forward, and at "perfumes the chamber thus", he Goes toward A., looking toward her (Cumberland) - opposite the line concerning the flame of the taper a pause is indicated on the leaf facing the text. It is not clear where this pause should be made - whether it follows "Perfumes the chamber thus...", or is much later, after Iachimo's digression on Imogen's eyes. Whatever the case, he is standing Right when he begins "To note the chamber", and he Takes up tablets and writes. Does this mean that he has put them down somewhere? - perhaps on the table? He is evidently looking at Imogen from the other side of the room, downstage.

At this point comes the further reminder to the prompter to Attend to Lights - in readiness for the end of the scene.

On page 29, Iachimo approaches Imogen (Goes to the bed at "Thus in a chapel lying") and by the second exclamation "Come off!" he is Taking off her Bracelet, an action which

is continued until with "'Tis mine!" he Comes forward C. All three are the unaltered Cumberland directions. The next direction in the printed text, at "Screw'd to my memory", is altered by the prompter:

Goes to ~~the table R. of~~ the bed and takes up a book.

This at least shows that where a Cumberland direction is not altered, the Sadler's Wells production used it. There was one book, and it was by or on the bed; it was the book Imogen had been reading, and perhaps lay on the coverlet, rather than on some bedside table. At least we are told what the situation was not, even if what it was is not clear. A characteristic of the promptbook is that Cumberland's directions are altered primarily because they do not coincide with scenic arrangements. There is little alteration in such directions as affect the acting business, and the movements of Iachimo and Imogen in these two scenes are by and large those of the acting edition, together with a number of details which descend from Macready. The settings of the play and its text were most at variance with these authorities in the scene of "Fidele's" supposed death, where the book inserts pages from a complete text, giving a fuller version of the funeral, pasted over the pages of the Cumberland edition.

The chamber scene closes unremarkably: Iachimo crosses to the trunk with "May bare the raven's eye", and as he says "Hell is here" the Clock Strikes. He then gets into the trunk and the scene closes.

.....

The conservatism of the text lies in its omission of the gaoler, the vision, the soothsayer and the last two stanzas of the dirge, in the cutting of Cloten's part, and the

drastic cutting of the final scene. It is theatrically conservative, in so far as most of Cumberland's prescriptions are observed, though a number of lines omitted in the acting edition are restored. At times, the ink annotations are countermanded by later ones in pencil: at the end of the "wager scene" (page 20) the ink-annotator inserts

Lewis Will this hold - think you

Phi. Signior Iachimo will not from it. Pray
let us follow em (sic).

- but the lines are deleted in pencil, and noted as "cut". Although Cumberland is reworked in this way, the "funeral" is reworked on the basis of the complete text. The cutting is still considerable: Imogen's speech on her awakening is a good example of excisions typical of the production - the language is softened, (she does not have to say "damn'd"!) and there are transpositions. The text is given below from the New Arden edition, with excisions in red, and additions underlined in red:

...
But, soft! no bedfellow! O gods and goddesses!
These flowers are like the pleasures of the world;
This bloody man, the care on't. I hope I dream:
For so I thought I was a cave-keeper,
And cook to honest creatures. ~~But 'tis not so:~~
~~'Twas but a bolt of nothing, shot at nothing,~~
~~which the brain makes of fumes. Our very eyes~~
~~Are sometimes like our judgements, blind.~~ Good faith,
I tremble still with fear: but if there be
Yet left in heaven as small a drop of pity
As a wren's eye, fear'd gods, a part of it!
The dreams here still: even when I wake it is
Without me, as within me: not imagin'd, felt.
A headless man? The garments of Posthumus?
~~I know the shape of's leg: this is his hand:~~
~~His foot Mercurial: his Martial thigh:~~
~~The browns of Hercules: but his Jovial face -~~
~~Murder in heaven! How - ? 'Tis gone. Pisanio, 'tis~~
~~All curses madd'd Hecuba gave the Greeks,~~
~~And mine to boot, be darted on thee! Thou~~
~~Conspir'ding with that irregularous devil, Cloten,~~
~~Hast here cut off my lord. To write, and read~~

~~Be henceforth treacherous! Damn'd Pisanio
 Hath with his forged letters (damn'd Pisanio)
 From this most bravest vessel of the world
 Struck the main-top! O Posthumus, alas,
 Where is thy head? where's that? Ay me! where's that?
 Pisanio might have kill'd thee at the heart,
 And left this head on. How should this be, Pisanio?
 'Tis he, and Cloten: malice and luere in them
 Have laid this woe here. O, 'tis pregnant, pregnant!
 The drug he gave me, which he said was precious
 And cordial to me, have I not found it
 Murd'rous to th' senses? That confirms it home:
 This is Pisanio's deed, and Cloten - O!
 /All curses Madded Hecuba gave the Greeks
 And mine to boot, be darted on them/
 Give colour to my pale cheek with thy blood,
 That we the horrid may seem to those
 Which chance to find us O, my lord! my lord!~~

(New Arden Cymbeline: IV.2.295-332.)

This alteration makes the curses of Hecuba the climax of the speech, rather than Imogen's besmearing herself with the blood of the dead Cloten, and modifies a gruesome and startling piece of business, which had been admired by an anonymous writer in Blackwood's Magazine:

Does she smear her face with his blood? A desperate fancy! In her horror she madly desires to look horrid; and all this world being terribly changed to her, she must be terribly changed too, and strike with affright "those which chance to find her."

(Blackwood's, Feb. 1833, p. 152: cited in Variorum, p. 333f).

The speech is followed in the Sadler's Wells version by an upsurge of music (Distant Music increase to Forte) and the arrival of the Roman army and becomes commonplace Victorian 'heavy' dramatic writing.

This version of the speech is at least better than Kemble's or Irving's, which omits everything between "A headless man?" and "This is Pisanio's deed!"²⁰

The Sadler's Wells version of the play also deletes most of the moral speeches on the part of the "Mountaineers" -

mainly those which seem less relevant, and are no great loss. It also omits Guiderius' remarks concerning Imogen's "neat cookery", (New Arden Cymbeline, IV.2.49ff.). lines omitted by Kemble but which the Irving version, with a century of domestic doctrine in the reading of Shakespeare, leaves intact. In all, the Sadler's Wells version of Act IV scene 2, up to the arrival of the Roman army, deletes 138 lines (including the last two stanzas of the dirge). Kemble had used Garrick's dirge, whereas Irving and the Sadler's Wells promptbook remove only the last two stanzas, and the Sadler's Wells text omits the line of the preceding dialogue in which the breaking of the singers' voices is referred to (New Arden Cymbeline IV.2. 235-6).

The general opinion of reviewers was that "Shakespeare's original text was closely adhered to", which, whilst not strictly correct, shows that the critics were aware that the received text of the acting editions had not been followed. It is an oblique evidence of the influence of Cumberland and the other Kemble-derived editions. When on the occasion of the 1854 revival The Era stated the case a little less simply, it was nearer the truth -

... due regard having been evidently taken to an adherence to the text,...

The text was one of the many things at Sadler's Wells to which due care had been given, and like the others, the text was still a theatrically conservative production: in its version of the play, as in its staging and acting, the "Wells" audience were to be given the best that the time could offer - the legitimate drama, done in an authoritative manner. In stage-furnishings and technik the "Wells" was also conservative. A stage-cloth was used for the bedchamber scene;²² but the lighting directions are unremarkable, save for those in the "mountain" scenes: when Fidele and the mountaineers

first enter the cave together, there is a note Lights 1/2 down, and when Cloten enters, on page 53, disguised as Posthumus, there is the instruction Raise lights. This would seem to indicate a lighting effect approaching the cinematic dissolve - indeed, the bedchamber scene closes with the lights lowered - but certainty in this matter is not possible.

.....

iv.

The revivals of the play in 1850, 1854, 1857 and 1860 did not meet with much enthusiasm - if Phelps had been "not sufficiently youthful" in 1847 (according to John Bull, August 28) he must have seemed even less suitable in 1860. The mediocrity of his successive Imogens cannot have helped.

Although The Era was able to say that in Miss Cooper, who played the part in 1854, Imogen found "a trusting, affectionate representative" (September 17), the critics of The Athenaeum found her inadequate in what he considered the main task of the drama:

When well acted, this character is sufficient to support the interest of the drama, and the scenes in which she appears furnish abundant opportunity for an actress of genius to display the resources of the most delicate art. Miss Cooper, who performed it on this occasion, has long been accepted by the public, notwithstanding some obvious shortcomings, as a favoured representative of the much suffering but loyal wife. Her best passages were those in connexion with the cave scene and her boy-habit: - the actress succeeding much better in the poetic than the pathetic, the latter with her having in general a peculiarity of tone that often impaired the purposed effect.

(September 9, 1854).

Westland Marston²³ remembered that Miss Cooper "performed those parts of which Desdemona is the type", and that although an actress "of much feeling and skilled elocution" she was a little too weakly -

... her simplicity had a tendency to the lackadaisical, and her sweetness to be cloying. In pathos, she was sometimes overpiteous, while her delivery was so interrupted that she seemed to bleat. Aspatia ... was her best character. The position of the grave, faithful and deserted maiden gave some justification for ultra-sentimental treatment, and allowed Miss Cooper to display the good taste and gentleness which she brought to most of her assumptions.

The Era had favourably reviewed her Desdemona, and evidently found her more winning than did either Westland Marston or the critic of The Athenaeum. Sarah Lyons had also been well received by The Era when she played Desdemona, in 1850, and the magazine had felt able to pronounce of her Imogen that "stage practice alone" was necessary "to render her a most interesting and effective young tragedienne". The Athenaeum's reviewer had been less indulgent:

On Monday, the play of Cymbeline was revived, - and Miss Lyons made further trial of her powers in Imogen. Though unequal to the part as a whole, she performed much of it with an innocent prettiness and a girlish simplicity that could not fail to please, - and which it would be unfair to criticise.

(November 2, 1850).

This is to accord Miss Lyons the kind of praise usually reserved for deserving amateurs.

Mrs. Young, later to be Mrs. Herman Vezin, played Imogen in 1857, and received a highly critical review from The Athenaeum, which preferred her as Julia, in Knowles's The Hunchback:

Not only have we been accustomed to highly-finished acting in Imogen, but it really requires the most highly-finished manipulation of the best practised artiste to bring out the

exquisite proportions of this most beautiful of dramatic portraits. Mrs. Young, though good enough in her way, has not any quality of the kind required to impart to her representation. [sic] With her, it is a piece of mere domestic feeling, not a high poetic creation; and accordingly we find her realizing where she ought to idealize.

To find a Victorian critic making this distinction between the creations of poetry and of domestic emotion, and linking it with a precarious distinction between "realization" and "idealization", is useful, for it suggests a new dimension to the distinctions made between plays for the study and plays for the stage. The critic is in effect suggesting that the carefully cultivated domesticity of much Victorian drama - the ambition to inject memorability into family life, whether through heroism or lyricism - is inadequate and narrow in scope. This criticism of Mrs. Young foreshadows the praise accorded in the 1860s to Helen Faucit's rigorously "ideal" Imogen. Poor Mrs. Young, though, sounds not so much a "domestic", as a truly ranting actress -

Her emotions are constantly in excess; whether in anger or in sorrow, she lacks moderation. She has not yet learnt to "beget that temperance" which should "give smoothness" even to the very "torrent of passion". She must learn, also, to impart variety to her intonation of the poetic passages and avoid the prevailing monotony of expression by which, at present, her rage, her grief, and her fancy are alike reduced to one level and colour. It is, in fact, needful that she should study, and re-study, the text of the character and its infinite possibilities, if she desires to make a reputation in it. Her performance is now crude, unequal, here exaggerated, there wanting in due emphasis, and sometimes not pronounced at all in points, whether of business or elocution, where an actress like Miss Faucit could have ravished the eye with a touch of the pictorial, or the ear with some tone of music. The house was well attended, and the general representation received with great applause.

(October 3, 1857).

Cymbeline was performed only five times, in a season which included Love's Labour's Lost (as Princess of France, Mrs. Young "looked and spoke like a lady"), Hamlet, The Fatal Dowry, and As You Like It - "for the purpose of introducing Mrs. Charles Young in a second and more prominent Shakespearean character, viz. Rosalind."²⁴ Of her Rosalind, The Athenaeum complained:

It is not by always speaking in a high key that the sayings of Rosalind can be made emphatic; there is in such a style of elocution the danger of monotony to be avoided.²⁵

Mrs. Charles Young herself wrote to Clement Scott in later years a letter which he reprinted in The Drama of Yesterday and Today (London, 1899):

I made my first appearance in England at Sadler's Wells in 1857 ... I was there during the seasons of 1857-8 and '58-9, and also '60-1, when Mr. Phelps became sole lessee and manager ... My first season commenced on September 13th, and I made my first appearance on the 15th as Julia in The Hunchback, and during that season of a little over six months I played no less than twenty-one characters. Between September 26th and October 21st, I acted for the first time Imogen in Cymbeline, the Princess in Love's Labour's Lost and Rosalind in As You Like It, and had to find and arrange all my costumes. What a difference nowadays!

(I, 197-8).

.....

The later revivals of Cymbeline at Sadler's Wells offer little of interest beyond the inadequacy of the Imogens, the play being "repeated, with the admirable scenery and accessories with which it was originally illustrated," with "everything well done, and not overdone".²⁶ The Musical Transcript had regarded the 1854 revival as "merely preparatory to some future display" and had regretted being able to find no "attractive quality about the play

(as performed) save the rarity of its production."²⁷
After the first "Wells" season of 1847, the play was to wait until 1864 to find popularity again. The unavailing Imogens and unremarkable Clotens of Waller's Wells soon fell out of favour.

CHAPTER EIGHT: "CYMBELINE" AT THE ROYAL MARYLEBONE
THEATRE, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1849.

The Marylebone was a theatre that changed names and managers rapidly: between the first licence under the Theatre Regulation Act of 1843, and its demise as a theatre in June, 1914, the house was licensed thirty-five times. Between 1832 and 1914 it was known successively as the Royal Pavilion West, the Portman Theatre, The Royal Mary-Le-Bone Theatre, the Royal Marylebone Theatre (or Theatre Royal, Marylebone), the Royal Alfred Theatre (or Alfred Theatre), the Royal Marylebone Theatre (again) and the Royal West London Theatre.¹

The first manager under the act of 1843 was John Douglass, who, after five continuous unprofitable seasons, made over his lease in 1846 to the wealthy enthusiast Walter Watts. Watts engaged as manager Mrs. Warner, formerly Miss Huddart, who had recently acted at Sadler's Wells with Samuel Phelps. Mrs. Warner was to produce the plays and to act in them, and the licensee was nominally her husband.

Mrs. Warner's first season began on August 30, 1847, with The Winter's Tale, and included, in the autumn, Hamlet, The Hunchback, The School for Scandal, The Gamester, The Double Marriage, The Jealous Wife and The Provok'd Wife. There were two adaptations from Beaumont and Fletcher - The Bridal (Sheridan Knowles's version of The Maid's Tragedy) and The Scornful Lady (adapted by J.T. Serle).² The second part of the season began in the spring of 1848, but by Easter it was necessary to attempt to recoup losses by engaging W.C. Macready. Macready's season of six nights, beginning on Easter Monday, included the rôles of Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, Lear, Henry IV and Wolsey - his own choice - but the deficits were still too

great, and Mrs. Warner was obliged to abandon her ambitious scheme, leaving the theatre in Watt's hands.

On July 17 the theatre opened again, with the Keeleys in some of their successful pieces, and it was next used by James Hudson, "in a round of Hibernian characters".³ On October 22 came Anna Cora Mowatt and E.L. Davenport: they appeared in As You Like It and The Bride of Lammermoor. Watts had engaged T.P. Cooke to appear in a season of his most successful nautical characters during the weeks following, and he was followed by J.B. Buckstone and Mrs. Fitzwilliams, and the pantomime. But in January he re-engaged Mowatt and Davenport, who worked until Mrs. Mowatt suffered a breakdown (after the production of John Oxenford's Virginia). By June 18 she was able to appear again, in Henry Spicer's The Witch Wife.

A new season began on September 17 with Valesco by the American playwright Epes Sargent, and on September 24, Mrs. Mowatt appeared as Beatrice in Much Ado About Nothing. The season continued up to December 10, when she appeared in Knowles's The Wife, and included productions of Twelfth Night, The Love Chase and Cymbeline. On December 26, the Olympic Theatre was opened by Watts, and Edward Stirling became manager of the Marylebone, which closed on March 11, 1850. Watts, licensee of both theatres, was arrested at the suit of the Globe Insurance Company, and discovered to have been embezzling their funds to finance his theatrical speculations. He was sentenced to ten years' transportation, but before the sentence could be carried out, was found to have hanged himself in his cell.

.....

When Mrs. Warner announced the opening of the Marylebone as rival in legitimacy to Sadler's Wells, her enterprise attracted the same kind of approval as the "parent"

establishment: there was great enthusiasm in the press and, it would appear, in the theatre - the critics were careful to observe that "the audience behaved very well, and the old noise in the gallery was non est inventus".⁴ A certain patriotic feeling greeted the "legitimate" activities of minor theatres, expressed in the prologue spoken by Mrs. Warner on the opening night of the reclaimed Marylebone:

The foreign drama has invaded London,
The Italian troupe in Covent Garden reign,
And Julien's baton lords in Drury Lane.

...
You see our well-trimm'd house, and for your cheer
Judge by the sample that awaits you here.
Though as a housewife, I'll to housewives say
All things arn't [sic] put in order in a day,
And if our company is not quite complete
We hope you'll still find something fit to eat,
Sound English fare to bid you often come,
Join here in English sports as in an English name.⁵

Despite such patriotism with regard to legitimate drama, and the prevailing interest in the illegitimate drama, the american actors were well received - Mrs. Mowatt had been found not guilty of the ranting which english audiences commonly associated with american acting.⁶ Anna Cora Mowatt was not very tall, a defect she endeavoured to overcome in her acting of tragic parts -

... though lacking the physique necessary for the display of the stronger moods of passion, she possesses the mental power, which gives a stamp of individuality to her presentation, and an intensity of feeling, which commands the sympathies of her audience.⁷

An offer of an engagement with Macready was rejected by Mrs. Mowatt on the grounds that she had not the experience necessary for the performance of Lady Macbeth, Queen Constance and Queen Katharine,⁸ and judged merely on this evidence, she seems unlikely to have possessed the ability to perform Imogen in a satisfactory manner; but the reviews

expressed satisfaction. The Athenaeum praised her, but had few good words for the production:

Shakespeare's tragedy of Cymbeline was revived on Monday - but not in a manner to ensure a permanent effect. Its production appeared to be of an extemporaneous character - much in it was undertoned. Mrs. Mowatt's Imogen, however, was pleasing, and evinced a special aptitude in the actress for the class of character to which the part belongs. Her elocution had that charming precision which is now well known as the peculiarity of her style. We might particularize many beauties - such as the feminine timidity with which Imogen ventures into the cave, and the passionate fidelity with which she solicits death from the weapon of her husband's messenger. But these are the usual points; and we prefer to commend her by-play in the last scene, while Iachimo's tale is a-telling - and the subsequent recognition of her husband. Both were given with great truth and feeling.

(November 3, 1849).

Mrs. Mowatt's "gentle Imogen" was praised by The Era:

Her natural grace of person and style gave increased interest to the personification.

(November 4).

But this critic, too, regarded the production inadequate, and suggested why it failed:

The attempt on the part of the management was a bold one, and, to a certain extent, the experiment was successful. But Cymbeline is a play requiring a large and powerful company, extensive appliances in the shape of scenery and decorations, and numerous careful rehearsals. Hence the difficulty of producing such a play in a small theatre, and with a limited company ... We should recommend the lessee to be less ambitious in his future revivals, and not attempt with his present company such leviathan works as Cymbeline. The company are more au fait to the successful representation of comedy than of heavy tragedy, and to the former we should recommend Mr. Watts to adhere.

The review in The Sunday Times, on the other hand, found the revival

highly creditable to the management, both as regards the manner in which the principal characters were represented, and the great care with which the work has been produced.

(November 4).

The same review praised the performance of "that charming female creation," Imogen, and of Posthumus, played by Davenport "with spirit and dramatic skill". Similarly, The Era and The Athenaeum appreciated the "manly and spirited performance", notable for

force in the latter scenes, tenderness in the earlier ones, and in the concluding situation, and remarkable spirit throughout... This gentleman's noble presence fits him for parts in which personal appearance is an important element.

(The Athenaeum).

The reviewer found less to praise in Johnstone's Iachimo,

... a careful performance, but deficient in dash and boldness. Always judicious and impressive, Mr. Johnstone is sometimes merely formal; and in Iachimo, from too much attention to mere outline, he suffered somewhat of the inner spirit to escape. His chamber scene in particular was liable to this objection. A low muttered tone is not necessarily an intense one; and Mr. Johnstone might have been more audible without violating the proprieties of the part.

The Era contented itself with the observation that Johnstone's was a "careful and evenly-sustained interpretation". It had little to say of any of the other characters (except John Herbert's Cloten - "a great and vulgar mistake"). The Athenaeum, after making exceptions of Guiderius (played by Belton "with a sustained and creditable vigour not altogether wanting in poetic conception") and Cooke's Belarius, complained that "the ensemble of the

performance was unsatisfactory" and concluded:

... we would counsel the management not again to attempt a revival of a drama of such importance without the necessary accessories.

It was generally considered that the scenic "accessories" of Marylebone productions showed remarkable extravagance on the part of the proprietor (who was, after all, secretly using the funds of the Globe Insurance Company). Davenport had written to a friend comparing American laxity with British thoroughness:

We can play Shakespeare almost without a rehearsal - not so here - the actors all know and feel their responsibility. I am speaking of the genteel theatres ... Stage appointments are all here more attended to - effects of scenery more studied - the artist being for a period the director for his own purposes - then the machinist and then with good acting requested by a stage manager who knows the business - you see things done well, but remove any one of the screws - it will lame the machine.⁹

To this lavishness and ensemble, the 1849 Cymbeline seems to have been an exception.

CHAPTER NINE: HELEN FAUCIT AS IMOGEN - DRURY LANE 1864-5.

1.

In 1846, at the commencement of his third season as manager of Sadler's Wells Theatre, Samuel Phelps engaged William Creswick. In Henry IV, Part 1, Creswick played Hotspur, and proved "very successful, and well spoken of by the critics."¹ Indeed, on August 1st, the Athenaeum prophesied that

With his qualifications there can be little doubt that Mr. Creswick will become a highly popular actor and to the theatre where he has now made his début he is unquestionably an important acquisition.²

Phelps recognised Creswick's worth: on July 30 Phelps appeared as Brutus, with Creswick as Cassius, and when, on September 16, Phelps took Mercutio, it was to Creswick that he entrusted Romeo.³ Creswick also appeared as Master Walter in Sheridan Knowles' The Hunchback, as Matthew Aylmer in Lovell's Love's Sacrifice, Pierre in Venice Preserv'd, Pythias in Damon and Pythias and, for his benefit on December 17, Ion in Talfourd's play. Phelps played Adrastus - "always a great performance" said his official biographers: "the best I ever saw" remembered Creswick in his Autobiography (p.60).

After some engagements in the provinces, Creswick appeared at the Princess's Theatre on April 26, 1847, in the performance marking Fanny Kemble's return to the London stage. In July of the same year, Creswick accepted from Ben Webster a three years' engagement at the Haymarket, where he played Claude Melnotte to Helen Faucit's Pauline, in Bulwer's The Lady of Lyons. In the first performance of Westland Marston's The Heart of the World he played Vivian Temple, again appearing opposite Helen Faucit (October 4, 1847).⁴

Between 1847 and 1864, Creswick had a various and satisfying career: in 1848 he appeared at the Princess's Theatre with Charles Kean's company, and from 1849 to 1862 he was joint manager, with Richard Shepherd, of the Surrey Theatre. In 1862 he acted Cassius to Phelps' Brutus in the performance of Julius Caesar which marked the end of Phelps' management of Sadler's Wells.⁵ In 1864 he appeared in the season of Shakespearean revivals at Drury Lane, where he played Hotspur, Iachimo, Iago and Othello, and Macbeth and Macduff (alternating these characters with Phelps). This engagement was greeted with luke-warm approbation by The Examiner.

By the substitution of Mr. Creswick for Mr. Walter Montgomery, it is probable that the general efficiency of a series of performances that is to include eight of Shakespeare's plays will be better served. Mr. Creswick has profited well by experience, and while he has plenty of energy on occasion, now and then rather too much, he knows how to be quiet, and can tone his performance into pleasant harmony with other business of the stage.

(1 October, 1864).

This estimate of his acting and his status is echoed in a profile of him which appeared in the Theatrical Journal of November 23, 1864:

Emphatically a good actor - neither more nor less - is Mr. Creswick. He is not seen to most advantage in the higher range of the drama, though his Iachimo has decided merit, but in such a part as St. Pierre in The Wife he is excellent ... Yet he has defects. Indistinct articulation is one of these. At Drury Lane it is a thing of primary importance to be heard, and neither he nor Miss Faucit can be very distinctly followed by those at a distance from the stage. Nor is his physique considerable, being inferior to Phelps'. The physique of Phelps is adequate and not more than adequate for Drury Lane, and Creswick is not seen

to advantage in that large theatre, but there are parts in which he is not excelled by any actor on the Metropolitan stage. In the present condition of things, Creswick would be a loss to the boards.

Though this painstaking and deserving actor is somewhat short of stature, he has a chivalrous bearing and a gentlemanly deportment that together nearly amount to actual dignity. He is almost a little man, and there is an appearance of something like effort and a straining after effect in his performances. On the other hand, we can discern that he has diligently studied the poet's text, and there is both modesty and manliness in his demeanour. In pathos he is hardly equal to Phelps, and his declamation, though it may not lack fire, is somewhat thin. He paints in water colours, and not with the breadth of his famous namesake.

Finally, Mr. Creswick does not rise to a height that electrifies an audience, but he often surprises, he often appeals to the sense of the pictorial, and is effective, if he be melo-dramatic; and, as a second-rate tragedian it would be unjust to deny him a cordial meed of praise and acceptance.

Beta.

(The Theatrical Journal, Nov.23, 1864).

From this full account of Creswick's talent, the information that in 1864 his style was regarded as pictorial and melo-dramatic is most useful. The writer is using the term melo-dramatic not to indicate bombastic acting, but to show that gesture and posture were prominent in Creswick's art, as they were in the older melodramas written in attempt to evade the effects of the Patent Theatres' monopoly. For our purpose it is important that in 1864 emphatic and eloquent gesture joined with restraint and "modesty" were regarded as old-fashioned.

.....

In 1862 when Samuel Phelps retired from Sadler's Wells, Fechter engaged him, with the purpose of keeping a prospective rival under control, and repeatedly omitted to offer

the rival any parts at all, relenting only at last to offer him the part of the Ghost in Hamlet - and all this time scrupulously paying Phelps according to their contract.⁶ Falconer and Chatterton had meanwhile taken the lease of Drury Lane out of the hands of E.T. Smith⁷ and they engaged Phelps when the contract with Fechter expired. In 1871 Phelps disagreed with Chatterton, who was now the sole lessee (since 1866). They were soon reconciled, and in 1872 Phelps appeared with William Creswick at the Princess's Theatre, also managed by Chatterton. Creswick played Iago to Phelps as Othello, and, Coleman informs us, "'the two evergreens' played a round of Shakespearean characters to great business."⁸ But a month before Christmas, Phelps broke down during a performance of Macklin's The Man of the World, in which he played one of his best rôles, Sir Pertinax Macsycophant. The engagement had to be terminated, and Creswick, who before the season had been touring in America and playing with Booth and with Charlotte Cushman, now went on a tour of Australia.

.....

In his biography of Helen Faucit, Sir Theodore Martin wrote:

My wife had almost lost the hope of again meeting the London audiences, of whose support in her novitiate she always thought with the highest gratitude, when, in the summer of 1864 Mr. Falconer... persuaded her, to accept an engagement for the late autumn.⁹

Helen Faucit had not acted at Drury Lane since 1843, and one of her worries, not entirely without ground, was that her voice, accustomed to smaller theatres, might not carry in the vast auditorium.¹⁰ It would appear from the Theatrical Journal's appraisal of Creswick that all three

principals of the revival of Cymbeline had this difficulty. She was undoubtedly reassured by the burst of applause which on October 17 greeted her entry:

... an acclaim of cheers so great and so protracted that she was overcome, and for a time was unable to proceed.

When she spoke Imogen's first line, there was another "acclaim", and, as Oxenford's Times review remarked,

on her first entrance Miss Faucit shows at once the artlessness of Imogen, and also convinces the spectators that she is the person to whom the worship of the British court is justly due.

There followed a sketch of Imogen's qualities, from angelic singing to good cooking, and John Oxenford, the reviewer, claimed that the audience should be able at once to recognize Imogen's superiority "which is supposed to be manifest to every person with whom she comes into contact." This effect Helen Faucit achieved. Oxenford appreciated her dignity, her "strong instinct of propriety" and her meekness. Her gestures were -

various and expressive, as if the slightest thought or feeling had its reflex in a plastic frame.

(The Times, October 20, 1864).

It was, said John Bull, played

with an amount of artistic elaboration and force that could scarcely be surpassed; so truly an intellectual performance has not been offered to the public for a long time, and its effect upon a very mixed audience was proportionate to its excellence.

(John Bull, October 22, 1864).

The "very mixed audience" seems a strange body to find its way into a review of a performance of Cymbeline: it reappears in other reviews, and indeed in reviews of other productions in this season. The Shakespearean revivals

at Drury Lane were regarded as something of an experiment in the same way that Phelps' management of Sadler's Wells was an experiment: the audience were being subjected to something rich and strange. At surface level it was a matter of fashion,

Drury Lane has not of late been a fashionable theatre, and the question arose whether the occupants of its pit would be thoroughly alive to that exquisite ideality which characterises Miss Faucit's impersonations.

(The Saturday Review, October 22, 1864).

In effect, the apprehension arose from the change, not merely in acting style, but in the approach to scenic and dramatic realism. The Saturday Review diagnosed:

Of late years applause, when not gained by an appeal to the risible faculties of mankind, has generally been elicited by a strong reproduction of every-day reality, with those details of the truthfulness which everyone can judge...

Ideality was the quality Helen Faucit's admirers treasured most of all. In her fan-mail, printed in part by her husband, we find Mme. Fechter enthusing over Imogen's womanhood,

cette noble indignation, cette chasteté adorable, et cette sainte et douloureuse résignation, qu'une âme pure peut seule éprouver.¹¹

Sir Edwin Arnold was deeply affected by this "true, graceful and finished picture of a character in which I thought no one could satisfy me". Someone whom Sir Theodore Martin identifies as "another lady friend, herself an artist" wrote that the impersonation of Imogen

suggests the idea that a perfect life must have inspired a perfection of art, unknown and unattainable by any special study of art, and unique in its kind.¹²

Helen Faucit was a playgoer's memory of a past generation of actors as much as an ideal of womanhood. The Drury Lane revivals, which were an attempt to reclaim the great theatre for legitimate drama, were a return to the standards of the early Macready, and of the Kembles. Even the sets were identified by the Times and the Saturday Review as being those used under Macready's regime, which in the case of Cymbeline meant that the scenery was twenty-one years old, last used in 1843.

William Bodham Donne, connoisseur and censor, writing the obituary of Charles Kemble in Fraser's Magazine, December 1854, had remarked of the "old school" that they were "more ideal" -

They were not content with a succession of fragmentary efforts; they aimed at unity of effect; they were not disposed to accept of occasional bursts of passion as a compensation for the neglect of harmony and repose which enter so largely into every work of art. They estimated the performance rather by its total veracity than by its spasmodic and irregular strength - even as they would have preferred the chastised grace of Reynolds to the exuberant and capricious fancy of Turner.¹³

This, Donne explains, is the classicism of Macready's earlier style, as opposed to the "naturalism" of his later methods. Acting is, of course, discussed in pictorial terms. Donne uses the analogy well, but the Saturday Review has an approach to classicism which combines the determinism of phrenology with the mysticism of the Sunday-school: how will aetherial acting be accepted by

a modern audience of a very mixed kind,...
in whom the organ of veneration has been
but slightly cultivated?

The hint of scientific ambition is developed more fully:

There is something so inimitably picturesque in Miss Faucit's acting that one constantly longs to see each successive attitude fixed in a photograph, and bound into a volume to form a psychological illustration to the play. But would this excellence appeal to a public for which, of all arts, sculpture has the slightest charm?

What evidence he had for the assertion that sculpture was currently unpopular, the reviewer does not reveal, but his desire to see the play "illustrated" (ever a popular word with actors and scholars of Shakespeare in the nineteenth century) with the psychological documentation of photographs reminds us that the "old school" of acting was itself a naturalistic development from the naturalism of Garrick, and that there persisted, with each alteration in the style of acting, the belief that somehow the art had approached more nearly to "the truth".

Whatever popular attitude to sculpture might be, the Times critic could not get enough of it. His review of Helen Faucit's *Lady Macbeth* (November 3) approves the manner in which

in the reading of the letter her idealistic tendency is at once visible; she holds the scroll in a manner that a sculptor would admire.¹⁴

In a review later published as part of his Journal of a London Playgoer, Henry Morley in The Examiner raised a voice of dissent from the general adulation of Helen Faucit and her acting style. Whilst admitting that she was "eloquent to our eyes" Morley thought her incidental gestures too prolonged, and her pantomimic acting excessively detailed. She raised a laugh as she hesitated before the mouth of the cave, starting violently at the sound of her own voice

But that short sin of excess is followed by the entry into the cavern, which is done most charmingly.¹⁵

Morley also instanced her gesture in 1.7 (of the New Arden edition), where after the third "What ho! Pisanio!" she remained with arm upraised through half the ensuing speech of Iachimo. In this, being "an actress trained in the school of the Kembles" she proved "careful to make every gesture an embodiment of thought, too careful sometimes..." In Macbeth, Morley found Helen Faucit too noisy and spasmodically violent.¹⁶

In agreement with Morley was the anonymous annotator of a copy of the Drury Lane prospectus for the week commencing 24. October (now in the Enthoven Collection.) He notes that there was a full house on October 31, and that he occupied "P Box" that night with three other persons. Of Miss Faucit he says,

Miss Faucit earnest & graceful - voice clear & articulate except when she rants. Then hollow & shrill & worn
byplay in last act good - wanting to rush & throw her arms
round her
husband & watching him from back & side impatient - cave scene
good, but almost burlesque in timidity.
a thorough woman she makes her Imogen.

This furnishes us with a description of the business in the last scene in addition to that supplied by The Era:

The scene in the last act, where the full conviction of her husband's fidelity is followed by a burst of overpowering joy at seeing him so unexpectedly alive, and hearing his repentant exclamations, was very finely acted and brought the curtain down amidst a storm of applause, which enforced a recall, and caused the accomplished artiste to pass before the footlights amidst a shower of tributary bouquets.

(October 23, 1864).

To the strictures on the comically exaggerated timidity, we can add those of the Illustrated Sporting News, which admitted that Miss Paucit had some faults, all "faults of elaboration",

them:

To appreciate to its full extent the value of Miss Faucit's triumph, it is necessary to recur to the fact that to the multitude Cymbeline is not a known play. The audience have not, as in the case of Othello or Hamlet, their regular cues for applause, which they can follow with the regularity of an actor who is guided by the last lines of the preceding speaker. With many plays traditions may do much. It is commanding excellence alone that could have secured to Miss Faucit the enthusiastic applause she received on Monday last.

(The Saturday Review, Oct. 22, 1864).

This was the general opinion of the press: The Art Journal¹⁷ after expressing the wish that there were means of perpetuating Helen Faucit's attitudes, went on to reflect with compliment to her art,

this is indeed impossible, for she never poses for effect nor dwells upon an attitude - each position seeming to be the accident of the minute, and yet no attitude is capable of improvement.

In these details she was what the Illustrated London News called "a lady ... who in all her impersonations regards and realises the ideal of character."

.....

The most remarkable of these coups de théâtre was Imogen's indignant rebuttal of Iachimo: as the Saturday Review expressed it,

However admirable a performance may be, some one salient point is always requisite to convert quiet approbation into demonstrative sympathy. This point in Cymbeline was the sudden indignation of Imogen, when Iachimo's false reports of the infidelity of Posthumus are followed by an attempt on her honour.

Of course, some of the audience might not appreciate the heroine's delicate mental state at this juncture,

but the outburst of virtuous rage was a "touch of nature" that addressed all intellects alike, and the house reverberated with an explosion of admiration.

The whole audience was united, in all its degrees of refinement, by this "clap-trap". The Times critic, too, was exhilarated -

Rarely do we see an audience so suddenly affected, all the subtlety that belongs to the delineation of the calm Imogen is to be forgotten, a feeling common to all virtuous mankind has to be uttered; a blow has to be struck hard and struck it is.

It was by no means a new piece of business: Miss Phillips had used it in 1829,¹⁸ and Boaden recalls Mrs. Siddons' scornful indignation, and the dignity with which she called for Pisanio. But it was the kind of business which was always effective. Westland Marston recalls Adelaide Neilson as Isabella in Measure for Measure rejecting Angelo's advances "like a volley of thunder through a hushed and stirless atmosphere", and then denouncing Claudio when he urges her to sacrifice her chastity for his life, -

Rarely has an audience in the midst of a play been taken by storm: She was thrice recalled amidst an agitation of delight rarely paralleled.¹⁹

In her letter on the play, Helen Faucit later wrote that in Cymbeline:

We see the indignant princess sweeping from her presence in measureless scorn the man whose every word she feels to be an insult.²⁰

And it was not merely an indignant princess, it was a British Princess and it was womanhood personified, transcending even Shakespeare, and it was a sudden outbreak of passion after a period of gentler behaviour:

The emphatic language in which her indignation finds utterance at this moment was given with a withering force that roused the audience from that state of comparative quiescence which her previous gentler efforts had produced, and most abundantly proved that the fire of histrionic genius still burns within her.

(The Morning Post, 19 October, 1864).

Westland Marston's Marie de Meranie (1856) had provided Helen Faucit with another opportunity to display

... one of those ideal pictures of womanhood, of boundless devotion, and exalted purity which often impressed the spectator with something of a religious sanctity, and made reverence blend with admiration.²¹

The recipient of this blow was Creswick, whose copy of the play is in the collection of the Shakespeare Centre Library, Stratford-upon-Avon. From his markings in the scene of his interview with Imogen and in the bedchamber scene, we can form some impression of his performance.

.....

ii.

Creswick's promptbook is a palimpsest: a Kemble edition of 1810, marked for performances by Kemble, it has markings for Charles Kemble's production in 1827, and for Helen Faucit's benefit in May, 1837.²² Creswick worked over these earlier notes in preparing the book for the performances of 1864. In the following paragraphs, numbers in round brackets refer to the pagination of the printed text (beginning with I,7 in the New Arden edition - Kemble's II, 1) and red underlining indicates quotation from Creswick's annotations.

.....

Iachimo kneels to present his letters to Imogen (19) and kisses her hand, which he also does at her "... and shall find it so" (20). His "Thanks, fairest lady" is partly aside, and the rest of his speech, "What, are men mad?..." is aside, ending as conclusive with

The cloyed will
That satiate, yet unsatisfy'd desire,
Ravens first
The lamb, longs after for the garbage.

On this Pisanio advances left. At Imogen's "Continues well my lord?", Iachimo shows an expression of unwillingness to speak, and in unfolding the story of Posthumus' infidelity he sighs at "But heavens know" (21) and answers Imogen's "Not he - I hope" with a look of pity and half assent. Then, with the words "But yet heaven's bounty" Iachimo looks at her ardently; on "two creatures, heartily" he looks away, but only to turn suddenly and gaze on her at the question

Am I one, sir?
You look on me ———,

But when he reaches "Not mine to speak on't" (22) he goes towards L[eft] as if to end the conversation upon this subject, and thus she must call him back to discover why he hesitates.

Now Iachimo approaches, "Had I this cheek", and by the next line is about to take her hand - "this hand, whose touch". He is nearer at "join gripes with hands", close to her at "And himself, not i..." He is so close that to avoid him Imogen moves left

Let me hear no more.
and he follows her.

Iachimo's "Be reveng'd" (23) comes as if suddenly struck with the idea, though we cannot tell whether he really has just thought of a tactic, or he is pretending to have just thought up a plan for Imogen's use. He supports her

indignation against Posthumus with, first, a look and gesture of confirmation (at "if this be true..." from Imogen) and then a look of wounded honour at being doubted at the repetition of the phrase two lines later.

Imogen asks, presumably ingenuously, failing to comprehend,

How should I be reveng'd?

and Iachimo's answer, "Should he make me...", is almost in a whisper. With "Revenge it" he kneels, and at

I dedicate myself to your sweet pleasure,
he take[s] hold of her dress with reverence.²³ Iachimo is feeling his way. An earlier marking at "Still close, as sure" has Iachimo take her hand, but Creswick deletes it, and notes Robe. He also deletes struggling to get loose at the first "What ho! Pisanio!". Evidently all energy is to be saved for the climax.

Away!-- I do condemn mine ears, that have
So long attended thee.

With which she throws him from her.

Iachimo rises at "Such an end thou seek'st", is behind Imogen by the second "What ho! Pisanio'", and on her right hand at the third, which she accompanies by raising her hand. Iachimo being now on her right hand, it seems that the gesture to which Morley objected is not a signal off-stage, to hail Pisanio, but a hand held up to ward off Iachimo, or to defy him - perhaps she even shrank at her own power? If, as Morley says, Imogen lowers her hand half-way through the thirteen-line speech of Iachimo which begins "O happy Leonatus!", it is probably at the stage in Iachimo's self-explanation at which he asks

Give me your pardon.

The scene is given symmetry by Iachimo's kneeling again at "Pray you, pardon" (Lemble's version: Folio, "Pray,

your pardon") (24). When she grants it Iachimo is leaving left, and she is going up from her position Right - then he going, stops and returns with the request ("I had almost forgot") concerning the trunk. He acknowledges her assurance that she will pawn her honour for their safety with a gesture of thanks. He then insists that he must leave the next day, and she assents. At this he goes up as to thank her - "And truly yielded you". Possibly her "You are very welcome" forestalls his thanks. They leave the stage at opposite sides.

.....

His kneeling at his arrival and departure characterize Iachimo's courtliness, and indirectly emphasize the brutality of his assault on her honour. This is especially so if "I dedicate myself to your sweet pleasure" is spoken with reverence. Iachimo realizes how superior a being Imogen is; the Iachimo of the Kemble version is steadfastly villainous: (22)

... Boldness be my friend!
Arm me, audacity, from head to foot.

Creswick restores the lines which follow -

Or like the Parthian I shall flying fight,
Rather, directly fly.

And Creswick also restores the exclamation,

O dearest soul, your cause doth strike my heart
With pity that doth make me sick! A lady ...

Here Kemble has only "A lady ..."

Creswick's Iachimo was admired for its sophistication. The review in the Theatrical Journal (October 19, 1864) remarks that instead of a Iachimo motivated by malice alone - like Iago - Creswick "exhibit~~ed~~" the bold-faced libertine

more as the voluptuary than as the villain". And the Morning Post noticed that

... he wisely took care not to tell the audience by those conventional side-looks and bits of by-play that he is the profound villain he is destined to prove himself to be.

The Era noted the gaiety of Iachimo,

It was throughout a well-studied performance, and with more gaiety of temperament than is usually manifested, furnished a lighter tone to the picture of the subtle voluptuary.

and the Times said that Iachimo was marked by "an easy audacity which well beseeem~~ed~~ him."

James Anderson, who replaced Creswick when Morley saw the production for a second time, was not a very good tempter,

As a practised conqueror of women Iachimo must have known better than tempt virtue, even in the wildest of British princesses, with the roughness of a cattle-drover, or by standing portentously behind her with his nose in her back hair.²⁴

If Mr. Creswick "left much to be desired" grumbled Morley, "Mr. Anderson leaves everything to be desired".

.....

Not least of Anderson's failings was in the bedchamber scene. Morley complains that he delivered the whole of it in a hoarse stage-whisper (thereby suggesting that Iachimo really did speak aloud to himself whilst stalking round the room) and made "noise enough to wake fifty Imogens".²⁵

Morley was shocked by such ignorance of the soliloquy convention. Creswick on the other hand was praised by The Times for his "skilful pantomime" in the scene. The Morning Post regretted that

he does not so manage his voice as (notwithstanding the necessity for speaking in a suppressed tone) to make the beautiful language he has to utter sufficiently audible to the spectators.

But it was generally agreed that the scene of Imogen's bedchamber was scenically excellent -

The furniture of Imogen's bed-chamber presented one of the most elegant and effective specimens of stage-upholstery which modern completeness in this respect has yet produced.

(Morning Post, October 19, 1864).

Creswick's directions for the bedchamber scene indicate careful study of the effects of tempo, and attention to the exact use of props.

When Iachimo emerges from the trunk (raise the lid slowly) he comes forward and fastens the door with "Repairs itself by rest" (28). The direction is inserted before "our Tarquin thus", and refers to the stealth of Tarquin, softly pressing the rushes. There is nothing to indicate whether a stage-cloth painted to represent rushes was in use, as it had been at Sadler's Wells in 1857.²⁶

Now Iachimo has locked himself into the chamber - and will unbar the door only when he returns to the trunk. On "Cytherea" he approaches the bed, and the line

Riches unparagon'd. How dearly they do't
is restored to the Kemble version. After "perfumes the chamber thus" he takes up the lamp, which he is therefore holding near Imogen when he observes how

The flame o'the taper
Bows towards her,

- noticing the delicacy of her eyelids. He has become absorbed, and recovers himself ("But my design...") and on "I will write all down", he looks round carefully &

goes to table Takes out his tablets and place /s/ lamp on table and writes.²⁷ (28, and interleaf).

As he notes the features of the room he is writing at table, but he takes lamp from table in L/left/ hand to examine Imogen for "some natural notes about her body". When he reaches "t'enrich mine inventory" he sees the bracelet (Kemble's printed direction) and comes forward

'Tis mine.

The earlier marking, Rise, at "the madding of her lord" is unaltered, but presumably was ignored - Creswick seems to have stood at the bedside to examine the mole on her breast. A direction in his own hand is deleted (Put up the - presumably the bracelet) and to Kemble's text are restored the lines:

... This secret
Will force him to think I have pick'd the lock and
ta'en
The treasure of her honour no more
/Strong than law could make/ (28)

Iachimo moves towards the table. At this point he decides not to write any more (29), replaces the lamp (apparently on the stand downstage of the bed, and indicated in a drawing on the interleaf) and then notices the book which Imogen had been reading - he takes up the lamp and see/s/ the book. (An earlier instruction to go to table and take up the book is deleted, and the book seems to be by the bed). On "I have enough" he puts up tablets (having noted the place reached by Imogen in her reading ?) and after unlocking the door returns to the trunk. The lamp is still on its stand (did he carry the book from the table to the lamp-stand to read and note down his findings? - there is no further mention of the lamp after the direction to replace it at "That's riveted".)

A distant clock strikes (noted both by Creswick and by the Kemble prompter with three crosses for three strokes

of the bell, and included in Creswick's memoranda on the flyleaf of the copy).

One, two, three: time, time!

The Kemble directions Exit and The Scene closes are deleted, and replaced by Scene darkened and the laconic a little lower down the page, before the next scene heading - quite what this signifies is unclear. The next scene is a "carpenter's scene" (i.e. well downstage, whilst the bedchamber set is being struck and the next full stage set erected: 1st grooves in the old notation).

The lamp and the bell were of paramount importance to the actor: a memorandum on the flyleaf reads:

Mind the lamp is well trim'd [sic]

and has a very thick wick

.....

iii.

The revival was successful, and after the eight scheduled performances, two extra ones were advertised, "in consequence of the numerous applications", for December 19 and 20. Walter Lacy's Cloten was praised by the Theatrical Journal, as having

... freed the personation most commendably from those gross extravagances which have been sometimes so liberally indulged in when the part has been recklessly handed over to the recognized low comedian of the theatre.

(October 19, 1864).

The play's scenery and dresses were praised (it was a good text, "placed on the boards with unusual completeness", said The Era) and the play itself was admired. Imogen as a character was unsurpassed, of course, and the construction and range of the play were also admired in some quarters -

This drama is one of the finest examples of Shakespeare's genius, and realizes what is the most difficult thing of all to produce in dramatic composition - the relief of perspective. The poet has adopted a large canvas, and introduced into it a wonderful variety of figures, events, and scenes. The action travels from Britain to Italy, and overtakes in its course a multitude of accidental adventures; but all there at last meet in the solution of the plot, which is wound up with a skill which only Shakespeare of all dramatists has exhibited.

(The Illustrated London News, 22 October, 1864).

It was a play, claimed the Theatrical Journal,

... peculiarly calculated to exhibit in full employment the talents of an efficient company,...

The Posthumus of Phelps was notable for "ruggedness of outline" and "manly earnestness" (according to the Morning Post), and the strength of the cast was considered a noteworthy sign of new life at Drury Lane - "a cast that in the present state of the London stage must be described as powerful" (John Bull).

The most important features of the revival for contemporary playgoers seem to have been the return to the stage of Helen Faucit, and with her, if only temporarily, an older style of acting, and the place of Cymbeline in the schedule of legitimate drama at Drury Lane. In the summing-up of John Bull,

... It is gratifying to notice how well the public are aiding in the managerial attempt to restore this fine theatre to its legitimate uses. Every point in the play was taken up by the audience, and all the leading excellencies in the acting recognized and applauded by a house crowded to the ceiling...

CHAPTER TEN: "CYMBELINE" AT THE QUEEN'S THEATRE, 1872.

On October 24, 1867, the new Queen's Theatre, Long Acre, opened. It had been converted from an assembly hall (St. Martin's Hall) by the part-editor of the Daily Telegraph, Lionel Lawson who leased it to Henry Labouchère; the nominal lessee was the actor Alfred Wigan, whose name appeared on the programmes, and who was responsible for the managing of the theatre. Labouchère, prominent as a politician and journalist, founded Truth in 1877. When the syndicate of which he was a member obtained the lease of the theatre, he was M.P. for Windsor.

Henrietta Hodson appeared on the opening night of the new theatre as Jacintha in Charles Reade's The Double Marriage. On January 8, 1868, she appeared as Lucy Garner in Byron's Dearer than Life, and in the following April she appeared as Oliver Twist in John Oxenford's version of the novel. Sykes was played by Henry Irving, The Artful Dodger by J.L. Toole. During 1868 Miss Hodson married Labouchère.¹ Ellen Terry, who was a member of the company, remembered Miss Hodson as "appearing in the burlesques and farces without which no theatre bill in London at that time was complete." Ellen Terry had found herself in the same company as Miss Hodson when she joined J.H. Shute's stock company at Bristol in 1861:

Miss Hodson was a brilliant burlesque actress, a good singer, and a capital dancer. She had great personal charm, too, and was an enormous favourite with the Bristol public. I cannot exactly call her a "rival" of my sister Kate's, for Kate was the "principal lady" or "star", and Henrietta Hodson the "soubrette", and, in burlesque, the "principal boy". Nevertheless, there were certainly rival factions of admirers, and the friendly antagonism between the Hodsonites and the Terryites used to amuse us all greatly.²

Miss Hodson completed her engagement at the Queen's Theatre in August, 1870, and played in a variety of pieces, mainly burlesque, at the Royalty Theatre; she returned to the Queen's on January 8, 1872, as Nydia the blind girl in Oxenford's adaptation of The Last Days of Pompeii.³ This production was a financial failure, and, by Labouchère's own account, a dramatic disaster (although, as he later wrote, it gave his wife a chance to show "what she could do in pathetic parts as well as in the role of 'principal boy' in burlesque or any other 'breeches' part" - Truth, August 16, 1877). Labouchère had bought out his partners in 1871, after a dispute about his wife's position in the company, and had run the Queen's himself with John Ryder (who had acted with Macready in the 1840s) as his producer. He presented a revival of A Midsummer Night's Dream, with Phelps as Bottom, The Tempest, with Henrietta as Ariel, and Virginus, in which she played Virginia. It was at the end of this season, during which his wife played Imogen, that Labouchère tired of running the theatre "solely for the gratification of his wife, at great personal expense",⁴ and it was let to a number of managements, whilst Ryder remained to appear in several plays.

In his article in the Dictionary of National Biography, W.J. Lawrence summarized Henrietta Hodson's range as an actress:

An actress of individuality and high technical accomplishment, Henrietta Hodson was seen at her best in characters where she could mingle demureness with an underlying sense of fun and mischief. When pathos or sentimentality was demanded she was found wanting. Her art was somewhat too delicate and refined for burlesque, in which she showed a lack of animal spirits.⁵

The parts in which she appeared when the Queen's was being run for her benefit show her ambitions of succeeding in the pathetic, to which she seems to have aspired since the time when she "had earned some reputation in the provinces, chiefly

in burlesque."⁶

.....

Miss Hodson did not prove wholly satisfactory as Imogen; some reviews, notably that of Dutton Cook, and that appearing in The Athenaeum, found her wanting in power. The Athenaeum declared that she gave "a tender and graceful representation, failing only to convey those subtle shades of character, duly to embody which needs an actress of highest intellect and culture. She exhibited much grace and not a little intelligence, but no inspiration." (April 6, 1872). Cook, after similarly elevating the qualifications for the part, wrote that Miss Hodson was "deficient in dignity and passion" in the earlier part of the play, especially in her scenes with Pisanio, when

her gestures were too unvaried, and her speeches were too persistently addressed to the audience.

In the less exacting later scenes she appeared to better advantage, "wearing her boy's dress and assuming the character of Fidele with intelligent discretion and grace".⁷

There were consolations, as The Morning Post reflected,

If Miss Hodson failed - as what modern actress will not? - to realize the dream of the student concerning the marvellous conception, and lacked the inspiration necessary to the highest passages, she gave the verse with exceeding delicacy and suggestiveness. Miss Hodson would do well, however, in her boy's dress, to wear her hair in a less feminine, even if less attractive fashion.

For this critic, the only interest in recent performances of the play had been Imogen, and Miss Hodson was forced to bear the weight of the whole evening:

Who may have played Posthumus, Cymbeline or Belarius we forget; but the image of the hesitation and fears of Imogen as she shrinks

from entering the cave dwell in the recollection, and those who have seen in the part an actress like Miss Helen Faucit in her best days have a memory with which they are not likely to part.

(The Morning Post, April 1, 1872).

The critic of The Times (April 2) gave a brief resumé of the play's stage history (in which 1864 figures as the annus mirabilis) and observed that the drama had

always retained a certain amount of celebrity, never so completely fading out of the public mind as, for instance, Titus Andronicus, Henry VI, or Pericles.

He remarked that "when Cymbeline is regarded as a drama to be performed all that people have in view is the character of Imogen", and after a cursory glance at Rignold's Posthumus and Ryder's Iachimo, turned to Miss Hodson:

The interest of the audience is centred in Miss Hodgson [sic] who, if she will not entirely satisfy those who well remember the extremely ideal performance of Miss H. Faucit, moves all spectators by a display of that pathos which seems inherent in her nature, and of a force which seems scarcely to be anticipated. In the famous scene with Pisanio, in the fifth act, [sic - III, 4] she took all sympathies by storm, and the drop-scene fell amidst reiterated applause.

The comparison with Miss Faucit was unavoidable: it was made by The Examiner, which allowed that Miss Hodson, "almost a novice in Shakespearean acting", had potential, and was one of a number of "actresses whom training might qualify for a good place in the English classical theatre." It had little hope for the actors:

... but where are the actors? The present company at the Queen's will not provide one; and not many could be gathered together even by a manager who had power to take all he chose from every playhouse in London.

(The Examiner, April 6, 1872).

In his account of her performance, the reviewer notes that Miss Hodson excelled "in the tender parts of Imogen", but failed in her scene with Iachimo:

... hearing from Iachimo a false report of her husband's behaviour, she affects less indignation than Shakespeare intended, and ... directly afterwards, on Iachimo's wanton advance towards her, her indignation takes too stagey a form.

Her least successful scene was in his opinion that in which she learnt of Posthumus's instructions to Pisanio:

There is some tragic power, with considerable apprehension of the pathos of the scene, in her reading of the letter and in her subsequent behaviour; but her grief is overdone, especially when she falls on her face with a heavy thud, and violence renders more violent her appropriate adoption of Pisanio's suggestion for her deliverance.

The Examiner had little time for the rest of the cast, of whose merits it gives a summary from which other reviews show little disagreement:

Mr. Ayder is better fitted as Iachimo than in some other parts; but his acting is of a wrong sort, and he is too confirmed in it, and it pleases his audience too well, for it to be worth one's while to make complaint about it. Mr. George Rignold is sometimes pretty good as Leonatus Posthumus, but his rant and bluster in the more violent scenes are painfully offensive. His show of anger when Iachimo tells him he has seduced Imogen would satisfy any burlesque audience. Mr. Henry Marston is dignified, but too formed, as Belarius, and Mr. Lewis Ball does very well in the little of Cloten's part that is left to him. Of the other characters little need be said save that Mr. Dolman fails very remarkably as Cymbeline.

Such a judgement on the case was reinforced by the predominance of Imogen in contemporary accounts of the play:

the reviewer writing in The Sunday Times of April 7 was able to call Cymbeline "the one play of Shakespeare in which the interest is purely feminine" and to disregard Posthumus -

Absorbed in the contemplation of the ineffable sweetness, beauty and purity of the heroine, we care nothing for the husband.

So with Miss Hodson's qualities as an actress:

She stood in this piece immeasurably above her fellows. The remainder of the cast need not be dwelt upon.

On March 31 The Sunday Times had glanced at the dearth of suitable actors in its review of "prospects" for the coming weeks -

Less and less in number grow the actors who can present in a subordinate part in Shakespeare in a manner that can be pronounced tolerable or not wholly offensive, and it almost seems as if acting in this class of parts would be, so far as regards England, a lost art.

The review of the Queen's production further noted that Rignold was better fitted for Cloten than Posthumus in what was, after all, hardly to be "counted with the best acting plays of Shakespeare".

Of the reviews, that best satisfied with Miss Hodson's performance appeared in The Entr'Acte on April 20:

All of us love the pure unblemished Imogen. She has become the ideal of all that is good and spotless in women. To see Miss Hodson is to get the ideal strengthened, and to have a yet more perfect imagination of the poet's conception.

Higher praise could not be found for the performance of Miss Faucit, and one doubts the experience of the critic. His approach to Iachimo is a little naive, and sustains one's worst suspicions about that well-loved technique of Ryder's to which The Examiner had alluded:

So natural is he in his fiendish delight at the success of his plans, that we actually loathe him and could hiss him from the stage.

The review further appreciated the manner in which B. Egan (Cornelius) and Marston (Belarius) showed themselves "quite at home with Shakespeare's measure" - which in the case of the Sadler's Wells veteran Marston probably indicates monotony.⁸ For Rignold, a word of warning:

... we hope Mr. Rignold, who is a promising young actor, will cease to fancy rant and noise will pass off as powerful or forcible.

Having played Caliban, Rignold gave the audience "all the exaggerated Caliban business over again" - a judgement with which we can compare that of Dutton Cook:

he rates the character as somewhat low in the scale of civilization - as a very ancient Briton indeed, who has for the occasion abandoned the use of woad as a means of complexional decoration.⁹

The scenery, said The Entr'Acte, was "liberal, almost lavish", on which point we can seek the corroboration of The Examiner:

but for the lavishness of the scenery throughout the play, and the mimic war near the end, both of which are quite admissible, the whole performance is as unspectacular and legitimate in its mode of claiming the interest of the audience as could well be expected.

The ensemble of the company seems to have been very weak, and the reviewers complained of a general lack of experience in legitimate drama, although on the other hand, The Examiner warned,

some of them are only too thoroughly trained to the vicious method of ranting of which Mr. Ryder is a master.

If indeed inadequate, the production was not so for want of expense in its "accessories", and one moment of the direction singled out for praise was the end of the bedroom

scene:

In the bedroom scene the arrangements were ingenious and effective; the method in which the morning light was introduced, with the accompaniment of "Hark! hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings," given by choristers outside the chamber, was exceedingly good.

To this comment The Morning Post added its displeasure with the treatment of the text ("Great liberties were taken with the arrangement of the piece") and with the lack of "fidelity" to their lines on the part of the actors. The omissions were regarded by Dutton Cook as "not always judicious", although he found the "intelligibility of the story .. on the whole, fairly well preserved." One of the cuts was the excision of Cloten's scene immediately following the bedroom scene. Praised by all, a dawn chorus ended the second act, so that "the most effective [scene] in the play" (Daily Telegraph) was followed first by an interval and then by Iachimo's arrival at Philario's house with the news of his success.

Of the cutting of the rest of the play we learn little, the prison scenes were, as usual, discarded. The Examiner expressed some relief over this, for it feared the intrusion of a ballet (as in the Queen's version of The Tempest) and the prison seemed the likely occasion for the perpetration of the enormity. On the subject of omissions and acting versions, The Daily Telegraph reflected:

That in every scene of Cymbeline passages of the finest poetry follow each other in unbroken succession, no reader of Shakespeare will require to be reminded: but for stage purposes, much of this wealth of imagination must be left unemployed.

(April 2).

From this review we learn that Mr. Ryder represented "the subtle Italian more as the voluptuary than the villain." - one of the few reflections on interpretation rather than

simple competence or lack thereof to emerge from reports of this production.

.....

A remarkable feature of performances at the Queen's during the season was the use, or pretence, of a ballot, by which the audience ("the free and independent playgoers" as The Daily Telegraph called them) had chosen which play they wished to see next: The Times gives an account of the manner in which the manager "uniformly zealous in promoting the higher order of drama", and after presenting A Mid-summer Night's Dream and The Tempest, "neither of them familiar to very young playgoers" decided to give the public their choice.

For several weeks the ballot-boxes were accessible to the public and at the close of the poll it was ascertained that there were a majority of 569 votes in favour of Cymbeline, which was accordingly brought out on Sunday Night.

(The Times, April 2).

This was a lucky choice, for, as The Daily Telegraph said, had the audience chosen Hamlet, the management would have been in considerable difficulty when it came to casting the play.

The Queen's Theatre revival of 1872 was summed up by the anonymous annotator of a programme now in the Entsooven Collection: 10

No elaborate revival but carefully presented - except in the acting.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: MINOR PERFORMANCES, 1878-1885.

1. "Cymbeline" at Drury Lane, December 4, 1878.

On December 4, 1878, Ellen Wallis appeared as Imogen in a performance for her benefit of Cymbeline. Her first appearance had been on September 22, 1872, at the Queen's Theatre, Long Acre, where she played Marguerite de Montcalm in Sir Charles Young's Montcalm. Since then she had appeared as Cleopatra in Andrew Halliday's "arrangement" of Antony and Cleopatra, (Drury Lane, September, 1873) and, on September 22, 1878, as Hermione in The Winter's Tale (also at Drury Lane)!¹ In 1889 her husband, a Mr. Lancaster, opened the Shaftesbury Theatre, and during his management she played the leading roles in The Lady of Lyons and As You Like It. The theatre being leased to Messrs. Lart and Willard, she moved to The Grand Theatre, Islington, where she played in Ninon, and Adrienne Lecouvreur. She then toured with As You Like It and The Taming of the Shrew. In October 1890 she reappeared at the Shaftesbury in Robert Buchanan's The Sixth Commandment, "but not even a bowing of the head to the Moloch of criticism, and a ruthless cutting and telescoping, could save it being broken" (the play, one assumes). This was followed by a play written by Miss Wallis and Mr. Malcolm Watson, called The Pharisee, "one of the few artistically successful productions of the season."²

A notable estimate of Miss Wallis's histrionic ability is that found in Dutton Cook's review of The Winter's Tale:

Possessed of certain qualifications for theatrical success, the lady wearies by her redundant artifices of gesture and attitude, by her stilted manner, and the drawling pompousness of her elocution; regard for simplicity and nature seems wholly banished from her method of representation; in her hands Hermione loses all matronly grace and

dignity, assuming instead the semblance of a tight-laced hysterical schoolgirl.³

On Miss Wallis's appearance in the title part of Wills's Ninon, at the Adelphi in 1880, Dutton Cook wrote:

... as Ninon Miss Wallis is clearly over-taxed. The actress seems bent upon displaying intensity of emotion; but her efforts involve her in the worst of stage tricks, exaggerations of tone and posture, the ranting and raving, the moping and mowing, of a departed histrionic method. Miss Wallis's physical resources are strictly limited, and characters of great passion and vehemence are quite beyond her reach.⁴

The critical misfortune of Miss Wallis had been maintained by Dutton Cook for some time. Of her Cleopatra he wrote:

The part is assumed at Drury Lane by Miss Wallis, a young lady who appeared with success at the Queen's Theatre last season. Miss Wallis must be credited with intelligence and zeal, but she fails to convey a due idea of the Cleopatra of Shakespeare.⁵

On the occasion referred to, Miss Wallis had "gracefully and pathetically represented" Mrs. Claypole in Cromwell - Colonel Richards's counterblast to W.G. Wills's Charles I. In Amos Clark, a play about Monmouth's rebellion, by Watts Phillips, she had invested the part of Mildred Claverling "with considerable grace and pathos".⁶ It was evidently in pathos and grace that her talents lay.

On December 4, 1878, John Leman Blanchard wrote in his diary: "Go to see Cymbeline at Drury Lane, done for Miss Wallis's benefit; much better than I expected."

The reviewers of The Sunday Times and The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News were not displeased. The former thought Imogen "a part better suited to her powers than any in the same line she has yet essayed", and the latter noted that, although her style - "nothing if not tender and sympathetic" - was consonant with some parts of

the character:

The more boisterous ebullitions of emotion do not come within her dramatic range ...

She was nevertheless "well fitted" in such a part, which she played "with a degree of refinement and intelligence greater than she has hitherto exhibited" (Illustrated ... Dramatic News, December 7). By the Sunday Times we are told that

It was very picturesque throughout, and [gave] a higher idea of what Miss Wallis's powers are than any part in which we have yet seen her. It was received with warm and well-deserved applause.

The same paper found Edward Compton's Posthumus "very dramatic if a little unequal" and Ryder's Iachimo and Cooper's Belarius "noteworthy" (Sunday Times, December 8). The Illustrated ... Dramatic News said of Ryder's performance that it was "full of good, carefully considered points", and added,

It is a genuine pleasure to hear Mr. Ryder deliver Shakespearean blank verse even when his voice and manner ill assort with the style of his elocution.

Of Compton, it observed that he had been "overweighted" by his recent parts, and expected him to make a mark "in the Romeos and Orlandos". Compton had in fact played such parts with Miss Wallis in Manchester, in October 1877, and subsequently on tour. He had appeared with her at Drury Lane as Florizel.⁷

ii. "Cymbeline" at the Gaiety Theatre, Patinée,
March 28, 1883.

In 1883 Miss Wallis's Imogen was supported by the Iachimo of Edward Smith Willard, whose biography in The Dramatic Peerage begins auspiciously:

It was in the year 1853 that this most consummate villain of the London stage was born into this world of sin and wickedness.⁸

The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, after admitting that little could be expected from "a scratch rendering of that fine though repulsive drama", Cymbeline, compared Miss Wallis with her Iachimo -

Miss Wallis's Imogen, though rather weak and thin in its pathos, was by no means deficient in refinement and grace, and towards the end of the play exhibited a spirit noticeably deficient in the commencement. A more distinct mark, however, was made by the excellent Iachimo of Mr. Willard, an actor who always contrives to impart something into any type of stage villainy. Mr. Willard should have a future before him, for he can do something more than get through a Shakespearean impersonation; he can give it intensity of expression, and can add ease to incisive power.

(March 31, 1883).

Willard remained a villain; the only other Shakespearean impersonation mentioned by The Dramatic Peerage is King Lear, which he played in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1891.

The review tells us that "the usual incongruities were, of course, observable in the casual mounting of the play", but Hollingshead, manager Gaiety, was rightly proud of his matinee policy, which included "trial trips of actors in parts they would have probably had no chance of playing elsewhere - like Mr. Willard in Iachimo [sic] in Shakespeare's Cymbeline." The mixing of "legitimate" and "illegitimate" drama - the Gaiety was primarily a Burlesque house - were part of a crusade for better, varied theatre which included even the abolition of gratuities to "servants" (front-of-house staff).⁹

The greatest difficulty encountered by Hollingshead in his revivals of Shakespeare was the recurrent problem of

casting minor roles. Joseph Knight, in a review of Phelps's appearance of Falstaff in The Merry Wives of Windsor (Drury Lane, December 26, 1874) remarked that -

The failure of Shakespeare at Drury Lane is principally assignable to the fact that, while competent actors were secured for the leading characters, subordinate parts were allotted to people fitted for little more than to carry a flag in a procession. Mr. Hollingshead has scrutinised carefully the various companies in London, and has secured for his performances actors who are, if not qualified in all cases, the best obtainable.¹⁰

This criticism Knight repeated in his review of As You Like It (February 27, 1875): even the enterprise and conscientiousness of Hollingshead could not find an adequate cast for all the parts of a Shakespearean play in a commercial production.

.....

iii. "Cymbeline" at Stratford-upon-Avon, 1884 (April 23,26) and 1885 (April 28).

Miss Alleyn's company played Cymbeline at the festival seasons of 1884 and 1885; Miss Alleyn herself playing Imogen, and Charles Bernard Posthumus. Phelps had been invited to play Posthumus to the Imogen of Helen Faucit in 1864, but after disagreeing with the Festival Committee over the invitation they had extended to Fechter (to play Hamlet) Phelps refused to co-operate. Miss Alleyn's three performances were the only ones at Stratford before 1909, when F.R. Benson played Posthumus.¹¹

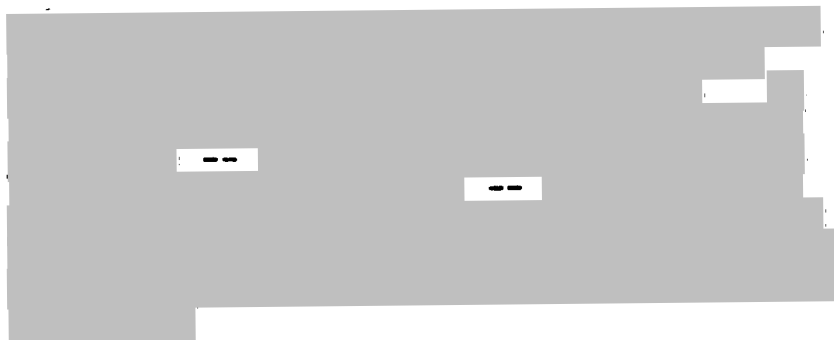
The Stratford Herald (April 25, 1884) noted that Miss Alleyn "change[d] the centre of the action", and made the play "revolve round the character she performed". Iachimo (J.G. Bayley) was dull, Cloten (Alfred Tate) was too funny, and the sets were approved as being "bright and pretty". By the second performance Iachimo had improved - the

audience demanded an encore of "Hark! hark the lark", and Miss Alleyn was struggling with hoarseness (Stratford Herald, May 2).

In 1885 The Stratford Chronicle complained of a lack of force in Miss Alleyn's Imogen ("failed to infuse that intense feeling into the part which is so necessary to a perfect representation") particularly in "parts where thrilling effects are looked for", such as the interview with Iachimo. (May 1, 1885). Miss Alleyn, it was decided, was not as good an Imogen as Miss Wallis.¹²

CHAPTER TWELVE: IRVING'S CYMBELINE, 1896.

Henry Irving's production of Cymbeline opened at the Lyceum Theatre on September 22, 1896 and ran until December 26, with Irving as Iachimo and Ellen Terry as Imogen. After the first night of Richard III on December 19, Irving sustained an injury to his knee - an injury from which he was not fully recovered until February, 1897. Ellen Terry, suffering from an eye disease, was taking a holiday in the South of France, and Bram Stoker, Irving's business manager sent to the press a mimeographed circular:



In the revival Irving and Ellen Terry were replaced by H. Cooper-Cliffe and Julia Arthur -



On January 23 Ellen Terry re-appeared (with Cooper-Cliffe) but the play was again taken off on January 28, and succeeded on January 30 by Wills's Olivia, with Herman Vezin as Dr. Primrose and Ellen Terry in the title rôle. In programmes for January 23-8 Martin Harvey appears as Arviragus and Ellen Terry as Imogen, except for January 26, when Gordon Craig re-appears as Arviragus, and Julia Arthur replaces Ellen Terry.³

During his management of the Lyceum Theatre Irving

appeared in forty-five rôles, twelve of which were Shakespearean. Cymbeline was the eleventh, followed by Richard III, of which at the Lyceum he had previously given Act One only (in 1879, under Mrs. Bateman's management, he appeared in a complete version of the play). Twelfth Night and Cymbeline stand out from the number as unusual choices for an actor-manager, but the remaining rôles fall within the repertoire expected of such an actor - Hamlet, Shylock, Richard III, Othello, Iago, Romeo, Benedick, Macbeth, Wolsey and Lear. In 1901, under the management of the Lyceum Theatre, Ltd., Irving appeared as Coriolanus, the last addition to his Shakespearean repertoire.⁴ Of the thirty-six rôles played by Ellen Terry during her engagement at the Lyceum (beginning in 1878), eleven were Shakespearean: Ophelia, Portia, Desdemona, Juliet, Beatrice, Lady Macbeth, Viola, Queen Katharine, Cordelia, Imogen and Volumnia.⁵

.....

ii.

Henry Irving's Iachimo was well-received. Clement Scott's Daily Telegraph notice spoke of "the combined and subtle suggestion of a new Iago and a young Shylock". Irving was no "lady-killer of Rome", but "an intellectual lover, not an empty sensualist":

Honesty and brain power stamped every line of the new Iachimo. In the scene in Imogen's bedchamber, Iachimo was no flaunting knave, devoured by passion and greedy with the lust of love, but some intellectual hypnotiser who hovered about the bed like some weird bat or vampire ...

(The Daily Telegraph, 23 September, 1896).

The Times failed to discover intellectual qualities in Irving's Iachimo, and claimed that he was "conspicuously the scowling villain, rather than the well-bred Roman

voluptuary that he might conceivably be" (23 September). R. Warwick Bond, in The Fortnightly Review, took exception to his playing of the bedchamber scene, which he thought lacking in hesitation:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 1896).

The Times liked this ghoulish behaviour: Irving prowled "in a dark sinister costume" that testified to "his evil designs" -

He is almost goblin-like, ghoulish - some hideous thing of darkness.


Again in opposition, the "Captious Critic" of The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News suggested that in the bedchamber scene "there should be less of the midnight ghost, or shall I say mysterious magician?" (October 23).⁶

The Globe was impressed by Iachimo's awe at the sight of the sleeping Imogen, and Robert Farquharson, in the collection of essays We Saw Him Act, published in 1939, recalled how the trunk was carried onstage, a corner of red cloth hanging from underneath the lid:

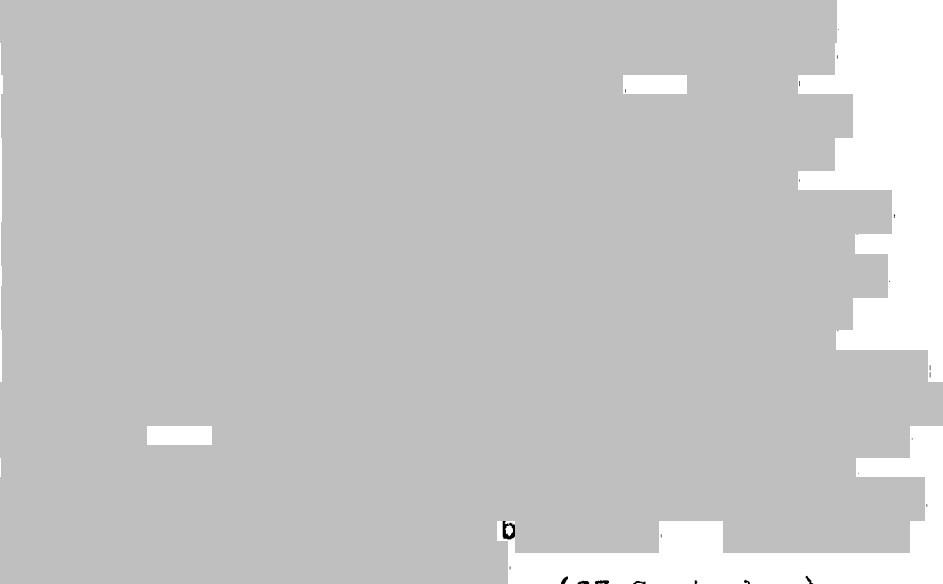
- one could imagine how it had been shut in

[REDACTED]

Farquharson wondered whether Irving may not have unbalanced the character by the way in which he played the scene:




In The Globe's description of Irving's appearance and demeanour, the critic managed to encompass the sense of evil and the intimation of possible redemption which Irving sought to convey:



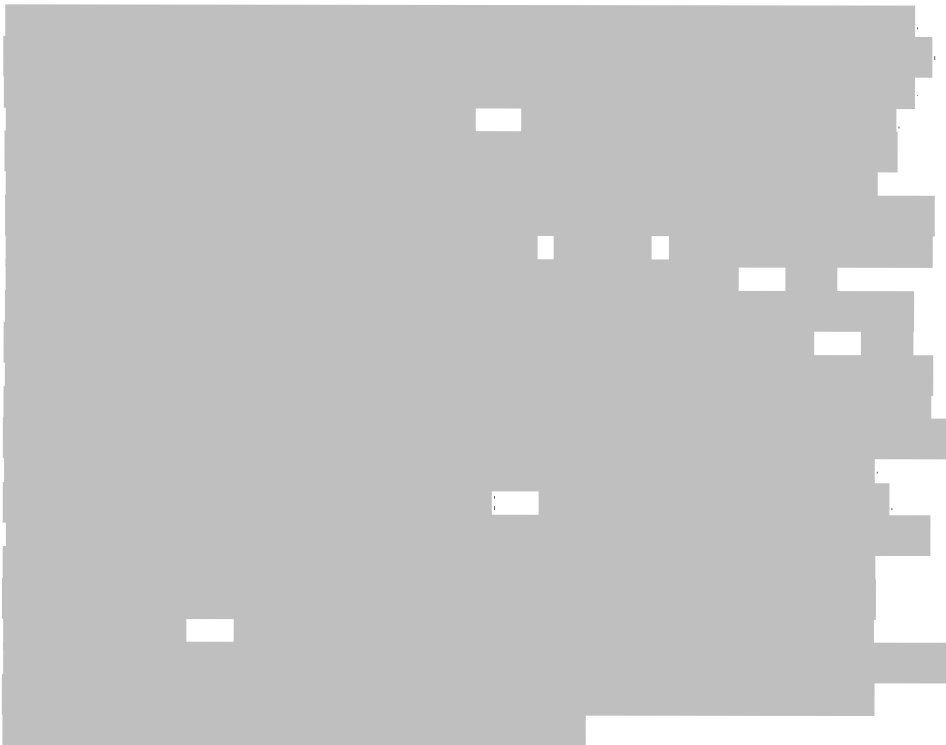
(23 September)

This is at least part-way towards the discernment of such qualities in Irving's performance as could warrant the claim of The Sunday Times that Iachimo was "in conception full of a humanity, a comprehending imagination which gave to this mere stage-villain a soul to be saved" (27 September). William Archer, in The World, supplies further testimony to the spiritual depth of Irving's Iachimo:





Warwick Bond's article gives a sense of the range of Irving's performance:



In an illustration published on October 3 in The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, Cymbeline is seated on a dais with a canopy erected under the boughs of a large tree. Fidele sits at his feet, and on his left hand are Guiderius, Arviragus and Belarius. A shield, a horn and a horned helmet are on the ground near their feet. On Cymbeline's right, downstage and in front of a small altar tended by two bearded druids, stands Iachimo, in Roman armour, but without a helmet and with a trailing cloak draped across his chest and over his left shoulder. At his feet are a

Roman standard, a helmet, a sword, and a lorica.

Posthumus, half-enveloped in a cloak, is stepping forward slightly upstage of Iachimo behind his back. Iachimo is three-quarters-on to the audience and is addressing the King.⁹

Shaw, in the Preface (1945) to Cymbeline Refinished described the effect of the last act's final stage-picture, though he did not mention it in his review of the production:

[REDACTED]

Clement Scott developed in his Daily Telegraph review an interpretation of Iachimo which he attributed to Irving, who, he claimed, made up "after a sacred picture by Guido" as "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief". He dropped this potentially blasphemous idea in later re-workings of the review (for The Illustrated London News and The Theatre), but in the Telegraph he presented Irving's Iachimo as he saw him in the last scene,

[REDACTED]

Iachimo, Scott claimed, committed his crimes out of intellectual pride, rather than simple lustful wickedness:

[REDACTED]

Scott had changed his mind about the inevitability of the comparison by the time he wrote the other reviews, where

the Christ-figure does not appear, and Iachimo has merely "a strange but sad expression of nobility in his face" (The Theatre, October 1896).

Irving's Iachimo was similar, if not to Christ, to the crudely melodramatic Mathias in The Bells, in which character Irving displayed "the sorrow which slowly and remorselessly beat him down" after a crime conceived and committed in a fateful hour: Shaw's review, on the other hand, pointed to quite another aspect of Iachimo, which he praised Irving for playing as,

[REDACTED]

The comedy was noted by the reviewer of The Evening News, whose editor awarded it a cross-head of its own:

[REDACTED]

This is a less refined account of the "perfect temper and half sympathetic bonhomie" which Warwick Bond had noted later in the play, at II, 4.

Henry James's review, in Harper's Weekly, simply observed that Irving had done all that could be done with Iachimo, and had made him picturesque. He found none of the spirituality which impressed The Evening News as "devilish" and which "held while it repelled". Nor the other kind of spirituality underlying the pathos of Irving's Iachimo, which had drawn such strange comparisons from Scott. But in his review of Irving's next production,

Richard III, James gave a description of what he considered Irving to excel in - a description which reflects what other critics had said of Iachimo:

[REDACTED] --

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 12

Shakespeare's Iachimo is not a monster, but from the impact he made, Irving appears to have been able to produce one - a monster who could impress the audience variously and at different points in the play as saint and devil.

.....

iii.

The Imogen of Ellen Terry was received by the press, almost without exception, as a personal and professional success: in The Daily Telegraph Clement Scott described it as "Ellen Terry with twenty years and more off her merry shoulders" - Miss Terry was forty-nine. "Imogen", he continued, "was never played in like fashion before".

[REDACTED]

To William Archer, the interpolated asides and the gaiety did matter, and he found himself ranged against Clement Scott and, in unlikely partnership, George Bernard Shaw, as a representative of "the old school".


Archer considered Ellen Terry's performance "one of the most charming things she [had] ever done" and "irresistible", but claimed that it was not the full, Shakespearean Imogen. He was remarkably forthright in his estimate of Miss Terry's capabilities:

[REDACTED]

Archer complains that she was too cordial in relenting, when Iachimo has proffered the explanation that he has only been testing her virtue --


[REDACTED]

And Archer missed in the scene where Pisanio reveals the purpose of their journey to Milford Haven "the absolute dignity and sweetness of Imogen"; to Archer's ears "False to his bed!... "and "Come, here's my heart..." were delivered in a manner "vehement and shrewish rather than instinct with the tender irony of loving reproach". He concluded --



Archer is demanding a more conscious and skilled approach to acting than he considered Ellen Terry to have shown: he is complaining in the last passage that she did what sentimentalists had proclaimed as the only way to play Shakespeare's women - to be themselves. The producer was to find the perfect woman, and then to put her on stage and let her follow whither her instinct led her. The idolisation of the "ideal" school, notably, in the later part of the century, of Helen Faucit, expressed itself in such terms.

Archer had stated in the first part of his two-part review (published on September 30 and October 7) that Cymbeline was a well-made play which had misfired, and which possessed "power, in itself unimpaired, which, for the moment, eluded the control of the regulative intelligence". This led him to a "noble" Imogen, who, "the very rarest, perhaps, of all her incomparable sisterhood, richly atones for the defects in the conception and conduct of the play". Archer was able to avow that "in all essentials she deserves the utmost that Shakespearolatry itself has found to say of her. There is no more radiant and exquisite creation in romantic poetry". The play, he concluded,



This was a very uncontroversial view of the play, and corresponded with assumptions which had been current since the eighteenth century, and were common in theatrical

criticism since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Archer's review of the production (as distinct from his opinion of the play itself) appeared on October 7: in London that issue of the magazine would be available at least twelve hours before its publication date, and Shaw seems to have read it on Tuesday, October 6. On reading the review, he sent Archer a postcard:

29, Fitzroy Square W
6th October 1896

I



To Ellen Terry, Shaw wrote on October 16:



Shaw was understandably reluctant to hold a public debate with Archer over the reading of Imogen's character which

Ellen Terry had given at the Lyceum. The reading was - as he admitted in his postcard to Archer - Shaw's own doing.

Shaw's correspondence with Ellen Terry on the subject of Cymbeline had begun on August 28, 1896, when he wrote:

[REDACTED]

After a reply in which she confessed to being "on the rack about this part - this Imogen - yet frightfully interested all the while", Shaw sent her the letter which Christopher St. John titled "The Intelligent Actress's Guide to Cymbeline". Shaw wrote that he could only find a "double image" in the character of Imogen -

-- a real woman divined by Shakespear without

[REDACTED]

This is the "double" Imogen which Shaw later canvassed, with very little alteration in the terms of his statement, in The Saturday Review after the first performance of the production: Shaw observed in his review that the two Imogens

were "tied ... with ropes of blank verse (which can fortunately be cut)".

The ropes were cut: Shaw advised the actress that Imogen has "four good lines" -

1.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

2.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Ellen Terry was to read the letter in pantomime. The scene was to be purged of 34a-39b, 48-58a, 59-65a, and 77a-97a. Shaw summarized the effect of this cutting:

[REDACTED]

Ellen Terry wrote back, on September 7, that she had cut out "nearly everything" that Shaw had indicated, but that Tyars, who was to play Pisanio, should not read the letter - Imogen would read it aloud, but as though to herself. On September 8 Shaw wrote another long letter, provoked by the receipt of Henry Irving's acting version, with Ellen Terry's annotations. His first complaint was that she had mismanaged the interview with Iachimo - Shaw expounded the view of her impulsiveness which he was to repeat on his postcard to Archer - and that her coolness with Iachimo, indicated in Ellen Terry's notes, was out of place:

The diagram illustrates the experimental design. It shows a sequence of events: a subject is presented with a stimulus (a face), then a response is recorded (a button press), and finally a feedback is provided (a light or sound). The sequence is repeated for multiple trials.

When Posthumus puts the bracelet on your arm,

Imogen's remark to the King, "I beseech you sir,/ harm not
yourself with your vexation" (I,2,64f.), is to be "thoroughly

petulant and full of temper".

Of the two copies of the text, annotated in Ellen Terry's hand and now at Smallhythe, one is evidently that sent to Shaw, and commented on by him in his letter of September 8.¹⁸ The note at New Arden I,7,299 ("Oh, no, no") wary of him, is deleted and No, she is impulsive and innocent inserted by Ellen Terry in the upper margin. Further down the same page, at "I thank you for your pains/ But not away to-morrow!", is the note polite -- "words words"--. Throughout the scene, Ellen Terry has modified her original markings in accordance with Shaw's comments. "What makes your admiration?" is now not suspicious, and "Will my lord say so?" which in the earlier markings has the emphasis on "my" has lost the instruction indignantly proud. At "Am I one, sir?" Rising grandly has been erased, and "I pray you, sir/Deliver with more openness your answers/ To my demands." is Disturbed agitated NOT emphatic.

Imogen and Iachimo have been sitting, in the earlier version of the scene, and when Imogen had risen grandly, Iachimo seems to have done so too: when he reveals her husband's iniquities, she drops into her seat, covers her face with her hand and whispers "Let me hear no more". Iachimo then makes his suggestion concerning revenge dropping deftly into a chair and whispering in her ear. She is still covered at "Reveng'd /If this be true, how should I be reveng'd?" Then, at the revelation she breaks out in Scorn blazing anger. She goes to the right with the second "What, ho, Pisanio!" (Irving's version of the words) and with the third she Swoop/s_7 right over to L. to try for Pisanio in another room and clap hands. "You make amends" is spoken Not half believing, and her tone is stronger with each succeeding short speech in the scene.

All this is removed in the revision. The traditional version of the scene which it suggests - very like Helen Faucit's reading - is superseded by instructions for Imogen

to be still warm ("What do you pity, sir?") and the suggestions of Iachimo that he should be the instrument of her revenge are taken as a revelation simply calm: her call to Pisanio is not to summon aid but, presumably, a reflex action. The actress must Remember she is also relieved by knowing it a false tale and Keep voice low down; she is to please quicker and by "All's well, sir..." we are to perceive the Slowly receding storm.

The second copy offers additions to this altered version of the scene: Imogen is reminded to be more perplexed than annoyed in her interrogation of Iachimo (What the Dickens do you mean?) and some notes are accompanied by contradictions attributed to B S, who would appear to be Shaw and not, as Charles H. Shattuck suggests, Bram Stoker. Ellen Terry apparently marked this copy as a milder, more ordered version whilst the first copy was sent to Shaw; she then added notes to it when the first copy was returned - it is not clear which copy was used in subsequent rehearsals and study, though Ellen Terry used several copies of each play she performed in. In the second copy Imogen's first reaction to Iachimo ("Away! etc.") is marked Blaze away, but with the emendation "Imogen impulsive" BS. At the speech beginning "You make amends" is the succession of notes, Come round very slowly - with greatest caution - BS says no to this - she is impulsive; similarly during Iachimo's request concerning the present - Show him I don't believe him a little bit is modified with "Wrong BS".

This copy has a note of Shaw's suggestion concerning the line "O the gods!/....", "bracelet BS kiss it & then him never satisfied". Shaw's idea that Imogen show her temper with "I beseech you, sir,/ Harm not yourself with your vexation" is also adopted - "full of temper" BS., and at "Thou basest thing, avoid!" (the King's speech at New Arden I,2,56 etc.) Imogen is instructed to react as though about

to say How dare he call my husband this? - also attributed to BS.

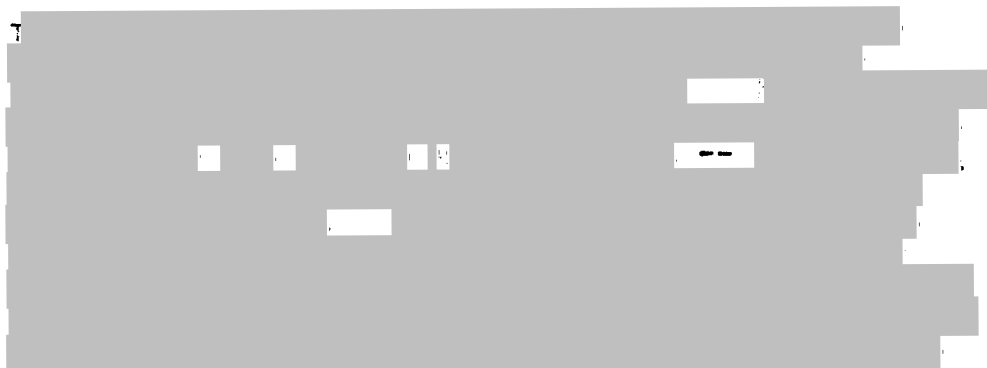
Shaw's letter of September 8, in addition to its demand that Tyars must read the letter despite Allen Terry's arguments to the contrary, suggests further details to be observed in preparing Imogen's reaction to her servant's revelation:

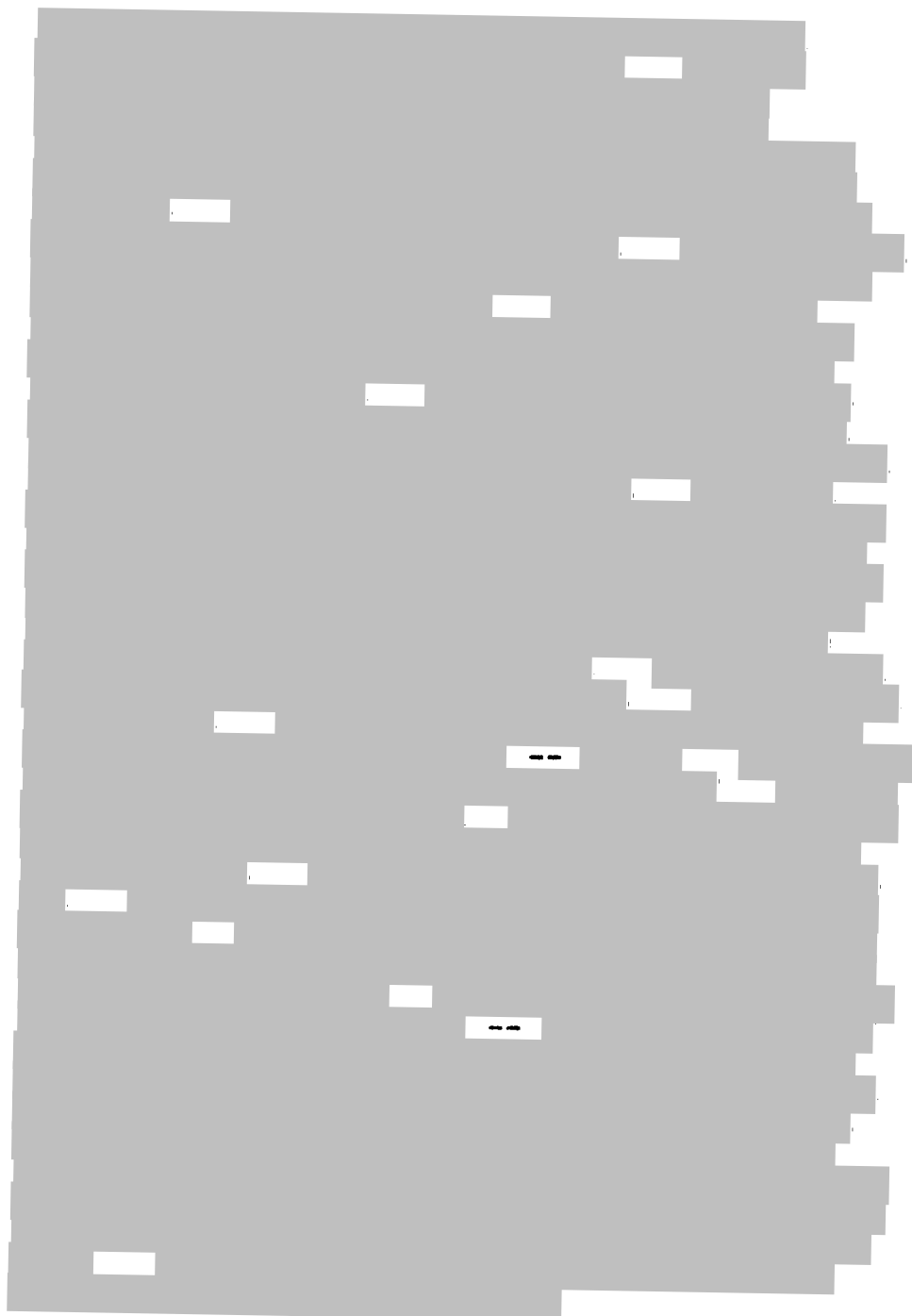


She is not to omit the prayer for pity (IV,2 303-5) in her awakening speech:




Shaw had given detailed instructions for this speech in his letter of September 6 (the "Guide"):





In the copy sent to Shaw, Ellen Terry had written in the margin adjacent to the awakening speech:




 Imogen had been woken by the music's ceasing (Startle them): at "O Gods and Goddesses!" is the direction Disgust (Keep Horror for later on).

The second copy has a transition from Bright, as she wakes, to

Disgust 1st
Then maze
Then horror

At "O Gods and Goddesses!" is the note: If this too strong nothing left for discovery of Posthumus. Devil take it!!!; the actress is reminded to Work for climax, but she has qualms about the line "Where is thy head?":

Where is thy Grandmother!?!? Not worth risking - they'd be sure to laugh.

Shaw's directions for the scene with Pisanio near Milford are reflected in the reworking of the text, and the insertion of a final version written out in ink on Savoy Hotel note-paper which is pinned into both copies.

In the second copy, Imogen begins the scene with a weary tone suggesting that their journey began ever so long ago and shows amazement when Pisanio produces the letter (out here! - a letter --! in this lonely place!). Her "Speak, man: thy tongue/May take off some extremity..." is marked Can't be too slow and she is reminded to read the letter With quiet method Fall stunned at end. A, the copy read by Shaw, adds a number of directions to this list. Pisanio's demeanour is to be carefully arranged (Don't cry tears - just stand & be ashamed - "disdained of fortune") and in the margin beside the text of the letter is written, first

(vertically) Very Quiet, then (horizontally)

This letter too
much for any
actress to speak

How How How?

Before accepting Shaw's suggestion that she cut "Thy master is not there, who was indeed/The riches of it", Ellen Terry had decided that the speech should be in turn Strong, desperate and Proud. She had also decided that the action of tearing Posthumus's letters from her breast should be Mighty - the Ocean - Electrical - or-nothing at all. In this version the scene Ends very quietly but not weak and Pisanio kneels to kiss her cloak with the words "May the gods/Direct you to the best." Ellen Terry wrote at the end of the passage: A very exhausting part this to act.

On September 9 Ellen Terry wrote to Shaw from the Savoy Hotel:

[REDACTED]

Shaw had suggested that Imogen's behaviour with Cloten should show her impulsiveness, but had not gone into further detail: in the copy she sent to Shaw she made notes (apparently after he had returned the copy) for the playing of the scene with Cloten which follows the bedchamber scene. She was to act like Baby when she's pestered, saying "Good morrow, sir" with sarcastic emphasis. At the beginning of the scene is the note

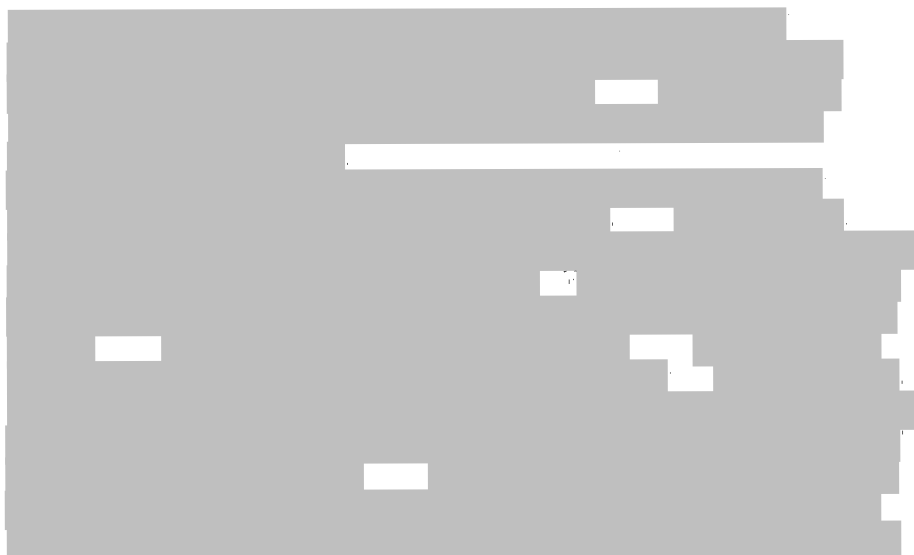
Baby
Troubled about bracelet & wearied
by Cloten not cross but irritated
wearied

Imogen sits down and Cloten sits down at her side. He begins to Preach to her ("You sin against obedience" etc.) and she bounces up leaving him sitting. She then blazes out a bit - Contempt with "Profane fellow...". At the mention of Posthumus' meanest garment she is to Drop voice, speak with love even of his worn out clothes. At the foot of the page on which the scene ends is the note Bram says "like 2 children Good this."

In the letter Ellen Terry had agreed to Shaw's suggestion concerning the line "O the gods! When shall we see again?", had replied to his insistence that Pisanio must not be allowed to make a comic line out of "And too much, too" (New Arden III,2,70), and agreed with him on the difficulty of the letter scene. She had replaced "the wren's eye" and would suggest that Iachimo's lines on Imogen's eyelids (II,2,20b-23a) should be restored, though she adds "I'd not dare tell it was you, not yet at least". On September 11, she wrote:

I've got back "How of Adultery", "The Wren's Eye" and a few other things.

These restorations arose from Shaw's remarks in his previous letter, when he had commented upon the acting version prepared by Irving:





After an exchange of letters (September 15 and 16) in which Ellen Terry mentioned the examples of precedent and stage tradition which enthusiasts had sent to Irving, and Shaw urged her to ignore them, she sent Shaw on September 16 a list of some cast members and her opinion of them: on September 18 Shaw replied: "Your account of the cast is appalling".¹⁹ Four letters later in the exchange comes Shaw's letter to Ellen Terry after the first night:



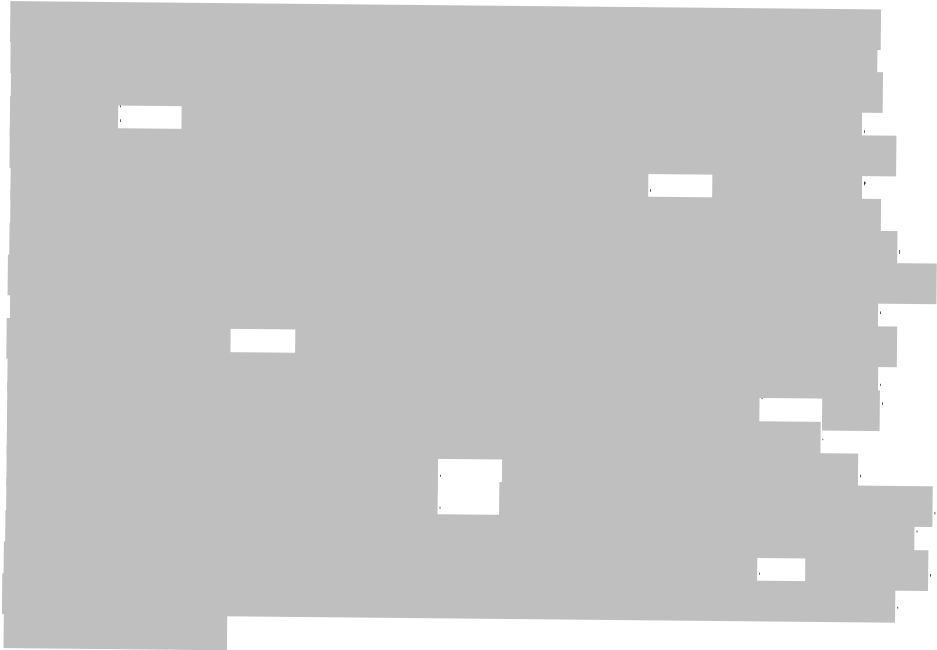
The playing of the cave scene was also criticised:





.20

In her reply (September 24) Ellen Terry thanked Shaw for this criticism and described the inadequate rehearsal method of Irving -



.....

iv.

In his connection with Vedrenne and Barker and his direction of his own plays, Shaw later showed what he could do when working with full power over artists and technicians.²¹ But in 1896 - and in 1914 when Tree produced Pygmalion - Shaw was concerned with a production mounted by a stage-manager with whose aims and principles he was in disagreement.²² In 1896, he was not even officially involved in the production. Shaw was trying at the same time to get his play The Man of Destiny accepted and produced by Irving, whilst as reviewer he

was in the notorious position of the playwright-reviewer - a position with obvious temptations. Shaw's triple connection with the Lyceum, as clandestine director, prospective playwright and merciless critic can hardly have failed to influence the writing of his review of Cymbeline. When he reviewed Forbes-Robertson's Hamlet in 1898 he was in a situation in some respects similar.²³

Shaw's activities as "director" are reflected in his review. He expounds once again the "double-Imogen" theory, and he describes Ellen Terry's "awakening" speech with evident pleasure at the success of his own coaching:

[REDACTED]

But he was enraged that the scenic direction of the Lyceum had gone counter to the effect he had sought:

[REDACTED]

Shaw also allowed himself a private joke, being personally responsible for the way Imogen's part had been cut:

[REDACTED]

His complaints about the way the play had been cut were a more studied version of those he had made in returning to Ellen Terry her copy of Irving's text, and he turned his contention that Irving gave a bad account of Shakespeare into the suggestion that his account of Iachimo surpassed that given by the dramatist. Shaw's criticism of Guiderius and Arviragus was connected with his dislike of the settings for Wales: Gordon Craig and Webster were "as spirited and picturesque as possible", but "every pose, every flirt of their elfin locks" proclaimed "the wild freedom of Bedford Park". They missed "the grave, rather sombre, uncivilized primeval strength and Mohican dignity so finely suggested by Shakespeare".²⁴ Genevieve Ward, as the Queen, avoided such reproach:

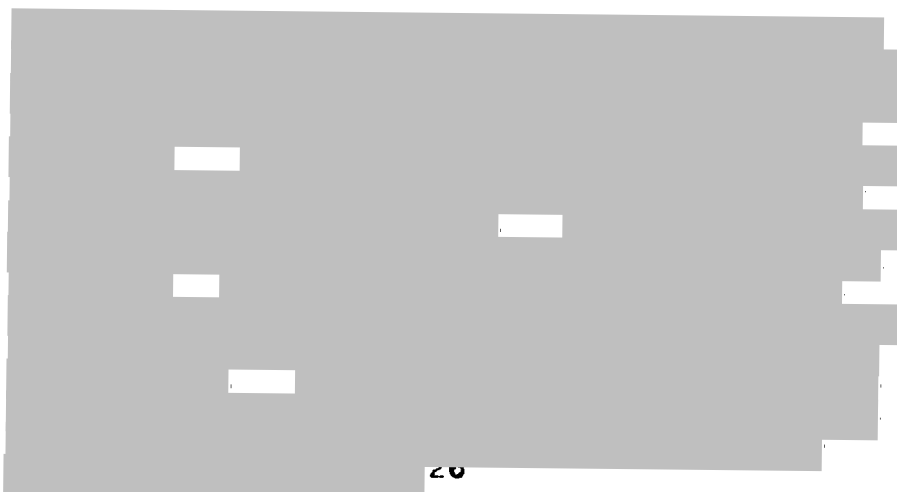


Shaw's view of the play's atmosphere in the Welsh scenes is suggestive of Strachey's approach to the whole play, and to the notion that the characters of the last plays move in a world of cruelty and doom: at the same time there is a suggestion of Wagnerian influence (he calls the excised patriotic speech of the Queen "magnificent in its Walkürenritt swing") and a reminiscence of Gervinus, who had conceived the play in terms of barbaric life.²⁵ In his list of characters worth saving from the play, Shaw had included Cloten, Caius Lucius ("uroane among the barbarians"), Imogen and the two brothers — fine presentments of that impressive and generous myth, the noble savage."

In the light of his opening paragraphs, in which he denigrates memorably the professional skills of the

dramatist Shakespeare, it becomes clear that Shaw was already "refinishing" Cymbeline, and found himself frustrated by the difference between how he would do it, and how Irving had done it - Irving's treatment of what was, in Shaw's opinion, "stagey trash of the lowest melodramatic order" had lacked the intellectual power and interest which could raise it above the level at which Shakespeare left it.

This was very like Shaw's view of the way Sardou - as opposed to Shaw - had handled Napoleon:



On April 16 1897 Shaw had written to Ellen Terry in connection with Madame Sans-Gêne in terms which foreshadowed the objections expressed in his review to the play and its translation (which he considered too literary), and his opinions of it were coloured by the fortunes of his own play, The Man of Destiny, at the hands of Irving.²⁷ Shaw's comments upon Lyceum Shakespeare and its audience were also strictures on fashionable theatres - theatres which had rejected his plays and those of Ibsen. It was the fashionable theatre that demanded the cutting of Shakespeare in an un-Shavian manner, and the fashionable theatre which (in the shape of Augustus Harris) had rejected Wagner's mature work as "a damn'd pantomime".²⁸ And Shaw's opinion of fashionable theatre and fashionable tragedians was

Shaw means, at least in the case of Imogen, that she could play the characters as Shaw would have planned them - or as Shaw, as director, would undertake Shakespeare to have planned them. Shaw "was a dramatist, and wanted Ellen Terry for [his] own plays."³¹ As for Captain Brassbound's Conversion:

lay.³²

It was to this end that Shaw sought to influence her playing of Imogen, and to this end he later altered the conclusion of Cymbeline for performance at Stratford, publishing the unadopted act as Cymbeline Refinished. Cymbeline was, like the other Shakespeare plays upon which Shaw wrote for The Saturday Review, part of his campaign for the establishment of his kind of theatre, and his influence on Ellen Terry was partly his seeking an actress-ally from the heart of the enemy camp, partly the disinterested exercise of his skills as a director. So long as Henry Irving was responsible for everyone else in the company and for the lighting and setting of Shaw's carefully worked-up scenes, the playwright could not achieve the autonomy over the production as a whole which he was later able to claim in directing his own plays.

.....

v.

If Archer failed to appreciate Shaw's Imogen, it found the heart of the arch-anti-Ibsenist Clement Scott:

[REDACTED]

(Daily Telegraph, 23 September).

In The Theatre Scott praised her performance of the cave scene and "the timid handling of the unaccustomed sword": of the awakening speech he wrote -

[REDACTED]

The Globe gave an account of her performance which does not tally with other reviews: Imogen displayed a "mixture of beauty and tenderness" in the scene where Imogen learns of her husband's intention that she should be murdered, and her repulse of Iachimo was "matronly".

Many reviews commented, like Scott's, on her youthfulness. The Sunday Times, admitting that Miss Terry was never at her best on an opening night ("in many passages firmness is to come, and with it rapidity"), commented:

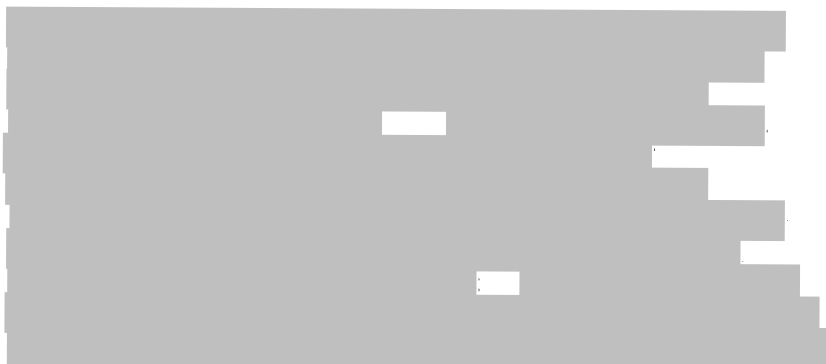
already we may wonder whether Imogen has ever

[REDACTED]

.33

In The Times, Ellen Terry's success as Fidele was set against the qualms of previous actresses who had been reluctant to put on male dress:

[REDACTED]



Henry James found Imogen's youth and tenderness in accord with his view of the play as a loose and "florid" fairy tale:



The other performers appear to have been at least competent: reviews do not contradict Ellen Terry's opinions, expressed in the account of the cast which she sent to Shaw. Robinson (Belarius) was an old Sadler's Wells actor, and the reviewer writing in The Times found his acting "of a school rougher than his companions; but of its school it was no doubt excellent", and gently censured the "sons" of Belarius:



The Pall Mall Gazette was less complimentary:



(September 23, 1896).

Clement Scott, in his Daily Telegraph article applauded the verse delivery of Robinson ("If this be staginess, well, we may wish the stage had more of it") and the two princes:

Delightful, manly, enthusiastic, breezy young fellows who gave the old play sunshine whenever they remained on stage.

Although Scott had appreciated the Imogen to which Shaw contributed, he parted with his fellow critic in other matters.

Forbes's Cloten suffered the fate of all Clotens and was accused of lacking one side of the character. In the opinion of The Pall Mall Gazette he "emphasized the fool too much and the bully too little", The Times reflected that the older Clotens, especially Liston's, would turn out to be too broadly played "for a generation brought up on Gervinus and Dowden." It added that Forbes "looked him well, but acted with a curious timidity". Scott, speaking from the depths of his knowledge of stage tradition, remarked:

He played Cloten and was appreciated. According to the Shakespearean critics no one has ever yet played Cloten in a correct manner. The difficulty has been to combine the braggart, the knave, and the fool. Mr. Norman Forbes must have seen or heard someone who has seen the elder Compton as Cloten. He has all the dry sententiousness of Compton with a humorous touch of his own.

Scott praised the lesser actors (who included Posthumus) and concluded that he had seen "one of the best Shakespearean casts of recent days at the Lyceum".

The "Captious Critic" remarked in The Illustrated

Sporting and Dramatic News that the décor was somewhat luxurious, and that the Ancient Britons were fitted out with "skins of beasts ... which might have come from a Regent-Street fur store with a branch in the tropics". In his autobiography, Craig remembered that Alma-Tadema had objected to his wearing a leopard-skin as Arviragus:

Reason said there were no leopards in Britain -
H.I. said "wear it" - and I wore it. That's
the stuff.³⁵

The women's dresses were brightly coloured, and Ellen Terry lists in one of her rehearsal copies the changes of costume with the corresponding dresses:

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------|
| 1. blue and purple | 1 | |
| 2. gold and white | 2 | |
| 3. night gown | 3 | |
| 4. blue and purple | | |
| 5. " " " | | |
| 6. riding dress | 4 | |
| 7. boy's dress | 5 | 5 dresses. |

One of these, the "blue and purple" is now at Smallhythe: its present (slightly faded) colours are red, magenta, purple, amber and orange. A hand-tinted photograph by Window and Grove, also at Smallhythe, is inscribed on the reverse:

Imogen 1896. Think of me like this,
Goodbye, everybody at the farm, 192-
I keep this badly-coloured picture to tell
how the gown was made -
Heavy soft pieces of silk - Russet coloured
leather Belt slabs of Amber - with smaller
Amber beads between slabs - Wreath of Apple-
blossom - Gold snake Bracelets
fitting loose Silk sleeves to arm - Russet
Shoes crossed with dull gold-braid & golden
Bosses between.³⁶

Of Irving's costumes for Iachimo, I have only located a crimson silk under-tunic and red leather sandals, now in the London Museum.³⁷

of the eighteen scenes into which Irving divided the

play, sets for twelve were painted by Hawes Craven, and the remaining six, all interiors, by Joseph Harker.³⁸ Craven's designs for three scenes, together with a back-drop for either Lear or Cymbeline are now in the Prints and Drawings department of the Victoria and Albert Museum: their bright yellows, ochres, greens and blues bear out Shaw's complaints concerning the lightness of the Welsh scenes. The Sunday Times praised Craven's adeptness at reproducing the "heavy greenness" of British foliage, and added:

Mr. Harker has a very new and fine palace gallery, and a Roman Atrium wonderful in effect for what is practically a "front scene" - though its pillars have necessarily a tendency to wave in draughts, unlike some of their solid forbears at the Lyceum.

The Globe suggested that in the representation of Stonehenge the pillars ought to be upright, as they must have been in ancient times, and not in their present horizontal, delapidated position: it praised the battle scenes and the Cave scenes (which presented "a mountainous acclivity with a view of a brawling stream"). Punch added, concerning the battle,

There is a grand stage-fight, so realistic that had it not been for Belarius and Co. appearing triumphantly at the back, in a well-arranged tableau, it would have been difficult for an unmilitary audience to decide which party was victorious.

The Star described the first scene, the garden of Cymbeline's palace as "an early British garden, rather too full of big stones for modern tastes, but with a charming view of blue sea and white headland in the distance" (September 23).

.....

vi.

Shaw wrote in 1945:

Now whatever the Lyceum productions may have lacked in intellectual modernity, they never failed as stage pictures. If Ellen could not collaborate with Ibsen to explain the revolt of Nora Helmer, she could collaborate with Burne-Jones and Alma-Tadema to make living pictures of Guinevere and Imogen ... I escaped the illusion solely because I was a dramatist, and wanted Ellen Terry for my own plays.³⁹

But when Ellen Terry left the Lyceum, it was not for this purpose but "to enable Mr. Gordon Craig to make an expensive experiment in his peculiar methods of stage presentation". Much as Shaw admired aspects of these experiments, they had little bearing on his wish for an advanced theatre that would pay its way after the manner of the fashionable actor-managers (though Irving, by ploughing back his profits into the Lyceum, had practically bankrupted himself).⁴⁰

Shaw had to wait until 1905 for Ellen Terry to perform in the play he had written for her, Captain Brassbound's Conversion. Until then he had to content himself with correspondence with an actress who fulfilled the qualifications of his ideal Independent Theatre actor:

[REDACTED]

His campaign against the Lyceum ethos, and for Ellen Terry, had been an attempt to obtain for his plays, and his ideas on production methods, the resources of a large, well-equipped theatre in the West End, and he later admitted in regret that his "early vision" of Irving and Terry as "ideal instruments for a new drama" did not come true.⁴² In 1896, the effectual rejection of The Man of Destiny came with Irving's announcement of Madame Sans-Gêne from the stage of the Lyceum after the first night of Cymbeline,⁴³ but in his influence on Ellen Terry's Imogen Shaw came as near as

he ever would to the realization of his vision of collaboration with both Irving and Terry, and helped to create an Imogen very different from the Bishop's Wife of mid-century interpretations.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A. PROFESSIONAL PERFORMANCES OF "CYMBELINE"
IN LONDON, 1785 - 1897.

For productions before the Sadler's Wells performances of 1847, the location and the cast of each performance follow the date. The performers of the three principal rôles are given in the order Posthumus, Iachimo, Imogen. Other repertory performances are listed by their terminal dates (for the Marylebone in 1849 and the Queen's, Long Acre in 1872) except in the case of the Lyceum, where a list is given of performances accounted for by programmes in the Enthoven Collection. For Sadler's Wells performances after 1847, a full list has been attempted in order to demonstrate the difference between the play's first run of 1847 and its relative infrequency in the repertoire during the years following.

The dates of performances have been taken from playbills and programmes in the following collections -

The Enthoven Collection
The British Museum
Birmingham Shakespeare Library
The Shakespeare Centre Library, Stratford-upon-Avon
The Finsbury Library (Sadler's Wells Collection)

These sources have been supplemented by reference to bills in the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera (Bodleian Library) and the London Museum, and to John Genest's Some Account of the English Stage... (10 vols., Bath, 1832) and Charles Beecher Hogan's Shakespeare in the Theatre, 1701-1800 (2 vols., Oxford, 1957), Volume II, (1751-1800). Dates recorded by Genest are marked with an asterisk in the left-hand margin. At one point Genest's index gives a date which is not to be found on the relevant text-page, (January 18, 1806), and on October 19, 1827, Genest notices the première of an afterpiece (a "melo-drama" called The Serjeant's Wife) without mentioning that Cymbeline was also performed (Genest, IX, 423).

	1785 Nov 21.	Drury Lane.	Kemble, Smith, Mrs.Jordan.
	1786 Jan 6.	Covent Garden.	Holman, Wroughton, Mrs.Wells.
	1787 Jan 29.	Drury Lane.	Kemble, Smith, Mrs.Siddons.
	Feb 1.		
	5.		
	8.		
	Mar 20.		
	May 24.		Bensley, Smith, Mrs.Siddons.
	Nov 5.		Kemble, Smith, Mrs.W.Taylor.
	Apr 27.	Covent Garden.	Holman, Pope, Mrs. Pope.
	1792 May 19.	Covent Garden.	Holman, Farren, Mrs. Pope.
	1793 Nov 18.	Covent Garden.	Holman, Pope, <u>A Young Lady</u> .
	22.		
	1794 Oct 7.	Covent Garden.	Holman, Pope, Miss Wallis.
	10.		
	Nov 10.		
	1795 Jan 1.	Covent Garden.	Holman, Pope, Miss Wallis.
	1797 Mar 6.	Drury Lane.	Kemble, J.Palmer, <u>A Young Lady</u> .
*	1800 May 13.	Covent Garden.	Holman, Pope, Mrs. Pope.
*	1801 Feb 12.	Drury Lane.	Kemble, Barrymore, Mrs. Siddons.
	Feb 14.	Drury Lane.	Kemble, Barrymore, Mrs. Siddons.
	Feb 17.	Drury Lane.	Kemble, Barrymore, Mrs. Siddons.
	Feb 19.	Drury Lane.	Kemble, Barrymore, Mrs. Siddons.
*	1802 Jan 29.	Drury Lane.	Kemble, Barrymore, Mrs. Siddons.
*	Sep 28.	Drury Lane.	Pope, Barrymore, Mrs.Pope.
	Oct 4.	Drury Lane.	Pope, Barrymore, Mrs.Pope.
	1803 Jan 21.	Drury Lane.	Kemble, Powell, Mrs.Pope.
*	1806 Jan 18.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Cooke, Miss Smith.
	Jan 23.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Cooke, Miss Smith.
	Feb 1.	Covent Garden.	H.Siddons, Cooke, Miss Smith.
*	1807 Sep 21.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Pope, Miss Norton.
	Sep 28.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Pope, Miss Norton.

	Oct 7.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Pope, Miss Norton.
* 1812	Jun 3.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Young, Miss H. Johnston.
	Jun 9.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Young, Miss H. Johnston.
* 1816	May 29.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Young, Miss Stephens.
	Jun 12.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Young, Miss Stephens.
* 1817	Jul 9.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Young, Miss Foote.
	Mar 3.	Covent Garden.	Booth, Young, Miss Costello.
* 1817	Mar 15.	Covent Garden.	Booth, Young, Miss Costello.
* 1817	Mar 20.	Covent Garden.	Booth, Young, Miss Foote.
	Mar 22.	Covent Garden.	Booth, Young, Miss Foote.
	Mar 29.	Covent Garden.	Booth, Young, Miss Foote.
* 1817	Apr 7.	Covent Garden.	Booth, Young, Miss Foote.
	Apr 30.	Covent Garden.	Booth, Young, Miss Foote.
* 1817	May 30.	Covent Garden.	Kemble, Young, Miss Foote.
* 1818	Jun 16.	Covent Garden.	Miss Brunton. /
* 1818	Jun 30.	Covent Garden.	Macready, Young, Miss Booth.
* 1820	Oct 18.	Covent Garden.	Ch. Kemble, Macready, Miss Foote.
	Oct 24.	Covent Garden.	Ch. Kemble, Macready, Miss Foote.
* 1822	Jun 19.	Covent Garden.	Macready, Young, Miss M. Tree.
	Jun 24.	Covent Garden.	Macready, Young, Miss M. Tree.
* 1823	Jan 22.	Drury Lane.	Kean, Young, <u>A Young Lady...</u> //
	Jan 24.	Drury Lane.	Kean, Young, <u>A Young Lady...</u>
* 1823	Jan 29.	Drury Lane.	Kean, Young, Mrs. W. West.
	Apr 23.	Drury Lane.	Kean, Young, Mrs. W. West.

/ - June 16, 1818. Farley's Benefit - a composite performance including the second act of Cymbeline.

// Jan 22, 24, 1823. The Imogen identified as a Miss Williams by The Times (23.1.1823.) and Genest, (IX.185)

	Apr 28.	Drury Lane.	Kean, Young, Mrs. W. West.
	May 14.	Drury Lane.	Kean, Young, Mrs. W. West.
	May 28.	Drury Lane.	Kean, Young, Mrs. W. West.
	Jun 9.	Drury Lane.	Kean, Young, Mrs. W. West.
*	1825 Jun 2.	Covent Garden.	Ch.Kemble, Young, Miss Foote.
*	1826 May 10.	Drury Lane.	Macready, Wallack, Miss Foote. /
*	Nov 16.	Drury Lane.	Cooper, Bennett, Miss Ellen Tree.
	Nov 20.	Drury Lane.	Cooper, Bennett, Miss Ellen Tree.
*	1827 May 10.	Covent Garden.	Ch.Kemble, Young, Miss Jarman.
	May 16.	Covent Garden.	Ch.Kemble, Young, Miss Jarman.
	May 21.	Covent Garden.	Ch.Kemble, Young, Miss Jarman.
	Oct 3.	Covent Garden.	Ch.Kemble, Young, Miss Jarman.
*	Oct 19.	Covent Garden.	Ch.Kemble, Young, Miss Jarman.
*	1828 May 23.	Drury Lane.	Macready, Cooper, Miss Foote.
*	Jun 12.	Covent Garden.	Ch.Kemble, Young, Miss Jarman.
*	1829 Feb 9.	Drury Lane.	Young, Cooper, Miss Phillips.
*	Feb 16.	Drury Lane.	Young, Cooper, Miss Phillips.
	1833 Oct 17.	Drury Lane.	Macready, Cooper, Miss Ellen Tree.
	1837 May 18.	Covent Garden.	Macready, Elton, Miss Helen Faucit.
	May 23.	Covent Garden.	Macready, Elton, Miss Helen Faucit.
	May 31.	Covent Garden.	Macready, Elton, Miss Helen Faucit.
	1838 Sep 26.	Covent Garden.	Phelps, Vandenhoff, Miss Helen Faucit.
	1843 Jan 21.	Drury Lane.	Anderson, Macready, Miss Helen Faucit.
	Jan 28.	Drury Lane.	Anderson, Macready, Miss Helen Faucit.

/ Thus bill in Birmingham Refr. Library. Genest, and bill in Shakespeare Centre give Bennett as Iachimo - Genest, IX, 334.

Feb 4. Drury Lane. Anderson, Macready, Miss
Helen Faucit.

Feb 16. Drury Lane. Anderson, Macready, Miss
Helen Faucit.

1847 Aug 23. Sadler's Wells. Phelps, Marston, Miss
Laura Addison.

Aug 24.

Aug 25.

Aug 26.

Aug 27.

Aug 28.

Sep 1.

Sep 2.

Sep 6.

Sep 7.

Sep 13.

Sep 14.

Sep 15.

Sep 22.

Sep 23.

Sep 24.

Sep 25.

Oct 4.

Oct 5.

Oct 18.

Oct 19.

Oct 29.

Oct 30.

1849 Oct 30 - etc. Marylebone. Davenport, Johnstone,
Mrs. Mowatt.

1850 Oct 28. Sadler's Wells. Phelps, Marston, Miss
Lyons.

Oct 29.

Oct 30.

Oct 31.

Nov 4.

Nov 5.

- Nov 6.
- 1854 Sep 4. Sadler's Wells. Phelps, Marston, Miss
Cooper.
- Sep 5.
- Sep 6.
- Sep 7.
- Sep 9.
- Sep 11.
- Sep 12.
- Sep 18.
- Sep 19.
- 1857 Sep 26. Sadler's Wells. Phelps, Marston, Mrs.
Ch. Young.
- Sep 28.
- Sep 29.
- Nov 21.
- Nov 23.
- 1860 Oct 6. Sadler's Wells. Phelps, Marston, Mrs.
Ch. Young.
- Oct 8.
- Oct 9.
- Oct 17.
- Oct 18.
- Oct 19.
- 1864 Oct 17. Drury Lane. Phelps, Crewick, Miss
Helen Faucit.
- Oct 19.
- Oct 21.
- Oct 24.
- Oct 26.
- Oct 28.
- Oct 29.
- Oct 31
- Dec 19.
- Dec 20
- 1865 Mar 3. Drury Lane. Montgomery, Anderson,
Miss Helen Faucit.

- Mar 6.
 Mar 10.
 Mar 15.
 1872 Mar 30. Queen's. Rignold, Ryder, Miss H. Hodson.
 to May 3.
 1878 Dec 5. Drury Lane. L. Compton, Ryder, Miss Wallis.
 1883 Mar 28. Gaiety. Barnes, Willard, Miss Wallis.
 (matinée)
 1896 Sep 22. Lyceum. Cooper, Irving, Miss Terry.
 23.
 24.
 28 - Oct 3.
 Oct 5 - 10.
 12 - 17.
 19 - 24.
 26 - 31.
 Nov 2 - 7.
 9 - 14.
 16 - 21.
 23.
 24.
 25. (matinée)
 26 - 28.
 30.
 Dec 1.
 2. (matinée)
 3.
 4.
 7 - 11.
 12. (matinée)
 16. (matinée)
-

CHANGE OF CASE

Dec 26.	Cooper, Cooper-Cliffe, Miss Arthur.
28.	
1897 Jan 23 - 28.	Cooper, Cooper-Cliffe, Miss Terry.
<u>except</u>	
Jan 26.	Cooper, Cooper-Cliffe, Miss Arthur.

APPENDIX B: THREE REVIEWS OF "CYMBELINE", 1843, 1864, 1896.

1. From The Morning Post, January 23, 1843.

An anonymous review of Macready's production,
the full cast of which was as follows:

Cymbeline	Ryder
Cloten	Compton
Posthumus	Anderson
Belarius	Phelps
Guiderius	Hudson
Arviragus	Allen
Pisanio	Elton
Iachimo	Macready
Caius Lucius	G. Bennett
Queen	Miss Ellis
Imogen	Miss Faucit

Reference is made in the review to Aslar and Ozines; or The Lion Brothers of the Burning Zarra by John Thomas Haines, a spectacular drama first performed at the Lyceum January 16, 1843. Since 1834 the Lyceum had also been known as The Royal English Opera House, the title used depending upon the nature of the entertainment offered.

The reviewer refers to two other rôles of Macready, Claude Melnotte, in The Lady of Lyons by Lytton, and Mordaunt, in Westland Marston's The Patrician's Daughter (December, 1842). Kalliwoda, the composer mentioned, could be one of two persons, Johann Wenzeslaus, or Wilhelm, father and son respectively. (1809-1866 and 1827-1893).

"O'er fair Fidele's grassy tomb" is a misquotation of Collins's Dirge in Cymbeline, which begins, "To fair Fidele's grassy tomb..."

2. From The Spectator, October 29, 1864.

An anonymous review of Helen Faucit's return to the London stage. The cast of the performance was as follows:

Cymbeline	A. Payner
Cloten	Lacy
Posthumus	Phelps
Belarius	Marston
Guiderius	G.F. Neville
Arviragus	Warde
Pisanio	E. Phelps
Iachimo	Creswick
Caius Lucius	Meagerson
Queen	Miss Atkinson
Imogen	Miss Faucit

3. From Shakespearean Performances which I Have Seen by Gordon Crosse, I, 108-114.

The twenty-one volumes of Crosse's notebooks (now in the Birmingham Shakespeare Library) constitute a diary of performances attended between 1890 and 1953, and were used in the writing of Fifty Years of Shakespearean Playgoing (1940) and its successor, Shakespearean Playgoing, 1890-1952 (1953). In Shakespearean Playgoing, Crosse wrote:

Irving's Iachimo was most interesting as an intellectual study, cold and inhuman, yet sensual, and in his remorse strangely pathetic...

After acting the principal attraction at the Lyceum was the beauty of the stage pictures; the church in Much A'do, the house of Aufidius in Coriolanus, the lovely garden in Cymbeline, the wild grandeur of the heath in Lear.

Nothing was overdone as Tree was prone to overdo it. All was artistic and in keeping with the spirit of each play. I may just add that the battle in Cymbeline was the most thrilling and realistic I have ever seen in the theatre.

(pp.13f.; 18)

In the notebook, the account of Cymbeline is written in ink on the rectos 108-114, with the additional note (1) added on the verso, 109, in a later ink.

ONE: The Morning Post, Monday, January 23, 1843.

DRURY LANE THEATRE.

Cymbeline.

The reproduction of this play cannot rank with Mr. Macready's other Shakespearian revivals, although his performance of Iachimo is possibly, with the exception of his Werner, the best dramatic conception which he has this season given the public in his own person.

Cymbeline is a play which many difficulties in the way of costume must necessarily attend; but if the attempt be made to give it a character and a correctness which it has never before possessed, we cannot but think that no failure could have been more complete than that of Saturday. One scene, it is true, was deliciously placed upon the stage. We allude to the Roman Banquet in the second act. The scarlet couches, the vases, the rose-wreaths worn by the revellers, and the Sybaritish refinement of the decaying empire, were all given with a dramatically pictorial effect of the first class, only impaired by the difference existing between the Roman puppyism of Mr. Macready's perfect costume and the trumpery and ill-arranged vestments of the other revellers. The great mistake which pervaded the play was the want of a definite idea for the costume of the British court, which seemed to be an ultra-barbaric mixture of early Norman-French dress and the classic toga and praetexta, the first being cut down into an ungracious tunic, and the latter being abbreviated into a curt mantle. The same fault pervaded the armour, offensive and defensive, which was carried by the Britons... [the reviewer discusses the archeology of weapons and standards at some length]... A greater mass of incongruity was, in short, never placed upon any stage, not even in the Aslar and Ozines of the English Opera House, than was so placed in one-half of Cymbeline, on Saturday, at this theatre. Having no apparent landmark in precedent, the lessee seemed to imagine that fragmentary apparel from all ages might produce an emblematically barbarian confusion which would satisfy the public. Accordingly, we presume each actor arranged his apparel according to his own peculiar ideas of costume. The Cloten of the piece indulged in a good Hungarian smoking-cap of the nineteenth century, and the faithful Pisanio picked up a garb which would have suited a vilen in the time of Chaucer to a hair, bating the hood of the servitor, which was exchanged for a jaunty page's cap of a rather later date, robbed of its feather. The attire of Cymbeline was a happy union of incongruities - a crown which might have been worn by a Pharamond, a mantle

that might have suited the Court of Barbarossa, and a pinked and purfled tunic which never belonged to any age, any nation, or any place, unless that place were a modern masquerade. The bed of Imogen was as unmistakeably out of place as anything could well be, unless her excellent parent had caught hold of a sixteenth-century upholsterer, for the purpose of fitting up his palace. But, as we merely enumerate to justify our censure, we will leave Imogen's costume, and that of her royal mother, to the enjoyment of their own glorious and unchronological independence of all rule and propriety.

The Iachimo of the evening was one in every sense worthy of that subtle creation of our great dramatist, and proved satisfactorily to us, that, whatever Mr. Macready's physical faults may be - and we detest these as much as ever - that his conceptions are at times artistic in the highest sense of the word. Bating those unavoidable blemishes with which his manner blurs his acting, and which we fear he cannot unlearn, we compliment him heartily upon the classic tone and beauty of his performance. The character of Iachimo is one of the most subtly delicate of the thousand variations which Shakespeare wrought upon the gentleman. The Italian is a rascal, but he is one who grows into a rascal out of circumstances. He has been the petted child of society. Prodigally gifted both by nature and by fortune, man has been his friend, and woman his toy - an utter and absorbing selfishness has encrusted a naturally good heart, and he betrays the gull Posthumus because the capacity of gullship is self-evident in him, and he himself is scarcely aware how great is the amount of pain inflicted by his villainy. His treachery is no deeply-laid design. Bit by bit it grows out of chance and opportunity. Its result appals him - his sword is unedged, and his arm unnerved by his guilt - remorse weighs him to the earth, and he at once seizes upon the chance of confession given, in the hope of disburdening his guilty conscience. Of Shakespeare's many dramatic beauties, none exceeds the delicate conception of this character. Vain and intelligent, and weak - Iachimo is the creature of society, stamped with its superficial vices and its superficial virtues - a rascal because he is ashamed to be a repulsed lover - a penitent because rascality is an unnatural tenant in the human dwelling where it hath so suddenly taken up its abode - this character Mr. Macready made his own. He effaced the abominable crudities of mannerism for the night. Having no pretext for violence, he forbore his usual exasperated mutilation of Shakespearian verse. He dressed it admirably; he lay upon the banquetting couch in Philario's house as if he had never been used to sitting upright on cane-bottomed and horsehair-stuffed chairs. We wish we could say as

much for Leonatus Posthumus, who seemed to be undergoing a bodily purgatory, before his time, upon the unwonted seat. He lied with an imperturbability and ease of the most finished character, and did everything with a quiet and unstraining manner which contrasted as singularly with his Claude Melnotte, or his Mordaunt, as the golden lilies of the Chinese ladies do with the elephantine feet of the unshod native niggers. The chamber scene was a beautiful piece of highly sensitive acting; and if we cannot congratulate him so warmly upon his combat with Posthumus, we own that we were at the moment convulsed with laughter by the irascible teapot, which was furnishing the smoke and dust of the battle in the back of the scene. Mr. Anderson made a wretched Posthumus. His delivery varied between a flagrant rant and unnatural boldness of elocution, which strikingly heightened the effect of that verbal annotation which might be generally called the Macredian. Usually, Mr. Macready overpowers much of Mr. Anderson's ill-taste, by the presence of his own; but, as we have before said, the Iachimo of the evening was so excellent, that Mr. Anderson had it all his own way. Hence his acting had just the effect which boiled beef would have on the idealism of the palate when brought into collision with perdrau sauce diable. Cymbeline himself fell into the hands of Mr. Ryder, and as we do not remember much about it, save a very awkward jerk of the left arm in ordering Posthumus into banishment, we conclude that it was a tolerably inoffensive piece of acting. Mr. Phelps conceived it in a rough and savage mould, making the prince-stealer a man of hearty passion - a full round thing, with a heart and blood throbbing in it. His manner in the presence of the king was a capital compound of courtly knowledge and greenwood custom. The attempt to assume his old habitude of speech and bearing was everywhere overpowered by the freedom and lawlessness of his recent life. Few but Phelps, - nay we doubt if any modern actor - could have given this part with a correspondent truth. There is no great difficulty about it. All is broadly and barely drawn by the poet. But it is in this very breadth and bareness of nature that Phelps especially revels. Your more shadowy and conventional sketches he strengthens, and when he gets a scrap of truth upon which to work, he kneads it into an absolute and living reality - something coarse possibly, and wanting in refinement, but wondrously actual, and full of that hearty and passionate life, which must be apparent in the dramatic man before we thoroughly sympathise with his woe, his grief, or his joy. Compton's Cloten wanted refinement, but was gloriously asinine. The actor's idea was lopsided, and entered only into the folly of Imogen's strange suitor. It was good, but by no means great, as no impersonation can be which is stained with

obvious mannerism. The rest of the male acting may be passed over with a friendly piece of advice to Philario (W.H. Bland), and his associate revellers to pay more attention to the colour of their fleshings, and if they can, to seem more at home upon their couches, around the banquet table. Portions of Miss Helen Faucit's Imogen were very sweet, and amongst these the best was the scene with Pisanio (in omitting mention of whose excellences we have done Mr. Elton a very great injustice - he will perhaps admit this acknowledgement to repair it) - in which she reads the letter sent to his servant by her husband. The stunning misery of the blow - the passion with which she bids him fulfill his master's bidding, and draws the sword herself - the prostration of spirit with which upon her knees she, the lamb beseeches the butcher to despatch, were deliciously feminine and beautiful. Less excellent was her indignation at the insulting love of the Italian. Here she was too wildly masculine, and opened her mouth somewhat too widely. The occasion called less for a display of physical passion than for a startled scorn, which would have been more femininely true if it had been less violent. The breeches part of the character (theatrical slang), was, with the exception of the scene which we have already mentioned, its best portion. Nothing could be better than the fear and trepidation with which she rushed back from the mouth of the cavern in which her brothers dwell, after calling upon its inmates, and the whole of the successive scene was a succession of quiet excellencies which deserve all praise.

The judgement which dictated the revival of Cymbeline, is, to say the least of it, a most questionable one. None can entertain a deeper reverence for the genius of Shakespeare than we do, but we are not, and never will be, amongst those who admire his faults and prostrate themselves before his enormities. Cymbeline is a closet play. There we can appreciate its poetry, and unravel that minute and subtle philosophy of character which is so generally lost in all Shakespeare's plays, when placed upon the boards, from inefficient acting in the third and second rate parts. On the stage, its utter want of dramatic coherence renders it most insufferably dull. Good scenes cannot make a good drama unless there be a bond of union between them in the unflagging dramatic interest of the plot; and a more artistic development of plot is needed than Shakespeare ever gave, except in Othello, when the play is, as is strikingly the case with Cymbeline, merely the drama of circumstance. The reading man will enjoy this drama when he can count each beauty at his leisure, but it will be no reproach to him he refuse to bow to the dramatic idol of the hour when he is presented to him in a temple, where his shapelessness is alone visible

through the frippery and gew-gaw which encumbers limbs, each of which may be in itself a miracle of beauty. For the stage a thing must be consonantly dramatic. The iteration of Shakespere - Shakespere - Shakespere is both ill-judged and wearisome. Had he not written Othello, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet, and Richard, such plays as this, and half a score others, would now be keeping company with Green's [sic] Dr. Faustus or Ford's Tis Pity She's A ----- we had almost blurted the name out: or Dryden's Love in a Nunnery, and a hundred others which have the dust of the shelf thick upon them. Why is not novelty given? Shakespere is like the Welsh Squire's rabbit, an admirable dish, but we agree with the curate - why the deuce are we never to have anything but rabbit? Dramatic talent is plenty in the market, although Mr. Macready's selections have not been of the happiest. Scores can write, and would write if encouraged. Is it not pitiful that the dramatic public are obliged to starve upon miserable rechauffées, consecrated by good names, instead of having wholesome fare. Give us bifteck à l'âne, au rhinoceros, but do let us have some meat, and newly cooked too. It may be indigestible, but we shall be able to eat one dinner, and feel for one half-hour the pleasures of repletion.

At the end of the piece Mr. Macready was warmly summoned before the curtain, as was Miss Faucit, who was accompanied by Mr. Anderson. In the course of the evening an overture by Kalliwoda, was, for the first time, produced. It was poor in idea and imitative in composition. Mr. Hudson, who performed Guiderius, sung the requiem - not o'er fair Fidele's grassy tomb, but Shakespere's - with Mr. Allen (Arviragus) very sweetly. The latter gentleman had apparently been tutored into some little dramatic energy.

TWO: The Spectator, October 29, 1864.

MISS HELEN FAUCIT'S IMOGEN.

/After a discussion of the differences between the "new" and the "old" schools of acting - realist and idealist - the critic considers the play./

The change therefore from the modern school to Miss Faucit's Imogen is a change not only of style but of aim. There is no play of Shakespeare's in which there is less room for the modern realism than Cymbeline. There is little or no character in it, Imogen herself, one of the airiest and least outlined of his exquisite "dreams of fair women"

being the only exception ... [the other characters are dismissed]... in fact the whole interest of the play depends on Imogen, who is a vague though exquisitely beautiful impersonation of a young wife's innocent love. Probably no part ever suited Miss Faucit better, nor has she lost anything, except in youth, of the qualities needed for a representation of it. Her movements are as graceful as ever, perhaps more graceful than ever. Her voice is sweet and full, perhaps too full, of tenderness. The purely ideal passages, - the poetry as distinguished from the personation of the part, - she gives with perfect melody and taste. Nothing could be more graceful, for instance, than her delivery of the beautiful passage in which Imogen complains of her parting with Posthumus ... [New Arden, I, 4, 33-7] ... But Miss Faucit is, as she always was, a pure idealist in style. Her effort is not so much to present Shakespeare as to make you for the moment conceive the event and understand how it happened, as to extract the fullest beauty and deepest sentiment from the situation. Accordingly, to our minds, instead of rendering Imogen more real she renders her somewhat less so. Instead of giving such a play to her countenance and manner as should reconcile the sentiment expressed with a warm artless character indeed, but still the character of "such a character as we are in such a world as the present," in other words, one not wholly without weak and girlish elements, - deep and sweet, but a little rhapsodical and wanting in reserve, rather childish in its easy confidences and inaccessibility to suspicion even after it had been fairly roused by deliberate insult, - Miss Faucit's efforts are apparently directed to present Imogen as an incarnation of angelic tenderness not only without stain, which she is, but without girlish weakness, which she is not. Shakespeare almost always, even in his most ideal characters, gives some indication of the clue by which they are to be connected with the commoner experiences of life. Juliet with all her sweetness is meant to display the forwardness and heat of Italian passion; Desdemona has the love of influence deeply in her, and uses it with some pertinacity; Ophelia's mental strength is meant to be but of the slightest, and when it fails the sensuousness of her frail organization exhales with the faint rich odour of a dying blossom in the songs of her madness. In all these cases Shakespeare has indicated clearly enough where he intends the link to be between the ideal beauties of his characters and those traces of human clay by which the actress may make them seem real as well as beautiful. In the case of Imogen the realizing strokes may be less distinct, but there is a clear intention, we think, of delineating an artlessness which is more than the absence of art, and gives the impression of girlish impulse and hastiness in the raptures of her

confidences to Pisanio, the easiness with which her mind accepts the first impression which Iachimo strives to make upon it, and after the reaction caused by his villainy accepts again his own improbable explanation, and finally the quivering passion of her insulted tenderness, after hearing Posthumus's cruel charge. Shakespeare certainly intended to give both the interest and the dependence of a most childish artlessness to Imogen's love and anger. She almost quarrels with Cloten, and has to recall her own dignity with an effort, - "You put me to forget a lady's manners." When she hears that her husband is at Milford she asks, like an enthusiastic schoolgirl, -

And by the way
Tell me how Wales was made so happy
As to inherit such a haven.

- and puts as many inapposite questions in a breath about her journey, as, for example, "how many score of miles may we well ride from hour to hour?" as a happy child, rather than a wife looking forward to a grave, deep happiness. Her resentments, too, are those of a mere girl, sharp but not grave enough. Miss Faucit gives her the air of an offended queen when Iachimo makes his monstrous proposal, whereas Shakespeare indicates rather the fierce flash of a girl's offended honour striving in vain to be perfectly dignified, but falling in spite of herself into language too violent to be scornful:-

Thou wrong'st a gentleman who is as far
From thy report as thou from honour, and
Solicit'st here a lady that disdains
Thee and the devil alike.

[New Arden, I, 7, 145-87]

with further language that puts her far too much on an equality in point of dignity with the villain whom she is reproaching. Miss Faucit gives to all this scene, in which Imogen shows her inexperience and credulity as much as her own purity, the stately air of regal displeasure, and walks across the stage, as she says, "The king, my father, shall be made acquainted of thy assault," with an artificial and theatric resentment more than the passion of an offended girl's modesty and pride.

And we think there is the same defect in Miss Faucit's too dignified and too monotonous rendering of that most dramatic scene in the play, when Pisanio shows Imogen her husband's cruel letter accusing her of adultery, and ordering him to kill her. As we read it there is first a flash of girlish passion and recrimination, a bitter recalling of the faithful love which her husband had accused of falsehood, and a keen retort (womanlike almost more fierce against the supposed cause of her husband's

cruelty than against himself):- "Some jay of Italy ... hath betrayed him." Then she disowns all her love for him, declares her heart empty of his image, passes through a phase of forced calmness and, as it were, judicial denunciation, and finally relapses into reproachful tenderness.

Now Miss Faucit does not seem to us to reflect these rapid changes of mood and impulse. She throws no passion of jealousy into the outbreak against the "jay of Italy"; and she makes the bitter lines, -

Poor I am stale, a garment out of fashion;
For I am richer than to hang by the walls,
I must be ripped! To pieces with me! Oh!
Mens vows are women's traitors!

- an outbreak of pure grief and despair rather than of equally mingled grief and anger, which it certainly is. As the fierce flash dies down, and Imogen regains her self-command without as yet melting towards her husband, she seeks to punish him by bending implicitly and coldly to his cruel purpose, and leaving him to his remorse... /Reviewer quotes II,4,75-100/ Miss Faucit takes these lines as the expression of a sort of spasmodic anguish. She clutches at the letters next her heart, and tears them as she scatters them. This is surely an erroneous interpretation. There is cold displeasure in the overstrained obedience with which she removes these shields from her heart, and calls her husband ironically the "loyal" Leonatus, as also in the pity she bestows on Posthumus when he shall awaken from his trance, and in the reference to her own rare sacrifice for him, - a cold displeasure which is all concentrated in the last two lines. Nor should she, we think, tear the letters. She casts them coldly away as having misguided her heart, but for the moment she is in the mood for looking down on her husband with pity, not giving way to her passion. This tone of mind is carried on into the next words, in which Imogen chooses to ignore Pisanio's horror of her husband's order, and to assume that the servant cannot wish to be more faithful or loyal than the master:-

O gracious lady!
Since I received command to do this business
I have not slept a wink

Imogen:

Do't and to bed then.

This Miss Faucit gives with a sort of defiance or petulance, as if she could not endure Pisanio's delay. It seems to us to express perfectly the cold, impassive, apathetic stage of misery which refuses to recognize the signs of

the servant's sympathy and fidelity, in the bitterness of a greater desertion. From this point Imogen's girlish pride begins to melt away at the touch of her servant's sympathy and at last completely breaks down in the confession that her only object in life is to follow her husband to Rome and learn his every movement. In this mood she should not leave her husband's letters torn and scattered around her. All the flood of her girlish tenderness has returned, and though half broken-hearted she has re-admitted her love into her heart.

The fault of Miss Faucit's rendering of all this scene as indeed of the whole part, is to our minds, a monotonous ideal tenderness which scarcely changes throughout, except from a sob of pain to the radiant smile of trusting rapture. There is too little of childishness, too much of severity and dignity in the earlier scenes; too little of wounded self-love in her later anguish; too little of the rainbow-tints of girlish feeling; too little of that variety of impulse which helps us to see how Imogen, though a poetic ideal, might really have existed. This defect becomes the more visible because there is absolutely no reality in any other of the characters - unless it be Cloten's which is very nicely played by Mr. Walter Lacy. Mr. Phelps and Mr. Creswick try to make up by vehemence for the poverty of their parts, but though they may succeed with the gallery, it only enhances the deficiencies of the play to the mind of any thoughtful spectator. Cymbeline certainly derives its sole interest from graceful and tender though somewhat monotonous sentiment of Miss Helen Faucit.

THREE: Shakespearean Performances which I have Seen,
/by Gordon Crosse/ Volume I, ff. 107-114.

107 Cymbeline

Lyceum Theatre London Nov 1896

Sir Henry Irving and Company

108 This was an instance of the artistic resources of the modern stage applied on the most splendid scale to a Shakespearean revival. From Cymbeline's Garden in Act I to the battle scene in Act V (one of the most realistic battles ever put upon the stage) the mounting was unexceptionable in splendour beauty and taste. Under the direction of Sir Henry Irving and Mr. Alma Tadema, it was, as it was bound to be, both artistic, and an assistance to the play. Besides the scenes referred to those of the mountains in

Wales, the triclinium of Philario's house in Rome, and Cymbeline's Hall were fine examples of what the stage can do.

Sir Henry Irving's Iachimo was an interesting and thoughtful as well as an original conception of the part. It was that of an intellectual cold yet sensual Italian. Intellect in fact was its dominating idea throughout, as opposed to the gay dandy and rake that some would have Iachimo be. In the scene in which the wager is laid his acting was excellent

1107 with his low irritating laugh as Posthumus expiates
[sic] on his lady's virtue, he was as was well said of him "the patrician cad" to the life. Equally good was his acting in the scene of Imogen's temptation; and again his remorse in the last act. His little brown beard had the effect of altering and disguising his face more than I ever seen [sic] it altered, and in his red robes in the final act he made a most pathetic figure. Altogether it was a conception and a rendering of the part such as only a great actor could have given; and whether this was Shakespeare's idea of Iachimo or not, it is one that can reasonably be got out of the text, and one that will live (1)

1097 (1) Small as the part of Iachimo is I shall always consider it one of Sir Henry Irving's most artistic impersonations. To take an illustration from another art it was like a finely cut cameo, as delicately was it worked, and so highly finished.

1107 At the risk of differing with many who admired her in the part I must admit that Miss Terry's Imogen did not satisfy me. She was best I thought in the scene in which she determines to go to Milford Haven, which she went through in a very vivacious and characteristic manner. Her timidity on entering the Cave was also an

1127 artistic touch, but in spite of all her efforts the full tenderness and beauty of Imogen's character was not there. This was partly due to the arrangement of the play in which Imogen's part had been considerably cut down, for instance her speech over the supposed body of Posthumus was reduced from 37 lines to 15. Sir Henry Irving does not often commit an error of judgement in arranging a play for the stage but I cannot help thinking that this was one.

Mr. Cooper acted strongly as Posthumus; he brought out the hasty disposition and readiness to anger which alone makes the circumstances of the wager possible; but the vigour of his delivery sometimes tended towards rant, and his utterance than became indistinct. As the Queen Miss Genevieve Ward acted artistically and well as she always does. Mr. Norman Forbes acted cleverly as Cloten, and was very amusing and boorish, his performance though

1147 true to one side of the character failed to bring out the other, i.e. to show Cloten's real worth. Of the two the clownish aspect is the more prominent and the easier to denote, but both ought to have been shown in the acting.

APPENDIX C: CHARLES KEAN'S "CYMBELINE" BOOK.

Shattuck lists four items connected with Charles Kean's projected production of the play at the Princess': two prompt copies (11 and 15) eleven watercolour sketches of Macready's sets (12) and thirty-five designs for costumes, as used in Macready's production (14). Of this material, I have been able to examine only the second promptbook, 15, obtained on Microfilm from Harvard Theatre Collection (T.S. 238:300).

The disposition of the scenes in this copy, which may be compared with Macready's and Helen Paucit's books (cf. chapter six, note eighteen above), is as follows:

Act I	includes I, 1, 2, 4 and 5, (3 omitted).
Act II	I, 6 and 7; II, 1.
Act III	II, 2-4, (5 omitted); III, 1-5, (departure of Lucius omitted).
Act IV	III, 6, (7 omitted); IV, 1 and 2, (3 omitted).
Act V	IV, 4; V, 1-3, 5, (4 omitted).

The book is marked in two hands, and Shattuck suggests that the inked cuts are those of Ellis, Macready's prompter, whilst the other markings are those of T.W. Edmonds, the Princess's prompter. The most substantial revisions made by Kean's prompter are in I, 7 (Macready's II, 2) - the interview scene. In the following list of the alterations to this scene, the cuts are given in order of occurrence, and attributed to Macready (M) or Kean (K) according to whether they are marked in ink or in pencil.

Lines omitted (New Arden text):

4b	-	5a	M
20	-	21a	M
35b	-	38a	K
41	-	43a	K
43	-	46a	M
46b	-	49	E (where M has cut 48b - 49a)
85b	-	92a	K

96b	-	98a	M
104b	-	110a	K
118	-	119a	K
123b	-	126a	M
132b	-	135	K
152b	-	153a	M
173b	-	176a	M

This revision of Macready's text is more carefully purged of possibly offensive matter than its original. In other places Macready's text has not been altered, except that I,3, included by Macready and present in this copy, has been deleted by Edmonds. Without examination of the other prepared copy (Shattuck's 11) it is not possible to discover more of Kean's intentions towards the play.

The promptbook has few markings other than cuts: in II,2 (in this arrangement, III,1) there are some technical instructions in the hand of Edmonds:

Signal to Iachimo when Imogen
Sleeps - Ready Bell to strike 3

and

Ready Signal instead of Whistle
to change Scene - Lights up at change.

At the beginning of the scene is the instruction "Flotes [sic] 1/2 Borders down" and at the end, "Give signal to change Sc. as lid of Trunk closed - Lights up and W/histle".

When Imogen reads the letter in III, 4 (in this arrangement, III, 7) she "falls on stage" and "Pisanio goes to her and lifts her up", and when Guiderius returns to the cave after killing Cloten (IV, 2) he bears Cloten's sword, not his head. The song "Hark! hark! the lark" is omitted by Kean's prompter, and he follows Macready in deleting the last stanza of the dirge. The awakening speech (New Arden, IV, 2, 291-332) is deprived of the following lines: 299b-302a, 309-311, 313-314, 316b-

323a, 324b-325 and 330-332a. Macready's cuts in this speech had been: 299b-305, 309-311, 313-314a, 316b-323a and 330-332a. (For the version used at Sadler's Wells see above, pages 122f.).

NOTES TO CHAPTERS.

Notes to Introduction:

1. William Charles Macready, Diaries, ed. Toynbee (2 vols, 1912), II.5, (June 3, 1839).
2. Colley Cibber, An Apology for His Life (Everyman's Library, 1938), p.53. Bunn's lengthy and spirited defence of the monopoly and its manager (himself) fills the three volumes of his The Stage, Both Before and Behind the Curtain (1840).
3. Quoted from Albert Fried and Richard Elman (eds.), Charles Booth's London (Harmondsworth, 1971), p.308. The passage is from the first volume of Booth's Life and Labour of the People in London, published in 1889.
4. Notably Charles Dickens (cf. chapter seven, pp. 101ff). Clement Scott, in The Drama of Yesterday and Today (2 vols, 1899) quotes a review of Phelps' debut at Sadler's Wells (as Macbeth in 1844) from The Athenaeum:

The present time declares against Shakespeare and legitimists. Nevertheless, there is always to be found an outlying portion of the population to which amusements voted vulgar or obsolete by the more refined are yet the best they can afford or enjoy. A lord's cast off clothes will make a gentleman of the Sunday operative.

(Scott, I. 158).
5. William Wallace, "Sir Henry Irving's Claims", The National Review Volume 28, number 163 (Sept. 1896), pp.75-86.
6. Report of the Select Committee on Theatrical Licenses and Regulations (House of Commons, 1866), p.114.
7. George Frederick Cooke, Diary, January 21, 1800. (Microfilm of MS in Harvard University Library).
8. Max Beerbohm, More Theatres (1969), pp.245f.: from The Saturday Review, March 24, 1900.
9. Joseph Hatton, Reminiscences of J.L. Toole (2 vols, 1889), I, 185.
10. Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, Volume III (1861), 43f.
11. John Coleman, Memoirs of Samuel Phelps (1886), p.235. See Ernest Bradlee Watson, Sheridan to Robertson (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), ch.vi., "Theatrical Management: Causes of Failure".

PART ONENotes to Chapter One.

1. "Shakespeare's Final Period", first printed in The Independent Review in 1904, was read on 24 November 1903 and reprinted in a revised form in 1922 as the third essay in Books and Characters. The edition quoted here is the 1928 Phoenix Library reprint of Books and Characters. See Michael Holroyd, Lytton Strachey, A Critical Biography (2 vols, 1967-68) I, 143-5.
2. Characters of Shakespeare's Plays (World's Classics, 1924), p.9.
3. Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret, translated by John Oxenford (revised edition, 1913) p.173:

"It is singular," said I, "that the dramas of Shakespeare are not theatrical pieces, properly so called, since he wrote them all for his theatre."
 "Shakespeare," replied Goethe, "wrote those pieces direct from his own nature. Then, too, his age, and the existing arrangements of the stage, made no demands upon him; people were forced to put up with whatever he gave them. But if Shakespeare had written for the court of Madrid, or for the theatre of Louis XIV, he would probably have adapted himself to a severer theatrical form. This, however, is by no means to be regretted, for what Shakespeare has lost as a theatrical poet he has gained as a poet in general. Shakespeare is a great psychologist, and we learn from his pieces the secrets of human nature. ["/wie den Menschen zu Muthe ist."/]

Goethe's comment on attempts to write after the Shakespearean manner is also of interest:

"Shakespeare gives us golden apples in silver dishes. We get, indeed, the silver dishes by studying his works; but, unfortunately, we have only potatoes to put into them."

(Conversations... p.163).

4. This is a marked tendency in the earlier part of the century, but in 1878 and 1883 Miss Wallis chose Imogen for her benefit performances, and the 1872 revival of the play at the Queen's Theatre probably owes as much to Henrietta Hodson's wish to appear as Imogen, as to the much-vaunted ballot to choose the repertoire.

5. T.J.B. Spencer has observed how "much of the Victorian ideal of womanhood derived a kind of standard from Shakespeare's females": Professor Spencer remarks that "Shakespeare was ..., unwittingly, a fellow-traveller in the nineteenth-century feminist movement." ("Shakespeare and the Noble Woman", Shakespeare Jahbuch-West 1966, pp.49-62) The redundancy of most of the adulatory criticism of Shakespearean woman is remarkable: William Winter, one of the worst offenders, is by no means untypical in the praise he lavishes on Rosalind in his review of Daly's production of As You Like it:

She was, in [Shakespeare's] imagination, intended to be spiritually pure, intellectually brilliant, physically handsome, lithe, ardent and tender, - the incarnation of glowing health, bewitching sensibility, passionate temperament, and captivating personal charm...

Winter's praise may have been not unconnected with his involvement in the production as textual adapter (he was also partly responsible for the version of Cymbeline used in 1896 by Irving). Winter's literary taste can be gathered from his remarks on the verse and prose of the play, and his ideas on the acting of Shakespeare's women can be assessed from his suggestion that an has to be Rosalind before she can act her -

It is not easy to perceive by what principle Shakespeare was governed in making those alterations of prose and verse that constitute the text of As You Like It; but of Rosalind's words, as they were delivered by Miss Rehan, it is true - and it was delightful - that they lapsed into one uniform current of melody, so that no listener remembered that the text is composite... The reason why [Rosalind] is not more often embodied in a competent and enthralling manner is that her enchanting quality is something that cannot be assumed - it must be possessed; it must exist in the fibre of the individual, and its expression will then be spontaneous. Art can accomplish much, but it cannot supply the inherent captivation that constitutes the puissance of Rosalind.

(William Winter, Shadows of the Stage; Second Series (Edinburgh, 1893) pp.160f., 164, 168).

6. Letter to Bernard Swithinbank, 1 July 1905. Quoted by Michael Holroyd, Lytton Strachey, I, 223. Strachey is describing a weekend spent at the end of June, 1903 with the Freshfields, parents of Elinor Clough.

7. "Shakespeare's Final Period, ed. cit. p.51.
8. Edward Dowden, Shakespeare -- His Mind and Art (1875), p.412. In his Shakespeare (1877 - in the series Literature Primers, edited by John Richard Green) Dowden characterises Imogen thus:

Except grandeur and majesty, which were reserved for Hermione and Queen Katharine, everything that can make a woman lovely is given by the poet to Imogen: quick and exquisite feelings, brightness of intellect, delicate imagination, energy to hate evil, and to right what is wrong, scorn for what is mean and rude, culture, dainty womanly accomplishments, the gift of song, a capacity for exquisite happiness, and no less sensitiveness to the sharpness of sorrow, a power of quick recovery from disaster when the warmth of love breathes upon her once more, beauty of a type which is noble and refined. (p.148)
9. Francis Gentleman footnote in Cymbeline (Bell's Shakespeare, [8 vols, 1778] II, 237).
10. The Gentleman's Magazine, Volume 281 (July-December, 1896) p.616.
11. James M.S. Gregory, Essays on Desdemona, Isabella and Imogen [bound and unpaginated MSS in Shakespeare Centre Library, Stratford-upon-Avon], (1889).
12. Anna Jameson, Shakespeare's Heroines: Characteristics of Women... (revised edition, 1879). On the composition, publication and reception of Shakespeare's Heroines (first published in two volumes in 1832) see Clara Thomas, Love and Work Enough: the Life of Anna Jameson (1967), ch.7. The reference to Imogen's cookery is on pp.230f. of the 1879 Shakespeare's Heroines.
13. John Ruskin, "Of Queen's Gardens" in Sesame and Lilies (1865; the edition cited is that of 1904). Kate Millett, in her article "The Debate over Women: Ruskin versus Mill" (Victorian Studies XIV, 1(September 1970) 63-82) discusses Ruskin's opinions on feminism from the point of view of the continuing struggle for women's rights. Ruskin comes off badly in the comparison with John Stuart Mill: "Ruskin, who was by no means a stupid man, has less recourse to intellectual energy in "Of Queen's Gardens" than anywhere else in his work." (p.66, Kate Millett's article is a re-working of a section in her book Sexual Politics (New York, 1970) in which it forms part of chapter three,) Ronald Pearsall, in his study

of Victorian Sexuality, The Worm in the Bud (Harmondsworth, 1971) discusses Ruskin's unsound views on women ("loaded language and devastating hypocrisy", p.108), and quotes from Arrows of the Chase [sic], 1853:

Woman's work is as refreshing as the dew's and as defined as the moon's, but it is the rain's nor the sun's.

(Pearsall, p.109).

See also Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind (New Haven 1957; repr. 1969), ch.13: "Love"; Houghton cites "Of Queen's Gardens" on pp.349f. as an influential and definitive statement of the views on women which Ruskin shared with other sexual conservatives.

14. On the controversy over the activities of prostitutes in and around Drury Lane Theatre, see Alan S. Downer, The Eminent Tragedian (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp.209f.; for a discussion of Victorian prostitution, Pearsall, op.cit., ch.6.
15. L.M. Griffiths, Evenings With Shakespeare (Bristol and London, 1889).
16. R.A. Foakes has suggested a more radical explanation of Cloten's behaviour:

It seems ... that Shakespeare was moving in Cymbeline towards a mode of drama which could abandon the idea of character as morally or psychologically stable, and one result is the presence of figures like Cloten, who changes from scene to scene, and is given a variety of styles of speech to match the varying and even contradictory versions of him we see...

(Shakespeare, The Dark Comedies to the Last Plays - From Satire to Celebration [1971], p.107.) The notion that Shakespeare was for some reason getting careless in his old age, of which Foakes's contention is a modification, was well established in the 19th Century - in Dowden's biographical account it finds forceful expression:

There are moments when Shakespeare was not wholly absorbed in his work as an artist at this period; it is as if he were thinking of his own life, or of the fields and streams of Stratford, and still wrote on; it is as if the ties which bound him to his art were not severing with the thrills of strong emotion, but were quietly growing alack.

Dowden instances Belarius' soliloquy at the end of III,3,

and - surprisingly - Imogen's discovery of the headless corpse:

written as if Shakespeare were now only moderately interested in certain portions of his dramatic work.

(Shakespeare -- His Mind and Art [1875], p.404.)

17. William Richardson, Essays on Shakespeare's Dramatic Characters (sixth edition, 1812), pp.338f.: (the quotation is from Essay X, "On Shakespeare's Imitation of Female Characters"). Cf. H.N. Hudson's remark in his Lectures on Shakespeare (2 vols, New York 1848) I, 193:

To say, then, that Shakespeare's women, according to this view of the matter, are inferior to his men, is merely to say they are women, as they ought to be, and not men, as he meant they should not be, and as we have reason to rejoice they are not.

Indeed, Hudson adds, if Shakespeare had not been clear-sighted with regard to the difference between men and women,

He could not have given us characters of either sex, but only wretched and disgusting medlies and caricatures of both, such as some people, it is thought, are in danger of becoming. (p.194).

In The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry (New York, 1964: first published 1931) R.W. Babcock places Richardson in the context of other 18th Century "psychologizers" of Shakespeare (ch. XII) and in his earlier article, "William Richardson's Criticism of Shakespeare" (J.E.G. XXVIII [January 1929] 117-136), provides a bibliographical analysis of the editions of Richardson's essays. See also Joseph W. Donohue, Jr., Dramatic Character in the English Romantic Age (Princeton, 1970) pp.201-5.

18. Shakespeare's Heroines (1879) pp.338f. In the Introductory Dialogue Alda says of Lady Macbeth's womanhood -

Richard [III] says of himself, that he has "neither pity, love, nor fear": Lady Macbeth is susceptible of all three.
(p.16f.)

19. Shakespeare's Heroines (1879) p.222. Compare Wolfgang Clemen's remarks in The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery (1953) ch.21: The decorative, euphuistic nature of much of the play's language had been noted by Granville-Barker in his Preface to the play -

It is a Euphuism of imagination rather than expression. This will often be simple enough; it is the thought or emotion behind that may be too far-fetched for the occasion or the speaker.

(Prefaces to Shakespeare, Fourth Series (1944) p.288)

Typical of Victorian reactions to Imogen's linguistic exquisiteness is George Fletcher's comment in his Studies of Shakespeare (1847)

She is not only the most exquisitely feeling, but the most keenly penetrating person of the drama, - not only the finest poet of the piece, but the noblest moralist also.

(p.73). F.C. Tinkler rejects this view of the play's language, as part of his reaction against the cult of Imogen,

... it is evident that Imogen is extraordinarily virtuous - too virtuous, too beautiful, too much "the paragon of all excellence", and to this excess the continual inflation of the verse brings the ironic inflection.

("Cymbeline" in Scrutiny VII, 1 (June 1938) 5-20.)

20. Shakespeare's Heroines (1879) p.228. Hazlitt's remark on Cloten is in Characters of Shakespeare's Plays (World's Classics, 1924) p.7:

The character of Cloten ... though not very agreeable in itself, and at present obsolete ...

Miss Seward's example of a contemporary Cloten, quoted by Mrs. Jameson (p.228), is from her Letters (6 vols, 1811) III, 246:

It is curious that Shakespeare should, in so singular a character as Cloten, have given the exact prototype of a being whom I once knew. The unmeaning frown of countenance, the shuffling gait, the burst of voice, the bustling insignificance, the fever and ague fits of valour, the froward techiness, the unprincipled malice, and, what is more curious, those occasional gleams of good sense amidst the clouds of folly which generally darkened and confused the man's brain, and which, in the character of Cloten, we are apt to impute to a violation of unity in character; but in the sometime Captain C — I saw that the portrait of Cloten was not out of nature.

21. The Friendly Edition of Shakespeare's Works, edited by William J. Rolfe (29 vols, New York, 1884) XVIII, 34.

22. The Henry Irving Shakespeare (8 vols, n.d. [1888-907] VII, 88.
23. G.G. Gervinus, Shakespeare Commentaries, translated by F.E. Bunnét (6th edition, 1903) p.668. Gervinus' Commentaries were first translated in 1863.
24. Gervinus, p.666.
25. Gervinus, pp.659,660.
26. Gervinus, p.661.
27. Gervinus, p.673.
28. In "The Significance of Cymbeline" (Scrutiny X, 4 /April 1942/ 329-339) A.A. Stephenson, S.J. analysed the play in terms of its imagery, finding preoccupations with worth, value "rare"ness and their relation to appearances. Wilson Knight's essay (in The Crown of Life, 1948) considers the play's meaning in terms of nationality. An attempt to explain the play's naivety of construction in terms of the sense of history is made by J.P. Brockbank ("History and Histrionics in Cymbeline" in Shakespeare Survey 11 (Cambridge 1958) 42-48) Shakespeare is conceived as maintaining the atmosphere of the Brut legends. To credit Shakespeare with a vaguely mediaeval heritage of ideas about history is more plausible than Gervinus' transformation of the playwright into a 19th Century historical theorist.
29. August Wilhelm Schlegel, A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art, translated by John Black and revised by the Rev. A.J. Morrison, M.A. (Bohn edition, 1846). Cymbeline is discussed on pp.397-399. (Lecture XXIV).

Notes to Chapter Two.

1. Sir Theodore Martin, Helena Faucit (Lady Martin) (1900), p.369. (subsequently referred to as Martin.)
2. As above. Both collected editions of the Letters were dedicated to the Queen.
3. Helen Faucit died in 1898: the collected letters were published once more after her death (seventh edition, 1904).
4. William Archer, "Ophelia and Portia: A Fable for Critics" in The Theatre, n.s. VI,1 (July 1, 1885), 18.
5. Archer, pp.18-19.
6. Archer, p.27.

7. Her misgivings with regard to male attire suitable for Fidele are discussed in Chapter Six, p.87.
8. Helen Faucit, Lady Martin, On Some of Shakespeare's Female Characters (new and enlarged edition, 1891), p.160. Elton played Pisanio in 1843 - in 1837 he had played Iachimo.
9. Helen Faucit, p.167 -
 Shakespeare saw in [Boccaccio's story] a great opportunity for introducing characters and incidents well fitted to develop, in a manner "unattempted yet in prose or rhyme", the character of a noble, cultivated, loving woman and wife at her best. The play might indeed be fitly called Imogen, Princess of Britain, for it is upon her, her trials and her triumph, that it chiefly turns.
10. Helen Faucit, p.166.
11. Helen Faucit, p.167. Marvin Rosenberg in "Elizabethan Actors: Men or Marionettes?" (P.M.L.A. LXIX, 4 September 1954), 915-927) observes of the theory that Shakespearean acting was formalized:
 Shakespeare's dependence on the actor is a hard fact for the formalist to accept. For back of the formalist attitude, I believe, is a wishful conception that Shakespeare must be fixed and immutable, never subject to the varying interpretations of mercurial actors. In many cases, the formalist is a sensitive, imaginative man who cannot tolerate theatre characterizations of Shakespeare different from his own soaring conceptions; and he is angered by the mangling the great plays sometimes undergo on the stage. So he looks wishfully back to Shakespeare's own time, and postulates a theatre in which poetry was all, was never-changing, and had to be conveyed through depersonalized mouthpieces. (p.926)
12. Helen Faucit, p.169.
13. Helen Faucit, p.183.
14. On Macready's Iachimo in 1843, see Part II, Chapter Four.
15. Helen Faucit, p.183.
16. Helen Faucit, p.178. In 1843 The Morning Herald found Macready's "assumed forgetfulness of gaze" excessive at this point (p.95 above).

17. Henry Morley, Journal of a London Playgoer (1866), p.347. (See p.143).
18. Helen Faucit, pp.197f.
19. Miss Faucit's promptbook cuts IV, 2, 318-323 (New Arden), but in her letter she quotes from "O Posthumus, alas," (320) to "... That confirms it home:" (328) without omissions. She then deviates from the promptbooks (both her own and the later Sadler's Wells version based upon Macready) by omitting line 329 ("This is Pisanio's deed, and Cloten - O!"), then by adding to the end of the speech 313-314 ("All curses madded Hecuba gave the Greeks/And mine to boot, be darted on thee!...").
/Helen Faucit's promptbook (Folger Cymb 2.) and Macready's (Folger Cymb 17) are discussed below, Chapter Six, note 18.7
20. Helen Faucit, p.218.
21. George Fletcher, Studies of Shakespeare (1847) pp.104-5.
22. Helen Faucit, p.392 (letter on Hermione).
23. Helen Faucit, p.77n. (letter on Desdemona.) In the letter on Rosalind (addressed to Robert Browning) Miss Faucit claims that when she was offered the rôle by Macready, she was apprehensive:

In my first girlhood's studies of Shakespeare /As You Like It/ had no share. Pathos, heroism, trial, suffering - in these my imagination revelled, and my favourites were the heroines who were put most sorely to the proof. Juliet, Desdemona, Cordelia, Imogen, I had brooded over until they had become, as it were, part of my life; and, as you remember, in the more modern plays, in which I performed the heroines, the pathetic or tragic element almost invariably predominated.

(Helen Faucit, p.229).

24. Helen Faucit, p.190.
25. Some of her fan-mail, reprinted by her husband in his biography, is quoted in the discussion of her 1864 performances of Imogen (pp.141f. above).
26. The Christmas-cards are now in the Shakespeare Centre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Victoria's gracious patronage of artists was extensive: when an elephant which had appeared before her in a command performance went berserk and was shot, Victoria made enquiries of 'Lord' George Sanger, the circus-owner, as to the

nature of the incident and the identity of the dead elephant - "Could there ever have been kinder communications between sovereign and subject than these?" asks Sanger. ('Lord' George Sanger, Seventy Years a Showman (reprinted with a Preface by Colin MacInnes, 1966: first published, 1910) p.174.

27. George Fletcher, p.xxii. The question of Macready's influence upon Helen Faucit is discussed by Christopher Murray, "Macready, Helen Faucit, and Acting Style", Theatre Notebook XXIII, 1, (Autumn 1968) 21-25. Murray sees Macready's style as a carefully worked-out combination of techniques derived from the Kembles (of voice modulation and of deportment) and of "naturalism" -

Helen Faucit was but one of Macready's protégées. He must also be given the credit for training Miss Huddart, later Mrs. Warner, and many other lesser Victorian lights. Among actors, he left his indelible imprint on Samuel Phelps, James Anderson, and, to a lesser degree in this context (though as great in regard to management) Charles Kean...

(p.25)

28. In her book Shakespeare from the Greenroom: Actor's Criticisms of Four Major Tragedies (Chapel Hill, 1969) Carol Jones Carlisle is much kinder to Miss Faucit: the book, she claims,

... is interesting because it tells us the reasons behind the innovations in her stage interpretations; because it provides insights into her method of thinking herself into her characters; and because it occasionally expresses ideas about other characters in the plays which - acceptable or not - were ahead of their time. As for the worth of the essays simply as criticism, it is very mixed: the one on Desdemona, for example, was not only novel for its day, it is absolutely right in its essentials; the one on Ophelia, however, contains as much Faucit as Shakespeare. (p.433).

What Shakespeare there is in the Imogen letter is either commonplace or heavily disguised: what Faucit we are given is too unreliable and adulterated reminiscence of performances.

.....

Notes to Chapter Three. PART TWO

1. James Boaden, Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble (2 vols, 1825), I, 300; Hogan, II, 183.
2. Boaden, J.P. Kemble, I, 343.
3. Boaden, J.P. Kemble, I, 343f.; Hogan, II, 183f.
4. Boaden, J.P. Kemble, I, 343f.
5. The Monthly Mirror, March 1797; Hogan, II, 186.
6. The Monthly Mirror, June 1800; Hogan, II, 186; Genest, VII, 481.
7. Boaden, J.P. Kemble, II, 291; 293f.; Genest, VII, 501.
8. The Monthly Mirror, March 1801. [cf. note 20 below/
Dramatic Censor quoted in G.C.D. Odell, Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving (New York, 2 vols, 1920: reprinted 1966), II, 94-5.
9. Boaden, J.P. Kemble, II, 293.
10. Boaden, J.P. Kemble, II, 294.
11. The Thespian Dictionary, or Dramatic Biography of the Present Age (1805).
12. British Museum Additional MS. 31, 974.
13. Kimberley, p.95.
14. Shattuck, p.82 nos.6 and 7 (Harvard and Folger books respectively).
15. Leigh Hunt, review of King Lear, May 28, 1808 in Leigh Hunt's Dramatic Criticism, edited by L.H. and C.W. Houtchens (1950) p.20. Cf. Hunt's comparison of Young's Macbeth with that of Kemble -

Kemble, who is excellent in all that there is of dignity in Macbeth, cannot forget, in the more impassioned scenes, those methodistical artifices of dropped eyes, patient shakes of the head, and whining preachments, which always do and ever will injure his attempts at heart-felt nature...

(p.22).

16. William Robson, The Old Playgoer (1846) p.35. Robson maintained a consistently "pictorial" attitude to the Kemble school, ("Is it nothing to have had a perfect picture of the sublime and beautiful placed before us...?") His nostalgia took the form of an art-gallery -

I look back down the vista of memory, as into a gallery of splendid statues... Images of beauty and feeling! Never desert me! ye helped me to love the lovely and to understand the intellectually grand: - to you I owe the great portion of the pleasures of the heart and mind that have been my life's solace... (p.35).

As a sign of the change in taste, we can adduce Forster's preference for Macready over the school of Kemble. Describing both actors' interpretation of *Coriolanus*, Forster observes that where Kemble gave "merely an ideal picture of one intense sentiment", Macready offered "the reality of various and conflicting passion" -

He does not work up dignified contempt to an extraordinary pitch of intensity with a view to have it on the minds of the audience as one great ideal abstraction - he gives nature full and various play; he calls in other passions to harmonise and redeem; he suffers as much as he sways, and, conflicting with opposite emotions in his soul, sinks at last beneath the struggle.

In this review (in The Examiner, March 18, 1838) Forster is deprecating the power of intense idealization which Hazlitt had praised in his review of the same actor in the same part (The Times, June 25, 1817). The most recent discussion of Kemble's acting in Shakespearean rôles is by Joseph W. Donohue, Jr. (Dramatic Character in the English Romantic Age (Princeton 1970) 243-253): a fuller collection of descriptive excerpts is wielded by Bertram Joseph, The Tragic Actor (1959) chapters 5-6. Alan S. Downer's "Players and Painted Stage" in P.M.L.A. LXI, 2 (June 1946) 522-576, gives an account of the changes in acting styles during the century.

17. J.R. Planché, Recollections and Reflections (2 vols, 1872) I, 22.
18. William Beckford, Modern Novel-Writing, or, The Elegant Enthusiast... (2 vols, 1796) II, 56.
19. The sale of commissions resulted in many anomalies in the officer-structure of the army in the 1790s - on its educational aspect cf. G.M. Revelyan, English Social History (1945) p.501:

It has been observed that when the ensign fresh from Eton was handed over to the respectful care of the colour-sergeant, the relation of the two closely resembled that to which the younger man had been accustomed at home, when the old

gamekeeper took him out afield to teach him the management of his fowling-piece and the arts of approaching game.

Cf. also Gillray's "Hero's [sic] Recruiting at Kelsey's; - or - Guard-Day at St. James's" (June 9, 1797) in Draper Hill, Fashionable Contrasts: 100 Caricatures by James Gillray (1966).

20. Edgar Wind has written on the analogies between late 18th Century conventions of historical painting and scenic art in his article "The Revolution of History Painting", (Journal of the Warburg Institute, II, no.2 (October 1938), 116-127).
21. On Talma's visit to London in 1817, see Herbert F. Collins, Talma: a Biography of an Actor (1964), chapter 38.
22. Kimberley, pp.87-98. Harold Child's lecture The Shakespearean Productions of John Philip Kemble (The Shakespeare Association, 1935) gives a useful account of Kemble's dealings with the plays he adapted, particularly his mangled Coriolanus, incorporating pieces from Thomson's play (first acted in 1749: subsequently altered by Sheridan). Child represents Kemble as a man whose (to our eyes and ears) imperfect versions of Shakespeare kept the dramatist popular at a time when the theatrical taste of the capital city had reached its nadir.
23. Kimberley, p.87.
24. John Philip Kemble (editor), Cymbeline...a historical play... (1810), p.65. Quotations are from this edition. Kemble's version had its first incarnation in 1801.
25. On Farley's "line", Planché, Recollections and Reflections (2 vols, I, 209f).
26. Brander Mathews and Laurence Hutton, editors, Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States... (3 vols, New York, 1886), II, 106-9.
27. Imogen was not a major rôle in Mrs. Siddon's repertoire, which had much simpler and more direct vehicles for her line in characterisation, which Roger Manvell summarizes as "pathos, moral sentiment, and rhetorical fervour and disdain" (Sarah Siddons, Portrait of an Actress (1970), p.122). Nor did the play figure largely in Kemble's own repertoire, although he was able to use Posthumus as material for his favourite character-traits: in Herschel Baker's biography of Kemble, Cymbeline figures briefly as the-play-that-was-done-next:

The next winter [1807/8] Cymbeline, which had been unsuccessfully revived the season before, was

brought forth again. But nothing exciting occurred until Kemble played Iago to Cooke's Othello.

(Herschel Baker, John Philip Kemble, the Actor in his Theatre [Cambridge, Mass., 1942/ p.289].

Notes to Chapter Four.

1. Julian Charles Young, A Memoir of Charles Mayne Young (1871), pp.52f. On "Clear" benefits see St. Vincent Troubridge, The Benefit System in the British Theatre (Society for Theatre Research, 1967), pp.19, 29 and 45.
2. J.C. Young, p.55.
3. William Robson, The Old Playgoer (1846), pp.170f.
4. Victoire, Count de Soligny [i.e. P.G. Patmore] Letters on England (2 vols, 1823), I, 126-7.
5. Diary of Covent Garden Theatre, British Museum Additional MS. 23, 157.
6. J.R. Planché, Recollections and Reflections (2 vols, 1872), I, 52. Planché's collaboration with Charles Kemble is discussed by H.H. Tilley, J.R. Planche, Reformer (unpublished M.A. thesis, Birmingham, 1951) - see also Odell, Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving (2 vols, New York 1920: reprinted 1966), II, 169-179. Planché does not mention any influence on the production of Cymbeline, and it is hard to discover what standards the Grieves and the accredited costumiers set themselves, beyond what we are told by the elaborate playbill. Jane Williamson quotes a critic who exclaimed after seeing the play,

We expect next to see legitimate authority produced for the dressing of Puck, and authenticated wings allotted to Mustardseed.

(Charles Kemble, Man of the Theatre (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1970), p.176).

7. Reprinted in William Bodham Donne, Essays on the Drama (1858), p.169.
8. Unidentified newspaper cutting in the Enthoven Collection; Accounts for 1826-7 and 1827-8 seasons in Diary of Covent Garden Theatre, British Museum Additional MSS. 23, 158-9. On Kean's migration to Covent Garden, and the engagement of his son at Drury Lane see John William Cole, The Life and Theatrical

Times of Charles Kean, F.S.A. (2 vols, 1859), I, 148-153, and H.N. Hillebrand, Edmund Kean (New York, 1933) chapter xiii.

9. "Ticket Nights" are discussed by Troubridge, op.cit., pp.25-28.
10. Williamson, Charles Kemble... (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1970), pp.182f. Cf. Dewey Ganzel, "Patent Wrongs and Patent Theatres", P.M.L.A. LXXVI, 4/1 (September 1961) 384-396. Kemble did not play in Cymbeline again: in 1844 he was called to read the play at Buckingham Palace before Queen Victoria (Williamson, p.237 - a description of the occasion with an engraving appears in The Illustrated London News, May 25, 1844).
11. Charles E. Pascoe, The Dramatic List (1880), pp.217f. Pascoe quotes from The Atlas, June 11 1842, and The Athenaeum, April 16 1842. He does not give a reference for his quotation from Talfourd. Miss Tree became Mrs. Charles Kean on January 9 1842.

Notes to Chapter Five.

1. William Charles Macready, Reminiscences and Selections from Diaries, edited by Sir Frederick Pollock (2 vols, 1875), I, 168.
2. This title rôle is invoked in discussions of the origins of the "principal boy": see David Mayer III, Harlequin in His Element (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp.63f; A.E. Wilson, Christmas Pantomime, the Story of an English Institution (1934), p.135; V.C. Clinton-Baddeley, Some Pantomime Pedigrees (Society For Theatre Research, 1963), pp.31-37.
3. Reminiscences, ed. Pollock I, 220.
4. Roger Fulford, The Trial of Queen Caroline (1967), p.207. Thomas Denman spoke on October 24 and 25 in a summing-up speech for the defence which lasted ten hours, the somewhat unfortunate climax of his peroration being an allusion to the story of the woman taken in adultery, (E.A.B. V, 1921 - 1922, 808-815).
5. Fulford, p.235.
6. Fulford, pp.216f.
7. Christopher Murray, "Elliston's Coronation Spectacle", Theatre Notebook XXV, no.2 (Winter 1970-71), 57-64. Elliston's pageant is also mentioned by A.H. Saxon, Enter Foot and Horse: A History of Hippodrama in England

and France (New Haven, 1968), p.167n.

8. The Greville Memoirs, edited by Roger Fulford (1963), p.1 - this is a condensation by Fulford of the full edition edited by him in collaboration with Lytton Strachey and published in 1938 (8 volumes) but individual passages are given in full. In Henry Reeve's edition, (3 vols, 1875) the passage ends with "Where's your wife, Georgy?" (I, 43). An account of the Queen's affair from the point of view of popular satire is given by M. Dorothy George, English Political Caricature (2 vols, Oxford 1959), II, 187-207.

9. Review in The Drama, or Theatrical Pocket Magazine, Dec 1822, p.358.

10. The Diary of Covent Garden Theatre, British Museum Additional MS. 23, 156: the receipts for June 19 and 24 are on ff.44v-45r and 46v. The Diary of Charles Kemble (MS.Add. 31, 976) gives different figures, but Kemble's notes are a rough personal estimate - he often gives £200 as receipts for performances which in the Theatre Diary have considerably higher or lower figures. Kemble's diary gives a list of salaries for the Covent Garden Theatre company, which includes the following rates (per week):

Young, Macready	each £20.
Fawcett, Liston	each £17.
Farren	£14.
Grimaldi	£10.
Farley	£16.
Miss Stephens	£20.
Poote	£10.
Maria Tree	£ 8.

The diary is a copy of The Complete Pocketbook/or/ Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal/for the Year of Our Lord 1822; detailed memoranda of performances begin at Saturday March 2 and continue until June 29. On the flyleaves of the bound volume containing the diary are lists of the entire company and of the band - 68 men, 42 women and 31 musicians. In 1800-01 J.P. Kemble's diary gives a company of 33 men, 23 women, and 3 male and 2 female children. There were 11 male chorus and 12 female chorus, plus "extra chorus" (MS.Add. 31, 974).

11. Letter in Folger Library quoted by Alan S. Downer, The Eminent Tragedian (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p.95.
12. Reminiscences, ed. Pollock, I, 307.
13. I have found four different bills for this performance.
- a. White paper; "On Wednesday, May 10..." - Bennett as Belarius, Wallack as Iachimo. Phelario, Imogene.

- b. Blue paper; "Wednesday Next..." - the same cast, but with Imogen spelt correctly. Phelario still mis-spelt.
- c. White paper; "This Evening" (May 10) with corrected spelling and the same cast.
- d. White paper; "This Evening" (May 10) with Bennett as Iachimo and Archer as Belarius.

The first three are in Birmingham Shakespeare Library, the fourth in the Shakespeare Centre, Stratford-upon-Avon.

- 14. See above, pp. 55-64.
- 15. Diaries of William Charles Macready, 1833-1851 edited by William Toynbee (2 vols, 1912), I, 70. Pollock omits all up to "a very tedious rehearsal of Cymbeline" but adds the following -

Tonight there was a delay of nearly half an hour and consequent clamour at Covent Garden, the singers having been unable to go through their songs. The play of "Antony and Cleopatra" was called for tomorrow as a new play, but I induced Mr. Cooper to alter it to Saturday. On coming home I read the part of Antony. The more I see of the management of Mr. Bunn, the more I find cause to blame the proprietor who gave the theatre to him!

(Pollock, I, 388f.)

Notes to Chapter Six.

- 1. Sir Theodore Martin, Helena Faucit (Lady Martin) (1900), p.46.
- 2. Diaries, ed. Toynbee, I, 394.
- 3. Charles Rice, The London Theatre in the Eighteen-Thirties, edited by A.C. Sprague and Bertram Shuttleworth (Society for Theatre Research, 1950), pp.48f.
- 4. John Coleman, Memoirs of Samuel Phelps (1886), p.166.
- 5. Helen Faucit, On Some of Shakespeare's Female Characters (1891), p.160.
- 6. Diaries, ed. Toynbee, I, 472.
- 7. Charles H. Shattuck, Mr. Macready Produces "As You Like It" (Urbana, Illinois, 1962), /p.20/. Charles H. Shattuck, William Charles Macready's "King John" (Urbana, Illinois, 1962), p.46.

Alan S. Downer, The Eminent Tragedian (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p.223.

8. Martin, p.106.
9. Downer, p.252.
10. On Ellis see Charles H. Shattuck, "A Victorian Stage Manager: George Cressall Ellis", Theatre Notebook XXII, No.3 (Spring 1968) 103-112, /and XXIII, no.4, (Summer 1969) 167f., for a note on Shattuck's article by Kathleen M.D. Barker/. Ellis's book of Cymbeline is discussed in Appendix C.
11. William Charles Macready, Promptbook for Cymbeline (transcription by Ellis) Folger: Cymb 17, facing p.13. On the leaf facing p.33 there is a description of Imogen's bedchamber -

All the furniture of the Sc/ene/ is gilt, - Tables, stools, &c. the chest is red & gold, Drap/eries/ for Bed &c. blue and silver. A large folding Door is in 2/nd/ G/rooves/ /at the/ L/eft/. The Sc/ene/ itself should be enclosed - Imog/en/'s dress is on the clothes-stand and her sandals on footstool, side of bed. The book she reads, is leaves of parch /ment/ ab/out/ 6 inches square.

In the accompanying drawing, the bed, surrounded on three sides with drapes hanging from a cupola-like canopy, is downstage, Stage Right, with a rectangular footstool beside it, and a lamp-stand at its downstage corner.

12. George Fletcher, Studies of Shakespeare (1847), p.107.
13. Fletcher, p.99.
14. Fletcher, p.101. Fletcher takes issue with Mrs. Jameson for entertaining too low an idea of Imogen's conjugal relationship:

abasing her from her proper station as a noble, generous, and intellectual woman, whose understanding has sanctioned the election of her heart, to that of a creature blindly impassioned and affectionate, ready to submit quite passively to any enormity of indignity and injustice inflicted upon her by the man to whom she has devoted herself. The present actress of the character makes herself no party to this degradation...

Fletcher is doing an injustice to Mrs. Jameson, who distinguishes between the "meek submission" of Desdemona, the "resolute dignity" of Hermione, and Imogen's behaviour:

In her first exclamations we trace, besides astonishment and anguish, and the acute sense of the injustice inflicted on her, a flash of indignant spirit, which we did not find in Desdemona or Hermione ... /i.e. "False to his bed!" etc./... This is followed by that affecting lamentation over the falsehood and injustice of her husband, in which she betrays no atom of jealousy or wounded self-love, but observes, in the extremity of her anguish, that after his lapse from truth "all good seeming would be discredited," and then she resigns herself to his will with the most entire submission.

(Shakespeare's Heroines (1879), p.226f.)

15. Fletcher, pp.104f.
16. Fletcher, pp.107f.
17. For example, The Spectator (January 38 1843) and The Morning Post (see Appendix B): The Athenaeum (January 28) commented on "some needless omissions of dialogue".
18. Helen Faucit's book is described by Shattuck as "probably used for touring in the 1840s and 50s" (p.84) - it contains cues and notes for entrances, but gives little indication of "business" - except for the difference in texts, it tells us no more than Macready's book about what went on on stage. Miss Faucit's version of the "awakening" speech differs from Macready's (she allows herself more lines) and though both books omit the "madded Hecuba" lines, in her commentary on the play Miss Faucit prints a version of the end of the speech which includes them (see Part I, Chapter 2, note 19) - a version similar to that adopted by Phelps. The organisation of the first two acts can be compared in Macready's and Helen Faucit's version, and that of Keable -

Macready.

Act I includes	I, 1-5.
Act II	I, 6 and 7; II, 1.
Act III.	II, 2-4 (5 omitted); III, 1-5 (departure of Lucius omitted)
Act IV.	III, 6 (7 omitted); IV, 1 and 2 (3 omitted).
Act V.	IV, 4; V, 1-3 (4 omitted), 5.

Faucit.

Act I includes	I, 1-7 (omitting 3).
Act II	II, 1-4 (omitting 5).
Act III	III, 1-3 - scene added "from Cumberland"-4. /i.e. a sequence of III, 5 (1-65), 4 then 5 (70-161)

- this is the arrangement in proprietary editions from Kemble to Cumberland⁷.
- Act IV III, 5 and 6 (7 omitted); IV, 2 (IV, 1 and 3 omitted).
- Act V V, 1-3 (4 omitted) 5.
- Kemble.
- Act I includes I, 1, 2, 4, 6, 5 in that order.
- Act II I, 7; II, 1-3.
- Act III II, 4 (soliloquy omitted).
- Act IV III, 1, 2, 3, 5, 4 (in that order).
III, 4, 6, 7 (8 omitted).
IV. I, 2 (first half), 3, 2 (second half).
- Act V IV, 4; V, 1-3 (4 omitted), 5.

(Macready, Folger Cymb 17; Helen Faucit, Folger Cymb 2; Kemble, reprint of 1800 version, 1810: see Kimberley, pp.87, 95 and Shattuck, pp.83f.

Notes to Chapter Seven.

1. Harry Stone attributes the article to R.H. Horne, but considers it to be partly Dickens's work (The Uncollected Writings of Charles Dickens: "Household Words" 1850-1859 (2 vols, 1968), I, 343-9. The article appears in Household Words no.80, pp.25-7. In the article prices are given as being
Boxes - 2s and 3s
Pit - 1s
Gallery - 6d.

The pit is now frequented by families, and the gallery is now "as orderly as a lecture-room": "the place which was a nuisance, is become quite a household word".
2. Gustave Doré and Blanchard Jerrold, London (1872), p.173.
3. Kenneth Richards quotes a reviewer in The Daily News who reported that spectators at All's Well That Ends Well were "book in hand - and all reverential and minutely attentive". ("Samuel Phelps's Production of All's Well That Ends Well" in 19th Century British Theatre, edited by Kenneth Richards and Peter Thomson (1971), p.183). In his discussion of the readership of acting editions Kimberley quotes (p.9) Boaden's complaint, "Who, that can hear, wants the book as a companion to the theatre...?" (Memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald (1833), II, 87) and Thomas Dolby's speculations

concerning the different hands into which his edition might fall (Kimberley, p.10, quoting Dolby's Macbeth (1823) pp.63ff.).

4. Henry Morley, Journal of a London Playgoer (1866), p.69.
5. Morley, p.72.
6. Kenneth Richards, essay cited in note 3, above.
7. Morley, p.96.
8. Morley, pp.153f., 152 respectively.
9. M. St. Clare Byrne, "Charles Kean and the Meininger Myth", Theatre Research/Récherches Théâtrales VI, 3 (1964), 137-153. Productions by Phelps and by Charles Kean of A Midsummer Night's Dream are discussed by A.C. Moore, The Development of Interpretative Design in Shakespeare, 1843-1956 (unpublished M.A. thesis, Birmingham 1968) and Phelps's version is described by Richard Faulkes, "Samuel Phelps's A Midsummer Night's Dream; Sadler's Wells - October 8th, 1853", Theatre Notebook XXIII, 2 (Winter, 1968/9), 55-60. W. Moelwyn Merchant (Shakespeare and the Artist, 1959) claims -

The contrary tensions in the age dominated by Charles Kean lay between his inordinate desire for splendid setting at whatever cost to the text and Phelps's more careful regard for the integrity of the play. (p.117).
10. On the finances of the management at the Princess's, see M. Glen Wilson, "The Career of Charles Kean: a Financial Report", in Nineteenth Century British Theatre, ed. Richards and Thomson (1971), pp.39-50.
11. John Coleman, Memoirs of Samuel Phelps (1886), p.214.
12. W. May Phelps and John Forbes-Robertson, The Life and Life-Work of Samuel Phelps (1886), p.99.
13. Life and Life-Work, p.102.
14. Westland Marston, Some Recollections of Our Recent Actors (2 vols, 1888), II, 57f.
15. Our Recent Actors, II, 63.
16. Shattuck, p.85, no.18.
17. Kenneth Richards's essay on Phelps's All's Well (note 3, above) remarks on the recurrently semi-circular blocking of scenes in that play. In Cymbeline, it is not clear whether the last scene takes place in front of the tent, or inside it, with the vista of druidical monuments seen through the door. (W. Moelwyn Merchant discusses (pp.119f.) the asymmetrical blocking in Phelps's Lear I, 1, as given in a Shakespeare Centre promptbook. This is one of "F. Haywell's" books, a

large number of which are in the Centre's possession, and whose relationship to Sadler's Wells practice is doubtful).

18. The inclusion or omission of these lines bears on the interpretation of Iachimo's character: Macready's 1843 book (Folger Cymb 17) includes them and they are also included in Irving's published Lyceum edition (Chiswick Press, 1896); Helen Faucit's book (Folger Cymb 2) omits "that doth make me sick", and both of Cooke's copies (Harvard Theatre Collection and Folger) omit the lines altogether. In Kemble's editions the lines are missing, but a Kemble copy later owned by William Creswick, and used by him in the revival of 1864 (Shakespeare Centre) has the lines restored in manuscript.
19. Irving aroused the audience's expectations by having a corner of a red cloth hang from the lid of the chest as though it had been shut in haste - p.174.
20. On Irving's version, and Shaw's opinions of it, cf. Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence, edited by Christopher St. John (1931, 2nd edition), letter XXI, and chapter 12.
21. Ernest Bradlee Watson offers evidence that "by 1856 the carpet had been reduced to a strip of green baize stretched only between the footlights and the curtain", but the precise death-hour of the green stagecloth remains unascertained (Watson, Sheridan to Robertson (Cambridge, Mass., 1926) pp.91f.). In The Oxford Companion to the Theatre (edited by Phyllis Hartnoll, 2nd edition, 1967) it is stated that the use of the green baize carpet was "by the end of the 17th Century... invariably restricted to... the performance of tragedy" (p.953). Miss Hartnoll adds that it "continued in use into the 19th Century, and is frequently referred to in theatrical letters and memoirs". A promptbook of The Beaux' Stratagem, now in the British Theatre Museum, Leighton House, has on its first page the instruction Green Cloth Down. The book is an 1819 Oxberry edition, used by J.B. Buckstone (1802-79) in the 'twenties. (British Theatre Museum, 1960/W/20). Richard Southern, in Changeable Scenery (1952) discusses the possible use of a grass mat in performances of The Padlock during the 1770s (p.237f.), but offers no further remarks on stagecloths of this kind.
22. Our Recent Actors, II, 63.
23. Life and Life-Work, p.166.
24. October 31, 1857: quoted by C.E. Pascoe, The Dramatic List (1880) p.363.

25. The Athenaeum, October 3, 1857; The Era, August 29, 1847. On the extent to which the revivals were refurbishings, rather than "with new scenery and dresses" as the bills announced, cf. the review in The Morning Advertiser of the 1856 Timon of Athens

It is about five years since it was first produced at this theatre with elaborate care, and with picturesque illustration by the scene-painter. On Saturday night it was revived with many additions, much of the scenery being new-painted...

(Life and Life-Work, p.151).

26. The Musical Transcript, September 9, 1854.

Notes to Chapter Eight.

1. Diana Howard, London Theatres and Music Halls, 1850-1950 (1970), pp.253-5; Malcolm Morley, The Old Marylebone Theatre (St. Marylebone Society Publications, no.2, 1960).
2. Westland Marston, Some Recollections of Our Recent Actors (2 vols, 1888), I, 282-5. Morley, pp.21-23.
3. Morley, p.23.
4. The Theatrical Times, Sept 6 1847.
5. The Theatrical Times printed a letter from an irate poet signing himself "Your constant reader, - M.", who poured scorn on the prologue (by D.J. Serle - printed in The Times, August 31, 1847) and asked other constant readers to compare his own lines "intended to have been spoken at the opening of Sadler's Wells Theatre". After welcoming the audience to "this humble, though Shakespearean hall", the rejected address evokes a number of the bard's plays and the emotions they arouse. M. then admonishes his auditors -

When will ye turn from lessons such as these ? -
 When shall the master spirit cease to please ? -
Not while pure taste in British hearts abides,-
Not while sound judgement your decision guides.
6. On Anna Mowatt's reception in Manchester and London see Eric Wollencott Barnes, Anna Cora. The Life and Theatre of Anna Cora Mowatt (1954), chs.xvi-xvii; Anna Cora

Mowatt, Autobiography of an Actress (Boston, Mass., 1854), chs.xv-xix.

7. Theatrical Times, March 17, 1849 - Mrs. Mowatt as Elvira, Mrs. Siddon's part in Sheridan's Pizarro.
8. Anna Cora Mowatt, Autobiography..., pp.286f.

Our engagement at the Princess's was to be followed by the appearance of Mr. Macready. A proposition was made to us by Mr. Wallack, stage manager, that we should consent to a re-engagement, and act in conjunction with Mr. Macready in the plays which he produced. This arrangement would have afforded me invaluable opportunities of improvement in my vocation. But my personifications had been confined to the Juliets, Rosalinds, Desdemonas. Mr. Macready required the support of a Lady Macbeth, Queen Constance, Queen Katharine. These were embodiments which I had not the temerity to attempt - at least not until I had devoted to them the study of months, or rather years. I was obliged reluctantly to forgo the proposed distinction. Mrs. Kemble filled the place for which I, confessedly, had not the indispensable qualifications.

9. Barnes, p.257. Davenport is writing to his friend Tom Ford, manager at the Howard Athenaeum in Boston, about the production by Watts of Anna's own play Armand.

Notes to Chapter Nine.

1. W. May Phelps and John Forbes-Robertson, The Life and Life-Work of Samuel Phelps (1886), p.265 (cf. also p.88).
2. Charles B. Pascoe, The Dramatic List (1880), p.116.
3. Life and Life-Work, p.89.
4. The Dramatic List, p.116.
5. The Dramatic List, p.117.
6. Life and Life-Work, p.289; John Coleman, Memoirs of Samuel Phelps (1886), 240-247.
7. Survey of London, Volume XXXV : The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane and The Royal Opera House, Covent Garden (1970), p.27.

8. Coleman, p.252.
9. Sir Theodore Martin, Helena Faucit, Lady Martin, (1900), p.266.
10. Martin, p.267.
11. Martin, p.269.
12. Martin, p.268.
13. William Bodham Donne, Essays on the Drama (1858), pp.161f.
14. Martin, p.276 (reprints parts of the review).
15. Morley, Journal of a London Playgoer (1886), p.347.
See Part I, chapter 2 above.
16. Morley, p.351 :
Miss Faucit shouts Hold! Hold! /Macbeth I, 4, 517
in a most unheavenly manner and throughout the
early stage of the character it may be said that
her Lady Macbeth is too demonstrative and noisy.
17. Martin, p.273.
18. Arthur Colby Sprague, Shakespeare and the Actors
(Cambridge, Mass., 1944), p.60.
19. Westland Marston, Some Recollections of Our Recent Actors (2 vols, 1888), II, 245, 246.
20. Helen Faucit, On Some of Shakespeare's Heroines (1891), p.180.
21. Our Recent Actors, II, 179.
22. Shattuck p.82, no.8.
23. The word is written reuerence : presumably for reverence.
24. Morley, p.355. Cf. Jerome K. Jerome, Stageland...(1889), p.6:
The stage hero has his own way of making love.
He always does it from behind. The girl turns
away from him when he begins (she being, as we
have said, shy and timid), and he takes hold of
her hands, and breathes his attachment down her
back.
25. Morley, p.356.
26. See above, chapter 7, note 23. The Kemble marking
"Green Cloth Down" at the beginning of the book dates
from 1810, and though it is not deleted, it is not a
certain guide. The 1864 sets were old ones
refurbished - whether from Cymbeline stock (of 1843)
or general stock, is not known.
27. /Takes out his Tablets - Kemble's printed direction.

Notes to Chapter Ten.

1. D.N.B., Supplement, 1901-1911, II, 275f.; Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson, The Lost Theatres of London (1968), pp.358-379: C.E. Pascoe, The Dramatic List (1880), pp.180f.
2. Ellen Terry, The Story of My Life (1908), pp.69f., 43.
3. Mander and Mitchenson, p.370 etc.
4. Mander and Mitchenson, p.371.
5. D.N.B., loc.cit.
6. Pascoe, p.180.
7. Dutton Cook, Nights at the Play (1883), ch. xlv, p.144.
8. On Marston's monotony and artificiality see Godfrey Turner, "First Nights of My Young Days", The Theatre n.s. IX no.4 (April, 1887), p.191. Turner says of Marston's Mark Antony:

The very artificiality and mannerism of Marston helped him in this particular part - in its oratorical passages, at any rate.

Turner's remarks on Marston's pronunciation are quoted in Chapter Seven (p.113).

9. Dutton Cook, p.144.
10. The playbill's annotator is unknown, though the notes could be those of a newspaper or periodical critic:
 - a. L.H. Margin/ 1st Act, a few lines so well declaimed as /? to cause/ a prompt reference to name of actor
 /This note is attached to the name of Cornelius (B. Egan) in the list of actors/
 - b. Top margin/ p.1, 2nd Act closes
 - c. p.1 centre/ No elaborate revival but carefully presented - except in the acting
 - d. list of actors/ /Cloten, Posth., Bel., Arv./ bad
 /Queen (Fanny Huddart)/ mild
 /Imogen/ weak
 /Iachimo/ good
 - e. p.2 scene synopsis/ /after Bedchamber/

Second act closes while they sing 'Hark hark the Lark' daybreak advances.

Of these, a. tallies with a remark made in The Daily Telegraph -

The distinct utterance of Mr. B. Egan, who had only some half-dozen lines to speak, as the physician, in the first act, for instance, took the audience so much by surprise that a prompt reference was made to the playbill to discover his name.

(April 2, 1872) - but the reviewer's opinions on the merits and demerits of the acting do not tally with those of the annotator closely enough for any identification to be made. The privately-printed views of one other playgoer, Richard Dickins, are worth the mention -

George Rignold was excellent as Leonatus, vigorous and intense. Henry Marston, one of the Sadler's Wells veterans, admirable as Belarius, just one of the parts in which the old school excelled, and Henrietta Hodson was very sweet and human as Imogen. Ryder was, I think, too old and vulture-like for Iachimo, but he was too skilful an actor not to play with effect.

(Richard Dickins, Forty Years of Shakespeare on the English Stage, August 1867-August 1907 (privately printed, n.d. /c. 1910/. p.14).

Notes to Chapter Eleven.

1. C.E. Pascoe, The Dramatic List (1880), p.368.
2. The Dramatic Peerage (1892), pp.228f.
3. Dutton Cook, Nights at the Play (1883), p.269.
4. Dutton Cook, p.405.
5. Dutton Cook, p.209.
6. Dutton Cook, pp.162, 171.
7. Pascoe, p.109.
8. The Dramatic Peerage, p.236.
9. Mander and Mitchenson, The Lost Theatres of London (1968), p.103.
10. Joseph Knight, Theatrical Notes (1893), pp.9f.

11. M.C. Day and J.C. Trewin, The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre (1932) pp.57f. (on Miss Alleyn), 28f. (on Phelps); Theatre Records, 1884-5, 1909, Shakespeare Centre Library.
12. To complete the record of minor performances, can be added the amateur performances by the Irving Dramatic Club (February 1 and 7, 1893) and the provincial tour of Miss Lingard (Sept, 1888).

Notes to Chapter Twelve.

1. Copy of circular now in the Bram Stoker Collection, The Shakespeare Centre, Stratford-upon-Avon. (For a full list of performance dates, see Appendix A). Roger Manvell notes that King Lear in 1892, Cymbeline in 1896, and Coriolanus in 1901 "between them barely accounted for six months, and could not recover their production costs" (Ellen Terry (1968), p.208).
2. Bram Stoker, Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving (revised edition, 1 vol., 1907), p.440.
3. Programmes in Enthoven Collection. In his Autobiography (n.d. 1933) Martin-Harvey remembered vaguely his appearance in Cymbeline, "lying on a Roman couch with a line or two to speak" (p.189), and added that he had not been able to find his name in the cast list given by Austin Brereton (The Lyceum and Henry Irving (1903), p.337). The full cast for the first night is as follows:

Cymbeline	F.H. Macklin
Cloten	Norman Forbes
Posthumus	Frank Cooper
Belarius	Frederick Robinson
Guiderius	B. Webster
Arviragus	Gordon Craig
Pisanio	Tyars
Cornelius	Lacy
2 British Captains	Archer and Needham
2 " " Lords	Hague and Belmore
Queen	Genevieve Ward
Helen	Miss Tyars
Imogen	Ellen Terry
Iachimo	Henry Irving
Philario	Fuller Mellish
Caius Lucius	Cooper-Cliffe
Roman Captain	Tabb

On January 23-28 the alterations made were as follows:

Arviragus	Martin-Harvey
Cornelius	Archer
2 British Captains	Howard and Needham
2 " " Lords	Hague and Lacy
Iachimo	Cooper-Cliffe
Caius Lucius	Belmore

On January 26: (differing from 23-28 cast)

Imogen	Julia Arthur
Arviragus	Gordon Craig

Laurence Irving remarks that whereas the original cast "drew £200 a performance", the revival "brought barely a quarter of that sum into the box-office", (Henry Irving: The Actor and his World (1951), p.599). He does not give the provenance of these figures, nor does he specify their relationship to the gross receipts.

4. List of Irving's rôles given by Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, appendix B. Irving appeared as Pisanio in Edinburgh in 1857, to the Imogen of Helen Faucit. He made a new "point" by speaking the lines

Hence vile instrument!
Thou shalt not damn my hand!

with great vehemence, and then throwing the sword from him. (Laurence Irving, op.cit., pp.81f.) J.L. Toole, played Cloten in Edinburgh to Miss Faucit's Imogen, but the dates he gives for his Edinburgh engagements are not precise, and she visited the city more than once. (Joseph Hatton, Reminiscences of J.L. Toole (2 vols, 1889) II, 158f.)

5. List of Ellen Terry's rôles in Roger Manvell, Ellen Terry (1968), pp.367f. In 1879, E.T. appeared as Lady Anne in the first act of Richard III, but in 1896 the part was taken by Julia Arthur.

6. Irving was interrupted one night by a call of "Now we shan't be long" from the gallery, as he was about to turn down Imogen's nightdress to look for some mark of identity:

Irving's face went stony, and the single glance he shot from his baleful, but commanding eye, instantly silenced the shout of laughter which had gone up.

(Martin-Harvey, Autobiography, p.189n.)

E.T.'s rehearsal notes contain suggestions for Irving:

No music I think [as trunk opens]
Try and remove something from a sleeping

person & you'll find yr heart
 beating & hear the noise!!!
 You'll feel faint and have to sit down-
Good Business!

7. Robert Farquharson, "Irving as Iachimo" in H.A. Saintsbury and Cecil Palmer (eds.), We Saw Him Act: A Symposium on the Art of Henry Irving (1939), pp.346f. Punch speculated -

What did Jacki do with his legs ? If he doubled himself up, then out of that box should have come two Iachimos, or Iachimi! If ever actor "doubled a part" that actor was Henry Irving, as Jackimo, when he "doubled himself" (so he did in the Corsican Brothers and the Courier of Lyons) up, and lay concealed in his own chest!! Marvellous legs! Wonderful feat!

These speculations were accompanied by a drawing of Irving crouching in the chest "as seen by the aid of Röntgen Rays", and one of him emerging from the chest, his arms held up after the manner of a Jack-in-the-box, or, as Punch labelled it, "Jackimo in the Boximo", (Punch, October 3, 1896)

8. Archer's review (The World, October 7) and his article on the play itself (September 30) are quoted from The Theatrical "World" of 1896 (1897), pp.260-267. Hans Schmid, in "Die Werktreue Aufführung: Zur Shakespeare-Kritik William Archers", (Jahrbuch-West, 1967, pp.83-95), notes Archer's belief that "it is Shakespeare the poet that is for all time, Shakespeare the playwright belonged essentially to his own age", (The World, January 14 1891.) Schmid claims that this assumption, common to all Archer's reviews of Shakespearean productions,

may have been strengthened by the behaviour of the leading actors and stage-managers of Archer's time, who were remarkably self-centred and used Shakespeare's text merely as a screen upon which to project their own whimsical fantasies.

(pp.83f. : my translation)

9. Richard Dickens recalled:

On the first night I thought the Iachimo at his finest in the last scene, when leaning against a heap of Roman spoils he calmly awaited death. Afterwards, the play was condemned and this effect sacrificed.

(Forty Years of Shakespeare on the English Stage, (privately printed, 1908), p.82.)

10. Bernard Shaw, Geneva, Cymbeline Refinished and Good King Charles (1946), p.134.
11. Our Theatres in the Nineties (3 vols, 1932) II, 199.
All subsequent references to this review, which appeared in The Saturday Review on September 26, under the title "Blaming the Bard" are to this edition, in which it occupies pp.195-202.
Description of Irving's Mathias in Gordon Craig, Henry Irving (1931), p.57.
12. Henry James, The Scenic Art (1949), p.287; from Harper's Weekly, November 21, 1896. James found the production of Cymbeline in accord with his view of the play as a fairy tale, and observed that when "the lid of the big gruesome box began slowly to rise," he felt "the thrill of early years, a shudder almost pantomimic". (Review of Cymbeline, pp.282-5).
13. Postcard to William Archer (British Museum: Archer Correspondence) printed in Dan H. Laurence (ed.), Bernard Shaw: Collected Letters, 1874-1897 (1965), p.673.
14. Christopher St. John (ed.), Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence (1931: 2nd edition, reset, 1931), p.102. Reprinted by Dan H. Laurence, from a photographic copy of the unlocated original (pp.680f.) Subsequent references to the Shaw/Terry Letters are to Christopher St. John's edition, in its second printing.
15. Shaw/Terry Letters, p.42.
16. Shaw/Terry Letters, p.46.
17. Shaw/Terry letters, p.54. In the Smallhythe copy corresponding to Shattuck's 26 Ellen Terry wrote at the words "such a holy witch" in Iachimo's excuse (New Arden I, 7, 166), "Sun comes out" - apparently reminding herself of Shaw's suggestion.
18. Shattuck lists four copies relating to this production, numbers 24-27. The first is a Cassell's National Library Edition (1892) which he describes as a "preparation copy, with extensive cuts", and which is now in the Folger library. The other three are Ellen Terry's and are listed by Shattuck as being at Smallhythe. The first of these is a Longman's edition of 1890, still in its publisher's red boards. On a visit to the museum (September 1971) I was told by the curator, Mrs. Molly Thomas, that she had been unable to find this copy, and that it appears to have been removed from the museum at some time since Professor Shattuck's initial research, and before Mrs. Thomas's arrival as curator, two years ago. Bearing in mind that the library was protected until

recently by nothing more than a low lattice fence to prevent public access (the bookcases are now provided with locked glass doors), the possibility of theft could not, she suggested, be ruled out. The other copies listed by Shattuck, both of them proof copies of Irving's edition (though in differing states of revision and with differing pagination) are still available. Shattuck's 26 is described by him as a rehearsal copy "with many vivid notes in Miss Terry's hand and record of numerous directives by 'B.S.' (Bram Stoker)". It now seems that B.S. is Bernard Shaw - the one reference to Stoker in the books is a suggestion attributed to him by his full name (p.192). Shattuck's 27 is described thus:

Rehearsal copy marked in Miss Terry's hand. Revisions and restorations of text. A great many very vivid notes on her own playing; occasional references to "Ted", "Ben", and others.

Shattuck gives the sizes of the two copies as 5 1/2" x 8 1/2" and 5 1/4" x 8 1/4" respectively: measurement with a metric ruler gave the figures 214 x 139 mm and 208 x 135 mm. Smallhythe also possesses a bound proof copy corresponding to Shattuck's 27 but completely unmarked. The textual history of Irving's version of Cymbeline is further complicated by the presence in The Bram Stoker Collection at the Shakespeare Centre of two further copies of the proofs, with differing markings and pagination. The less heavily marked of these two copies is endorsed in ink on its wrapper B.S. 4.7.96. During his trip to America in 1895 Irving had engaged the assistance of William Winter in the preparation of the acting text (Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, p.586) and in April had written to Winter:

I am much indebted to you for your notes and
I am cutting more and more.

(ibid, 588: on Winter's work for Augustin Daly, see Marvin Felheim, The Theatre of Augustin Daly (Cambridge, Mass., 1956) chapter six).

The chronology of the alterations made to Irving's text is not clear (except in the case of those discussed in the Shaw/Terry letters), nor is it clear (a) what relation the "proofs" have to the published Chiswick Press edition, (b) what relation this published text bears to what was spoken and done on stage.

19. Ellen Terry's account of the cast was as follows:

Cymbeline	(Macklin)	Will look superb.
Cloten	(Forbes)	Has brains.
Posthumus	(Cooper)	A lovely voice, and never shouts.

Arviragus	(Teddy)	Has "some of the charm which for centuries belonged" to his ma-ma.
Belarius	(F.Robinson)	"What a proud stomach!" And one critic I know will discover <u>at last</u> an actor who can <u>deliver</u> blank verse. Looks as if he were going to deliver something else. Oh! and as H.I. says: "you can <u>hear</u> him" (I wish I couldn't)
Pisanio	(Tyars)	Well, he always looks well.
Cornelius	(Lacy)	Was a parson! So he must be "good".
Iachimo	(H.I.)	Well, you know I think we agree, you and I, that he's quite a decent actor.
Queen	(Gene.Ward)	She was the pupil of Ristori. Hang it!
Imogen		A painstaking person, but I fear will look a sight.

(Shaw@Terry letters, p.65)

In the Smallhythe copy which contains notes of Shaw's suggestions, Ellen Terry has written notes on the playing of Irving's IV.1 (New Arden III, 3 - the first Wales scene). Craig is admonished, "Tone you silly boy!" and it is suggested that he try,

Pantomime (as practice only) to get more expression of figure - or face - or voice with some exp of gentle pity - sorrow that he wants to know.

20. Shaw/Terry letters, pp.78f. The second Smallhythe copy has full instructions for Imogen's entrance to the cave:

With "here is a path t't" Imogen follows path and looks in, scared - she looks in, but then retreats ("I dare not call"). Then, bearing in mind her hunger (Famine in margin) she advances and calls out. With the words "Best draw my sword", Sword won't come out - then comes suddenly which frightens her.

(corresponds to New Arden Shakespeare III, 6)

21. On Shaw's directing, see Bernard F. Dukore, Bernard Shaw Director (1971), passim. Dukore gives a useful summary of the various notebooks and sketches prepared by Shaw in connection with the production of his own plays and some others, but he adds little to Martin Meisel's observations in Shaw and the 19th Century Theatre (Princeton, 1963: 2nd printing, 1968).

22. On Shaw's involvement with Tree over Pygmalion, see Richard Huggett, The Truth about "Pygmalion" (1969).
23. In his article "Bernard Shaw and Forbes-Robertson's Hamlet", Shakespeare Quarterly XV, 1 (Winter 1964) 27-31. William A. Armstrong discusses Shaw's involvement with this production in the context of the playwright's subordinate position in the English theatre. In all his dealings with actors, Shaw used notes and letters in which he could say what he thought without submitting the actor to a humiliating disquisition in the presence of his colleagues. In this respect his correspondence with Ellen Terry resembled his professional relationships with the interpreters of his works.
24. In his review of George Alexander's As You Like It at the St. James's Theatre (December 1896) Shaw referred again to Bedford Park:

Mr. Edmond tries the picturesque, attitudinizing, galvanic, Bedford Park style on Touchstone, worrying all the effect out of the good lines, but worrying some into the bad ones.

(Saturday Review, December 5 - Our Theatres in the Nineties, II, 270). Florence Farr (1860-1917) had been involved in the avant-garde Bedford Park Theatre, and in 1890 had appeared in John Todhunter's A Sicilian Idyll at St. George's Hall.

25. See above, pp.22f., on Gervinus' view of the play.
26. The Saturday Review, 17 April 1896 - Our Theatres in the Nineties, III, 110.
27. In Henry Irving (1930), Gordon Craig suggests, with a considerable show of ill-will, that Shaw's voluminous stage-directions in the script of The Man of Destiny were an affront to the professional self-regard of Irving. Craig also demonstrates (to his own considerable satisfaction) that Shaw's stage-directions are half patched together from what he had seen Irving and Ellen Terry do on stage in other plays, and half worn-out clichés. (pp.151-9). No account of the interview between Shaw and Irving which took place in September (after the review of Cymbeline) has survived, though Gordon Craig hints at various insults and patronizing suggestions Shaw may have made, and Shaw later wrote to Laurence Irving, Senior:

Your father did not like me, partly in consequence of an interview at which I demagnetized him (quite unintentionally) and made him uncomfortable... But I was too much conceited to be unfriendly; and if he had only had your extra inch or two across the forehead, we should have got on excellently.

(Gordon Craig, Henry Irving, *passim*, but especially p.144; Laurence Irving, Henry Irving, p.594.) In a newspaper interview on the publication of Craig's book Shaw denied that Irving was insulted by the stage direction, and that Irving's technique was mirrored in them. He claimed that Irving wished to buy Shaw off:

When the expected change in my criticisms did not take place my play was withdrawn from the list of future productions. It was a pity he did not venture; I could have got a fine performance out of him, and incidentally taught him what real production and real team-work mean in the theatre.

(E.J. West, Shaw on Theatre (1958; 4th paperback printing, New York, 1967), p.202 - the interview appeared first in The Observer, (October 26, 1930.) The paranoid quality of Craig's attacks on Shaw suggest a certain sexual jealousy - in Paris, Craig was horrified to see the Shaw/Terry letters displayed for sale in the midst of some pornographic literature (Edward Craig, Gordon Craig (1968), p.334). In Henry Irving he somewhat darkly suggests that Shaw was sexually jealous of Irving (p.26 - he quotes Othello's "let me not name it to you, you chaste stars...") and in Ellen Terry and her Secret Self (1931) he claims that, unlike Shaw and (e.g.) Charles Reade, Irving loved Ellen Terry unselfishly, without any desire for professional advantage (p.14). Craig was always fond of intimating that statements he made on the topic of his mother and Henry Irving and Shaw were based on knowledge which could not be revealed, but which placed him in a privileged position and enabled him to avoid embarrassing discussions.

28. A remark quoted by Shaw (with approval) in his review of the Drury Lane pantomime Aladdin in 1897 (Saturday Review, January 23 1897 - Our Theatres in the Nineties, III, 21-27.) Shaw's obituary of Augustus Harris appeared under the title "De Mortuis" in The Saturday Review July 4, 1896 (Our Theatres in the Nineties, II, 173-180). "Did he", Shaw asks, "produce or encourage the production of any great work of art, new or old, for its own sake?" In his music criticism in the late eighties and early nineties, Shaw had attacked Harris again and again for his incessant re-production of "fashionable" operas, his ineptitude as a stage-manager, and for his failure to realize the greatness of Wagner.
29. Letter to John Barrymore, reprinted in West, Shaw on Theatre, pp.166-169. This approach to the playing of verse (or indeed of any text) was attacked by Craig in Henry Irving (p.202) in a predictably petulant manner:

Before a phrase or a word Irving would always do something, so that the spectator should never be in doubt as to what the phrase or word was intended to mean; and he gave words special meanings. He was an actor, and not the playwright's puppet.

Craig seems to have taken up Irving's cause for four reasons, which are all connected with his attitude to Shaw:

- (a) respect for Irving as a believer in the totality of scenic art, overriding any didactic aims of the text, and firmly subordinating text to stage.
- (b) respect for Irving as a bravura actor - in Henry Irving Craig compares him with Disraeli - he also intimates a respect for Mussolini.
- (c) enthusiasm for the way Irving established an ensemble which focused on himself, rather than the democratically self-effacing ensemble of the avant-garde theatre.
- (d) Irving's affinity with Craig's concept of the infinitely adaptable "übermarionette".

(On Craig's low opinion of contemporary acting and its usefulness in his kind of theatre, cf. Denis Bablet, Edward Gordon Craig (1966) chapter six "The Mask and the Uber-marionette").

Craig's approach to the Gesamtkunstwerk - a Wagnerian concept which, superficially, he and Shaw had in common - was akin to Irving's. All should be focused on and controlled by one talent - an egoist imposing his personality on other people on a monumental scale. J. Percy Smith places Irving's achievement in this light in his discussion of Shaw's criticism of Cymbeline:

What Irving wanted was to overpower his audience with pageantry, rhetoric - and Irving. Shaw's audience was to go out of the theatre awakened and alert; Irving's was to emerge stunned.

("Superman versus Man: Bernard Shaw on Shakespeare", Stratford Papers on Shakespeare, 1962 (Toronto, 1963) pp.118-147; p.130.)

- 30. Pen Portraits and Reviews, p.169.
- 31. *ibid.*
- 32. Pen Portraits and Reviews, p.170.

33. Charles Wyndham appeared as Sir Jasper Thorndyke in *Rosemary*, by Louis N. Parker and Murray Carson at the Criterion in May, 1896. Wyndham's part was that of a 40 year-old recluse who falls in love during the first three acts, and spends the fourth act, at the age of 90, trying to remember what it was like being 40. Shaw reviewed the play on May 23, 1896, and an account of the play is given by V.J. Hext in his unpublished M.A. thesis Shaw as Critic and Playwright, 1895-1906 (Birmingham, 1969), appendix, pp.150-150a. Cf. also T. Edgar Pemberton, Sir Charles Wyndham, a Biography (1904), pp.280f. On E.T.'s initial slowness, cf. Ellen Terry's Memoirs (ed. Edith Craig and Christopher St. John) (1933), p.249:
- I felt far from inspired on the first night. I wrote in my diary the next day (September 23, 1896): "Nothing seemed right. Everything was so slow, so slow. I didn't feel a bit inspired, only dull and hide-bound."
34. The Scenic Art (1949), p.283.
35. Gordon Craig, Index to the Story of My Days (1957), p.178.
36. This is the dress which appears in the photograph reproduced by Roger Manvell (Ellen Terry, plate 32) and which faces p.260 in the 1907 edition of Stoker's Personal Reminiscences.
37. The cuirass of gilt and red leather listed in the published catalogue of the collection had been mislaid when I visited the collection (March, 1971). See M.R. Holmes, Stage Costume and Accessories in the London Museum (H.M.S.O., 1968), pp.52f., items 156,157.
38. The scene-plot was as follows:

<u>Folio.</u>	<u>Irving.</u>
I, 1,2, 6.	I,1. Britain: Garden of Cym's Palace
5.	2. Rome: Triclinium of Philario's House
7.	II,1. Britain: Room in the Palace
II, 1.	2. Britain: Before the Palace
2.	3. Imogen's Bedchamber
3.	III,1. Britain; Before the Palace
4.	2. Rome: Atrium of Philario's House
III, 2.	3. Britain: Cymbeline's Palace
3.	IV, 1. Wales: A Mountainous Country, w. Cave
4.	2. Near Milford Haven
5.	3. Britain: Cym's Palace
6,7.	4. Wales: Before the Cave
IV, 1.	5. Near the Cave
2.	6. Before the Cave
IV, 4.	V, 1. Britain: Near the Roman Camp
& V, 1.	

- | | |
|-------|------------------------------|
| V, 2. | 2. The Field of Battle |
| 3. | 3. Another Part of the Field |
| 5. | 4. Cymbeline's Tent |

This arrangement omits Folio III,1 and 8; IV,3; and V,4 -- Irving's II,1 is Folio II,3 plus III,1,12-15. Hawes Craven was responsible for all except I,2; II,1 and 3; III,2-3; and IV,3. The designs in the Victoria and Albert Museum are:

- (a) SS7 - a backdrop for the heath in Lear, or for Cymbeline.
- (b) DT36-1. Act IV sc 5 with (in pencil) "changed to be Cloten's scene Act 4 sc 5". Distemper, 15 1/16" x 22 1/4".
- 2. "Near Milford Haven - changed July 9 to something else - 2 cloths" Also marked: "This arrangement stands. July 10 '96 With Sea View beyond". Distemper, size as 1.
- 3. Study for Cymbeline I,1. A garden or grassy area with runic stones. The sheet is squared for enlarging, and is splashed with scene-painter's distemper. Charcoal and white chalk, 13 1/3" by 22 1/4".

The bright colours of these designs (with the exception of the heath scene) and Shaw's strictures on them, may be considered in the light of Scott's remarks on the settings for Lear (1892):

Nor can it distress the most precise and pedantic critics to have it suggested that in the oldest England there were vales as fair as in ancient Thessaly, and coloured panoramas as soft and beautiful as in sunny Italy.

(From "the Bells" to "King Arthur" (1897), p.347). Irving's most important scene in Cymbeline, on the other hand, was played in the darkness of Imogen's bedchamber, and Imogen read the letter in "low light" (cf. Shaw/Terry letters, p.79.)

39. Pen Portraits and Reviews, pp.169f.
40. In an interesting but somewhat eccentric study of realistic stage-effect and its relationship to the cinema, A. Nicholas Vardac suggests that Irving's financial collapse was directly related to the competition of cinematography. (From Stage to Screen, (repr. New York, 1969) pp.247f.)
41. Our Theatres in the Nineties, I, 70. Shaw is commending the acting of Herbert Flemming in a review of two productions by The Independent Theatre.

42. "Preface" to Shaw/Terry letters, p.xliii.

43. According to Scott's Daily Telegraph Review:

the statement was accompanied by some sarcastic reference to some "unnecessary twaddle" which had been written on the subject.

On April 21, 1897, when following the publication of Shaw's review of Olivia, Irving was really angry with the playwright, Shaw wrote to Ellen Terry:

The worst of the business is that it has gone far beyond our control. The announcements have been made, and taken up so far that on the first night of Cymbeline (was it?) his speech was interrupted by someone calling out "What about Shaw's play?" and my friends promptly remonstrated with me for employing people to advertise me in this shameless fashion.

(Shaw/Terry letters, p.192).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Manuscript Sources.

Promptbooks

Sixteen of the forty-three Cymbeline books listed by Shattuck are directly related to productions of the play in England during the nineteenth century: i.e. numbers 6-15, 18, 21 and 24-27. Of these, the following have been consulted:

6. G.F. Cooke (Covent Garden 18/1/1806), on microfilm from Harvard Theatre Collection
7. G.F. Cooke (Covent Garden 22/1/1806), on microfilm from Folger Library.
8. John Philip Kemble (Covent Garden 3/6/1812) and William Creswick (Drury Lane, 17/10/1864), in Shakespeare Centre Library, Stratford-upon-Avon.
10. William Charles Macready, (Drury Lane 21/1/1843), on microfilm from Folger Library.
14. Helen Faucit (c.1840-50), on microfilm from Folger Library.
18. Samuel Phelps (Sadler's Wells 26/9/1857), in British Theatre Museum.
21. Miss Alleyn (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1884), in Shakespeare Centre Library.
26. Ellen Terry (Lyceum, 22/9/1896), in Ellen Terry Memorial Museum Smallhythe.
27. (as 26).

Shattuck's 15, a book transcribed for Charles Kean's projected production of the play, is discussed in Appendix C.

Accounts

Theatre accounts from the following sources have been consulted:

1. For the years 1801, 1802, 1803, 1806, 1807, 1812: The Professional Memoranda of John Philip Kemble, British Museum Additional MSS 31974-31975.
2. For the year 1820: Annotated playbills for Covent Garden Theatre, in

the Enthoven Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum.

3. For the years 1822, 1825, 1827, 1828:
Diary of Covent Garden Theatre, British Museum
Additional MSS 23156-9.
4. For the years 1822-3:
Professional Memoranda of Charles Kemble, British
Museum Additional MS 31976.
5. For the year 1843:
Account Book of Drury Lane Theatre, 1842-3,
Enthoven Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum.

Other Manuscript Sources

1. Annotated playbills for Drury Lane Theatre, week
commencing October 24, 1864 and for Queen's Theatre,
Long Acre, 1872, in Enthoven Collection.
2. "Shakespearean Performances Which I Have Seen"
/by Gordon Crosse/, MS in 21 volumes: Birmingham
Shakespeare Library 641917-37.
3. The Diary of George Frederick Cooke, 1796-1807, MS and
typescript transcription on microfilm from Harvard
Theatre Collection (MS Thr 20)
4. Various other annotated matter and notes from Smallhythe,
Enthoven Collection, and Shakespeare Centre (Bram Stoker
Collection).

.....

B. Newspapers and Periodicals cited in Part II.

Athenaeum

Jan 28 1843,	Aug 1 1846,	Aug 28 1847	Nov 3 1849,
Nov 2 1850,	Sep 9 1854,	Oct 3 1857,	Apr 6 1872.

Bell's Weekly Messenger

Apr 30 1820.

Blackwood's Magazine

Feb 1833

Common Sense and Weekly Globe

Jun 5 1827.

Daily Telegraph

Apr 2 1872, Sep 23 1896.

The Drama, or Theatrical Pocket Magazine

Dec 1822.

The EraAug 29 1847, Nov 4 1849, Nov 3 1850, Sep 17 1854,
Oct 23 1864.Evening News

Sep 23 1896.

Evening Star

Oct 4 1827.

The ExaminerOct 23 1820, Jan 24 1822, Jan 27 1823, Feb 22 1829,
Jan 23 1843, Aug 28 1847, Oct 1 1864, Apr 6 1872.Fortnightly Review

Nov 1896

The Globe

Oct 19 1820, Sep 23 1896.

Household Words

Oct 4 1851.

Illustrated London News

May 25 1844, Aug 28 1847, 22 Oct 1864.

Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic NewsOct 22 1864, Dec 7 1878, Mar 31 1883, Oct 23 1896,
Oct 2 1896.John Bull

Aug 28 1847, Oct 22 1864.

The London Entr'Acte

Mar 31 1883, Apr 20 1872.

The Man in the Moon

Nov 1847.

Monthly Mirror

Mar 1797, Jun 1800, Mar 1801, Oct 1807.

Morning Chronicle

Feb 10 1829, Jan 23 1843, Aug 28 1847.

Morning Herald

Jan 23 1843.

Morning PostOct 19 1820, Oct 20 1820, Oct 25 1820, Feb 10 1829,
Jan 23 1843, Aug 26 1847, Oct 19 1864, Apr 1 1872.Morning Sun

Jan 23 1843.

Musical Transcript

Sep 9 1854.

Observer

Jan 23 1843.

Pall Mall Gazette

Sep 23 1896.

Punch

Sep 27 1845, Oct 3 1896.

Saturday Review

Oct 22 1864, Sep 26 1896.

Spectator

Jan 28 1843, Sep 4 1847, Oct 29 1864.

Star

Sep 23 1896.

Stratford-upon-Avon Chronicle

May 1 1885.

Stratford Herald

Apr 15 1884, May 2 1884.

Sunday Monitor

Jan 26 1823.

Sunday Times

Jan 26 1823, May 21 1837, Sep 30 1838, Aug 29 1847,
 Nov 4 1849, Apr 7 1872, Dec 8 1878, Sep 27 1896.

Tallis's Dramatic Magazine

May 1851

The Theatre

Oct 1896.

Theatrical Examiner

May 11 1826.

Theatrical Journal

Oct 19 1864, Nov 23 1864.

Theatrical Observer

May 1823.

Theatrical Times

Aug 28 1847, Mar 17 1849.

Times

Sep 29 1802, Jan 30 1803, Sep 22 1807, Jun 2 1817,
 Mar 17 1817, Oct 19 1820, Jun 25 1822, Jan 23 1823,
 Sep 27 1838, Aug 25 1847, Oct 20 1864, Apr 2 1872,
 Sep 23 1896.

Truth

Aug 16 1877.

The World

Sep 30 1896, Oct 7 1896.

C. Other Secondary Material.

Archer, William, "Ophelia and Portia: A Fable for Critics"
 in The Theatre, n.s. VI (July 1, 1885) 17-27.

----- The Theatrical "World" of 1896 (1897).

Armstrong, William A., "Bernard Shaw and Forbes-Robertson's

- Hamlet in Shakespeare Quarterly XV, 1 (1964) 27-31.
- Babcock, R.W., "William Richardson's Criticism of Shakespeare" in J.E.G.P. XXVIII (Jan. 1929) 117-136.
- The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry (New York 1964: first published 1931).
- Bablot, Denis, Edward Gordon Craig, translated by Daphne Woodward (1966).
- Baker, Herschel, John Philip Kemble, the Actor in his Theatre Cambridge, Mass. 1942).
- Barnes, Eric Wollencott, Anna Cora, the Life and Theatre of Anna Cora Mowatt (1954).
- [Beckford, William], Modern Novel-Writing, or The Elegant Enthusiast; and Interesting Emotions of Arabella Bloomville. A Rhapsodical Romance; interspersed with Poetry... by the right hon. Lady Harriet Marlow (2 vols 1796).
- Beerbohm, Max, More Theatres, with an Introduction by Rupert Hart-Davis (1969).
- Bell, John (editor and publisher) Bell's edition of Shakespeares Plays, as they are now performed at the Theatres Royal in London ... with Notes Critical and Illustrative by the Author of the Dramatic Censor (8 vols 1774).
- [Cymbeline] in Volume II, pp.231-311.7
- Blanchard, E.L., The Life and Reminiscences of E.L. Blanchard, edited by Clement Scott and Cecil Howard (2 vols 1891).
- Boaden, James, Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble, esq. including a History of the Stage from the Time of Garrick to the Present Period (2 vols 1825).
- Bond, A. Warwick, "Cymbeline at the Lyceum" in The Fortnightly Review, n.s. number 359 (Nov. 1896) pp.635-647.
- Booth, Charles, Charles Booth's London, edited by Albert Fried and Richard Elman, with a Foreword by Raymond Williams (Harmondsworth 1971).
- Brereton, Austin, The Lyceum and Henry Irving (1903).
- Brockbank, J.P., "History and Histrionics in Cymbeline" in Shakespeare Survey 11 (Cambridge 1958) pp.42-48.

- Bunn, Alfred, The Stage, both Before and Behind the Curtain, from Observations taken on the Spot (3 vols 1840).
- Byrne, Muriel St. Clare, "Charles Kean and the Meininger Myth" in Récherches Théâtrales/Theatre Research VI, 3 (1964) 137-153.
- Carlisle, Carol Jones, Shakespeare from the Greenroom: Actors' Criticisms of Four Major Tragedies (Chapel Hill 1969).
- Child, Harold, The Shakespearean Productions of John Philip Kemble (The Shakespeare Association, 1935).
- Cibber, Colley, An Apology for his Life, with an appreciation by William Hazlitt (Everyman's Library, 1938).
- Clemen, Wolfgang, The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery (1953).
- Clinton-Baddeley, V.C., Some Pantomime Pedigrees (Society for Theatre Research, 1963).
- Cole, John William, The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean, F.S.A. (2 vols 1859).
- Coleman, John, Memoirs of Samuel Phelps (1886).
- Collins, Herbert F., Talma, a Biography of an Actor (1964).
- Cook, Dutton, Nights at the Play, a View of the English Stage (1883).
- Cowden-Clarke, Charles, "Introduction" to Cymbeline in William J. Rolfe (editor), The Friendly Edition of Shakespeare's Works (20 vols, New York 1884), 23-28.
- Cowden-Clarke, Mary, The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines (Everyman's Library, 3 vols 1906).
- Craig, Edward, Gordon Craig, the Story of His Life (1968).
- Craig, Edward Gordon, Ellen Terry and her Secret Self (1931).
- Henry Irving (1932).
- Index to the Story of My Days (1957).
- Creswick, William, An Autobiography: a Record of Fifty Years of the Professional Life of the Late William Creswick (privately printed 1889).

Crosse, Gordon, Shakespearean Playgoing, 1890-1952 (1953).

Day M.C. and Trewin, J.C., The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre (1932).

Dickens, Charles, The Uncollected Writings of Charles Dickens: "Household Words", 1850-1859, (edited by Harry H. Stone (2 vols 1968)).

Dickins, Richard, Forty Years of Shakespeare on the English Stage, August 1867-August 1907 (privately printed 1910).

Donne, William Bodham, Essays on the Drama (1858).

Donohue, Joseph W., Jr., Dramatic Character in the English Romantic Age (Princeton 1970).

Dowden, Edward, Shakespeare: a Critical Study of his Mind and Art (1875).

----- Shakespeare, in the series Literature Primers edited by John Richard Green (1877).

Downer, Alan S., The Eminent Tragedian: William Charles Macready (Cambridge, Mass. 1966).

----- "Players and Painted Stage" in P.M.L.A. LXI, 2 (June 1946) 522-576.

The Dramatic Peerage, (1892).

Dukore, Bernard F., Bernard Shaw, Director (1971).

Elliott, Mrs. M.L., Shakespeare's Garden of Girls (1885).

Evans, H.A., notes and introduction to Cymbeline in The Henry Irving Shakespeare (8 vols, 1895) VII, 75-172.

Faucit, Helen (Helena Faucit, Lady Martin), On Some of Shakespeare's Female Characters (2nd edition 1891).

Faulkes, Richard, "Samuel Phelps's A Midsummer Night's Dream, Sadler's Wells. October 8th 1853" in Theatre Notebook XXIII, 2 (Winter 1968/9

Felheim, Marvin, The Theatre of Augustin Daly (Cambridge, Mass. 1956).

- Fletcher, George, Studies of Shakespeare (1847).
- Foakes, R.A., Shakespeare, The Dark Comedies to the Last Plays: From Satire to Celebration (1971).
- Forster, John and Lewes, Henry, Dramatic Essays, with notes and an introduction by William Archer and R.W. Lowe (1896).
- Fulford, Roger, The Trial of Queen Caroline (1967).
- Furness, Horace Howard, New Variorum Edition of Cymbeline (1913).
- Ganzel, Dewey, "Patent Wrongs and Patent Theatres: Drama and the Law in the Early Nineteenth Century" in P.M.L.A. LXXVI, 4 (Sept. 1961) 384-396.
- Genest, John, Some Account of the English Stage: from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830 (10 vols, Bath 1832).
- George, M. Dorothy, English Political Caricature, a Study of Opinion and Propaganda (2 vols, Oxford 1959).
- Gervinus, Dr. G.G., Shakespeare Commentaries, translated under the author's supervision by F.E. Burnett (6th edition 1903).
- Goethe, J.W. von, Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret, translated by John Oxenford (revised edition 1913).
- Granville Barker, Prefaces to Shakespeare: Fourth Series (1944).
- Greville, Charles Cavendish Fulke, The Greville Memoirs, edited by Roger Fulford (1963).
- The Greville Memoirs, edited by Henry Reeve (3 vols, 1875).
- Griffiths, L.M., Evenings with Shakespeare, a Handbook to the Study of his Works (Bristol and London 1889).
- Grindon, Mrs. Leo, The Story and Poetry of Shakespeare's "Cymbeline" (Manchester, 1909).
- Hartnoll, Phyllis (editor) The Oxford Companion to the Theatre (2nd edition 1967).

- Hatton, Joseph, Reminiscences of J.L. Toole, related by himself, and chronicled by Joseph Hatton (2 vols 1889).
- Hazlitt, William, Characters of Shakespeare's Plays (World's Classics, 1924).
- Hext, V.J., Shaw as Critic and Playwright (unpublished M.A. thesis, Birmingham 1969).
- Hill, Draper, Fashionable Contrasts: 100 Caricatures by James Gillray (1966).
- Hillebrand, Harold Newcomb, Edmund Kean (New York 1966: first published 1933).
- Hogan, Charles Beecher, Shakespeare in the Theatre, 1701-1800 (2 vols, Oxford 1957).
- Hollingshead, John, My Lifetime (2 vols 1895).
- Holmes, M.R. Stage Costume and Accessories in the London Museum (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968).
- Holroyd, Michael, Lytton Strachey, a Critical Biography (2 vols 1967-1968).
- Houghton, Walter E., The Victorian Frame of Mind (New Haven 1969: first printed 1957).
- Howard, Diana, London Theatres and Music Halls, 1850-1950 (The Library Association, 1970).
- Hudson, H.M., Lectures on Shakespeare (2 vols, New York 1848).
- Huggett, Richard, The Truth about "Pygmalion" (1969).
- Hunt, Leigh, Leigh Hunt's Dramatic Criticism, 1808-1831, edited by Lawrence Washburn Houtchens and Carolyn Washburn Houtchens (1950).
- Irving, Laurence, Henry Irving, the Actor and His World (1951).
- James, Henry, The Scenic Art, edited by Allan Wade (1949).
- Jameson, Mrs. Anna, Shakespeare's Heroines - Characteristics of Women, Moral, Poetical and Historical (New Edition, 1879).

- Jerome, Jerome K., Stage-Land: Curious Habits and Customs of its Inhabitants, described by Jerome K. Jerome, drawn by J. Bernard Partridge (1889).
- Joseph, Bertram, The Tragic Actor (1959).
- Kimberley, M.E., The Nineteenth Century Proprietary Acting Editions of Shakespeare (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Birmingham 1971).
- Knight, G. Wilson, The Crown of Life: Essays in Interpretation of Shakespeare's Final Plays (1948).
- Knight, Joseph, Theatrical Notes (1893).
- Lawrence, W.J., "Henrietta Hodson" in Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement 1901-1911 (1912) ~~III~~ ^{IV}, 275f.
- Macready, William Charles, The Diaries of William Charles Macready, 1833-1851, edited by William Toynbee (2 vols, 1912).
- Macready's Reminiscences, and Selections from his Diaries and Letters, edited by Sir Frederick Pollock, bart. (2 vols 1875).
- Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, The Lost Theatres of London (1968).
- Manvell, Roger, Ellen Terry (1968).
- Sarah Siddons, Portrait of an Actress (1970).
- Marston, Westland, Some Recollections of Our Recent Actors (2 vols 1888).
- Martin, Sir Theodore, Helena Faucit, Lady Martin (1910).
- Martin-Harvey, Sir John, The Autobiography of Sir John Martin-Harvey (1933).
- Mathews, Brander and Hutton, Laurence, Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States (3 vols, New York 1886).
- Mayer, David, III, Harlequin in his Element: The English Pantomime, 1806-1836 (Cambridge, Mass. 1969).
- Mayhew, Henry, London Labour and the London Poor (4 vols, 1861-2).

- Merchant, W. Meolwyn, Shakespeare and the Artist (Oxford, 1959).
- Meisel, Martin, Shaw and the Nineteenth Century Theatre (Princeton 1968: first published 1963).
- Millett, Kate, "The Debate over Women: Ruskin versus Mill" in Victorian Studies V XIV, 1 (Sept. 1970) 63-82.
- Sexual Politics (New York 1970).
- Moore, Angela C., The Development of Interpretative Design in Shakespeare, 1843-1956 (unpublished M.A. thesis, Birmingham 1968).
- /More, Hannah, Hints Towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess (2 vols 1805).
- Morley, Henry, Journal of a London Playgoer, from 1851 to 1866 (1866).
- Morley, Malcolm, The Old Marylebone Theatre (St. Marylebone Society Publication no.2, 1960).
- Mowatt, Anna Cora, Autobiography of an Actress, or, Eight Years on the Stage ("20th thousand", Boston, Mass. 1854).
- Murray, Christopher, "Elliston's Coronation Spectacle, 1821" in Theatre Notebook XXV, 2 (Winter 1970/71) 57-64.
- "Macready, Helen Faucit, and Acting Style in Theatre Notebook XXIII, 1 (Autumn 1968) 21-25.
- Nicoll, Allardyce, A History of the English Drama, 1660-1900 (2nd edition, 6 vols 1952-1959).
- Odell, G.C.D., Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving (2 vols, New York 1920).
- Pascoe, Charles E., The Dramatic List, a Record of the Performances of Living Actors and Actresses of the British Stage ("2nd edition, revised and enlarged", 1880).
- Pearsall, Ronald, The Worm in the Bud, The World of Victorian Sexuality (Harmondsworth 1971).
- Pemberton, Edgar, Sir Charles Wyndham, a Biography (1904).

Phelps, W. May and Forbes-Robertson, John, The Life and Life-Work of Samuel Phelps (1886).

Planché, J.R., The Recollections and Reflections of J.R. Planché (Somerset Herald A Professional Autobiography 2 vols 1872).

Rice, Charles, The London Theatre in the Eighteen-Thirties, edited by A.C. Sprague and Bertram Shuttleworth (The Society for Theatre Research, 1950).

Richards, Kenneth, "Samuel Phelps's Production of All's Well That Ends Well" in Nineteenth Century British Theatre, edited by Kenneth Richards and Peter Thompson (1971).

Richardson, William, A Philosophical Analysis and Illustration of Some of Shakespeare's Remarkable Characters (3rd edition 1784).

----- Essays on Shakespeare's Dramatic Characters... (6th edition 1812).

Robson, William, The Old Playgoer (1846).

Rosenberg, Marvin, "Elizabethan Actors: Men or Marionettes?" in P.R.E.A. LXIX, 4 (Sept. 1954) 915-927.

Ruskin, John, Sesame and Lilies (1904 : first published 1865).

Saintsbury, H.A. and Palmer, Cecil, We Saw Him Act: A Symposium on the Art of Henry Irving (1939).

Sanger, "Lord" George, Seventy Years a Showman, reprinted with a preface by Colin McInnes (1966 : first published 1910).

Saxon, A.H., Enter Foot and Horse, a History of Hippodrama, in England and France (New Haven 1968).

Schmid, Hans, "Die Werktreue Aufführung: Zur Shakespeare-Kritik William Archers" in Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft-West, 1967, pp.83-95.

Schlegel, August Wilhelm, A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature, translated by John Black and revised by the Revd. A.J.W. Morrison, M.A. (Bohn's Libraries, 1846).

Scott, Clement, The Drama of Yesterday and Today (2 vols 1899).

----- From "The Bells" to "King Arthur", A Critical Record of the First-Night Production at the Lyceum Theatre from 1871 to 1895 (1897).

Seward, Anna, Letters of Anna Seward written between the Years 1784 and 1807, /edited by A. Constable/
(Edinburgh, 6 vols 1811).

Shattuck, Charles H., Mr. Macready Produces "As You Like It": A Prompt-Book Study (Urbana, 1962).

----- The Shakespeare Promptbooks: A Descriptive Catalogue (Urbana, 1965).

----- "A Victorian Stage-Manager: George Cressall Ellis" in Theatre Notebook XXII, 3 (Spring 1968) 103-112.

----- William Charles Macready's "King John". A Facsimile Prompt-Book, edited by Charles H. Shattuck (Urbana, 1962).

Shaw, George Bernard, Collected Letters 1874-1897, edited by Dan H. Laurence (1965).

----- Geneva, Cymbeline Refinished and Good King Charles (1st collected edition 1946).

----- Our Theatres In the Nineties (3 vols, 1932).

----- Pen Portraits and Reviews (1932).

----- Shaw on Theatre, edited by E.J. West (New York 1967).

----- Shaw on Shakespeare, edited by Edwin Wilson (Penguin Shakespeare Library, Harmondsworth 1969).

Smith, J. Percy, "Superman versus Man: Bernard Shaw on Shakespeare" in Stratford Papers on Shakespeare, 1962 (Toronto 1963) pp.118-149.

"Soligny, Victoire Count de", [P.G. Patmore], Letters On England, translated from the original MSS.
(2 vols 1823).

Southern, Richard, Changeable Scenery (1952).

Spencer, T.J.B., "Shakespeare and the Noble Woman" in Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft-West, 1966, pp.49-62.

Sprague, Arthur Colby, Shakespeare and the Actors
(Cambridge, Mass. 1944).

Stephenson, A.A., S.J., "The Significance of Cymbeline"
in Scrutiny X,4 (April 1942) 329-339.

Stoker, Bram, Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving
("Revised and Cheaper Edition" 1907).

Strachey, Lytton, "Shakespeare's Final Period" in Books and Characters (1928: first collected 1906) pp.41-56.

Survey of London Volume XXXV: The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden (1970).

Swinburne, Algernon Charles, A Study of Shakespeare (1882: first edition 1880).

Terry, Ellen, Four Lectures on Shakespeare, edited with an introduction by Christopher St. John (1932).

----- Ellen Terry's Memoirs, edited by Edith Craig and Christopher St. John (1933).

----- The Story of My Life (1908).

----- Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence, edited by Christopher St. John, with a Preface by Bernard Shaw (2nd edition (reset) Nov.1931).

The Thespian Dictionary, or Dramatic Biography of the Present Age (1805).

Thomas, Clara, Love and Work Enough: the Life of Anna Jameson (1967).

Tilley, H.H., J.R. Planché, Reformer (unpublished M.A. thesis, Birmingham 1951).

Tinkler, F.C., "Cymbeline" in Scrutiny VII,1 (June 1938) 5-20.

Trevelyan, G.M., English Social History (1945).

Troubridge, St. Vincent, The Benefit System in the British Theatre (Society for Theatre Research, 1967).

Turner, Godfrey, "First Nights of My Younger Days" in The Theatre n.s. IX,4 (Apr.1887) 187-193.

- Vardac, A. Nicholas, From Stage to Screen: Theatrical Method from Garrick to Griffith (New York 1968: first published Cambridge, Mass. 1949).
- Wallace, William, "Sir Henry Irving's Claims" in The National Review XXVIII (nr. 163, Sept. 1896) 75-86.
- Watson, Ernest Bradlee, Sheridan to Robertson, A Study of the Nineteenth Century London Stage (Cambridge, Mass. 1926).
- Webster, Margaret, The Same only Different: Five Generations of a Great Theatre Family (1969).
- Williamson, Jane, Charles Kemble, Man of the Theatre, (Lincoln, Nebraska 1970).
- Wilson, A.E., Christmas Pantomime: The Story of an English Institution (1934).
- Wilson, H. Schütz, "A Union with Imogen: A Literary Fantasy" in The Gentleman's Magazine Volume 281 (July/Dec. 1896) 615-619.
- Wilson, M. Glen, "The Career of Charles Kean: A Financial Report" in Nineteenth Century British Theatre, edited by Kenneth Richards and Peter Thomson (1971).
- Wind, Edgar, "The Revolution of History Painting" in Journal of the Warburg Institute II, 2 (Oct. 1938) 116-127
- Winter, William, Shadows of the Stage (Edinburgh 1893).
- Young, C.B. "The Stage-History of Cymbeline" in New Cambridge edition of Cymbeline, edited by J.C. Maxwell (Cambridge, 1957).
- Young, Julian Charles, A Memoir of Charles Mayne Young (1871).